SELECTED PAPERS ON EDUCATION

DAVE TROTMAN

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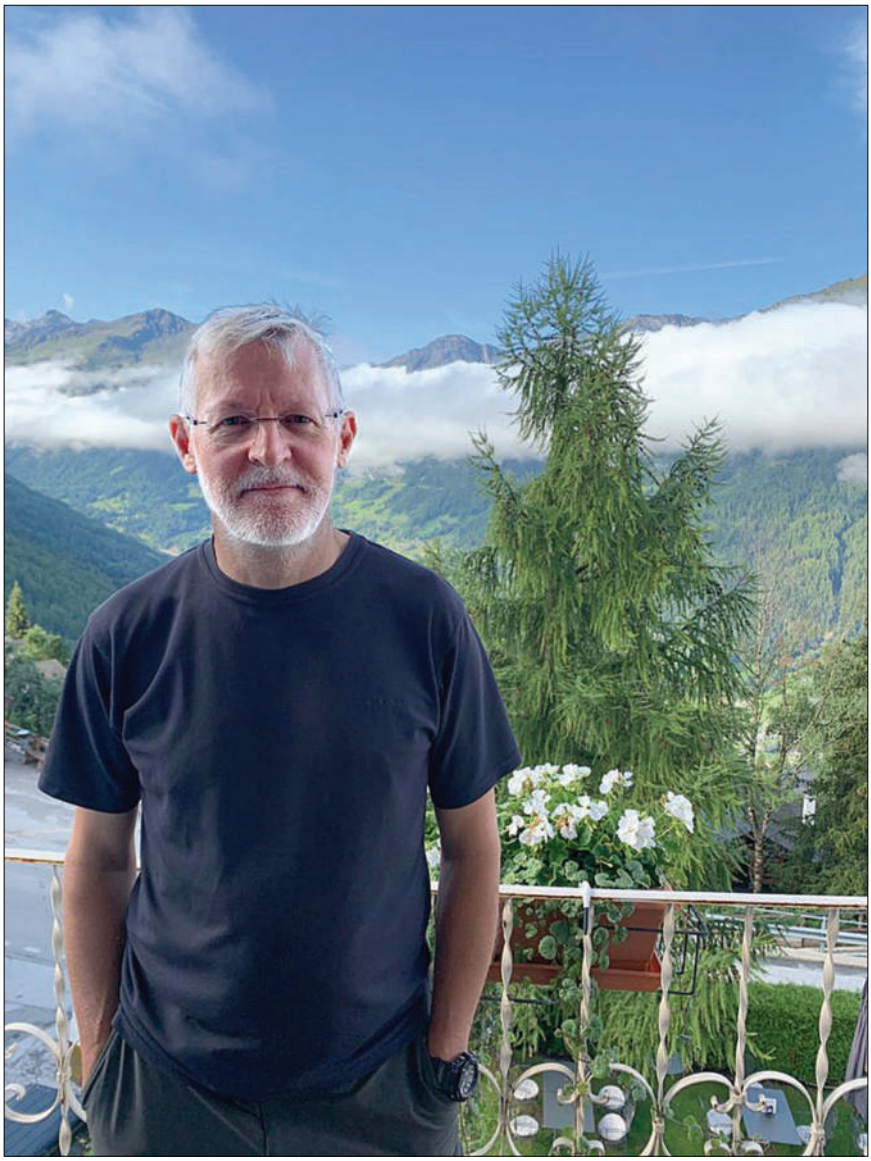

Dave Trotman

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With a preface by Stan Tucker

Edited by his colleagues
Roger Willoughby, Karima Kadi-Hanifi, Iain Jones, Clare Bright, John Bayley, Parminder Assi, Steve Dixon, Helen Davies, Steve Griffin, Cheryl Hedges & Richard Sanders

Education Studies Press

Published by
The Education Studies Press
Birmingham

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Printed and bound in Great Britain by 4edge Limited,
22 Eldon Way Industrial Estate,
Hockley, Essex, SS5 4AD

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Acknowledgements

The editors warmly thank Robert J Scarlett for his generous work on the layout and typesetting of this text. We wish to also thank Dawn Picken for her reconstruction of Dave Trotman's 2018 lecture 'Education in super-complex times' from a taped recording of that event into text. Finally, we wish to thank Sue Trotman for her assistance in supplying a selection of photographs and several papers for use in the present volume.

Preface

It is always difficult to write a short piece that adequately describes a particular period in a person's life. What to put in? What to leave? And to decide on the funny stories? In many ways this compilation of Dave's work will provide all the necessary bricks in terms of understanding him and his work, so please view this short piece as the cement – or at least a way of filling in the cracks!

I have worked with Dave for around 15 years; time flies when you are having fun and all that. During that time we developed, what we believe, were a number of ground-breaking research projects. More about that later. We also spent seven years working in Sibiu, Romania, in local schools and universities. Travelling there twice a year we managed to form strong working relationships with teachers, school inspectors and university staff at Lucian Blaga University. One of the papers in this collection was written in collaboration with colleagues from that university (Tucker et al, 2014). We arrived in Romania at a time when there was a thirst for educational reform and it is our hope that we made a contribution to that. Indeed, Dave's impact was so significant that he was asked to co-edit the Lucian Blaga academic journal.

A brief reading of the contents of this book reveal a great deal about Dave. The depth of his understanding of the functioning of the education system, why it needs to change, and how children, young people and those working with them make sense of their day-to-day experiences (Trotman et al, 2015). He has consistently made a strong case for the importance of creativity in enriching the lives of the young (Trotman, 2011). He is also an advocate of educational 'risk taking' (Trotman et al, 2012). Dave believes in children's rights, social justice and equality. If you look at the collection you will see these particular themes shining through time and time again. We worked together, over a span of seven years, to explore issues connected with school exclusion, alternative provision and the need for schools to realise that 'another school is possible'. We gathered data from both primary and secondary schools and undertook reviews of alternative provision in three local authorities. Many of the findings from that work are presented here. And not to swell heads too much we also presented the outcomes of our work at the Westminster Forum and the Welsh Assembly. On more than one occasion we were congratulated for Newman 'punching above its weight'.

Dave is a kind, caring and compassionate man (apart from those occasions when he calls me a grumpy old northerner). He came to Newman University with a very strong educational pedigree gained in both primary and secondary education. His knowledge of educational literature and theory is phenomenal. I found the experience of both researching and writing with Dave exciting. When you take the time to build a strong working partnership it can be amazingly rewarding. I

particularly enjoyed theory building and testing out the soundness of our ideas through the collection and interrogation of robust data. I also appreciated Dave's patience when I was 'going off on one'.

We talk in a number of the papers about the importance of seeing young people as 'reliable witnesses' when it comes to understanding their educational and social experiences, as well as their life chances. You will also see in our accounts clear evidence of where the education system has significantly let down some young people time-and-time again. The evidence we present is disturbing. At the same time, we have met some terrific young people who acknowledged their own responsibilities and were still hopeful of a brighter future despite what had happened to them. You can no doubt imagine that such stories were not always received well – by politicians, school leaders, teachers, etc. Sometimes it was difficult to argue a case when you felt you were talking to a hostile audience. Dave was superb in such situations – always courteous and patient, but at the same time resolute and unbending it terms of the messages to be delivered.

Working with Dave always guaranteed an element of fun and chaos – intentional and unintentional. He seriously bored a lot of people with his learn Romanian one-word-a-day app. But his ability to order beer could not be bettered! Once we were in an international airport at the time of the introduction of the e-ticket. He was beginning to annoy me with his assertions that I was a Luddite with my 'old fashioned' paper ticket. Then the airport Wi-Fi went down and chaos ensued. I promised to wait for him in the departure lounge - anything to avoid paying for the coffee! Memory sticks that didn't work and calm ad-libbing: getting lost; late trains; validation events; trying to make sense of the process of publishing a book in the United States, etc., etc. Thanks for all this and more Dave.

To close, I have to mention Dave's leadership skills. He put together one of the best educational studies teams I have ever worked with. His staff, I know, have the highest possible regard for him. He has a strong national and international reputation. I hope your retirement brings with it all you hope for. For my part it is an honour to call you my friend.

Stan
Emeritus Professor Stan Tucker
January 2020

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Editorial note

The chapters in the present volume are organised according to the date of their original publication. The majority of papers have previously appeared in various journals or edited collections and details of their original place of publication may be found in the comprehensive bibliography at the end of the present volume.

ONE

Affect and Education
What Future is there for Imaginative Education in Primary Schools?

The explicit identification of 'affective aspects of learning' in the National Primary Strategy (DfES, 2004) marks a significant shift in the policy rhetoric around pupil learning in primary education. Indeed, in making an unambiguous claim to 'affective aspects' as a necessary 'condition for learning it' places pupil self-awareness, feelings, empathy, social skills and motivation as a cornerstone of the strategy. Welcome though this development is, my personal disposition to optimism remains guarded on the basis of observations in three areas of educational practice.

These concern:

1. the strategy's definition of 'affect' as a 'condition' for learning
2. what is known about the place of 'affective aspects' in teacher orientations to educational practices
3. implicit assumptions about the development of professional practice in the province of 'affect' and imagination. These observations derive from my own recent research into primary teacher interpretations of affective and imaginative experience (Trotman, 2005), and ongoing research into teachers' situated professional judgements in imaginative education.

Affect as a condition for learning

Affect is not an unproblematic term in the language of education. In *Creating a Learning Culture: conditions for learning* (DfES, 2004) affect is described in terms of 'five aspects (or domains)': managing feelings, social skills, empathy, motivation, and self-awareness. Yet affect has a long and contested history: Reber (1985, 15), for example, suggests that contemporary usage of the term 'affect' is '*very loose and qualifiers are common*', creating ambiguous usage in which `affect' is used more-or-less interchangeably with such things as emotion, emotionality, feeling, and mood. Reid (1986), for instance, describes feeling as '*the immediate awareness of human experience from the inside*' (Reid, 1986, 20) and cautions us not to treat feeling, affect, and emotion as synonymous. Noting that that feeling and emotion, in particular, are commonly bracketed together as though they are identical (Reid, *op.cit.*, 15), Reid argues that feeling '*is potentially feeling of everything that goes on in conscious experience*' and that it is feeling that is subject to affect. Consequently, '*the content and particular quality of affect is unlimited in its range*' (Reid, *op.cit.*, 20).

Goldie (2002, 235) argues that emotions involve two forms of feelings: 'bodily feeling's (the feeling from the inside condition of one's body) and 'feeling towards'

(the feeling one has towards the object of one's emotion). Downes (2000, 101), on the other hand, offers a semiotic version of the emotions: as '*contrusals of bodily states of arousal in contexts of situation and culture*'. The intimation in the bracketed use of the domain in *Creating a Learning Culture* is of course a return to Krathwohl, Bloom and Masia's (1964) affective domain; propounded in their *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, and described in terms of educational objectives that emphasise:

> *... a feeling tone, an emotion, or a degree of acceptance or rejection. Affective objectives vary from simple attention to selected phenomena to complex but internally consistent qualities of character and conscience. We found a large number of such objectives in literature expressed as interests, attitudes, appreciations, values and emotional sets or biases...*
> (Krathwohl *et al*, 1964, 7)

Following Blooms (1956} earlier work on cognition and the presentation of human experience, the concept of an affective domain is cast in a taxonomic method; embodying various sub-types and each with its optimal conditions (Toye, 1973): a cognitive and affective domain. In defining each domain it makes possible '*a definite classification of that objective and would permit exact inferences about the kinds of behaviors expected of students*' (Krathwohl *et al*, 1964, 5). One function of this taxonomic approach was, of course, to provide '*a convenient system for describing and ordering test items, examination techniques and evaluation instruments*' (Krathwohl *et al*, *op.cit.*, 5).

However, Furst (1994), in Anderson and Sosniak's (1994) retrospective on Bloom's Taxonomy, argues that:

> *... the cognitive and feeling sides of mental life can neither be conceptually nor practically separated... the authors saw the distinction as artificial and saw the need to bring the two domains together after analysis.* (Furst, 1994, 32)

Crucially, any distinction between the two domains, as Furst (*op. cit.*) acknowledges, creates educational and philosophical problems, by separating the world of knowledge from the world of values (Furst, *op.cit.*, 32) - a problem which Creating a Learning Culture would appear to sidestep.

The work of Goleman (1996, 1998) in the sphere of emotional intelligence has in recent years done much to elevate the significance of the emotional life in human enterprise, and *Creating a Learning Culture* is quick to recognise this. Yet, once again, a conception of emotional intelligence is presented as relatively uncomplicated, e.g. Sheppard (1987) has argued:

> *Part of the problem here lies in the difficulty of giving a satisfactory philosophical account of emotion... exactly what should be classed as 'emotions' is not altogether clear and this makes it difficult to give a lucid account of emotion... As well as trying to determine the objects, the behaviour,*

> *and the experiences characteristic of particular emotions, a philosophical account of the emotions would have to discriminate between different kinds of affective states, for example, between moods such as depression or elation, and emotions such as grief or anger... the line between moods and emotions can be hard to draw, such common emotion-terms as `sadness' and `happiness' are used sometimes of moods and sometimes of sensations.* (Sheppard, 1987, 32-34)

In *Creating a Learning Culture*, feelings are to be made palpable for `management' ---which is of course eкpressly different from their expression in symbolic form, for example. As Claxton (1996, 53) observes: such things as imagination and fantasy '*are still treated within education as rather primitive forms of learning*' with the emotions considered to be inappropriate 'interruptions to learning'. Here, I would argue that *Creating a Learning Culture* is at some risk of framing pupils' understanding of 'feeling' exclusively in terms of acquired meta-cognitive skills ---as Bradmetz and Schneider (1999, 503) caution:

> *an emotional response has a vividness which renders it less penetrable and modifiable than a cognitive response*.

Empathy as a 'condition' for learning

In identifying empathy as an affective aspect, *Creating a Learning Culture* has certainly undertaken important work in advancing an all too often neglected area of pupil understanding ---and one that I would argue extends well beyond a 'condition for learning'. The following attributes of empathy are described:

> *We understand that all people can feel the same range of emotions.*
> *We know that different people will feel different emotions in the same situation. We understand that our actions affect other people - we can make thenz feel better or worse.*
> *We can use 'cues' to guess other people's emotions and to inzagine how we would feel if we were them.*
> *We can take on another person's point of view. We can distinguish between accidental and deliberate actions.*
> *We are able to recognise situations in which we may need to hide our feelings to avoid upsetting others (and those where we should not).*
> *We are able to support other people, e.g. by making them feel happy and by using 'good listening' when they share their feelings — demonstrating the skill of 'active listening'* (DfES, 2004, 11)

Although this clearly identifies some important attributes of empathy, this is also not without its problems, for empathy is an equally slippery concept that has a widely researched history; most notably in the province of healthcare. Drawing on some of this literature, I believe what follows has significant implications for how empathic skills might be understood and developed in pupils, and, crucially, in

the educational practices of teachers; extending a conception of empathy beyond the relatively narrow scope provided by *Creating a Learning Culture*. Gould (1990, 1172), for example, sees empathy as an ability to appreciate the feelings of other people with whom we are not similar, and Rogers (1980, 142), whose contribution to this field is considerable, describes empathy as a sensitivity to changing, felt meanings and experiences which flow in the other person without recourse to judgement. As a form of 'emotional knowing', Holden (1990, 72) considers empathy to be a process in which one projects oneself into the physical being of the other (in this case the patient) while simultaneously retaining detached objectivity (Yegdich, 1999, 85).

Others suggest empathy is characterised by 'self-abandonment and openness to others', enabling '*a type of freedom or neutrality from intense emotions that are not one's own*' (Zderad, 1969 quoted in Yegdich, 1999, 85). Noddings (1984, 16, quoted in Verducci, 2000, 89) argues that empathy entails the indispensable function of

> *cognitive understanding of the other's situation and emotional resonance with the other... not only must the one caring emotionally resonate with the other, she must move to do so. She must shift herself into the other's perspective and affective life.*

Similarly, Gould (1990, 1172) considers the defining feature of empathy to be the ability to appreciate the feelings of other people with whom we are not similar. Sutherland's (1993) somewhat prescient observation is that the problematic nature of `empathy' has been exacerbated by ambiguous use of the term to variously describe such things as:

> *an ability, ~ an attitude, a feeling, an interpersonal process, a trait, a state, a sensitivity, and a perceptiveness*
> (Sutherland, 1993, quoted in Kunyk and Olson, 2001, 318).

Within this milieu of complementary and competing claims to empathic practices, Kunyk and Olson (2001, 318) offer some clarity in their five dominant conceptualisations of empathy in healthcare. These embrace: empathy as human trait, as a communication process, empathy as caring, empathy as a special relationship, and empathy as a professional state (Kunyk and Olson, *op.cit.*, 318). Empathy as trait is seen as an innate, instinctive natural ability that cannot be taught, but only reinforced and, refined (Kunyk and Olson, *op.cit.*, 321).

Empathy as a communication process, involves a three stage model of emotional and situational perception, which Wheeler (1995, quoted in Kunyk and Olson, 2000) describes as 'empathy potential', 'empathy expressed', and 'empathy received'.

In a conception of empathy as caring, the focus is on interventions that meet physical needs and the alleviation of emotional suffering. In empathy as a

special relationship, this requires a reciprocal relationship to develop over time involving three sequential phases: initiating, building and sustaining ---these relationships provide '*the foundation for patients and nurses to work together 'to fulfil the patients goals*' (Kunyk and Olson, *op.cit*., 321). Kunyk and Olson describe 'professional empathy' as a '*learned communication skill comprising primarily of cognitive and behavioural components*' in which the professional (in this case the nurse) cognitively selects the best response and avoids inappropriate emotional involvement (Kunyk and Olson, *op.cit.*, 321).

Given the extent of these dispositions, *Creating a Learning Culture* is perhaps guilty of a dangerous over-simplification, and thus subsequent distortion, of empathy as a complex and sophisticated educational process.

Affect and Empathy in Imagination: Implications for Educational Practice

Authorities in the field of imagination such as Egan (1992) and Warnock (1976) are quick to point to the profound relationship between affect and imaginative capacity. Warnock (1976, 206) for example considers 'imaginative emotion' as a 'vivid' conception of ideas that excite within us not illusions but facts 'as real as any other qualities of objects' that are consistent with 'accurate knowledge'. Egan (1992) argues:

> *What makes others' lives meaningful for us is our ability to share imaginatively in their emotions, their fears, hopes, intentions, and so on; to think of them as though they were ours; and to expand our own by thinking of them as possibly like others'. So we connect again with the affective connection*.
> (Egan, *op.cit*., 87)

Certainly my own research in this province with primary school practitioners reveals similar dispositions to the centrality (and complexity) of affect and empathy in imagination. These were research participant Barry's thoughts:

> *I think that it is the lack of imagination and stimulating inzagination that has led to a rise in conflicts amongst pupils because I think they're less empathetic about how other people feel... I think they find it quite difficult to put themselves into the shoes of that other person who is upset, hurt, worried... we don't ask children to be imaginative or we ask them less often to be imaginative....*

and Christine's

> *I try and do a lot of putting them into other peoples' shoes and imaging, you know, trying to think of how the other person feels... imagining the other person's feelings rather than just their own, just to make the whole concept seem more real...*

and Terry's

> *I suppose you think back to the vulnerable states that you were in as a child. I can always think back to when I was in school and vulnerable as a child; and*

as teacher I kept putting myself on her [the pupil's] side.

Given that for many professional educators imaginative education necessitates close professional contact with the deep and complex attributes of emotion, affect and empathy, the call for a refined educational practice (that remains largely, but not totally, undeveloped in contemporary school settings) is perhaps an obvious corollary. The intimation in *Creating a Learning Culture* is that the generation of conditions for learning through the management of feelings and the exercise of empathy and affect is mostly a matter of routine within the context of current 'approved' professional practice.

Observations drawn from my own research in primary schools suggest that these aspects of imagination are not only subject to considerable variation in interpretation by practitioners, but also significant differences of value are placed upon them, depending upon the teacher's ideological disposition to their practice. In my own research this ranged from those teachers whose disposition was characterised by *Performative-Instrumentality*, to those who I call *reflexive educative-facilitators*. In the case of the former, these teachers tend to reflect McNess, Broadfoot and Osborn's (2003, 248) observations of an emerging 'new professionalism' amongst more recent entrants to the teaching profession who obtain greater satisfaction within '*a more constrained and instrumental role*' and for whom imagination is a useful device for the contextualisation of other (and by inference 'higher order') learning purposes. In the case of the latter, the research revealed a small but significant minority of teachers for whom the child was not only the prime agent of the imaginative impulse, but also the possessor of latent imaginative and affective expertise: the 'connoisseur and critic' (Eisner, 1985, 1994, 1998) of their own imaginative experience.

Crucially, for this group of teachers the imaginative lifeworld of the child was central to their understanding and development of their own educational practice.

Whilst these orientations might be interpreted as two ends of atraditional-liberal continuum (which would be a distortion of the research on my part), the 'centre ground' of these dispositions was occupied by a substantial number of teachers whose practice was to become characterised by 'multi-modality': the capacity to rationalise and give commodity value to particular facets of pedagogic practice.

These are teachers who are adept with the manuals of contemporary curriculum 'delivery': the literacy strategy, the numeracy strategy, the primary strategy, etc. '*Multi-mode*' practice is an increasingly attractive model in a restructured teaching force where flexibility and accommodation is a pre-requisite. For these teachers the imaginative lifeworld was not understood, adopted or practised in holistic form. Indeed, the affective life and the lifeworld are not considered helpful enterprises here, rather, their constitutive elements can be better paired out and arranged as

discrete pedagogic tools to be applied, discarded and replaced as needed. This is not to suggest that these teachers are in any way professionally irresponsible or negligent, but rather that their professional practice has been saturated and shaped by positivist, managerial forces; as Jensen and Walker (2002) suggest this is the 'manualisation' of professional work. So, the ramifications for professional practice are arguably considerable.

If *Creating a Learning Culture* represents no more than the continuing appropriation of affect and emotion (and subsequently imagination) into anew configuration of 'emotional capital' (Hartley, 2003b, 11), then there is a clear fit with '*multi-mode*' educational practice; and, of course, a future in which educational practice becomes subject to 'inappropriate forms of market rationality' that turns the work of education into mere labour (Himmelweit, 1999, 36).

However, if we are to take *Creating a Learning Culture* at face value; as an honest platform for the promotion of deep imaginative and affective experience - an invitation to reclaim the 'affective' from those who have sought to reduce complexity in human experience for the purpose of measurement or inference about causality (Runco and Sakamoto, 1999, 62) - then this presents both challenges and opportunities of some considerable importance.

To locate emotional, affective and empathic practice at the centre of imaginative education will, I argue, require a fundamental reappraisal of initial and continuing professional education of teachers. A re-educative strategy would of necessity require teachers to develop powers of perception and professional intuition that have been subject to some neglect during years of draconian external intervention. It would require professional educators to be able to cultivate and vivify their own feelings; to develop their own emotionally intelligent practices; '*to know what we see rather than seeing what we already know*' (Heschel, quoted in MacBeath and McGlynn, 2002, 32); and ultimately to reclaim professional judgement as both an individual and collective practice of connoisseurship of the sort described by Elliot Eisner twenty years ago (Eisner, 1985).

In conclusion, I remain cautiously upbeat about the future of imaginative education. Empathy, feelings and affect are explicitly on the educational agenda; whether these become subject to a crude codification of practice (e.g. the emotional intelligence competence inventory) will be more difficult to tell. Yet Imagination and Empathy are tricky things to capture. To do the work of imagination properly requires recognition not only of its value (which government is beginning to recognise in its pronouncements on creativity), but moreover the complexity of its relationship to professional practice, and the ways in which a liberated professional practice can indeed foster and sustain meaningful imaginative lifeworlds.

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TWO

'Looking for Sparks': A phenomenological study of educational practice and the imaginative lifeworld in primary schools

Context and Approach

Education in England has seen a recent renaissance of interest in matters of creativity, magination, and emotion (Craft, 2003; Hartley, 2003a). Calls for their restoration in the school curriculum have reflected a growing concern in many quarters that learning, particularly in primary school education, has become a singularly intellectual activity devoid of imaginative, emotional, intuitive, and contemplative paths (Claxton, 1996; Egan, 1992; Motion, 2003). Largely in response to accusations of ministerial preoccupation with literacy, numeracy, and statutory testing (*Times Educational Supplement*, March 28, 2003, 11), creativity, imagination and emotion have become central to an emerging policy discourse in school and curriculum innovation (DfES, 2003, 2004). Yet despite this resurgence of interest, and burgeoning research in the realm of creativity, only limited research has been undertaken in the UK into current practice amongst educational practitioners in the sphere of imagination and emotion. Further, where government sponsored inquiry and inspection has been undertaken (National Advisory Committee on Creativity, Culture and Education, 1999; Office for Standards in Education, 2003), conceptions of the creative and imaginative, in particular, are presented as uncontested and unproblematic.

Prompted by these developments, my own inquiry into teacher interpretations of pupil imaginative experiences began life in Autumn 2001 as part an EdD doctoral dissertation. Conducted over a period of two years with the Central City Networked Learning Community (CCNLC)—a network of six primary schools located in central England—the research involved some 20 participants and co-researchers drawn from a range of professional roles and responsibilities. Following the completion of an initial pilot study, the research design followed the traditions of descriptive phenomenology (Moustakas, 1994), with the intended purpose of eliciting how primary phase teachers interpret the imaginative and emotional lifeworlds of their pupils. Central to this tradition is the phenomenological practice of 'bracketing', in which the researcher focuses upon a specific situation, person, or issue and then undertakes a review of his/her current thoughts and feelings regarding these phenomena:

> Each time in my review I set aside biases and prejudgements and return with a readiness to look again into my life, to enter with hope and intention of seeing this person, or situation, or issue with new and receptive eyes. (Moustakas, 1994, p. 89)

The research design was to eventually incorporate three phases: participant discussions, classroom observations, and participant diaries.

From Imaginative Contexts to the Phenomenology of the Imaginative Lifeworld

Each phase of the research was to reveal the use of imaginative contexts in the practice of many teachers as a platform from which to engage pupils in purposeful educational activity and meaning making. This would typically involve imaginary building or construction projects in technology, fantasy games in maths, pretending to be a Roman soldier in dance, or the development of fictional narratives in story writing. Yet, the majority of these activities did little more than engage pupils in a transient imaginative framework which both teachers and pupils found difficult to sustain within individual teaching episodes, let alone as part of longer-term curriculum projects. However, amongst a small group of research participants, educational practice was to extend well beyond the simple creation of imaginative contexts; here, the active building of imaginative capacity to engage and sustain the imaginative powers of pupils was undertaken as an explicit part of the teaching episode. Crucially, for these teachers the child's *imaginative lifeworld* became central to their educational practice and mission.

Imagination can be seen, on the one hand, as an activity of the conceptual and rational kind (Egan, 1992, p. 42), and, on the other, as it was to be revealed in the phenomenology, requiring the active engagement of emotions, feelings, and forms of empathy. Egan (1992, p. 31) observes: 'Warnock, following Sartre, argues, as have many before her, that there is an irreducible affective component in any use of imagination'. Indeed, Warnock (1976, p. 206) in her conception of 'imaginative emotion' argues that 'vivid' conceptions of ideas excite within us not illusions but facts 'as real as any other qualities of objects'. These are neither erroneous nor delusive but consistent with 'accurate knowledge'.

For the research participants, fantasy, affective states, and empathy were to emerge as fundamental and explicit attributes of the imaginative lifeworld.

> Lenny stole some artefacts from the front foyer during the Egyptian topic … Granddad brought them in the next day and said 'you've made this for him'. The reason he had taken it was because he wanted to turn his bedroom into an Egyptian shrine, if there's any motive for stealing … (Terry)

Embracing such things as daydreams, make-believe, free-play, and private musings, fantasy performs a vital and positive function in the child's creation, exploration, and shaping of the dynamic of their imaginative lifeworld. Lenny's cameo also signals the potential for problematic consequences of intra-subjective fantasy that may involve risks of detachment, introspection, and fixation. Tensions between 'the world of imagination and the world of reality' are, of course, well understood in the observations of young children's play (Beetlestone, 1998, p. 79). Further, Egan and Nadaner (1988, p. x) warn of the dangers of 'uncritical acceptance' of fantasy in imagination, for example, in the artefacts of contemporary film and electronic media which may lead to 'meaningless stereotypes'. Despite these cautions, fantasy was to emerge in the phenomenology as a positive agency in the child's imaginative lifeworld,

ranging from 'grounded', teacher-directed activity, to pupil self-initiated interests that transcend the physical and abstract boundaries of classroom and school.

For a number of the research participants feeling was pivotal in enabling deeper forms of meaning and understanding. This embraced concrete-sensate experiences of touch, taste, smell, and so on, organic feelings such as hunger and thirst, and abstractsensuous feelings such as love, loss, and the like. Reid (1986) describes feeling as 'the immediate awareness of human experience from the inside' (p. 20), but cautions us not to treat feeling, 'affect', and emotion as synonymous, noting that feeling and emotion, in particular, are commonly bracketed together as though they are identical (Reid, 1986, p. 15). The work of Goleman (1996, 1998) in the sphere of emotional intelligence has in recent years done much to elevate the significance of the emotional life in human enterprise. This does, however, tend to focus largely on the practice of the management of personal feelings and inter-personal skills. Sheppard (1987), however, suggests that this attribute of the imaginative lifeworld may be more complex:

> Part of the problem here lies in the difficulty of giving a satisfactory philosophical account of emotion … exactly what should be classed as 'emotions' is not altogether clear and this makes it difficult to give a lucid account of emotion … a philosophical account of the emotions would have to discriminate between different kinds of affective states, for example between moods such as depression or elation and emotions such as grief or anger … the line between moods and emotions can be hard to draw … (Sheppard, 1987, pp. 32-34)

Thus, whilst it became necessary to avoid any spurious conflation of feeling, mood, emotion, and affect within the context of the research, the interrelationship of feeling, mood, and emotion was to become fundamental to any understanding of the 'affective life', as the accounts of the research participants bore testimony. As Egan (1992) points out, 'it has become a commonplace of studies of the imagination to note its ties to our emotions … if we wish to engage students' imaginations we need to attend to engaging their emotions' (p. 72). Certainly, in the accounts of a number of the research participants, emotions occupied a significant place in understanding and engaging with the child's imagination and lifeworld.

In the field of healthcare, Kunyk and Olson's conception of empathy also proved to be significant in understanding teacher–pupil interactions in the reported oral accounts in the pilot study. Kunyk and Olson (2001) describe 'professional empathy' as a 'learned communication skill' in which the professional (in this case the nurse) 'cognitively selects the best response' and avoids inappropriate emotional involvement (p. 321). In discussing empathy in caring they observe that this involves 'interventions that meet the physical needs of the client and alleviate emotional suffering' (p. 322). For one of the research participants, Terry, this proved to be particularly apposite in an encounter with a Year Three pupil's experience of bereavement:

> … as a teacher I didn't feel uncomfortable because I was aware that this was an ideal opportunity for her to talk about something like that … I don't think those opportunities arise in these structured literacy sessions where children actually relate themselves to a topic. I suppose you think back to the vulnerable states that you were in as a child. I can always think back to when I was in school and vulnerable as a child … (Terry)

In the accounts of a number of other participants I was to see a conscious desire on the part of teachers to develop the child's capacity to engage in the feelings of other people with whom they are not similar:

> I suppose, in general, thinking about other people, you know, every situation, try and go into it and put yourself in their shoes … imagining the other persons feelings rather than just their own … (Christine)

This critical agency of empathy in the imaginative lifeworld is summarised by Egan (1992):

> What makes others' lives meaningful for us is our ability to share imaginatively in their emotions, their fears, hopes, intentions, and so on; to think of them as though they were ours; and to expand our own by thinking of them as possibly like others'. So we connect again with the affective connection. (p. 87)

In addition to locating fantasy, feeling, and empathy as defining attributes of the imaginative lifeworld, the research also revealed an entirely unanticipated range of ideological orientations to educational practice. During the course of the research six clusters of professional practice were to emerge:

- *Performative-Instrumentalists*
- *Retro and New Romantics*
- *Multi-Mode Practitioners*
- *New Progressives*
- *Curriculum Constructionalists*
- *Reflexive-Educative Facilitators*

Whilst limitations of space prevents detailed discussion of all six orientations, three of these—*Performative-Instrumentalists*, *Multi-Mode Practitioners*, and *Reflexive-Educative Facilitators*—do warrant further explanation as these were to have significant bearing on the opportunities for, and impediments to, sustained engagement and development of the child's imaginative lifeworld.

Educational Policy and Orientations to Practice: Implications for imaginative lifeworlds

Despite the promise of a possible educational renaissance for the creative, imaginative, and affective life, there was a widely held view amongst the research participants that educational policy imperatives continued to present a palpable and serious impediment to deep and enriched pupil learning. The most damaging of these was considered to be the National Key Stage Two Tests; felt most acutely,

and perhaps not surprisingly, by the Year Six teachers. Further, and contrary to the recent claims of the Department for Education and Skills (2003, pp. 15–16), the statutory curriculum was also considered to be detrimental to the enrichment of learner experience and to the exercise of professional autonomy and judgement.

For many of the research participants the pressure of the National Testing regime, at the level of both the institution and the individual, had resulted in a distortion of the curriculum. For the teachers of Year Six pupils their work was almost wholly dominated by the preparation and revision exercises for Key Stage Two National Tests. For the majority of classroom practitioners the removal of National Tests and the freedom to engage in curriculum design were seen as the most necessary conditions to enabling a rich learning environment.

For those amongst the *Multi-Mode Practitioners* there was some evidence that accords with the observations of McNess, Broadfoot, and Osborn (2003, p. 248) that some teachers inhabit a fragmented identity, 'torn between an official discourse' in which technical and managerial skills are emphasised in contrast to a strong personal view that embraces an 'emotional and affective dimension to teaching'. The defining feature of this group of teachers was a pedagogy constructed, and frequently re-constructed, around discrete modes of practice rather than a unity and coherence of praxis. Multi-mode practice is an increasingly attractive model in restructured teaching force where flexibility and accommodation is a prerequisite.

In contrast, in the practice of the *Reflexive-Educative Facilitator* the child was to become the 'connoisseur' (Eisner, 1985, 1991) of their imaginative lifeworld. Here 'responsible freedom' is exercised, with the child engaged in a journey from the first encounters with imaginative contexts and the creation of imaginative capacity, through to exploration of the imaginative lifeworld. In terms of professional practice, this involves a pedagogy that shares much with that proposed by Rogers (1994): the 'person centred mode'. In this mode of practice Rogers calls upon the 'facilitative teacher'. The facilitative teacher is charged with fostering a continuity and direction of learning that is for the child 'self-chosen' and 'self-initiated', and in which the teacher invests 'the whole person (with feelings and passions as well as intellect) in the process' (Rogers, 1994, pp. 212–213). Crucially, the emergence of the Reflexive-Educative Facilitator provides cause for optimism within the context of broad policy imperatives in English education. The reflexive-educative, facilitative orientation of a number of the research participants does suggest that their practice had indeed extended beyond 'a margin of manoeuvre between imposed centralised policies and their implementation' (McNess *et al.*, 2003, p. 248). Rather, in the disposition of the Reflexive-Educative Facilitator strong professional attributes were to emerge that transcend 'vague, all-embracing, bipolar concepts of 'traditionalism' and 'progressivism'' (Woods, 1995, p. 2) and instead engage that most complex of educational spheres; the affective life and the

imaginative lifeworld.

Whilst the impediments of curriculum prescription, national strategies, and testing are an explicit and unapologetic manifestation of educational policy, the appropriation of imagination into a performative-instrumental discourse is somewhat more insidious, as Ofsted's recent survey of 'creativity' bears testimony (the emphases belong to the original report):

> The Inspection took as its definition of creativity that used in the NACCCE report: **Imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value**. Creative processes have four characteristics. First, they always involve thinking or behaving **imaginatively**. Second, this imaginative activity is purposeful: that is it is directed to achieve an objective. Third, these processes must generate something **original**. Fourth, the outcome must be of value in relation to the objective. (Ofsted, 2003)

For the majority of the research participants of the CCNLC their reported accounts suggest their perceptions of the imaginative lifeworld have little in common with the definition proffered by NACCCE. Further, in an Ofsted-endorsed definition we see both creativity and imagination stripped of their complexity and intrinsic value in order that the imagination, as 'an instrument of liberation' (Egan & Nadaner, 1988, p. xiii), can be made amenable to the technology of the audit and 'evaluation culture' (Campbell & Husbands, 2000).

The concomitant of the appropriation of the imaginative lifeworld is the commodification of the affective life and imaginative lifeworld. And it is this that has important consequences in the interface between the participants' orientations to their professional practice and the affective life and imaginative lifeworld of their pupils. In making the imagination amenable to the blunt instruments of evaluation we also create the facility to reduce the imaginative lifeworld and the affective life to commodity. As Fineman (2000) and Hartley (2003b) point out, emotion is one such example of human experience that has been subject to increasing commodification, with 'emotion and capital now linked productively in a new configuration: emotional capital' (Hartley, 2003b, p. 11). In its appropriated form, emotion emerges as 'emotional intelligence', with the emotional quotient or EQ as an allied instrument of measurement (Hartley, 2003b). In a reshaped and commodified form, imagination, emotion, creativity, and even perhaps affect for that matter, can be redefined for the purposes of attempting a seamless combination 'with bureaucratic rationality as a way of creating more successful schools and businesses' (Hartley, 2003b). The ramifications of Hartley's observation in understanding the educational practices of a number of the research participants became immediately apparent.

An ideological orientation to *Performative-Instrumentality* was found amongst a number of teachers who were still relatively early in their careers, mirroring the observations of McNess *et al*. (2003, p. 248) that they typify an emerging 'new professionalism' amongst more recent entrants, who obtain greater satisfaction

within 'a more constrained and instrumental role'. This constrained role is one in which the teacher is firmly in control of the pacing, sequencing, and judgements concerning learning and is emphatically the arbiter of access to knowledge (McFadden & Munns, 2002, p. 363). This orientation to professional practice situates the imaginative lifeworld at the margins of the professional conscious and certainly relegates imagination and the affective life to either rather menial devices for task contextualisation or to a form of pastoral welfare that is dislocated from a pedagogy of classroom practice.

The atomistic and instrumentally centred practice of the Performative-Instrumentalists is unlikely to find this appropriation and commodification of the imaginative and affective problematic in either day-to-day practice or professional orientation. Nor too the Multi-Mode Practitioners, for whom emotional intelligence, creative thinking, or even perhaps the 'imagination hour', can comfortably be located within, and of course disconnected from, their multi-disciplinary practice. For the Reflexive-Educative Facilitators appropriation and commodification are likely to be ideologically problematic in relation to both their disposition to a person-centred pedagogy and associated preferences for formative assessment over performative measurement. Here there are two observations to be made. The currency (literally) of such things as 'accelerated learning' already provides important 'ready made' examples of the potency of appropriation and commodification in the arena of mainstream education. The unquestioning commitment of a number of the head teachers to the rapid introduction of such things as 'accelerated learning' into the network bore testimony to this. However, the capacity amongst the Reflexive-Educative Facilitators to question, mediate, and in some cases subvert, what were perceived as a potentially pernicious interventions became for some a 'strategic redefinition' of their professional work (Woods, 1995, p. 11).

Through the participant-researcher discourse there was the emergence of what Van Manen (1997, p. 156) calls *action sensitive knowledge*, in which the reinstatement of lived experience is regarded as 'a valid basis for practical action' (p. 155). For a number of the participants their professional orientation remained closed to such action-sensitive knowledge, preferring instead the stability and certainty of unambiguous externally approved 'knowledge'. For others there was in their lifeworld the presence of the phenomenological attitude that offers educators 'a certain style of knowing' and 'sponsors a form of pedagogic practice' that is virtually absent in the increasingly bureaucratised and technological spheres of pedagogic life (Van Manen, 1997, p. 154).

Yet despite inimical educational policy contexts, in the practice of the Reflexive-Educative Facilitator the phenomenology was to reveal an optimistic professional paradigm; this was to involve a professionality of practice which spanned the polarities of sensitive pedagogic agency in the delicate complexity of the child's

imaginative lifeworld and, at the same time, also undertook robust and critical engagement with the wider socio-political conditions that shape educational practice and pupil life chances.

Phenomenological Opportunities in the Whole-School Evaluation of Imaginative Education

For many of the research participants, professional reflection was an integral aspect of their practice. The work of Schön (1983, 1987, 1992) is widely recognised as the touchstone of reflective practice in education, and despite the increased external imposition of competence-based assessment, the model of the reflective practitioner has continued to be a powerful informing principle in the design of many teacher training programmes in England (Furlong *et al.*, 2000, p. 41). However, 'reflective practice' does carry diverse meaning (Bengtsson, 2003; Loughran, 2002), ranging from the most 'simplistic thinking about something' to 'well defined and crafted practice that carries very specific meaning and associated action' (Loughran, 2002, p. 33). This of course has immediate relevance in the development of phenomenological approaches to teacher facilitation of the imaginative lifeworld. In respect of an affective pedagogy and the imaginative lifeworld, this has profound ramifications for teacher development, as this becomes fundamentally a matter of personal development (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992, p. 7). So too are the consequences for school self-evaluation. As Fielding points out:

> Overemphasis on what works (in this case the raising of test scores) forces prior questions of purpose i.e. what test scores are for, from the center to the periphery of our attention and, in so doing, runs the risk of marginalizing education in favour of a more limited notion of schooling. (Fielding, 1999, as cited in Wrigley, 2003, p. 47)

With emotion central to the practice of teaching (Wrigley, 2003) and 'narrow and shallow perspectives on teaching and learning' contributing little to 'pupils' desire to imagine, create, appreciate, and think critically' (Fink, 2001, p. 232, as cited in Wrigley, 2003, p. 51), there is an increasing need to place such things as the pupil imaginative lifeworld at the centre of school self-evaluation. A concomitant of this, of course, is a professional responsibility to develop approaches to qualitative evaluation for a range of audiences that provide rich and meaningful insights into pupils' educational experiences but which transcend the merely instrumental and the prosaic. As Hargreaves argues:

> creating healthy communities and a strong civil society beyond the knowledge economy requires even deeper understanding of emotions than the idea of emotional intelligence allows and in doing so efforts to teach beyond the knowledge society must recognize, incorporate and attend to this social and emotional dimension of teachers' work. (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 46)

It is here that school self-evaluation is perhaps missing the most important opportunity to reclaim rich creative, imaginative, and affective experience as a

central endeavour of the healthy school. As commentators on educational change have continued to argue, the pace of educational change and the public's thirst for transparency are unlikely to recede in the foreseeable future (Fullan, 2003, p. 24), with evidence-based approaches to managing change being vital to school improvement (Harris, 2002, p. 47). In his discussion of the work of the 'Learning First Alliance' in America, Hargreaves (2003, p. 134) points to 'evidence-informed decision making' involving intelligent and critical interpretation of *multiple kinds of data* to inform improvement decisions (p. 135). In proposing an alternative, and refreshingly enlightened, model of school evaluation, Saunders (1999) argues that the 'missing modes' in school self-evaluation include: 'encouragement of creativity and imagination' and 'the development of insight and empathy'. Yet, a cursory review of contemporary literature on school effectiveness and school improvement in the UK suggests that the development of 'refined instruments' for tackling the 'complexity of schooling' (Saunders, 1999, p. 426), particularly in the realm of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity of the sort embodied in imaginative lifeworlds, remains chronically underdeveloped in interpretive evaluative practice.

In recent years important work has been undertaken in the UK in the area of peer and pupil self-assessment (Black *et al*., 2002) and school self-evaluation (MacBeath & McGlynn, 2002), both of which are beginning to have a significant bearing on how teachers and school communities undertake educational evaluation. However, some of the most important work in educational connoisseurship (Eisner, 1985, 1991) has yet to be realised in the UK. In his discussion of this, Eisner makes a number of crucial observations that share common ground with phenomenological approaches:

> It is assumed that if individuals are able to describe the characteristics of complex social situations such as classrooms they must be able to see the interactions amongst the characteristics that occur … seeing such characteristics requires more than merely looking. It requires being able to discern what is significant given some frame of reference … it is assumed that such situations can be described in a variety of ways … through the use of propositions, through number, through literary prose, by means of poetry, and through visual narratives on video, through cinematography, and by visual still photography … it is assumed that each form of representation has unique utilities and limitations for revealing the significant qualities that one has seen … the function … is to help people see, understand and appraise the character and quality of educational practice and its consequences. (Eisner, 1985, p. 180)

Such approaches to whole-school evaluation, embracing connoisseurship, peer evaluation, and symbolic expression enables entry into 'an entire realm of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity' in which 'the self-continuous whole is made available for scientific investigation' (Yegdich, 2000, pp. 37–38.). For Van Manen this is the phenomenological production of 'action sensitive knowledge' (1997, p. 21) through rigorous human science:

> Human science research is rigorous when it is 'strong' or 'hard' in a moral and spirited sense. A strong and rigorous human science text distinguishes itself by its courage and resolve to stand up for the uniqueness and significance of the notion to which it has dedicated itself … a rigorous human science is prepared to be 'soft,' 'soulful,' 'subtle,' and 'sensitive' in its effort to bring the range of meanings of life's phenomena to our reflective awareness. (Van Manen, 1997, p. 18)

It is in this province that phenomenological approaches offer a clear but at present largely undervalued role in illuminating and articulating the 'soft', 'soulful', 'subtle', and 'sensitive' in the realisation of rich and authentic educational experience and practice. In my final meeting with research participant Terry, he describes his use of the research diary as 'a book of sparks':

> I was looking for sparks; that spark when the children come to life, it's a book of sparks.

In the practice of the Reflexive-Educative Facilitator the pursuit of 'sparks' is explicitly coupled to the recording and critical, empathic reflection and articulation of such 'sparks'. It is an educational practice that exemplifies, as Van Manen (1997, p. 149) puts it, a pedagogy that teachers must continuously 'redeem, retrieve, regain, recapture in the sense of recalling', and it is through such approaches that educational practitioners, teachers, and schools might begin to make legitimate claim to an authentic evaluation of educational practice in the promotion of children's imaginative lifeworlds.

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THREE

Evaluating the Imaginative: Situated Practice and the Conditions for Professional Judgement in Imaginative Education

Introduction and Context

The development of the imagination is not necessarily a contentious ambition in the education of young people. In the pursuit of creativity and innovation; in the symbolic expression of ideas; in critical thinking and problem solving; and in the myriad of our interpersonal encounters, *imagination* emerges as an essential human capacity. It is all the more surprising, then, that the *education* of the imagination continues to reside at the periphery of educational policy in England. For those of us who are committed to the centrality of imagination in the lives of young people, this is a continuing frustration that, in turn, calls for a range of educational responses. These responses are inevitably wide-ranging and typically concern such matters as: curriculum, learning environments, pedagogy and assessment, teacher education and professional development, and, as will be the theme of this paper, *educational evaluation*. The development of a strategic educational response becomes all the more necessary when set against an educational backdrop in England of increasing reliance on intrusive forms of school surveillance and punitive accountability.

The need to develop forms of evaluation in imaginative education is both pressing and timely. While observers of educational policy point to an irreversible public thirst for educational transparency (Fullan, 2003, p. 24), others take the view that professional educators lack a shared language to enable clarity and precision about their judgements when discussing new or difficult aspects of pupil learning (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 28). In the UK these tensions are compounded further as government claims to the creation of a 'new relationship' between schools and inspection through school *self-evaluation* (MacBeath *et al*, 2004, p. 5) amounts, in reality, to little more than *self-inspection* by another name (Lepkowska, *Times Educational Supplement*, 12 November, 2004). Such evaluation of children's learning is then undertaken from only the narrowest of perspectives. (MacBeath *et al*, p. 12).

In contrast, significant developments have been taking place that combine to create an important force in the promotion of an evaluative language in imaginative education. In Canada the work of the Imaginative Education Research Group at Simon Fraser University (www.ierg.net) is immediately apparent. In the UK, burgeoning research in creativity in education (Craft *et al*, 2001; 2003), pupil assessment (Black and Wiliam *et al*, 1998, 2002), and the promotion of 'pupil voice' (Rudduck and Flutter, 2000; Fielding and Rudduck, 2002) have potentially powerful contributions to make in the imaginative sphere. These developments, when coupled with the necessity for educators

to make their work 'count' in the public domain, signal an opportune moment to (re)turn to the practice and advancement of educational evaluation in imaginative education.

The work of Elliot Eisner (1985, 1998) in this province is, of course, substantial, in which ideas around *connoisseurship* and *criticism* have been developed as central dimensions of practice in educational evaluation. The promotion of sensitive observation as a high order professional practice, and student participation in evaluation are also prescient features of Egan's (1992, p. 150) well-established work in imaginative education. Similarly, in writing on school self-evaluation in the UK, Saunders (1999) has argued for the instatement of 'missing modes' of evaluation, embodying 'encouragement of creativity and imagination' and 'the development of insight and empathy.' Crucially, as Saunders argues, this requires the development of 'refined instruments' for tackling the 'complexity of schooling' (Saunders, 1999, p. 426). These practices, however, remain largely untested in education in England.

In responding to contemporary policy imperatives and thinking around educational evaluation, the thrust of this paper will be to offer a modest personal contribution to the ways in which forms of imaginative engagement can be seen as *situated* practices (Lave and Wenger, 1991). These practices, in turn, necessitate particular conditions for professional judgement in imaginative education. The ideas advanced here build on previous reported empirical research (Trotman, 2005) and are governed by two competing educational interests: that of public and private domains. The first of these concerns the realisation of imaginative practice in public interactions; the second, the sanctity of the uniquely personal interior world of the individual educational experience.

Approaches to Educational Evaluation

In his observation on the absence of a shared professional language, Hargreaves (2004), concludes that teachers 'lack an agreed discourse for what they already know as part of the traditional culture and wisdom of the profession,' and that 'arcane, pedagogic jargon: the technical language devised by academics is alien to most teachers' (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 28). Hargreaves's observation is nowhere more apposite than in the evaluation of imaginative education. But where should educators start? Enriching professional vocabulary without recourse to the arcane; the development of shared professional language and agreed discourse? These are not easy things to reconcile. For many educators it is difficult not to resort to the arcane, as imaginative lifeworlds are imbued with myth, metaphor, abstraction, fantasy, imagery, and affect - not easy things to get at in the sphere of the esoteric and the ambiguous.

As Wood and Hicks (2002, p. 93) persuasively argue, the elimination of ambiguity from the educational enterprise can come at some serious cost, as preoccupations with precision and clarity 'preclude serious dialogue and

negotiation between teachers and students about what is to be learned and why' (Wood and Hicks, p. 93). Hence, as I shall argue, *authentic* and *agreed* discourses that embody *shared* language cannot be developed without 'pupil voice' being an equal partner in the enterprise (Rudduck and Flutter, 2000; Fielding and Rudduck, 2002).

By definition, an inclusive approach to the evaluation of imaginative education becomes a form of meta-affective learning, involving both private/solitary and public/collective practice for teachers *and* pupils as facilitators and connoisseurs. None of this is possible without imaginative experience, in educational terms, being subject to personal interpretation and intensive forms of what Moustakas (1994, p. 95) calls *communalisation*. For if teachers' work is to be educative - *educare*: 'to rear or foster', rather than from *educere*: 'to lead forth…' (Williams, 1988, p. 111), then this requires educators to first attend to the *conditions* for the development of an agreed discourse.

Six Situated Practices in the Imaginative

In the ideas that follow, six situated practices are proposed:

1. The *solitary* imagination
2. The *contemplative* imagination
3. Imaginative *correspondence*
4. The *contributory* imagination
5. Imaginative *dissonance*
6. The *reciprocal collective* imagination

Extending from the solitary to the collective, these practices are interrelated and mutually interdependent. Each has its own contrasting characteristic of imaginative practice and presents a particular aspect for educational evaluation.

The Imaginative as Solitary

There can be little doubt that imaginative practice in all sorts of media demands a level of solitary engagement. Rather than being inimical to the development of the imagination, solitary activity is a necessary prerequisite, yet it also presents a raft of problems in the evaluation and subsequent valuing of imaginative experience. Warnock (1977, quoted in Egan, 1992, p. 159) and Egan (1992) have both countered the belief that cooperative group work, with its accent on socialisation and communication, is necessarily educationally beneficial. Psychologist Anthony Storr (1988) also challenges the belief that interpersonal relationships are necessarily the key to ameliorating private troubles. In fact Storr identifies solitude as the critical agency for facilitating 'learning, thinking, innovation, and maintaining contact with one's own inner world' (p. 29). In solitary practice, freedom of consciousness, mindful awareness, cognitive play and deep reflection are afforded space for focused personal attention. For

Claxton and Lucas (2004), the solitary is a fundamental aspect of International Journal of Education & the Arts Vol. 7 No. 3 5 three dimensions of states of mind: *focus*, *orientation* and *sociability*, '…being playful, receptive, inward and solitary' (pp. 10 -11).

This solitary space is a private space in which fantasy, daydreams, reflections, thoughts, meditations, beliefs, anxieties and aspirations find form in our consciousness. The solitary is in some instances, quite literally, sacred (see for example Wolters (ed.). *The Cloud of Unknowing and Other Works*), and in eastern mysticism privacy and informed sustained meditative practice are seen as central to the cultivation of the personal conscious. In meditative practice solitariness becomes crucial to a particular form of scrutiny of the inner world and the promotion of serenity (e.g. śama in Hindu philosophy – see Bernard, 2003, p. 222). Capra (1975) highlights the sophistication of this practice as a counterpoint to teamwork and technological reliance in scientific inquiry:

> Physicists perform experiments involving elaborate teamwork and a highly sophisticated technology, whereas mystics obtain their knowledge through introspection, without any machinery, in the privacy of meditation…the complexity and efficiency of the physicist's technical apparatus is matched, if not surpassed, by that of the mystic's consciousness – both physical and spiritual in deep meditation. The scientists and the mystics, then, have developed highly sophisticated methods of observing nature which are inaccessible to the layperson. A page from a journal of modern experimental physics will be as mysterious to the uninitiated as a Tibetan Mandala. Both are records of enquiries in to the nature of the universe. (35-36)

Meditation can of course mean many things, and in its most developed form it is ultimately a *spiritual* practice. Spiritual meditative practices such as 'discursive' 'vertical' meditation (Moffitt, 1972, p. 154) and *nirvikalpa* (Collinson *et al*, 2000, p. 85) involve the mastery of consciousness, and underscore some of the parallels and important differences between the solitary imaginative lifeworld and that of devotional self-giving.

In the solitary private world, intuiting, imagery, illusion and streams of conscious do not for the most part become realised in material form. The solitary imaginative lifeworld of children is, in evaluative terms, a uniquely personal no-go area; as Gibran (1926) wisely asserts: 'their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow, which you cannot visit, not even in your dreams' (p. 22). Yet, solitary imaginative practice in educational settings is also a situated practice, and if it has some important educational worth, as I would argue, professional educators must articulate its value.

In their encounters with the solitary, educators cannot avoid operating in the mode of facilitative non-intervention: calling upon their observations, impressions, perceptions and intuitions, while at the same time sensitively sustaining a unique and delicate educational ecology. *Facilitative* non-intervention embraces and extends beyond a mindful awareness of the pupil experience - what Kounin

(1970), in writing on classroom management, describes as 'withitness.' In this sense of its use, withitness involves *deep* understanding and refinement of teacher interpretations, embodying: perception, intuition, affect and meaning. Such interpretation would appear to be practically impossible, and ethically suspect, without educators calling forth interpretations of their own situated, solitary, affective and imaginative practice. In educational evaluation, this presents some significant challenges for teacher-facilitators at the level of the professional and personal. On the one hand, educators need to be conversant with their own solitary imaginative lifeworlds, while on the other hand, be able to develop practices in deep situated mindful awareness without recourse, paradoxically, to particular forms of judgement: namely, *sitting* in judgement.

This calls for three critical dimensions of professional practice in which educators must:

1. cultivate and 'vivify their own feelings' (Egan, 1992, p. 113),
2. develop their own emotionally intelligent practices in which personal feelings, emotions and moods are educationally and professionally contextualised (Goleman, 1996, 1998), and
3. avoid 'colouring the other's communication' with imbued personal habits of thinking, feeling, seeing, labelling, judging or comparing (Moustakas, 1994, 89).

While much has been made in the UK of developing emotional intelligence in young people (DfES, 2004), little consideration has been given to the development of teachers' emotional and affective capacities in evaluative judgement. In the first two of these dimensions it requires teachers to commit to a conscious engagement with their own affective and emotional lifeworlds. As Hargreaves (2003, 46) points out, 'teaching and learning are *always* social and emotional practices by design or neglect.' In the second of these dimensions it requires a commitment to practices that enable the avoidance of conditioned predispositions and prejudgement. In the language of eidetic phenomenology, Epoché, or 'bracketing' as it is more widely known, is such a practice and is a cornerstone of this form of phenomenological enquiry (Moustakas, 1994):

> In practicing Epoche, I must focus on some specific situation, person, or issue, find a quiet place in which I can review my current thoughts and feelings regarding this person, situation or issue. Each time in my review I set aside biases and prejudgements and return with a readiness to look again into my life, to enter with hope and intention of seeing this person, or situation, or issue with new and receptive eyes. (89)

Combined with the development of a professional emotional and affective conscious, this creates conditions for deep withitness. In evaluative terms, such practices enable heightened perceptiveness and developed powers of interpretation. For Eisner (1994, p. 217) this is the entrée into connoisseurship:

> The connoisseur of anything - and one can have connoisseurship about anything – appreciates what he or she encounters in the proper meaning of the word. Appreciation does not mean necessarily liking something, although one might like what one experiences. Appreciation here means awareness and an understanding of what one has experienced. Such an awareness provides the basis for judgement. (92)

The Imaginative as Contemplative

The transition from the solitary to contemplative involves a shift in orientation. Here the contemplative becomes a moment of conscious engagement in the deep subjective lifeworld where personal thoughts, feelings, ideas, images, moods, memories and emotions become the subject of special personal attention – a mode of meta-cognition and meta-affect: an inquiry into our own thinking and feeling and the development of practised attentiveness of presence (Parker, 1997, p. 77). For Burns (1979), this is the province of self-concept where ideas about self and others are developed, and for Gardner (1993) it is the realm of the intrapersonal intelligence; in effect it marks the entrée into the world of *pupil* connoisseurship. In educational practice this entails a pedagogic approach that facilitates connoisseurship without recourse to intervention based on unconscious prejudgements and biases.

For the pupil, this marks the transition from the merely reflexive[1] to the reflective, involving increasing meta-cognitive process. In pedagogic terms, the 'teacher' of imagination is in the mode of the facilitative, in which practice extends from the deep 'withitness' necessary for creating the conditions for solitary imaginative practice, to that with a deeper critical edge in which 'an understanding of what one has experienced' (Eisner, 1985, p. 92) is proactively sought, facilitated, and independently interpreted by the pupil and teacher. In the words of Heschel (quoted in MacBeath and McGlynn, 2002, p. 32): 'we must learn to know what we see rather than seeing what we already know.' In this sense it places participants and the imaginative educator at the threshold of the inter-subjective lifeworld.

The Imaginative Correspondence

In entering the sphere of imaginative correspondence, the imaginative life world becomes increasingly amenable to public scrutiny and judgement. In the solitary contemplative modes of imaginative practice, connoisseurship is a private activity, directed and owned by the child in which the teacher is non-interventionist, mindfully withit, facilitative and reflective. The use of the term 'facilitate' and 'reflect' here being Rogers' (1994, p. 349) meaning the 'ability of the facilitator to reflect thoughtfully on the conditions at hand and respond appropriately in the best interest of the learner'; and giving full recognition *in practice* that " 'lived' experience always belongs to and is never taken away from the person who is

1 In contemplation theory the 'spectator or listener is engaged in single-minded absorbtion in its [the art] object' (Collinson, 2000, 85)

experiencing and reflecting' (Russon, 1993, p. 29).

In the mode of imaginative correspondence, imaginative experience enters the realm of a palpable inter-subjective world in which the world is one that is shared, experienced and interpreted by others (Schutz, 1970, p. 164). It is a world in which children enter the shared experiences of the 'third party,' both in the literal and in realised symbolic form: the composer, the author, the painter, the story teller, the choreographer, the games designer, the reporter etc. It is a world that may indeed remain private to external apprehension out of choice, but in entering the sphere of correspondence the imaginative lifeworld is imbued with a particular impulse derived from the momentum of external affective stimuli: it is a dynamic, inter-subjective correspondence with the 'Other.' This internal correspondence can, and often does, become public in the form of play, role play, pretence, imagery, the creation of symbolic artefacts and environments etc, which are available in educational contexts for apprehension, observation and further facilitation. In palpable form, correspondence with the other gives special significance to forms of *empathic development*.

Empathy is subject to varying interpretations, but here I follow Gould (1990) and Holden's (1990) definitions: an ability to appreciate the feelings of other people with whom we are not similar (Gould, 1990, p. 1172); a form of 'emotional knowing' in which one projects oneself into the physical being of the other (Holden, 1990, p. 72). In terms of educational evaluation, like solitary contemplative practice, this also requires of the educator the refinement of their own practices in *professional* empathy - as a 'learned communication skill' (Kunyk and Olson, p. 2001). Further, it requires an orientation to interpretive *criticism*, which Eisner (1985) describes as:

> an effort to understand the meaning and significance that various forms of action have for those in a social setting…to answer these questions requires a journey into interpretation, an ability to empathetically participate in the life of another, to appreciate the meanings of such cultural symbols…. (97)

At the nexus of the solitary/private – communal/public transition, criticism is a public phenomenon. Where connoisseurship is a private endeavour, 'critics' must vivify the qualities of the imaginative lifeworld 'through the artful use of disclosure' (p. 93).

Realised Form and the Contributory Imagination

In the sphere of realised form, imaginative education enters the world of the social and communal. Here imagination finds expression in the public social world: in the presentation, performance, publication and exhibition etc. In contributory imaginative practice the pupil has the opportunity to make their uniquely individual contribution to a shared imaginative project – the dance choreography, the group composition, the drama, the video production etc. This is the province of the *collective* in which the solitary imagination meets social interaction and

public expression. It is, however, more than a simple matter of mere collaboration. In communalisation there is what Moustakas describes as a continuous alteration of validity through reciprocal correction that leads to complete layers of meaning (1994, p. 95) - an elaborate form of criticism in the public medium. In this sense imaginative practice is *transformational* practice.

For the child, this is the province in which imagination is not only made public and social, but amenable to new meanings and interpretation through a reciprocation of ideas, empathy with the 'Other', and reflection. It is where ideas and feelings and cognition and affect become the subject of deep intersubjective action: a 'transformation' of imagination through communalisation. In terms of evaluative educational practice, imagination is made manifest in expressive and contributory ideas, actions, and language, enabling situated educational practice to be observed, discussed, and recorded. Through communalisation, teacher *interpretation* takes on a new and critical dimension in which imaginative practice becomes increasingly amenable to teacher-pupil interaction. 'Pupil voice' becomes a central pedagogic dimension of such practice, in which new orders of experience are created through the active participation of pupils in the educational process (Rudduck and Flutter, 2000). Furthermore, communalisation clearly extends beyond simplistic versions of 'group work' and 'group discussion' in which traditional orthodoxies of individualised learning are commonly reinforced (Corden, 2001). This is the province of transformative imaginative practice, and its evaluation requires astute sensitive interaction and observation, interpretation, sharing, and reporting.

The Imaginative Dissonance

Of course, not all contributory practices are in imaginative 'agreement'. In engaging in public contributory imaginative practice, cognitive and emotional dissonance is an anticipated feature of the intersubjective communalisation of unique imaginative lifeworlds. Cognitive and emotional tension is both a natural and necessary dynamic in solitary and communal practice. It is a hallmark of creative processes, in which flexibility and tolerance of ambiguity are crucial (Cropely, 2001), and provides the impulse for particular enriched metacognitive, meta-affective learning and problem solving. It is fundamental to *deep* empathic learning in which experiences, dispositions, perspectives, ideas and feelings are made amenable to particular forms of education, and makes further the demand upon educators that the emotional and affective dimensions of their work are continually practised and refined. Where tension is made publicly manifest, imaginative education extends beyond an initial withitness and connoisseurship to an established and refined practice of 'critic' - embracing strategies for problem identification[2], the practice of emotional intelligence, and peer and facilitator mediation. In evaluative terms, this is the *process* of imaginative realisation and

2 For example, see de Bono (1987).

development in the public domain, in which learning is socially situated and amenable to a range of evaluative approaches and techniques.

The Collective-Reciprocal

The collective-reciprocal is characterised by community, unity, mutuality, confidence, reflexivity and connectivity. These are the experiences in which collective imaginative action is undertaken and celebrated with seeming effortlessness and common and often unspoken purpose: a form of communal 'in flow-ness'[3]. Thus, the collective-reciprocal is more than a public contributory form – in which individual contributions can be discrete and insulated - rather, it is a unique form of communitas: a collective consciousness that is the hallmark of mature and responsive imaginative engagement. It is imaginative *correspondence* on a large scale, involving inter-subjective and *interpersonal* imaginative action at the level of community. The parallels with spiritual communion are, of course, apparent and almost certainly involve a *transformation* of both the individual and the collective conscious. Crucially, in the collective-reciprocal the imaginative educator is positioned as both the co-creator of knowledge and co-learner – in the words of one participant in my own research: 'I don't like being the one who knows…that's not my way of teaching, I like to be the one who might know how to find out, and might have access to certain things, but is equally concerned about finding out what will happen…' (Barry, November 2003). Indeed, the collectivereciprocal marks the interface between the uniquely individual and the processes of communal engagement. As Heron (2001) states:

> Our relation with the world, both human and more-than-human, is inherently one of connectedness. In perceiving and acting, we participate in and shape a subjective-objective world. Our world is co-created both by the given cosmos and by how we apprehend it and make choices within it. Each person has an intrinsic signature, a distinctive personal rhythm evident in patterns of breathing, gesture, movement, sensory engagement and speech (Leonard, 1978), manifest at an idiosyncratic viewpoint, a distinctive point of reference for participative perspective and action. (333)

The Conditions, Methods and Processes of Evaluative Judgement

For the educational evaluation of imaginative practice to be both *trustworthy* and *meaningful*, it demands a form of educational practice that attends to four dynamics of professional work: Disposition, Interpretation, Communalisation, and Articulation.

In the first of these, *disposition* is the critical antecedent to evaluation. This involves professional educators in their own solitary and intra-subjective work in the cultivation of emotional literacy and the watchful mindful awareness

3 See Paula Hillmann's (2004) illustration of Csikszentmihalyi's 'in flow 'and 'optimal experience' in her paper to the IERG.

of self. It requires the application of bracketing: the avoidance of conditioned predispositions and prejudgement. It necessitates emotional intelligence, in which personal feelings, emotions, moods are educationally and professionally contextualised. It is the development of refined professional judgement in the affective realm and is the reciprocal of the pupil's solitary, contemplative imaginative lifeworld.

In educational evaluation *Interpretation* is rendered amenable to public scrutiny through the interface of connoisseurship and criticism: '…to notice or experience the significant and often subtle qualities that constitute an act, work, or object…' (Eisner, 1998, p. 85); '…educational critics are interested not only in making vivid what they have experienced, but in explaining its meaning' (p. 95), …'*through the artful use of critical disclosure*' [italics added] (Eisner, 1985, p. 93). Eisner's observation marks the crux of the evaluative challenge in the articulation of imaginative education. In the practice of disclosure, interpretation meets the dynamics of *communalisation* and *articulation* through the medium of 'pupil voice'. While interpretation in educational evaluation may be a solitary practice, through communalisation interpretation is made public: a continuous alteration of validity through reciprocal correction, leading to complete layers of meaning (Moustakas, 1994, p. 95). Interpretation takes place in different contexts, spaces and times; and as Eisner (1985, p. 180) argues, it is assumed that educational situations can be described in a variety of ways, through a range of media, with each mode of representation having its own unique utilities and limitations. In making educational evaluation of the imaginative amenable to communalisation, the following are offered as just some of the ways in which 'pupil voice' can be realised in interpretation and evaluation:

- observed pupil responses - behaviours, reactions, expressions of mood, emotions and feelings and ideas
- recorded conversations
- pupil interactions
- forms of pupil writing - prose poetry, diaries
- pictures and images
- photography
- animations, storyboards and videos
- choreography
- composition
- improvisations and presentations.

Towards a Collaborative Evaluative Language

> We are all linked at a deep unconscious level in a universal network in which our thoughts, and even more our emotions, are all the time affecting others, as others

> are in turn affecting us (Hick, 1999, p. 19)

As Hick intimates, there is a dynamic interrelationship between the solitary and communal practice. This is, of course, central to the development of an evaluative discourse in situated imaginative practice, and the challenges for each, I hope, have been made evident. In the province of communalisation, collaboration presents particular challenges for educational evaluation. In classroom contexts, spurious notions of collaboration have commonly reinforced traditional orthodoxies of individualised learning (Corden, 2001); in the staffroom, inter-professional discourse often becomes what Perkins (2003) calls *coblaboration*: 'blab that does not really pool the minds around the table, going nowhere in any one of several different ways, or all of them.' (Perkins, 2003, quoted in Fullan, 2005, p. 48). Here in the realm of 'artful disclosure' there remains important work to do.

Schratz (1993, pp. 67-68), in writing on qualitative voices in educational research, highlights the powerful impact of 'collective consciousness', arguing that collective reflection is both an educative and transformative force for revealing underlying processes and meaning. In school self-evaluation this is the province of what Argyris (1993) calls double loop learning. Single loop learning concerns the use of 'audit, or self evaluation, tools …to give a picture of school culture at a given time'; the second loop learning involves 'standing back and taking a critical stance on the nature and meaning of the evidence…' (quoted in MacBeath and McGlynn, 2002, p. 84).

Encouragingly, collaborative knowledge construction is not an untried educational practice in the United Kingdom. In the province of Early Years education, Fleur Griffiths has reported on her work with schools in Hartlepool LEA (Griffiths, *Times Educational Supplement*, 11 February, 2005) using talking tables 'to facilitate children's conversations in which pupils are encouraged to visit each other's worlds.' Here, conversational principles and mediation strategies are developed in conjunction with parents and staff. In the province of school improvement, Ainscow (2005) discusses the use of the 'lesson study' in which a collaboratively planned lesson becomes the platform for gathering data on the quality of student experience, with emphasis being placed upon 'listening to the views of students in a way that tends to introduce a critical edge to the discussions that take place' (Ainscow, 2005, p. 4). In the realm of the pupil-researcher, Kellett (2005) provides compelling examples of collaborative research undertaken by pupils in Primary and Secondary schools that offer profound insights into the child's view of their situated lifeworld.

In the work of the National College for School Leadership's 'New Visions' program senior educational managers have been engaged in practices focusing on self-awareness, problembased learning, creativity and values; central to this enterprise has been the use of Action Learning Sets. Action Learning Sets

are a well-established practice in other employment contexts (Bourner and Frost, 1996; Cusins, 1996) and are designed to encourage a fully participative approach in which trust, articulation of perceptions, meaning making, and deep reflection are central to the process. *Trust*, as MacBeath *et al* (2004) point out, is an essential precursor to meaningful school self-evaluation. Despite being in only a formative stage of development with select senior management teams, the possibilities afforded by action sets as an evaluative tool for professional educators *and pupils* is considerable. The addition of pupil's 'voice' (in its many forms) has a critical function in enabling *transformational* educational evaluation in which the evaluative process is undertaken as a partnership in teacher-pupil interpretation. While the challenges of such an undertaking are both significant and well documented (Fielding and Rudduck, 2002; Fielding 2004), the dividends for imaginative education are likely to be considerable, enabling the technical and the arcane to be supplanted by a shared and enriched professional language that is sustained in a culture of trust.

Coda

Much of the thinking presented here is not necessarily original, nor does it of course align well with current UK practice in school evaluation and inspection, where the accent remains firmly on instrumental and performative preoccupations. For those with an inspectorial mind-set, this approach is likely to be regarded as lacking 'rigour' and 'robustness'; yet if imagination is to be more than a token feature of educational policy- making, and its genuine worth is to be secured by educational practitioners in educational settings, then it is perhaps worth being reminded of Max Van Manen's (1997) claim for human science research:

> …human science research is rigorous when it is 'strong' or 'hard' in a moral and spirited sense. A strong and rigorous human science text distinguishes itself by its courage and resolve to stand up for the uniqueness and significance of the notion to which it has dedicated itself…a rigorous human science is prepared to be 'soft,' 'soulful,' 'subtle,' and "sensitive' in its effort to bring the range of meanings of life's phenomena to our reflective awareness. (18)

If we are indeed able to ground such a vision in situated day-to-day educational practices, then we may begin to carefully unlock the complexities of a meaningfully shared evaluative language.

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FOUR

Interpreting Imaginative Lifeworlds: Phenomenological approaches in imagination and the evaluation of educational practice

Introduction and context

The interpretation and evaluation of educational experience in the province of imagination, emotion and feeling is notoriously problematic. Yet, for many educators it is precisely these aspects of personal development that distinguish education as an essentially humanizing process from the merely instrumental, performative, and ultimately prosaic. In recent years, concern over the place of such things as creativity, imagination and emotion in the school curriculum has emerged in the education discourse both in England and in North America (Claxton, 1996; Egan, 1992; Goleman, 1996; Motion, 2003).

Despite this resurgence of interest and burgeoning research in creativity in the UK (Fryer, 1996; Jeffrey and Craft, 2004; Woods, 1995), there remains a paucity of knowledge about extant practices in teacher judgement of pupil learning in the sphere of the creative, imaginative and emotional. The small amount of recent research that has been undertaken into the affective aspects of teachers' work (McNess *et al*., 2003), in turn, reveals only a partial picture of teachers' interpretive practices. Establishing a fuller picture of educational practice of this sort is of course a necessary prerequisite to the development of classroom pedagogy, but crucially the continued absence of informed strategic professional judgement also exposes a critical gap in the 'intellectual capital' of school self-evaluation. With school self-evaluation having emerged at the forefront of English educational policy (MacBeath *et al*., 2004; Saunders, 1999) and a desire among many Local Education Authorities (LEAs) that teachers learn 'to be more confident with data, soft and hard' (Fullan, 2003: 84), the capacity of schools and professional communities to interpret and articulate a more complex range of qualitative data has increasing gravity.

It is within this context that this article aims to explore a phenomenological approach to understanding educational practice in the interpretation of pupil imaginative and affective experience, and to consider what such approaches might offer school self-evaluation.

Phenomenological approaches

Phenomenology has a long-established tradition in qualitative research and offers inter alia a number of methodological possibilities within the interpretive paradigm. From the Greek *phaenesthai*, meaning to flare up, to show itself (Moustakas, 1994: 26), *phenomenon*, at its simplest, can be considered to be anything that appears or presents itself to someone (Bentz and Shapiro, 1998)

or something that becomes visible in itself (Ray, 1994). These phenomena not only encompass perception – seeing, hearing, feeling, but also such things as believing, remembering, wishing, deciding, imagining and evaluating (Roberts, 2000). With its emphasis on subjectivity, description, interpretation and agency, over positivist traits of objectivity, analysis, measurement and structure (Denscombe, 2003), *phenomenology* attempts to 'disclose the essential meaning of human endeavours' (Bishop and Scudder, 1991: 5, quoted in Ray, 1994: 117) through describing these objects 'just as one experiences them' (Hammond and Howarth, 1991: 1); 'to place in brightness . . . the totality of what lies before us in the light of day' (Heidegger, 1977). The development of phenomenology, particularly in the fields of health and education, has seen the emergence of two broad traditions – that deriving from the work of Alfred Schutz (1967) in North America in which phenomenology is commonly linked to disciplines of psychology, sociology, education, business studies and health studies, and is largely concerned with interpreting social phenomena (Denscombe, 2003: 104), and a European tradition, rooted in the discipline of philosophy, owing much to its founding father Edmund Husserl and concerned with the *essence of human experience* (Denscombe, 2003).

The application of a phenomenological approach in my own empirical research began with the research design for a recently completed Ed D study involving some 20 participants of a networked learning community located in central England. Having established the locus of the research in teacher interpretations of pupils' creative, imaginative and emotional experiences in primary phase teaching, phenomenological approaches offered a number of important attractions. Following the principle that 'it must be the research enterprise itself in its attempt to reveal the *lifeworld* which should suggest methods, not certain methodological presuppositions' (Ashworth, 1999: 716), my ambition in undertaking the research was essentially to enter the *lifeworld* of the research participants (Ashworth, 1999: 709) through 'a return to reflective intuition to describe and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in consciousness' (Ray, 1994: 118). This is one of the defining features of the Husserlian tradition of descriptive or, as it is also known, transcendental or *eidetic* phenomenology (the preferred term of choice throughout this article will be that of *eidetic* phenomenology). Not all observers are of course in agreement that *eidetic* phenomenology is a tenable methodology in reflective practice in the teaching profession (Bengtsson, 2003); a particular area of contention is the practice of Epoché, or bracketing as it is more commonly known (Ashworth, 1999; Moran, 2000; Yegdich, 2000), in which the predispositions, predilections, biases, prejudices and prejudgements of the researcher are set aside. However, despite differences in tradition, and some methodological limitations, others have pointed out that:

> . . . the very decision to explore with the research participant his/her life-world, with the interviewee as a kind of participant observer of his/her own experience

> and the researcher as an intensely interested . . . facilitator, does in itself suggest an approach to research methodology of the kind which phenomenologically based methodologists have been advocating (recently and very convincingly, Kvale, 1996). (Ashworth, 1999: 715)

The principles of eidetic phenomenology

The challenge for the phenomenological researcher is to describe 'things in themselves' and to enable such phenomena to enter consciousness and be understood in relation to its meaning and 'essences' in light of intuition and self-reflection (Moustakas, 1994: 27). In the Husserlian tradition, the transformation of individual or empirical experience into essential insights occurs through a process of *ideation*; effectively a synthesis between what exists in conscious awareness and 'what exists in the world' (Moustakas, 1994: 27). Drawing on the thinking of Nissam-Sabat (1995), Yegdich (2000) summarizes its purpose well:

> If we cannot suspend our naive belief that the world exists independently of mind, we cannot truly value the human. By remaining within our materialistic and idealistic ontological commitments, we continue to view reality in terms of a positivistic notion where reality exists independently of us, or one that exists only in our private worlds. Bracketing our usual ontological commitments allows us to enter an entire realm of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, and this experiential field as a self-continuous whole is made available for scientific investigation. (Yegdich, 2000: 37–8)

Entering this phenomenological tradition often involves the researcher in a profound reappraisal of their own intrapersonal capacities and understanding of personal consciousness that extends well beyond the acquisition of a routine body of external knowledge and skills.

At the heart of eidetic phenomenology lies the principle of Epoché, or bracketing:

> The researcher following a transcendental [eidetic] phenomenological approach engages in disciplined systematic effort to set aside prejudgements regarding the phenomenon being investigated (known as the Epoché process) in order to launch the study as far as possible free from prior experience and professional studies – to be completely open, receptive and naive in listening to and hearing research participants describe their experience of the phenomena being investigated. (Moustakas, 1994: 22)

Epoché does not, Husserl (1931: 110) maintains, doubt or eliminate everything, 'only the natural attitude', the biases of everyday knowledge as a basis for truth and reality. At one level, Epoché might involve adopting the stance of a 'stranger' (Pring, 2000: 97). A stranger 'is naive about how things work, and needs to figure them out from first principles before he or she can begin to operate as a competent member of society' (Denscombe, 2003: 102). At another level, Moustakas (1994: 85) sees Epoché not just as a preparation for deriving new knowledge, but an experience in itself in which things, events and people are allowed to enter anew into consciousness and to look and see them again as if for the first time.

Predispositions are suspended in order that the researcher can enter the lifeworld of individual experience with its own inner validity (Ashworth, 1999). As a process, Moustakas (1994: 87) describes Epoché as:

> . . . a solitary activity in which its nature and intensity require my absolute presence in absolute aloneness. I concentrate fully, and in an enduring way on what is appearing before me in and in my consciousness . . . everything becomes available for self-referral and self-revelation. (Moustakas, 1994: 87)

While Moustakas acknowledges the limitations of bracketing, noting that Epoché is rarely *perfectly* achieved (Moustakas, 1994: 90), Kvale's (1996: 147) observation that 'the researcher is the research instrument' was key to my own evolving research practice. As Delamont (2002) elaborates: the researcher is 'her [sic] own best data-collection instrument, *as long as she is constantly self-conscious* [my emphasis] about her role, interactions and her theoretical and empirical material as it accumulates' (Delamont, 2002: 9). This in itself was a critical determinant in the defence and development of an eidetic phenomenological methodology.

In undertaking phenomenological reduction, the major work is in the province of the explication of the essential nature of the phenomenon (Husserl, 1931: 114). This can embrace perception, thinking, remembering, imagining and judging. The central task is to describe in textural language its general features, excluding everything that is not immediately within our conscious experience (Moustakas, 1994: 91). This practice requires the researcher to look and describe; to look again and describe; to look again and describe, always in terms of its textural features – rough-smooth, small-large, colourful and bland etc. with each angle of perception adding something to the researcher's knowledge of the horizons of a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994: 91). This process of reduction is spiral in practice and requires the practitioner to exercise precision in reflectivity, attention, recognition and clarity of description. Crucial to the process of phenomenological reduction and a counterpoint to the practice of Epoché is that of intersubjectivity:

> The world of my daily life is by no means my private world but is from the outset an intersubjective one, shared with my fellow men, experienced and interpreted by others. (Schutz, 1970: 164)

The need to compare our perceptions, feelings and thoughts with others is described by Husserl as 'communalization' (Moustakas, 1994: 91). This process was to be central to the research design with participants invited to share, in three overlapping phases, their observations, perceptions and feelings through a variety of processes and technologies, embracing: interviews, discussions, telephone conversations, email exchanges and diaries. Each phase was to be an essential facet in the 'alteration of validity through reciprocal correction' and with these corrections the researcher moves towards more accurate and complete layers of meaning (Moustakas, 1994: 95).

Horizonalization is the final stage in this aspect of the phenomenological

approach. In the interrogation of the data, this takes the form of new horizons arising as the previous one recedes:

> It is a never-ending process . . . the possibility for discovery is unlimited, the horizonal makes of conscious experience a continuing mystery . . . we consider each of the horizons and the textural qualities that enable us to understand and experience . . . when we horizationalise, each phenomena has equal value as we seek to disclose its nature and essence . . . . (Moustakas, 1994: 95)

In applying *Imaginative Variation*, the researcher is encouraged to approach the phenomena from a range of different angles or perspectives with the accent being on the 'how' rather than the 'what' of the phenomena: 'in this there is a free play of fancy; any perspective is a possibility and is permitted to enter into consciousness' (Moustakas, 1994: 95). Needless to say, in such a process the shift is away from facts and measurable entities, and towards meanings and essences in which intuition is imaginative rather than empirical in character (Moustakas, 1994: 98). In the application of imaginative variation, the researcher is able to arrive at structural themes from the textural descriptions obtained through phenomenological reduction. In this process, the researcher comes to understand the multiple possibilities that connect to essences and meaning of experience rather than pursuing a single inroad to truth.

This practice entails:

1. Systematic varying of the possible structural meanings that underlie the textural meanings;
2. Recognizing the underlying themes or contexts in the emergence of the phenomena;
3. Considering universal structures that precipitate feelings and thoughts such as time, space, materiality, relation to self or relation to others;
4. Searching for exemplification that vividly illustrates the invariant structural themes and facilitates the development of structural description of the phenomenon. (Moustakas, 1994: 99)

In the final stage of eidetic phenomenological practice, the 'intuitive integration of the fundamental textural and structural descriptions' is undertaken to create a unified statement of the essences of the experience of the phenomenon as a whole (Moustakas, 1994: 100). In establishing a knowledge of essences, Husserl (1931: 44) suggests that this is in fact the guiding direction of the eidetic sciences. In his concluding comments on this particular aspect, Moustakas (1994: 100) notes that the essences of any 'experience are never totally exhausted' and are located in particular 'time and place and from the vantage point of an individual researcher following an exhaustive imaginative and reflective study of the phenomenon'.

The pursuit of my own methodology involved three distinct phases in which interviews, observations and discussion of participant diaries were employed to reveal a number of structural themes.

An eidetic phenomenology of the imaginative lifeworld in primary schools

Drawn from a range of professional roles, the research participants reflected a range of responsibilities and experience. Pilot discussions were conducted with Katie, Terry, Miles, Harold, Paul, Christine, Lauren, Tracy, Carrie, Karen, Maggie and Barry. In this first phase of the research, the conversations were distinctive in that no reference was made to pupil creativity in their day-to-day interactions with pupils or in their reflections of their practice. For Lauren and Katie, conversations around their pupils were characterized largely in instrumental and performative terms:

> We've got some high fliers, your sort of level fives verging on sixes in some subjects, and we've got some that would be your P levels; so it's a large differentiation. As I say, I've got some high fliers, some low, some middle, but the majority are in the middle in levels. (Katie)

Performative-Instrumentality perhaps best reflects the observations of McNess *et al*. (2003: 248) that they typify an emerging 'new professionalism' among more recent entrants to the teaching profession who obtain greater satisfaction within 'a more constrained and instrumental role'. Certainly, the ongoing discussions with both participants revealed that their work was framed by two dominant discourses: that of pupil achievement against external national standards, and the role of the teacher as an agent for the promotion of social skills:

> . . . the important things at the moment, to be honest, are the maths, the literacy and the science, but I think the things like the circle time I think, to be honest, is down to the teacher . . . I regard that as being really important. (Lauren)

For other participants, their interests were shaped by critical moments of pupil experience. In discussing her project on the Romans, Tracy watched her pupils 'travel back in time':

> We went on a trip to a location in Coventry, its just a few stones in the ground in parts and they were asking the children to imagine 'this is the barracks where the soldiers used to live', now to me, I was like, I couldn't, thinking, it was quite difficult, but they really got involved with it and they were writing letters about it and what had happened during the day, and they actually produced a booklet about what had happened, they all became slaves and they really got involved with that, travelling back in time looking at archaeology. (Tracy)

The pupil's capacity for imaginative engagement was also an emergent theme in the conversations with Miles and Harold. Like many of the participants, their discussion and classroom observations revealed imagination, of a form, as a central process in enriching their own educational practice. This would typically involve imaginary building or construction projects in technology, fantasy games in maths, pretending to be a Roman soldier in dance, or the development of fictional narratives in story writing. However, the majority of these activities did little more than engage pupils in a transient imaginative framework which both teachers and pupils found difficult to sustain within individual teaching episodes, let alone as

part of longer-term curriculum projects.

For Terry, Barry and Christine, imagination was to be pursued to a much greater depth and level of sophistication:

> Lenny stole some artefacts from the front foyer during the Egyptian topic . . . Granddad brought them in the next day and said 'you've made this for him'. The reason he had taken it was because he wanted to turn his bedroom into an Egyptian shrine, if there's any motive for stealing . . . . (Terry)

For Terry, Lenny's motivation for theft were central to the efficacy of this learning episode, Lenny's imagination being fired by a powerful form of fantasy grounded in the classroom project on Egyptian history. Acknowledging the potential problems of detachment, introspection and fixation around pupil fantasy, Terry's observations of Lenny were to emerge in the phenomenology as a positive agency, in which the child's imaginative fantasy extended from 'grounded' teacher-directed activity to the self-initiated interests of the pupil that transcend the physical and abstract boundaries of classroom and school.

The descriptions of children's imaginative engagement by Terry, Barry and Christine were to continually return to one eidetic theme – that of *empathy*:

> Now this is a grand sweeping statement that will set you laughing or whatever: I think that it's the lack of imagination, and stimulating imagination, that has led to a rise in conflicts among pupils, because I think they're less empathetic about how other people feel . . . I think they find it quite difficult to put themselves into the shoes of that other person who is upset, hurt, worried . . . we don't ask children to be imaginative, or we ask them less often to be imaginative. (Barry)

> I try and do a lot of, even with discipline and behaviour, of putting them into other peoples' shoes and imagining, you know, trying to think of how the other person feels. I suppose it's the same type of thing, imagining the other person's feelings rather than just their own, just to make the whole concept seem more real. (Christine)

> I suppose you think back to the vulnerable states that you were in as a child. I can always think back to when I was in school and vulnerable as a child; and as teacher I kept putting myself on her [the pupil's] side. (Terry)

For these participants, empathy was central to *any sense* of imagination; it was, perhaps above all else, a deeply affective enterprise in which feeling and emotions were to be vivified and engaged. Imagination can be seen, on the one hand, as an activity of the conceptual and rational kind (Egan, 1992: 42) and, on the other, as revealed in the phenomenology, requiring the active engagement of emotions, feelings and forms of empathy. Egan (1992: 31) observes: 'Warnock, following Sartre, argues, as have many before her, that there is an irreducible affective component in any use of imagination'. Indeed, in her use of 'imaginative emotion', Warnock (1976: 206) argues that 'vivid' conceptions of ideas excite within us not illusions but facts 'as real as any other qualities of objects', and that these are neither erroneous nor delusive but consistent with 'accurate knowledge'. For the research

participants, fantasy, affective states and empathy were to emerge as fundamental and explicit attributes of the *imaginative lifeworld*.

For these research participants, feeling was pivotal in enabling deeper meaning for pupils, and in their accounts it appeared in a variety of forms. This embraced concrete-sensate experiences of touch, taste, smell, etc.; organic feelings, such as hunger and thirst; and abstract-sensuous feelings, such as love, loss, etc. Reid (1986) describes feeling as 'the immediate awareness of human experience from the inside' (1986: 20), but cautions us not to treat feeling, 'affect' and emotion as synonymous, noting that feeling and emotion, in particular, are commonly bracketed together as though they are identical (Reid, 1986: 15). Thus, while being cautious to avoid any spurious conflation of feeling, mood, emotion and affect within the context of the research, the interrelationship of feeling, mood and emotion was to become fundamental to a conception within the phenomenology of the 'affective life', as the accounts of the research participants bore testimony. As Egan (1992) points out, 'it has become a commonplace of studies of the imagination to note its ties to our emotions. . .if we wish to engage students imaginations we need to attend to engaging their emotions' (1992: 72). Certainly, in the accounts of a number of the research participants, emotions were to occupy a significant place in understanding and engaging with the child's imagination and lifeworld.

In their discussion of empathy, Kunyk and Olson (2001) suggest that there are five dominant conceptualizations, embracing: human trait; empathy as a professional state; empathy as a communication process; empathy as caring; and empathy as a special relationship (Kunyk and Olson, 2001: 318). Here, the empathy of the child's imaginative lifeworld was to coincide with Gould's (1990: 1172) definition: as an ability to appreciate the feelings of other people with whom we are not similar; and Rogers' (1980: 142) sensitivity to changing, felt meanings and experiences which flow in the other person without recourse to judgement. In the accounts of Barry, Christine, and Terry, I was to see a conscious desire on the part of teachers to develop the child's capacity to engage in the feelings of other people with whom they are not similar:

> I suppose in general thinking about other people, you know, every situation, try and go into it and put yourself in their shoes . . . imagining the other person's feelings rather than just their own . . . . (Christine)

While these forms of empathy, fantasy and affect were central to Barry, Terry and Christine's conception of the child's imaginative lifeworld, they were also clear that this involved a particular predisposition in their educational practice.

For Barry, educational practice in the imaginative lifeworld was as a colearner:

> I think what defines me as a teacher in a way is that I've always come in the side of things, I don't like being the one who knows, that's not my way of teaching 'I'm the one who knows'. I like to be the one who might know how to find out and might have access to certain things but is equally concerned about finding out what will

> happen . . . there's risk, I think we've been taught as a profession if the lesson has this shape then it's terribly safe, it's hard work because you're on your feet delivering but it isn't going to go wrong . . . a lesson that is imaginative looks different, it sounds different and it probably feels different, the teacher may worry that they're not fully in control as they are with the other model and if anyone comes in they might not immediately identify learning that is happening in that environment . . . as a profession we need to understand that there are rich learning environments that have a different look from the Ofsted model. (Barry)

> I prefer in these lessons . . . to brainstorm with them, allow their imaginations to sort of run away with them and allow them to make mistakes . . . I think they probably learn better that way. (Terry)

In Terry's observations from his research journal, a group of pupils ask him if they can present their own puppet theatre, which they have created during lunch time:

> Seven pupils came out front to present, it surpassed anything I would have been able to achieve with them in a six-week DT project . . . how many imaginative opportunities do we give these children?

For these teachers, who prize the imaginative lifeworld as an educational practice, the weakening of the classification and framing of educational knowledge (Bernstein, 1971) was a key aspiration. This was to be confirmed further in the observation of classroom practices. Through a combination of discussion, observation, participant diaries and my own practice of horizonalization and imaginative variation, the phenomenology was to reveal three phases, or stages, of the imaginative lifeworld in educational practice.

With the exception of Katie and Lauren, for whom reference to imagination was absent in our discussions, the participants were in active pursuit of the creation of 'imaginative capacity' with their pupils. Creating imaginative contexts involved a conscious development of approaches and materials that contextualized problems and tasks as imaginative enterprises: What if? What would it be like? How would it feel? To quote White (1990): imaginative contextualization 'is to *think* of it as possibly being so' (White, 1990: 185). This is the province of the kind of imaginative practice described previously, which for some participants either became difficult to sustain or was simply adopted as short-term motivational strategy to ensure 'on-task' behaviour. For Miles, Paul, Tracy and Howard, imaginative contextualization served largely instrumental purposes in the introduction of tasks organized and managed and evaluated by the teacher. Once such tasks had been initiated, imaginative contextualization was increasingly dispensed with. In contrast, for Christine, Carrie, Terry and Barry, imaginative contextualization became a much richer form of 'imaginative capacity'. Here, the contextualization of imaginative practice served different purposes – most crucially as a platform from which the 'growth' of pupils' imaginative ideas and pursuit of their diverse imaginative interests was to be actively encouraged.

For these participants, the imaginative practices of pupils were to find form in

the *imaginative lifeworld*. Crucially for participants like Barry and Terry, emphatic practice and 'not being the one who knows' was to find expression in reflexive educative facilitation. In the practice of the *reflexive-educative facilitator*, the child was identified not only as the prime agent of the imaginative impulse but also as the possessor of latent imaginative and affective expertise: the connoisseur and critic (Eisner, 1985, 1994, 1998) of their own imaginative experience. In terms of professional practice, as Barry and Terry were particularly concerned to emphasize, the teacher's role was one of sensitive and professional non-intervention in which 'responsible freedom' is exercised. This involves a pedagogy that shares much with that proposed by Rogers (1994) in the 'person centred mode', embracing a 'facilitation' and fostering of a continuity of learning that is, for the child, 'self-chosen, the learning self-initiated; and the whole person (with feelings and passions as well as intellect) is invested in the process' (Rogers, 1994: 212–13).

In the horizonalization of the research participants' responses, a second dimension of the imaginative lifeworld was to emerge in which Barry, Terry and Christine perceived the affective life and imaginative lifeworld as implicitly dynamic, biographical continua that transcend simple ephemeral states. For Barry and Terry in particular, *Reflexive-Educative Facilitation* involved the sustained engagement of the children's lifeworld in often inimical educational terrain. This facilitation was, for Barry, a particularly delicate ecology in which the child's imaginative journey was seen as a sacred space that was to be sensitively monitored, *a*ffectively supported and shared only at the child's invitation.

There was in this practice a further dynamic that was to emerge in the observations and discussions that was not evident in the teaching and reflections of the other participants. This relates to, on the one hand, the reflexive adoption of an 'attitude of naivety' in engaging with and receiving pupils' imaginative and 'affective' contributions, and, on the other hand, the critical awareness of pupils' education in relation to wider socio-cultural and socio-political contexts. In connecting with the child's imaginative lifeworld, participants demonstrated a capacity to suspend presuppositions and predispositions to the pupil's lifeworld while at the same time maintaining a consciousness of professional role. Public and private anxieties can, and do, converge in the classroom. The macro features of this sociology are well documented in the 'private troubles and public issues' of C. Wright Mills (1959: 8) *Sociological Imagination* and Ulrich Beck's (1992) *Risk Society*. In response, Wildemeersch and Jansen (1997) point to a model of *aesthetic reflexivity* in which common concerns are substantiated in 'the generation of common feelings, focused upon an affective and self-chosen adherence to signs and symbols that are collectively recognized and valued' (Wildemeersch and Jansen, 1997: 467–8). Through the subsequent horizonalizations and variations of Terry's accounts, these signs and symbols were to emerge in his response to Davina's recent loss of her mother:

> I could have cried actually, it was really emotional . . . we had a show-and-tell session . . . the children get the opportunity to talk about themselves or something that's close to them, and she brought in her mom's old jewellery box and handbag, and gran had sort of said 'is that alright if she does, and I say 'yeah brilliant' and the other children just experience what she's thinking at the moment. And she stood there, she felt as proud as anything at the front of the class just getting that opportunity to talk about her mom, which is clearly always on her mind . . . she did a drawing of her and mom . . . just a fantastic time, it really was, just talking to the class, you know, there must have been about 40 minutes to the detriment of science, you know, but it was emotional for the other children, the other children were crying in the class, but it's what we need, that raw emotion, you know. She got the opportunity just to talk about something that related to her as a child and the rest of the children were just sort of stunned and didn't know whether to, I think they felt uncomfortable, as a teacher I didn't feel uncomfortable because I was quite aware that this was an ideal opportunity for her to talk about something like that . . . . (Terry)

Here, Davina's mother's handbag and jewellery box were to become powerful imaginative and affective symbols in the communalization of imaginative experience – as a profoundly educative experience for all participants.

In this process of horizonalization and variation, a third feature of practice emerged that was to be unique to Terry and Barry: that of a defined presence of the androgynous traits (Cropely, 2001; Dacey, 1989). In a number of the participant accounts, there was evidence of a refined coping strategy for achieving a balance between those aspects of practice that have traditionally been seen as masculine, e.g. management of behaviour, strong framing of pedagogy, rule-directed behaviour, etc., and those aspects considered feminine, e.g. pastoral welfare, weak framing of pedagogy, emotional development and play. In androgynous terms, the *reflexive-educative facilitator* is comfortable with the feminine attributes of the affective life and imaginative lifeworld, yet also perceives it to involve a deep pedagogic structure (masculine-feminine). As one of the participants, Barry, was to point out in his discussions around affect and imagination: '. . . there is nothing wishy-washy about it.' For these participants, the attention of the teacher to their own emotional states was central to this practice: to engage in the child's imaginative lifeworld requires, as a prerequisite, that teachers are attuned to their own affective life, much in the same way that Goleman (1998) argues for the centrality of emotional intelligence in corporate, professional and public life.

The research was to reveal the characteristics of reflexive-educative facilitative practice belonging to a small and unique group of practitioners, yet continued to be validated throughout the field research and the horizonalization and imaginative variation in the data analysis. The horizonalization of the data was also to reveal a very different group of professionals whose orientation to the development of children's imagination was much more instrumental in character but less pronounced than those whose commitment was to one of *Performative-Instrumentality*.

In my discussions and observations with Karen, Maggie, Paul and Carrie, their perceptions of the promotion of pupil imagination were framed very differently. For these participants, 'imagination' was not a deep lifeworld encounter between pupil and teacher, but understood rather in terms of its strategic value in an assembled repertoire of pedagogic and curriculum practices.

Paul's responses typified the defining features of this group of teachers, in which pedagogy was constructed, and frequently re-constructed, around discrete modes of practice rather than embodying a unity and coherence of *praxis*:

> [I]f you know their mind and the way that they work, if you know that, then you can access them . . . I mean, I think to help learning, if you've got a basic working relationship with a child then I think you're onto a winner. I mean the accelerated learning is obviously coming on, thinking skills and that . . . we've actually done the multiple intelligences test and they filled in their wheel, it's a wheel of intelligence . . . they all scored very highly on the visual spatial, and there's a boy who came out very highly musically but plays no musical instrument and is not particularly attentive in music lessons, but that's the way his thought processes go; through music, use of rhymes and things. ICT is important because the way technology is developing and certainly when they get to senior school the emphasis is placed on ICT and within our working world; ICT is developing all the time so I think we're talking life skills really.
>
> . . . in terms of processes, I think it's important that you do hit a wide range of teaching styles. I talked about multiple intelligences earlier on, I think it's important to build obviously on the child's strengths, I mean you're going to have a range within the class, your going to have some who learn better through visual and spatial things, you're going to have some who learn better through your formal teaching and your taking of notes, in others, to give them entitlement, really your teaching needs to reflect a wide range of approaches from the very formal, say dictation method, then through to children experimenting for themselves, getting things wrong and discussing, you know, what they could do next or what they could have done to make it successful, through to your drawing of diagrams, making of music and rhymes and chants to help, you know, learn things. (Paul)

Again, borrowing from Bernstein's (1971) classification and framing of educational practice, while it was possible for pedagogic classification to be weak in this particular disposition, the modality of practice remains strongly framed with high levels of boundary insulation (Bernstein, 1971). In other words, each strand or mode of practice proceeds under its own discourse with its own associated educational 'capital', with the blending or blurring of modal boundaries being either resisted or seen as problematic. 'Multi-mode' practice is an increasingly attractive model in a restructured teaching force where flexibility and accommodation is a pre-requisite. For these teachers the imaginative lifeworld was not understood, adopted or practised in holistic form. Indeed, the affective life and the lifeworld are not considered helpful enterprises here; rather, their constitutive elements can be better paired out and arranged as discrete pedagogic tools to be applied, discarded

and replaced as needed. For these teachers, their pedagogy is subject to both positivist and managerial forces in which the dimensions of professional pedagogy are easily rationalized and afforded commodity value. As Jensen and Walker (2002) suggest, this is the *manual*-ization of professional work; for Hinchliffe (2001: 35), this 'pedagogy views learning instrumentally whereas education views learning for its own sake'.

Phenomenological opportunities in whole-school evaluation

The outcomes of this research tell us something about the ways in which these teachers value and interpret the imaginative experience of their pupils. It perhaps also tells us something about the contemporary condition of professional practice in these selected primary school environments – and suggests particular challenges that professional educators need to address if imaginative experience is to be legitimated and sustained as a worthwhile educational process. For those whose disposition is towards *Performative- Instrumentality*, pupil imaginative experience appears as a marginal and cursory feature of the educational endeavour. For the participants whose practice is 'multi-mode', imagination appears to have a particular form of educational 'currency' to be placed alongside other discrete modes of practice, typified by those embodied in the national strategies for literacy and numeracy. In contrast, the practice revealed in the work of Terry, Barry and Christine requires a different, and perhaps radical, approach to the evaluation of educational experience – as Barry and Terry, in particular, were operating at the margins of an imposed educational framework of statutory curriculum and assessment, target setting and inspection:

> . . . the pressure of actually getting things done . . . getting on to the next week's plan and moving them on to the next set of objectives hides the fact as a teacher you should be just allowing them to get in there, allowing them to just experience magnetism and work with objects, come out with absolute rubbish at the end of the lesson but they'll have actually gained something for themselves. I've become more and more confident to actually allow kids to play. What they need is experience of things, what I'm trying to do is to try and relate these experiences to their lives, but the pressure I think when they get to that next stage almost make you as a teacher think 'right I'm just going to do it this way because this is the way I feel comfortable of achieving this with this group of children'. I say that with guilt, you know, I do feel that if we could do something about it then, or take pressure off us. (Terry)
>
> Teachers had a National Curriculum imposed on them which was content-driven, an objective-driven series of documents, and that generation of teachers had to change to far more about delivering a content and knowledge or whatever. And then we've got another section of teachers who have trained when that was in place and are very much driven by learning objectives, outcomes and being able to tick those off . . .
>
> . . . there's risk, I think we've been taught as profession if the lesson has this shape then it's terribly safe, it isn't going to go wrong . . . a lesson that is imaginative

> and creative looks different, it sounds different and it probably feels different, the teacher may worry that they're not fully in control as they are with the other model, and if anyone comes in they might not immediately identify learning that is happening in that environment . . . as a profession we need to understand that there are rich learning environments that have a different look from the Ofsted model. (Barry)

In the practice of the majority of the research respondents, existing evaluation methodologies of the sort espoused by Ofsted in school self-evaluation are unlikely to make too many demands upon collective evaluations of pupil experience and progress. For a minority of respondents, however, such evaluations become both meaningless and intrusive. While the public thirst for transparency is, as Fullan (2003: 24) points out, 'irreversible', the need for alternative models that, as Barry suggests, 'have a different look from the Ofsted model' has also been vociferously argued for (Egan, 1992; Eisner, 1985, 1998; Saunders, 1999). To this end, if imaginative lifeworlds are to be subject to educational evaluation, then, as this research would suggest, alternative strategies need to be sought that have some congruence with the qualities and characteristics espoused by these participants.

Here, the problems of school self-evaluation in the education of the imagination mirror the challenges of phenomenological research. These embrace the demands and inherent tensions of making private lifeworlds accessible to public interpretation, understanding and shared evaluative discourse. While Van Manen (2002: 240) cautions that 'phenomenological writing that addresses itself to the phenomena of every day life is surprisingly difficult', Hargreaves (2004) concludes that teachers also 'lack an agreed discourse for what they already know as part of the traditional culture and wisdom of the profession', and that 'arcane, pedagogic jargon: the technical language devised by academics is alien to most teachers' (Hargreaves, 2004: 28). Yet, in the work of Barry, Terry and Christine, phenomenological characteristics appear as ways in which to address the imaginative lifeworld.

In the participant observations and discussions, imaginative practice was observed as both a solitary and communal activity. This solitary space was a private space in which fantasy, daydreams, momentary reflections, thoughts, prayers and meditations, beliefs, anxieties and aspirations find form in our consciousness (see Lenny's creation of an Egyptian shrine, earlier). So, too, solitary practice becomes a necessary professional skill in order to satisfy important prerequisites for professional judgment in imaginative evaluation.

In following the path of Terry, Barry and Christine to the education of imaginative lifeworlds, it is apparent that educators can cultivate and vivify their own feelings (Egan, 1992: 113), that they can develop their own emotionally intelligent practices (Goleman, 1996, 1998) and that they are able to critically avoid 'colouring the other's communication' with imbued personal habits of thinking, feeling, seeing,

labelling judging, or comparing (Moustakas, 1994: 89). Epoché (Moustakas, 1994) is such a practice:

> In practicing Epoché, I must focus on some specific situation, person, or issue, find a quiet place in which I can review my current thoughts and feelings regarding this person, situation or issue. Each time in my review I set aside biases and prejudgements and return with a readiness to look again into my life, to enter with hope and intention of seeing this person, or situation, or issue with new and receptive eyes. (Moustakas, 1994, 89)

The sophistication of solitary processes is highlighted by Capra (1975) in a compelling contrast with collective endeavour in the physical sciences:

> Physicists perform experiments involving elaborate teamwork and a highly sophisticated technology, whereas mystics obtain their knowledge through introspection, without any machinery, in the privacy of meditation . . . the complexity and efficiency of the physicist's technical apparatus is matched, if not surpassed, by that of the mystic's consciousness – both physical and spiritual in deep meditation. The scientists and the mystics, then, have developed highly sophisticated methods of observing nature which are inaccessible to the layperson. A page from a journal of modern experimental physics will be as mysterious to the uninitiated as a Tibetan Mandela. Both are records of enquiries in to the nature of the universe. (Capra, 1975: 35–6)

This solitary practice is a contemplative practice for both pupil and teacher in which the contemplative becomes a moment of conscious engagement in the deep subjective lifeworld where personal thoughts, feelings, ideas, images, moods, memories and emotions become the subject of special personal attention – a mode of meta-cognition and meta-affect – an inquiry into our own thinking and feeling and the development of practised attentiveness of *presence* (Parker, 1997: 77). This resonance with phenomenological approaches immediately manifests itself in Epoché (Moustakas, 1994: 87).

It is in this process that Barry and Terry, in particular, were to focus upon learning 'to know what we see rather than seeing what we already know' (Heschel, quoted in MacBeath and McGlynn, 2002: 32). In this sense, it places these participants at the threshold of a critical consciousness of the intersubjective lifeworld. Imaginative experience, as many of the participants were to illustrate in their classroom practice, resides in the realm of a palpable intersubjective world in which the world is one that is shared, experienced and interpreted by others (Schutz, 1970: 164). In the observed practices of the participants, it is a world in which children enter the shared experiences of the 'third party', both in the literal, and in realized symbolic form: the composer, the author, the painter, the story teller, the choreographer, the games designer, the reporter, etc. It is, of course, a world that may indeed remain private to external apprehension out of choice, but in entering the sphere of correspondence the imaginative lifeworld is imbued with a particular impulse derived from the momentum of external

affective stimuli. This is a dynamic intersubjective correspondence with the 'Other'. This internal correspondence often becomes public in the form of play, role play, pretence, imagery, the creation of symbolic artefacts and environments, etc., which are available in educational contexts for apprehension, observation and further facilitation. Terry's reported diary accounts of his observations of pupils' imaginative writing (on the theme 'Beware, Beware!'), and an improvised puppet theatre (in which stories of dragons are recounted), all offer powerful correspondence with presented imaginative stimuli.

In palpable form, correspondence with the other gives special significance to forms of *empathic development* as both a form of 'emotional knowing' – in which one projects oneself into the physical being of the other (Holden, 1990: 72) – and *professional* empathy as a 'learned communication skill' (Kunyk and Olson, 2001). Further, it requires of the imaginative educator an orientation to interpretive *criticism*, which Eisner describes as:

> an effort to understand the meaning and significance that various forms of action have for those in a social setting . . . To answer these questions requires a journey into interpretation, an ability to empathetically participate in the life of another, to appreciate the meanings of such cultural symbols . . . . (Eisner, 1985: 97)

In the work of participants Barry, Christine and Terry, for educational evaluation of imaginative practice to be both *trustworthy* and *meaningful*, it demands a form of educational practice that attends to four dynamics of professional work: *Disposition*, *Interpretation*, *Communalization* and *Articulation*. In the first of these, *disposition* is the critical antecedent to evaluation. Here, the work of the professional educator involves their own solitary and intra-subjective work in the cultivation of their own feelingfulness and the watchful, mindful awareness of the self. It requires the application of bracketing: the avoidance of conditioned predispositions and prejudgment. It necessitates emotional intelligence, in which personal feelings, emotions, moods are educationally and professionally contextualized. It is the development of refined professional judgment in the affective realm and is the reciprocal of solitary, contemplative *pupil* imaginative lifeworld.

Interpretation in educational evaluation is rendered amenable to public scrutiny through the interface of connoisseurship and criticism: '. . . to notice or experience the significant and often subtle qualities that constitute an act, work, or object . . .' (Eisner, 1998: 85); '. . . educational critics are interested not only in making vivid what they have experienced, but in explaining its meaning' (Eisner, 1998: 95) '. . . *through the artful use of critical disclosure*' (Eisner, 1985: 93). The emphasis here is mine as Eisner's observation marks the crux of the evaluative challenge in the articulation of imaginative education. In the practice of disclosure, interpretation engages the dynamics of *communalization* and *articulation*. While interpretation in educational evaluation may be a solitary practice, through communalization interpretation is made public. It is a continuous alteration of validity through

reciprocal correction, leading to complete layers of meaning (Moustakas, 1994: 95). In the realm of 'artful disclosure', there would appear to be important work to do. Schratz (1993: 67–8), in writing on qualitative voices in educational research, highlights the powerful impact of 'collective consciousness' arguing that collective reflection is both educative and a transformative force for revealing underlying processes and meaning. In school self-evaluation, this is the province of what Argyris (1993) calls double loop learning. Single loop learning concerns the use of 'audit, or self evaluation, tools . . . to give a picture of school culture at a given time', second loop learning involves 'standing back and taking a critical stance on the nature and meaning of the evidence . . .' (Argyris, 1993, quoted in MacBeath and McGlynn, 2002: 84).

In the work of Barry, Christine and Terry, I was to see a robust apprehension of the nature and meaning of educational evidence that requires an altogether different disposition to our engagement in the evaluation of situated educational practices. As Van Manen (1997) argues, through the application of rigorous social science as a transformative evaluative practice, educators may achieve the phenomenological production of 'action sensitive knowledge' (Van Manen, 1997: 21):

> Human science research is rigorous when it is 'strong' or 'hard' in a moral and spirited sense. A strong and rigorous human science text distinguishes itself by its courage and resolve stand up for the uniqueness and significance of the notion to which it has dedicated itself . . . a rigorous human science is prepared to be 'soft,' 'soulful,' 'subtle,' and 'sensitive' in its effort to bring the range of meanings of life's phenomena to our reflective awareness. (Van Manen, 1997: 18)

It is in this province that phenomenological approaches offer an important but, at present, largely undervalued role in illuminating and articulating the 'soft', 'soulful', 'subtle', and 'sensitive' in the realization of rich imaginative educational experience and practice. For Terry, his observational diary became a personal book of sparks:

> I was looking for sparks; that spark when the children come to life; it's a book of sparks.

In the practice of the reflexive-educative facilitator, Terry's pursuit of 'looking for sparks' was explicitly coupled to the recording and critical, empathic reflection and articulation of such 'sparks'. It is an educational practice that exemplifies, as Van Manen (1997: 149) puts it, a pedagogy that teachers must continuously 'redeem, retrieve, regain, recapture in the sense of recalling', and it is through such approaches that educational practitioners, teachers and schools might begin to make legitimate claim to an authentic evaluation of educational practice.

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FIVE

Peer Review: Champion of innovation or bastion of convention?

Peer review is an established and pretty much accepted academic practice, crucial to ensuring the integrity of all the research community's work in matters of research design, methodology and analysis. The idea that peer review is a uniform practice is, as readers will be well aware, also debatable – any experience of submitting articles to various journal editorial boards reveals the range of approaches that are manifest in the process. Whilst this is one of the many perils of placing research and scholarship in the public domain, the challenges that confront the representation of qualitative research in the review process for conference presentation are even more acute. The realisation of qualitative research, with its discourses around reflexivity, multiple voices and literary representation, etc., creates significant demands for the ways in which the researcher represents their data. Many of those working in educational settings are exploring alternative modes of representation that transcend conventional written, spoken or tabulated media where credence can be given to the complex and aesthetic qualities of spatial, plastic, multi-dimensional and multi-textual data. In the world of the visual arts, dance, drama, media, music, therapy, etc, where symbolic form, artefact, space and time are stock material, this approach is by no means new or radical. For BERA's conference review process I suspect that this might be problematic.

Amongst BERA's expressed aims is that it will provide a forum for dissemination and debate of the findings of educational research. A cursory review of the submission guidance for this year's BERA conference, however, reveals some of the constraints for those researchers whose medium and methodology do not necessarily correspond with the conventions of the written and spoken word:

- *Papers are oral presentations and will be scheduled in 90 minute themed sessions which will normally include a maximum of four papers, each of which will be given approximately 20 minutes for presentation… Presenter(s) should have a written paper, length 4,000-6,000 words, to distribute in the session.*
- *Posters are largely graphic presentations which may be accompanied by a (maximum) five-minute oral presentation.*
- *Overhead projector, data projector, computer, flipchart, and a screen will be provided in each meeting room. We advise you to bring a copy of your presentation on CD and memory stick.*
- *Authors of individual papers can opt for their proposal to be considered for 'oral presentation only' or for 'oral and poster presentation'.*
- *All authors are encouraged to submit their full conference paper to the Education-Line collection for indexing and permanent online archiving.*

Hence, before even attempting to negotiate the peer review process, there are a number of less than implicit assumptions, dare I say prejudices, that qualitative researchers working in particular media have to overcome.

> Firstly, that the methodology and outcomes of certain forms of educational research are necessarily best expressed through the medium of the written and spoken word.
> Secondly, that access to research through other 'alternative' media, e.g. theatre, composition, performance, exhibition, etc., is restricted to those with specialist knowledge and understanding of their conventions.
> Thirdly, alternative forms of representation are overly complex, messy or expensive.
> Fourthly, alternative forms of representation are in some way less robust than those framed by the conventions of the conference paper, symposia or poster presentation.

What follows are a few examples of approaches to research representation that I have been party to in recent months. Although not particularly radical in design, they illustrate practical approaches to representation that challenge conventional presentational practices and in turn, question some of the assumptions surrounding the representation of qualitative research.

The first of these examples is taken from the first UK Arts Based Educational Research Conference at Queens University, Belfast. Part of the conference featured a session by Carl Bagley (Durham University) and students from the Drama Department at Queen's. The session entitled 'Twisting the tale: Exploring the use of arts-based approaches in the (re)presentation of educational research' invited participants to engage with an evaluative study of the Sure Start programme conducted in the North-East of England. In this research representation the audience were first directed to the Faculty's drama studio where our initial encounters with the data were via the aroma of burnt toast (a carefully positioned toaster adjacent to the studio door). On entry to the drama studio we were confronted with a series of interrelated cameos profiling scenes of domestic life and symbolic interpretation of key concepts acted out by the students against a backdrop of still images projected on to a large screen. Data from the evaluation surfaced through different vignettes at varying speeds and distance depending on where you were standing at a particular time. So was this simply a neat trick?

An innovative and imaginative approach perhaps, or a quirky way of holding audience interest, but offering little in the way of insight into methodology and outcomes? Well, I would suggest not. Certainly it was brave, but it was also critical in enabling the audience to get 'inside' the data. Not all the outcomes were immediately apparent or accessible at a given point in time, but the mode of access to 'sense' data was compelling. Indeed, it enabled many of us to seriously begin constructing the meaning of the Sure Start participant's lifeworld represented in

the research. This representation was no more or less 'reliable' than a conference paper or poster presentation – if anything it was perhaps deeper and richer and, importantly, offered opportunity for a personal and affective connection to the research field in ways that are not always possible or achievable within the remit of a refereed paper or poster presentation. An obvious corollary of this is that there was no requirement upon the participants to possess a technical understanding of the dramatic conventions; neither was it necessary to have a grasp of a Lacanian variant of semiotics to get access to the data. This was lived experience in which the audience interpretation and meaning making was made central in emotional and symbolic terms.

To illustrate the point further, I once attended a conference paper on an analysis of children's musical creativity through compositional processes. The audience were treated to a range of tabulations and graphs, but we did not hear a single note of music. This struck me as rather bizarre. In contrast, another paper on experiences of disability was made all the more accessible and meaningful through the inclusion of a fifteen second audio track of Neil Young's 'Harvest Moon' in order to contextualise a particular participant's lifeworld. In a recent research seminar in my own institution the presenter included a short piece of theatre in-the-round which portrayed the cold-blooded execution of a wounded soldier, the scene then being interactively worked through with the audience using forum theatre. To have omitted this would have rendered the data theory and methodology meaningless – nor did it require an understanding of the esoteric or the arcane. Similarly, another presentation on the application of computer games in the classroom involved contrasting scenes from Coppola's film *The Godfather* with a computer game of the same name. Again, it was only through direct access to these media that it was possible to make meaningful sense of the data – a thorough grasp of media literacy was not a pre-requisite to the audience's understanding of the research.

Some of these examples are possible within the existing BERA peer review framework, but I would suggest that most remain at the margins of research presentations due to the conventions of peer review and the subsequent way BERA contextualises its research forum at conference. In respect of the more radical and potentially more interesting end of qualitative research representation, such as that demonstrated at Queen's, the risk is that researchers may well seek out a more amenable forum in which to communicate their work. In the examples I have cited, alternative forms of representation were neither overly time consuming (within the conventions and expectations of a conference paper) nor demanding in terms of space and resource.

This then leads to the question of whether BERA is guilty of stifling innovation in research practice, or, worse, culpable in the potential distortion of research outcomes through its review process. The invitation to contribute to *Research Intelligence* on this topic arose out of discussions during the last of the recent

BERA sponsored research workshops at Cardiff University. In *Words and Pictures: Representation and Educational Research*, Sara Delamont and Alison Phipps offered powerful insights into approaches to the representation of lived experience in ethnographic research. The discussion touched on alternative presentations submitted to BERA for peer review. This exploration highlighted important issues around ethics, the presentation of data through electronic media (for example the use of DVDs), and the tensions between innovative dissemination and audience access to research outcomes. The debate that ensued was particularly significant in light of potential difficulties in accepting a performance-based piece at BERA's annual conference – how would this fit with an online review system? For many of us any limiting of options was undesirable at a number of levels. It also risks compromising the integrity of a review process that fails to fully reflect its own evaluative expertise, particularly since BERA has a SIG dedicated to research methodology. Moreover, and given the increasing recognition of the inseparability of research and representation in qualitative research design and practice, this becomes a significant issue for those groups and individuals who are committed to ensuring a coherent interrelationship of research phenomena, methodology and representation in qualitative research.

Ultimately the criteria for presentation reveal a great deal about how the gatekeepers of research dissemination view innovation and validity in educational research – it also says something about openness, or otherwise, to established representational forms and practices. This is not to deny that there is also a responsibility on the part of those who place particular forms of qualitative research in the public domain, but then this applies equally to those working in other paradigms and traditions. The 'crisis of validity' in the post-structural moment that Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 11) talk about confronts researchers with questions about the evaluation of research that those immersed in qualitative enquiry will be only too well aware off. This clearly necessitates robust external scrutiny, but, critically, it must involve approaches that can meaningfully interrogate research design and practices without compromising the research-representation relationship. BERA should be commended for its recent research workshops series of which *Words and Pictures* not only challenged predispositions to interpretive work but also provided an important fillip for those facing the challenge of how to deal with complex representation in research design. It follows, then, that if BERA is to reflect these ideals, it also has a responsibility to actively pursue the possibilities of representation in research beyond convenience and convention in the process of peer review.

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SIX

Re-Imaging the New Educational Professional: Opportunities, challenges and consequences for education studies

Hilary Dunphy and Dave Trotman

Introduction

Amongst the themes that typically dominate the field of Education Studies, matters of disciplinarity and inter-disciplinarity, professional preparation and identity, critical inquiry, and educational praxis are relatively easy to locate. For many working in the field, such 'sites of contest' are stock material in the day-to-day educational practice of Education Studies. In this paper, we share our observations on what we believe to be an emerging contemporary challenge for many, who, like us, have deliberately sought to separate curriculum and educational praxis in Education Studies from the contemporary training regimes of Initial Teacher Training. The consequent disconnection of Education from the formative construction of traditional teacher identities coupled with our strong desire for a critical consciousness of student practice (what some call *consciencization*, Apple *et al*, 2001:131) presents new opportunities to reassess the idea of *studentship in Education*.

The 'new' professional

The New Right rhetoric around current approaches to the 'training' of teachers is well documented (Adams and Tulasiewicz, 1995) in which such terms as 'teaching quality', 'professional competence' and 'curriculum delivery' have supplanted meaningful discourse around reflection and pupil learning – what Stephen Ball calls the 'discourse of derision' (Ball, 1990). In the 're-modernisation' of the teaching profession, the continuance of Ofsted, league tables, and 'standardisation' have reinforced this 'derision' with the subsequent emergence of a model of the teacher who simply delivers the curriculum – a technician, if you will. As a result,

> …the educational values of teachers have been subjugated to the values of the 'system', teaching has been transformed into a value-neutral technical process, and 'good practice' has been reduced to a bureaucratically framed specification of competencies and skills. What is conspicuously absent from these policies is any serious attempt to recognize – let alone answer – important questions about the role of teachers in a democratic society and hence about what the aims, content and organization of teacher education should be. (Carr and Hartnett, 1996: 117)

Carr and Hartnett (1996) stress that the removal of professional autonomy means that teachers have no protection against external coercion and will simply become instruments of their political directors. This view is echoed more recently by Carr (2000) and Tomlinson (2001) who argue that teachers have been systematically subject to de-professionalisation through the imposition of standardised curricula

and technocratisation and control of the workforce. How, then, are they able to establish an educational environment which will sustain the development of democratic values and practices in their students?

Studentship

The prior conceptions of students embarking on a teaching career are important to consider here. According to Saunders (1994: vii) 'student life becomes one of strategic travelling: in other words, a development towards achieving ends which are decided upon at the outset but may be changed along the way'. It is that decision at the outset which encourages students to identify with a subject or profession. It is comfortable for a student to have the identity of 'doing medicine' or 'becoming a teacher' as it gives their studies a purpose at a time of great change in their lives. Groups of students, such as Art or Sports Science, may adopt a clear visual identity. In recent times, as education has become more expensive and students from backgrounds with no tradition of higher education are entering university, it has become increasingly necessary for students to have a clear purpose and vocational outcome, rather than studying for its own sake – historically a luxury for those who could afford it, or more recently, for those who chose it in that heyday when grants were available to all.

Another major change in the way people view the higher education experience is the increased involvement of employers and the need for students to be able to develop what Saunders (1994) called 'a self-centred axiom of learning', in other words the ability to negotiate work-related objectives, preferred learning styles and agreed outcomes. This approach encourages the idea that the learning journey is prescribed and is simply a route to an agreed set of outcomes, rather than the learning journey itself being complex and exploratory and having a value of its own.

In our experience, one thing nearly all Education Studies students have in common is that they tend not to see the subject as 'political', or controversial, and in their first year the content of the programme is intentionally designed to 'disturb the comfortable' and challenge previously held beliefs in what Education actually is, or what it is for. It is not uncommon for students to use the experience as a catharsis for their own educational biography. The developing relationship with tutors, as well as engagement with the material, plays a crucial part in this process. In the course at Newman College we recognise this and, with deliberate intention, introduce powerful and controversial material to stimulate debate that engages students emotionally in their and others' experiences. In a way, this has become an expected part of the learning process through the first year experience – a kind of rite of passage. Tutors talk of when the students 'get it' – when they realise that this is not a course that is going to teach them how to be teachers, but rather a course that will:

> question the nature and purposes of education, to engage in continuing dialogue about what education is, what an educational experience should involve, why education is so often considered a 'good' thing, what its purposes are for individuals

> and for society. (Bartlett and Burton, 2003: 1-2)

This is a pretty good place to start again on the journey to how to become a teacher/ educator. The journey then brings them to the realisation that education and 'being a teacher' is, in fact, political. This is a great discovery, education is politics! What a teacher discovers is that he or she is a politician, too, the teacher has to ask 'What kind of politics am I doing in the classroom?' (Paulo Freire, 1987, quoted in Fisher, 2004: 270) Could Freire say this today? We doubt it. We believe that starting from a study of the National Curriculum, classroom management, assessment, standards and teaching and learning approaches, as in prescribed ITT programmes, is not the best route to becoming an informed educational professional - a teacher. Furthermore, as different professional collaborations begin to emerge that involve participants working between and across professional sectors of education, health care, social work etc, new professional demands and challenges have begun to take shape.

Critical consciousness and person-centred approaches

In this contemporary context three main ideas emerge as having particular merit in the evaluation of the function of Education Studies. The first centres on the promotion of the student's *critical consciousness*. For many of us teaching within the subject area of Education Studies there has been a growing anxiety around a perceived and real absence of a critical imperative amongst students in relation to broad educational matters. Such themes have at any one time embraced issues of poverty, globalisation, faith schools, educational standards and performativity.

These anxieties have manifested themselves in our own formal and informal professional discourses in which the language of critical consciousness and critical pedagogy frequently emerges. As educators in Education we have sought to develop what Giroux calls 'the selfconscious critique': 'critical awareness and knowledge of one's self and the nature and causes of one's political conditions' (Giroux, 2001: 8, quoted in Lee, 2006: 7). Early attempts to establish this in our introductory Education Studies modules have resulted in useful and interesting auto-ethnographic processes for some students, but for many it was to become little more than an instrumental account of their educational histories with a most limited sense of location in socio-political context and time; Griffin and McDougall (2007) offer their own account of our response to this. Crucially, we remain committed to the idea of promoting 'the self-conscious critique' throughout the programme, but have been challenged to readdress both methodology and assessment practices in undertaking this.

The second of these ideas relates to *Critical Pedagogy*. Lee (2006) describes critical pedagogy as evolving from 'the theories of progressive educators who embodied radical principles, beliefs, and practices for the purpose of analyzing the effect of capitalism and gendered and radicalized relations on marginalized and disenfranchised populations' (Lee, *op. cit:* 6). Certainly, we would argue that such an imperative sits at the heart of the educational mission in our Education

Studies course. It is indeed endorsed by the QAA (2007, 3) benchmarks for the subject: 'encourage students to engage with fundamental questions concerning the aims and values of education and its relationship to society'. Modules such as 'The Politics of Education', 'Education Systems and Social Change', 'Education, Equality and Identity', 'Knowledge and Ideology of Education', 'Education: Contested Values and Praxis' expressly set out with an unashamed purpose of promoting critical pedagogy. However, this should not be read as a form of romantic reflection on the state of modern youth and their lack of political consciousness while tutors afford themselves the privilege of enabling the 'emancipation' of others. Rather, critical consciousness in its Freirian sense is a complex and demanding enterprise in which self control and mastery of one's own education is a means to the empowerment and activation of one's own sense of learning (Freire, 1993 cited in Lee, *op.cit.:* 7).

For the authors of this paper such ideas resonate strongly with person-centred approaches (Rogers, 1961; 1980; 1994) and continue to be an important ideal in our day-to-day educational encounters and practices in the course. In particular, Rogers's emphasis on empathy as an acquired professional skill beyond personal attribute has significance in a developing framework of Education studentship. Ironically, it was Rogers's own loneliness as a young person which started his interest in helping others (Nelson-Jones, 1993), using it as a legitimate way of getting close to others. As already mentioned, our students come from a wide variety of backgrounds and some are non-traditional learners. Students' own experiences of school cannot be overlooked in establishing the attitude to learning that they bring into the Higher Education environment. Some may have experienced a level of 'academic' success in their post-16 qualifications, presenting their work according to the guidance given them by teachers, paying close attention to the criteria, writing formulaic essays, always relying on 'correct' answers. Such students may need strong encouragement to enter into debate, possibly even to speak out in class and can worry greatly when they do not receive prescriptive assessment guidance in completing coursework assignments. Some students may have had a negative school experience in which they have carried a legacy of 'failure' and have become the victims of classic selffulfilling prophecies. They may have been encouraged by a friend or family member to return to study. Often they realise at some point in the first year that it was the system that failed them rather than vice versa; this can bring resentment.

Many students can flounder at first, but in a person-centred, stimulating and challenging environment they can eventually learn how to deal with the freedom to think for themselves, and success frequently follows. However, person-centredness does not stop with the student: a truly productive, stimulating person-centred environment would also include tutors. In other words, tutors need to model Rogerian approaches in their tutor-to-tutor relationships as well as tutor-to-student encounters. In such an environment,

> If one learns from others but does not think, one will be bewildered. If, on

> the other hand, one thinks but does not learn from others, one will be in peril. (Confucius, in Fisher, 2004: 197)

One student, in his forties, said in his third year, after achieving high marks across the Education programme, that he realised he had never been encouraged to think and ask questions before. He thought education was all about learning from people who were cleverer than him (teachers) and because he had been told by those very people that he would never amount to anything, he had accepted this. But in studying Education Studies he had been encouraged, and found the courage, to think for himself and was not afraid to ask questions and had found people, and books, who would answer his questions or lead him to finding the answers for himself. This encouragement to think for oneself is not a difficult or new concept and has been recognised for many years in the school context:

> All which the school can or need do for pupils, so far as their minds are concerned . . . is to develop their ability to think. (Dewey, 1916, quoted in Fisher, 2004: 5)

Towards a critical community of care

Whilst the ideas of personal critical development lie central to our purposes, we have been increasingly aware of the need for this to be developed as *community* practice. In her discussion of education programs for First Nation and Native American and Canadian communities, Tiffany Lee's (2006) arguments around Indigenous education and the emergent problems of critical pedagogy have some bearing on our own discussion. Drawing on what Smith (2003) calls consciencization (see also Apple *et al*, 2001: 131) Lee's *Critical Indigenous Pedagogy* involves 'freeing up the indigenous mind from the grip of the dominant hegemony' (Smith, 2003, 2 quoted in Lee, *op.cit.*: 7). Whilst Lee embraces the principles of individual democracy and freedom, she argues that a necessary commitment to *community* is absent in discourses around critical consciousness and critical pedagogy. Hence, a realignment of critical pedagogy is necessary to enable democratic notions of individual emancipation and liberation whilst maintaining a commitment to community social justice and transformation (Lee, *op.cit.*: 7).

An orientation to community is a critical imperative in our enterprise, as it locates an all important interface between studentship in the study of Education and Education Studies as an enactive preparation for educational practice in an 'out-there' world. An immediate corollary of this is to be found in Noddings's (2003, 2005) work on care, where she argues that authentic liberation and social justice can only be achieved by caring people in caring communities (Bergman, 2004). The relationship with Rogerian thinking here is, to all intents and purposes, empathy 'writ large':

> we must receive the situation of the other as if it were our own. To do so requires emptying ourselves of attention to our own situation, at least for the moment, so as to make room to take in the existential condition of the other. (Bergman, 2004: 151)

In her four features of the ethical ideal, Noddings identifies *modelling*, *dialogue*, *practice* and *confirmation*, and these indicate something of the professional challenge for the educator in Education.

- Modelling – demonstrable care, in which educational practice of care is fashioned in our day-to-day interactions with students at the level of both personal and system.
- Dialogue – at the centre of this lies knowledge of the other and reception of the other in a 'common search for understanding, empathy, or appreciation' (Noddings, 1992: 23).

The correspondence of these features with concepts of freedom and emancipation drawn from critical theory is important here. Noddings suggests that 'care theorists agree with Socrates that an education worthy of the name must help students to examine their own lives and explore the great questions human beings have always asked' (Noddings, 1995, 191). However, she 'would not declare that the unexamined life is not worth living', but rather ask us to consider: '*Is* the unexamined life worth living? Should we decide this or others? How do we feel about our own?' (Noddings, 1995: 191). Thus, the modelling of an educator's ethical ideals might become the object of dialogue: 'Is a tough teacher necessarily caring?' Dialogue, then, becomes *the modus operandi* in the caring ideal in communication: as a stimulus to reflection, it is an especially powerful tool for promoting the building of students' ethical ideals (Noddings, 2002a, 107).

- Practice – put simply, all students should be involved in 'caring apprenticeships' (Noddings, 1984: 188, quoted in Bergman, *op.cit.*: 155.).
- Confirmation – in this fourth attribute Noddings argues that here we reveal the student herself/himself as an 'ethical and intellectual being that has the power to nurture the ethical ideal or to destroy it … When we attribute the best possible motive consonant with reality to the cared-for, we confirm him' (Noddings, 1984a: 193, quoted in Bergman, *op.cit.*: 155).

These ideas hold a pivotal position in the thrust of an argument for Education Studies as preparation for new and evolving inter-professional work. This work, we argue, is increasingly distant to a retrospective framing of teacher education and, moreover, challenges the essentialism/instrumentality that surrounds the idea of the 're-modernised' professional. For many the resonance with ideas around the Greek concept of *phronesis* [practical wisdom premised upon the disposition to act truly and rightly; 'prudent judgment which takes account of what would be morally appropriate and fitting in a particular situation' (Carr, 1987: 29)] may be all too apparent. Similarly, Trotman (2005) considers *Education* in light of two common interpretations: from the Latin *educere* - 'to lead out'; and, also from the Latin, *educare* [*educatus*] – 'to rear or foster'. In one sense this points to the powerful relationship between critical pedagogy and a community of care. Whilst, recognising the intrinsic value of educational practice as 'an achievement of a

tradition' (Carr. *op.cit.*), crucially it invites us to (re)consider educational practice as one *of personal judgement and community responsibility* in ways that are likely to become significant as educational practice becomes an increasing multi-professional phenomenon. This, we argue, calls for new ways of re-imaging and re-visioning educational practice in the modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation of what it is to be a student of Education. This, too, carries with it a moral imperative on the part of those charged with the creation of a *critical community* of care to secure strategic, pedagogic and emotional 'capacity' in the student's professional lifeworld – to explicitly enable, as part of professional education, what Woods (1995, 11) calls 'strategic redefinition': where educators find ways to redefine their work in line with their own professionally informed values.

Curriculum and assessment

Such aspirations, to have any level of authenticity, require that we continually to rethink the curriculum. They require a radical departure from the codified practices and state-approved curricula of initial teacher training programmes and a rebuttal of the instrumentality of 'key quality measures' that trespass on meaningful educational endeavour. In a post-modern appraisal of curriculum, Pinar (1998) calls for educators to reclaim the idea of curriculum (from the Latin root word *currere* - to run the racecourse) from its common contemporary framing in England as a static, pre-specified or mandated artefact, to that which is motivated by 'the unanticipated, the ambiguous, the complex, the strange, the queer, the incomprehensible' (Pinar, 1998: 84). The challenge is, then, to seek opportunities for strategic redefinition in which we, too, find ways to redefine our work in line with an emerging consensus of professionally informed values. In our pursuit of a mandatory level 5 module 'The Politics of Education', we have frequently found our curriculum and assessment design betraying the triumph of pragmatism that we have so readily sought to challenge: modules neatly packaged into ten taught sessions, a 3000 word assignment, an exploration of eportfolios to ease the marking load, and so-on. This has necessarily required us to examine the imperatives of the politics of education (as distinct from the intended learning outcomes). This year's submission to our module approval panel will see a reduction in taught sessions to the introduction of five cornerstones of educational policy. Assessment has been redesigned as a group (collaborative and integrated) student production of a video documentary of a policy issue that 'matters' to them in *their* community – perhaps a first serious attempt to 'honour' an unfolding authentic critical community of care. With over one hundred students in each annual cohort it is not easy to sustain Rogerian personcentredness. Ironically, it is the use of virtual platforms that have enabled new approaches to the contextualisation of the personal (despite a continuing perception in some quarters that they impede the personal). In the development of a new employment focused module within the Combined Honours programme the use of blogs in Year One revealed the following thread - 'Lecturers Assessment Philosophies':

> Hmmmm... I am doing Education Studies with Theology and Philosophy. I have no exams throughout all of this, the most "exam-like" thing being a timed essay in Theology in the summer term. I am happy with this as, although I enjoy exams (sad i know!) it is more exciting to do presentations and assignments (if only we got them back grrrrrrr) especially as we get to work with others.
>
> I have finally sorted out my placement and, hopefully, i will be going to Church House, the home of Birmingham Diocese. this is really esciting [sic] as i hope to work in the future within the diocese.

This sort of contextualisation, we would argue, is a powerful tool in the development of a critical community of care that otherwise would be extremely difficult to access and manage.

Conclusion

The challenges that confront the identity formation of Education Studies are well rehearsed and we have alluded to some of them in this paper. Critically, for the authors of this paper, Education Studies is regarded as an interdisciplinary field of inquiry that must have political, moral, ethical and community imperatives at its centre if it is indeed to be 'worthy of its name'. In such an endeavour of inquiry, Education Studies necessarily embodies the attributes of progressive professional judgement, in which educational participants and practitioners come to exercise a form of contextualised, (as opposed to received) wisdom. As graduates of the *study* of Education, student enactment of *critical consciousness* lies central to this. As the professional landscape of educational work changes, studentship in education demands an ability to understand, participate in and evaluate new forms of community engagement within a framework of ethically centred educational practice. This will not only demand the acquisition of new professional educational skills, but necessitates a re-imaging of the educational professional and the professional attributes that shape educational judgement.

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SEVEN

Imagination and the Adolescent Lifeworld: Possibilities and responsibilities in the national secondary review

1. Introduction

In the past decade state education in England has seen a resurgence of interest in creativity in the school curriculum. Amongst the contributing factors it is possible to trace the following: the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education report All Our Futures (DfEE; NACCCE, 1999) report All Our Futures; the adoption of 'creativity' as a government response to public anxiety around the negative effects of statutory testing (Ward, 2003, p. 11); the alignment of creativity with economic imperatives, e.g. the Roberts Report (2006); and the promotion of risk-taking by employer groups as part of an 'enterprise culture' for schools (Jones, 2007, p. 26). Consequently, pupil creativity has now become a distinct feature of the National Secondary Review of the Key Stage Three curriculum.

In much of the contemporary research around creativity, imagination consistently emerges as an essential precursor to the creative process (Craft, 2005; Fisher and Williams, 2004). Yet emphasis on the development of pupil imagination remains, at best, a marginal feature of curriculum provision and educational practice in secondary phase education. What follows is an account of Year 11 pupil responses to the idea of imagination, in which they were invited to construct their own definitions of imagination and consider its place within their experiences of secondary school education.

2. Participants and methodology

Five secondary schools from across four Local Authorities in the West Midlands agreed to participate in the 12-month project. Fieldwork siteswere identified using Local Authority school data-bases and socio-economic indicators. Access negotiations, the identification of school-based convenors, and protocols for the selection of participants were completed during the Spring term of 2006.

The methodology of the study followed the principles of descriptive phenomenology (Braud and Anderson, 1998; Moustakas, 1994). The purpose of which can be broadly described as an attempt to 'disclose the essential meaning of human endeavours' by describing these objects and events as one experiences them (Hammond and Howarth, 1991, p. 1). This involves returning to reflective intuition to describe and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in consciousness' (Ray, 1994, p. 118). With a necessary emphasis on the pupil lifeworld, subjectivity, description, interpretation and agency (Denscombe, 2003) the research design incorporated semi-structured discussion, pictorial image making and elements of creative writing.

Group discussions were convened across the participating schools with each

pupil group comprising six Year 10 pupils of mixed ability, gender and ethnicity. The project began in the Spring term of 2006 with further validatorymeetings being held in the subsequent academic year following the pupils' entry into Year 11. Discussions were recorded using a dictaphone and field notes whichwere then transcribed for the follow-up discussions. In these discussions pupilswere invited to comment on their earlier contributions and to make a personal response through a preferred two-dimensional visual or written medium. The research concluded with the circulation of the draft outcomes to each school focus group via the convening member of staff.

3. Defining the adolescent imagination

The introductory episodes of the first pupil discussions focused on the construction of personal definitions of imagination without recourse to existing literature or examples. Pupils in each focus group were quickly able to offer their own standpoints, constructing a range of consensual interpretations of imagination.

DT: OK, perhaps we can start by deciding what our own definition of imagination might be.

Emma: I think it's when you switch off; when something gets a bit boring and you go into your own world.

Jack: Day dreaming, you're awake but not awake; you're kind of just staring out of the window . . . when things are boring . . . when your brain's not being challenged, when you're not working.

Christina: Normally your imagination is kind of the fun things that you think of in your mind.

Rob: It's the way your mind interprets things. It's the way you wish things could be.

Laura: Dreams as well; that's part of your imagination, because you're switching off, and that's when your mind gets into gear and you can get ideas from that. Your body's not in action, it's just your mind because you are at rest.

Ross: Imagination is how you want to see things. Your interests get put in to that.

Jack: A separate world where you'd like to be.

Christina: And how you express yourself.

Pete: Fictional subjects that are in your mind.

Emma: I think sometimes it can be mistakes put together. You learn from your mistakes, so then it comes in your mind and you can evolve something new out of it.

Christina: I think it's doing stuff, things, outside the box. It's like thinking but you don't have any restrictions on your thoughts.

Pete: Estimating the future.

Emma: Creativity is kind of howyou transform the idea, what the end product is, what you'vemade; whereas imagination is the first ideas, what you've come up with yourself.

These initial commentaries identify imagination with the idea of 'switching off', free will, personal interpretation and expression.Emmamakes a connection between imagination and creativity—initial ideas and the personal project. Christina's identification of imagination with personal enjoyment (the 'fun things that you think of in your mind'), Laura's 'mind in gear' and Ross' ideas around the projection of personal interests hints at some of the contemporary thinking around the idea of 'flow':

> a subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something . . . whatwe feel whenwe read a well-crafted novel or play a good game of squash or take part in a stimulating conversation. The depth of involvement is something we find enjoyable and intrinsically rewarding (Csikszentmihalyi and Whalen, 1993, p. 14).

At Chain Technology College and Lakeside Secondary School, pupil interpretations introduced the relationship of imagination to the unique personal identity.

Tarandeep: I think imagination reflects your personality.
Vaidehi: It's unique to that one person. It changes from person to person. Your imagination is your own imagination.
Josie: It offers the chance to escape; to really express yourself in a way you're not normally allowed to do. It's very personal isn't it.
Jessica: It's your individual way of doing things.
Vaidehi: It makes you, imagination.
Nathan: It's between you and yourself and no one can really take your imagination from you.
Samira: Daydreaming. You're kind of in control of it yourself.
Josey: Dreaming and daydreaming is like the imagination in your own world, and like imagination in school work, and then the real world. So it's like dreaming and stuff is personal and is like different to real world imagination.
Darshan: Having your own imagination, your own thoughts, despite everybody else. You can be unique and that.
Reece: It's the kind of the true you. You haven't got to worry about what other people are thinking or what you've got to show them. You just imagine what you want to imagine and no one needs to know. It's just you.

Tarandeep was amongst many pupils who associated imagination closely with their unique identity, and for Reece it was amatter of personal privacy. Fromthese initial

commentaries pupils began to develop an increasingly sophisticated model of imagination; first, as an abstract concept, and then in relation to their experiences of school and the official curriculum.What emerges from this is a reciprocity between imagination, identity, privacy and a privileged ownership of personal original thought; the latter being something that is not amenable to public scrutiny or external judgement.

Christina: It's exploration of the mind I suppose. You can go to places where you wouldn't be able to in reality.

Jessica: There's like two types. There's imagination where you're in your own world and that's your escape, and then there's like imagination within the real world which is like stepping into other people's shoes and like imagining the world that way.

Samira: I think there's three different types of imagination. You've got your irrational imagination like when you're dreaming, and then the rational like daydreaming, and then you've got your real world kind of thing.

Reece: There's creative imagination and there's perceptive imagination. Creative imagination is when you are thinking of things or imagining things that you know aren't going to happen but you want to think of anyway. Perceptive imagination is that you are imagining it even though you know it's going to happen.

Christina: I suppose imagination is a bit of a distraction from the real world. It can be used to disappear into . . . you can imagine anything.

Jossie: It is an escape. You can become something else, like stepping into peoples' shoes. It's a relief from being yourself a bit isn't it? From all the stresses and everything; if you go into imagination it is like a release.

Tammy: I made a little poem up.

Imagination means to me
To go beyond reality
To think of things that other don't
To create your world like others won't

Your imagination is totally different to the person next to you. That's why I said 'beyond reality' because it isn't real, it's just what you're thinking in your head.

In the second of our meetings, pupils reaffirmed their emerging model of imagination in which three key aspects were present. Firstly, the idea of imagination as a private interior world characterised by the unconscious imagery of the dream state. Secondly, the private world of free-will, imagined worlds and fantasy. Thirdly, a world 'other' to this anchored in the ontology of 'real' worldliness and characterised by adolescent realities, parental and school preoccupations and

future adult possibilities.

From the pupil perspective, their perceptions challenge any notion of imagination as a universalised, all-embracing human trait; revealing, instead, a multi-dimensional phenomenon to which current educational practices might make only partial claim, e.g. imagination as a thinking skill, imagination as philosophical inquiry, imagination as an empathic feature of emotional intelligence and so on. These perspectives have resonance with those aspects identified within much of the literature on imagination, particularly in relation to supposition, hypothesising, empathy, play, mystery, areas of exploration and the ascription of imagination to meaning in day-to-day lived experience. For example, White (1990) describes imagination as 'a thought of the possible rather than the actual, of what might or could be so rather than of what is or must be so' (White, 1990, p. 184). Passmore, 1980 Passmore (1980 quoted in Craft, 2005, p. 18) makes a useful distinction between *imaging*, *imagery* and *imagination*. *Imaging* takes place through various forms of mental representation, involving visual, auditory, olfactory, kinaesthetic, gustatory and other forms of sense data. *Imagining* involves such things as pretence, supposition, hypothesising andempathy, whilst being *imaginative* implies the generation of a novel outcome. In the field of imaginative education, Egan's (1992, 1997, 2005) work is extensive. Drawing on Vygotskian theoretical approaches, Egan turns to cognitive tools as a basis for developing aspects of the imagination such as metaphor, mental imagery, play, mystery and humour. Warnock (1976), in her discussion of Imagination, draws extensively upon the European philosophical traditions of Hume, Kant, Schelling, Sartre and Wittgenstein to ascertain whether certain features of imagination emerge as essential and universal (Warnock, 1976, p. 9). Warnock's contention is that meanings arise in parallel with the immediacy of our consciousness and that it is the imagination which ascribes these meanings. In day-to-day lived experience we use imagination to apply concepts to things. This, she argues, is the way in which the world is made familiar and subsequently manageable (Warnock, 1976, p. 207). Furthermore, she suggests thatwe may also 'render our experience unfamiliar andmysterious', speculating that below the level of consciousness our imagination is at work 'tidying up the chaos of sense experience' yet, at a different level, it may also 'untidy it again'. This leads us to consider the existence of 'unexplored areas, huge spaces of which we may only get an occasional awe-inspiring glimpse, questions raised by experience about whose answers we can only with hesitation speculate' (Warnock, 1976, p. 208). In England, the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education report *All Our Futures* (1999) has been widely adopted by government departments as the benchmark for defining creative processes and imagination (see OFSTED, 2003):

> Creative processes have four characteristics. First, they always involve thinking or behaving imaginatively. Second, overall this imaginative activity is *purposeful*: that is it is directed to achieve an objective. Third, these processes must generate something *original*. Fourth, the outcome must be of value in relation to the objective. We

> therefore define creativity as;
> Imaginative activity fashioned so as to produce outcomes that are both original and of value Imaginative activity is the process of generating something original . . . (NACCCE, DfEE, 1999, p. 29)

With regard to the definition of imagination proffered by *All Our Futures*, and OFSTED's (2003) subsequent adoption of this, student participants in this study did not accentuate the idea of *originality* (DfEE, 1999, p. 29). Whilst not constituting a rebuttal of or disregard for the place of originality in imagination (*individual*, *relative* and *historic*—as defined by *All Our Futures*, p. 30), their convictions regarding the sanctity of the interior, private, free-willed imaginative lifeworld is at variance with the emphasis given to this aspect in the report's terms of reference for imagination. The implication of imaginative activity as a purposeful process 'directed to achieving an objective . . . generating something original: providing an alternative to the expected, the conventional, the routine . . .' (p. 29) implies the presence of external criteria for judgement and critique. Whilst in certain contexts of 'creative work' this may be wholly appropriate, it does not align well with the nurturing of imagination of the sort described by the pupils in this study. Observed from a different standpoint, their definitions also gives credence to those who have challenged an adult portrayal of imagination, particularly with regard to younger children, where 'imagination' has come to be regarded as a largely insulated world of innocence, make-believe and fairytale (Machin and Messenger Davies, 2003). These pupil responses suggest that the lifeworld of young people involves different dispositions to imagination in a multiplicity of personal and inter-subjective contexts.

4. Freedom and control

A recurring theme amongst pupils across all the participating schools was a powerful association of imagination with personal freedom.

Laura: You can use your imagination loads more out of school.
Christina: It's more constricted in school because you have always got to follow the set things.
Christina: I think imagination is all about freedom isn't it?
Laura: It's freedom of the mind.
Emma: It's being able to wander isn't it. It's kind of following different routes isn't it. There's one school route and then there's your own kind of different ways of doing things.
Pete: Without imagination no one would take risks, and that's what makes the world go round.
Christina: It's like when you imagine something, it's what you want to imagine.
Laura: It's how you want to do things.
Vaidehi: We tend not to use it.

Jossie: Yeah. You're not allowed. You don't get time to use it.
Josie: The only subjects I feel free to use my imagination is art and drama.
Jessica: Whereas in all the other subjects you have to follow a certain plan.
Jessica: You're not allowed to work out of a set way.
Josie: You're told what your outcome is, you're not allowed to try different things.
Vaidehi: There's a rule. You follow that rule; there's no imagination. It's not going to go some mad place. It's always the same way, there's no imagination involved, you've got to learn it, you've got to write it out and that's it. That's all there is to it.
Jessica: I suppose in English you can write stories.
Vaidehi: Like drama. Drama's just like imagination heaven; you can do what ever. Like improvisation, you can be whoever you want. It's like you said, it's like an escape isn't it.

Many of the pupil accounts of their school experiences correspond with Bernstein's (1971, 1975) classification and framing of educational knowledge and the pedagogic discourse. Bernstein (1971) discusses two types of curricula: those where curriculum contents are insulated from one another through strong disciplinary delineation or boundary (strong classification), and those where boundaries are blurred with subjects or disciplines standing in open relationship to one another. 'Classification thus refers to the degree of boundarymaintenance between contents' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 49). 'Framing' refers to the context of the learner experience and, crucially, the strength of the boundary between what 'may and may not be transmitted' on the part of the teacher. Strong framing reduces pedagogical and participant possibilities, whilst weak framing increases them (Bernstein, 1971, p. 50): 'this frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil posses over the selection, organization and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 50). What follows is Bernstein's unique aesthetic visualisation of classification:

> Imagine four lavatories. The first is stark, bare, pristine, the walls are painted a sharp white; the wash bowl is like the apparatus, a gleaming white. A square block of soap sits cleanly in an indentation in the sink. A white towel (or perhaps pink) is folded neatly on a chrome rail or hangs from a chrome ring. The lavatory paper is hidden in a cover and peeps through its slit. In the secondary lavatory there are books on a shelf and some relaxing of the rigours of the first. In the third there are books on the shelf, pictures on the wall and perhaps a scattering of tiny objects. In the fourth lavatory the rigour is totally relaxed. The walls are covered with a motley array of postcards, there is a various assortment of reading matter and curios. The lavatory roll is likely to be uncovered and the holder may well fall apart in use.We can say that as we move from the first to the fourth lavatory we are moving from a strongly classified to weakly classified space, by a space regulated by strong rules of exclusion to a space regulated by weak rules of exclusion. (Bernstein, 1975 quoted

in Halsey *et al*., 1997, p. 76)

From the accounts of many of the pupils their experiences of subject framing was characteristically strong, in which they have only limited control over the direction of their activity. Despite some critical indictments of the secondary school curriculum and its associated pedagogy, pupilswere alsoemphatic in their identification of those subjects where imaginative freedomwas celebrated and sustained (weak framing); most notably in art, creative writing, dance, drama, history and music.

Rob: I find History another one. It's like if you are reading about like battles or something you read it as if like you're actually there in your head, but each person sees it differently in their different way.

Jessica: Like you can go back and you can imagine what happened in the past. I love history it's just really good for the imagination because you can think about: 'it must have been like this'. There are cases in history when you don't know the answer and 'it could have been this, it could have been that'. You have to imagine it because you just don't know.

Jessica: That's brilliant for imagination, it's like you put a piece of music on and I imagine all these pictures in my head, and then I try and like put them into the dance.

Oliver: You can be someone you're not, you can visualise yourself in that part.

Samira: I think through reading you see somebody else's imagination and see what they see in their minds, see their thoughts and see what they feel, and step into their shoes, and see what they feel . . . by stepping into their shoes you can like go into their mind to see how they see things and use your imagination to see their imagination.

5. Transition and change

In the final phase of the validation discussions the theme of transition and change in imaginative development was introduced by Rob.

DT: Rob, the last time we met you talked about imagination being personal. Do you want to say any more about that or is that the end of it?

Rob: It's not something you generally think about is it? It changes as you get older, I've got to say that; it tends to fade away as you get older, I do know that.

DT: Can you tell me what it is that fades away?

Rob: The ability to imagine things. When you're a kid everything's so vibrant in your head, you'll see like a chair, and you can make it into a thousand things. You make it into the most amazing things but as you get older you begin to realise that it's just a chair but when you're a kid it could be a mountain, it could be anything, you dawn to reality, you come to accept it's not anything fascinating, it's just a chair.

DT: Is that just one of those natural things?

Rob: You don't realise it until you're asked and you think 'that's gone, where is it?' you know. You realise you can still do it but you really have to think about it. It's not just so fluent as it is when you're a child.

Josie: I think the older you get the less imagination you're allowed to have.

Vaidehi: It's like little kids have really good imagination. The older you get you kind of stray away from imagination. You just come to the harsh reality of the world; it's not really that imaginative. When you're little you have all these ideas in your head, you think you're going to conquer the world and be the first man on the moon, and when you get older it's more like if you write a story. When you're little you tend to have magical creatures, when you get older it's more like a novel.

Jessica: I don't think you lose your imagination, it's just changed. It's like grown with you but it's still there. I think you still have the ability to be as creative and imaginative as if you were a child.

Darshan: I agree actually because like when you read books and things you use a lot of imagination there as well. Josie: It's not so much that you lose it, it's more like . . ..

Vaidehi: We tend not to use it.

Josie: Yeah, you're not allowed. You don't get time to use it.

Vaidehi: That's why I brought up the point about when you get older, because you becomemore rational. I just think because you've got so much responsibility that sometimes imagination doesn't help that responsibility. It's more like that you've got to do rational thinking and think for yourself and think of others as well.

Jessica: When you were little it was all to do with fairy tales but then you start moving into peer groups.

Rob: It's like imaginary friends. One day they're there and the next day they're not. You just grow out of it.

Tammy: I drew a flower as a sign of growth and how your imagination grows. A sign and symbol of something. The way your imagination grows is the same as how a flower grows.

Jessica: It could be like spiritual because you're like thinking beyond every day things in a way.

These responses reveal something of the pupils' maturation into adulthood: the attendant demands of personal responsibility, peer influence, evolving self-identity and there impact on the pupil imaginative lifeworld. In Jessica and Samira's accounts, imagination finds particular form: in the social dilemma and its possible relationship with spirituality and the empathic response. Of equal significance are the pupils' reflections on the changes and transition points in imaginative development: Rob's out-growing of the childhood imaginary friend, the dawning to reality, rational thinking, 'thinking for yourself'. These responses invite further reflection on transition and change in the imaginative powers of young people, and, moreover, challenge educators to reappraise what it means to be imaginative in the context of the child-adult lifecourse.

6. Imagination and the official curriculum

A first observation to be made in relation to the official curriculum is that for the pupil respondents imagination continues to be predominantly represented in creative arts subjects. Art and drama were frequently cited as subjects where pupils had the opportunity to engage in imaginative exploration. Dance and music were also acknowledged as affording imaginative possibilities, depending upon the pedagogic framing of the content. Similarly, creative writing was regarded by a number of pupils as a powerful vehicle for imaginative expression. Given the pivotal role that imagination occupies in the creative process, these responses are not entirely surprising. History was the only exception to this pattern with a number of pupils elaborating upon the ways in which the subject promoted imaginative inquiry (something also revealed in earlier research conducted in primary schools; Trotman, 2005).

Turning to the revised programmes of studies for art, English, history, geography, maths, modern foreign languages and physical education, imagination makes appearances in a range of disparate guises—as visual imagery, in the creation of moods and settings, as a basis for constructing new knowledge, as a mode of personal expression and as a visualisation of other times and places. Although creativity is identified as a key concept in design and technology and music, these subjects do not explicitly identify the role of imagination. With the addition of science's Key Stage Three programmes of study linking creativity with innovation and enterprise, a number of further observations can be made.

The various and idiosyncratic ways in which imagination has been selectively applied to subject aims and key concepts reflects something of the inevitable ideological and cultural tensions that surround the theme of creativity (Craft, 2005) and, by association, imagination. It also mirrors the political expediency that continues to impinge upon matters of curriculum design in English state

education. The discontinuities between imagination and creativity that surface within subject specifications are, however, more troubling. If imagination in its various forms is a critical antecedent to meaningful creative endeavour, then it would seem necessary to give proper recognition of this interrelationship. In the secondary review it falls to the subjects of art and design, English, maths, modern foreign languages and physical education to establish an albeit tentative connection between imagination and creativity: inviting pupils to produce 'imaginative images, artefacts and other outcomes that are both original and of value' (art); 'use imagination to convey themes, ideas and arguments, solve problems, and create settings, moods and characters' (English); combine 'understanding, experiences, imagination and reasoning to construct newknowledge' (Maths); use 'imagination to express thoughts, ideas, experiences and feelings' (Modern foreign languages); and as a means to 'express and communicate ideas, solve problems and overcome challenges' (physical education), (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2007).

The identification of imagination in these programmes of study is to be welcomed, and when pieced together they may begin to offer a partial glimpse of the extent of the imaginative field. However, even within the limitations of this study, the pupil participants reveal a much richer and deeper landscape of imaginative possibility:

> the reflective personal and private world;
>
> the unconscious and playful imaginings of dreaming and daydreaming (arguably a necessary pre-requisite for any creative endeavour);
>
> affectively centred imaging such as empathy in drama and history, moral dilemmas and forms of pretence; imagination as a vision of the possible; and personal reflection.

Many of the pupils also saw a role for imagination in support of their perceived learning styles and strategies; a means of transcending the division between their own fanciful imaginings and the 'otherness' of a 'real world'. This was often typified by adult demands and adolescent responsibilities, e.g. addressing a given 'moral dilemma' or undertaking a particular form of problem solving in such areas as 'thinking skills' or 'philosophy for children'. This, in turn, invites further inquiry into the interrelationships between particular aspects of imaginative phenomena that are beyond the initial scope of this study.

Pupil reflections also intimate something about the ways in which purposeful imaginative endeavour (in the terms they describe) can be either nourished or distorted when coupled with the framing of educational knowledge and practice. Their discussions and representations created a picture (in some instances quite literally) of a unique interior world in which external agents should be mindful not to trespass. Tammy's floral representation of growth, for example (p. 13), contrasts strongly with pupil accounts of curriculum experiences characterised by the strong framing of curriculum contents.

This calls for consideration to be given to those spaces where imaginative growth might be created beyond the ambit of official curriculum and pedagogy. These spaces might well be within the fabric of the school institution, but, to follow Machin and Messenger Davies (2003), require bracketing from an adult framing of adolescent imagination.

The Latin root word for curriculum, *currere* (to run the racecourse), resonates with many of the pupil aspirations—where the unanticipated, the ambiguous and the complex take precedence over the static and the pre-specified (Pinar, 1998, p. 84). For some of the pupil participants the introduction of activities under the aegis of 'Extended Schools' has enabled the creation of newspaces in which imagination can flourish: the pottery class, aromatherapy, yoga, gymnastics. For other pupils these spaces were literally physical spaces such as personal 'time-out' and communal areas, offering alternative places and moments for relaxation and reflection. Such spaces were often identified by pupils as an antidote to forms of adolescent stress—the latter being regarded by many participants as a major impediment to imagination.

Jossie: 'It's a relief from being yourself a bit isn't it? From all the stresses and everything. If you go into imagination it is like a release'.

Jack: To let it [imagination] run free and like think about newthings, you can't be under pressure and you can't be 'working'.

John: You've got to be relaxed.

7. Transition and progression

Having established imagination as amulti-dimensional phenomenon, pupil discussions revealed something of the problematic nature of transition in imagination from childhood to adolescence. Despite the viewof Machin and Messenger Davies (2003) that imagination has suffered from an adult mythologisation of childhood, pupils were of the view that imagination was subject to change in transition—from the vibrant imaginary lifeworld of imagined friends and the pretence of pirate ships to 'real world' adolescent concerns. This was regarded by many pupils as something of a natural progression.

Jack: When you're a little kid you dream about flying and stuff but you never think about it anymore because reality comes at you.

More optimistic reflections were to emerge from Nathan and John.

Nathan: It depends, because some people have good imagination and it helps them to invent something. Likewhat Jack was saying; a jet pack, you could dream about flying, but not actually flying like superman. So you can build up on your imagination even though it's not real, you can make it real.

John: And develop it like adult understanding.

Jack: There's another part of your imagination that makes you achieve your dreams.

In her review of Vygotsky's writing on imagination, Gajdamaschko's (2005, p. 18) observations are of some importance with regard to this. Gajdamaschko discusses Vygotsky's conception of imaginative growth; from its most elementary and simpler forms to the more complex in which imaginative growth is contingent upon other forms of human activity and the accrual of experience. Emotional development and imagination are also regarded as closely related to child play, with the ability to create and sustain imaginary situations leading to the development of abstract thought (Gajdamaschko, 2005, p. 19). Critical to the Vygotskian view of imaginative development is recognition of psychological and cultural tools:

> 'Imaginative activities develop through the interiorization of correspondent cultural forms that serve as psychological tools. Imagination, which in early childhood appears as a function of play activity, is gradually developed and appropriates new cultural tools in learning activities, and as it changes, it gradually turns into the imagination of adolescence and then into the productive imagination of the adult.' (Gajdamaschko, 2005, p. 20).

Examples of psychological tools would then include such things as language, writing, forms of numeration, symbols and signs, works of art, diagrammatic representations, maps and so on. Tammy's account of her gaming with the computer simulation The Sims reveals something of this transition from imaginative free-play to more abstract adult imaginative interests and challenges[1]:

> I love *The Sims*. It's like a simulation game that gets your mind thinking, and like you create your own character in the game and bring them up as if it's you. You have your own life, as if you would have lived it really. *Sims 2* is where you age in it as well, so you create a character and you can have kids in it.
>
> You create your own businesses. I've got three businesses on it; you have to be the manager. You create your own house and you have to be really imaginative in the game to be able to create like every thing that's in it; like, in your head. It gets your mind thinking of if thatwas really you, and you could be like that when you growup; have your own nice house. And you can have children in it and everything. So it's a game where I think it's for the younger generation because when you grow older you'll like learned from The Sims how things are; and if you haven't got a job then you haven't got nothing. If you have kids and they play up, which they do on there, they don't go to school sometimes so they get took off you by the Social, which mine did, you are learning. I was very upset. On this one as well. they age, like an elderly person and then in the end they will die. So, really it is taking you through your life stages of when you grow up. Knowing how things are gonna go. It's just really good, that's why it's called *The Sims* 'cos it's a simulation of your mind.

1 See McDougall's (2007) research on adolescent engagement in The Sims as an integration of play (gaming), authorship, readership and analysis.

8. Conclusions

Much of the rhetoric around curriculum review in England lays claim to a particular conception of creativity. For the most part this is a mandated version of creativity that is in danger of becoming little more than an impoverished byword for 'permission', 'opportunity' or relaxation of regulation. Further, there is little in the official public policy discourse to add clarity to its meaning or to enable an appropriate reframing of curriculum and pedagogy.

This too has important ramifications for imagination. Studies of creativity consistently point to imagination as an essential antecedent. Yet the appropriation of creativity into the contemporary educational policy discourse in England threatens to obscure the scope of imaginative possibilities of the sort that have emerged in this study whilst at the same time privileging particular configurations of imagination, creativity and educational outcome.

Tammy's account of The Sims is but one example of a particular aspect of adult imaginative capacity that may be meaningfully nourished through activities (such as gaming), which are frequently regarded by adults as being inimical to pupil imaginative and creative development. Consideration, too, needs to be given to the tempo of pupil conscious and unconscious imaginative engagement in the context of the school experience. As the pupil accounts appear to illustrate, the opportunities presented by extended schools, although in their infancy, may give rise to new interrelationships in the classification of curriculum contents and the creation of new dynamics in the scope and meter of imaginative reflection. For the most part the conventions of the secondary school curriculum (in its hidden, informal and official manifestations) continue to exercise a powerful and emphatic framing of the pupil imaginative experience; any notion of imaginative experience transcending conventional subject boundaries failed to emerge in this study. Critically, those subjects traditionally associated with the creative and aesthetic experience (namely art, creative writing, dance, drama and music) continue to be the dominant vehicles for imaginative expression in secondary school settings. However, pupils were also very clear that this was contingent upon the framing of the teacher's pedagogy.

In its claim to offer teachers a more flexible and less prescriptive framework for teaching, the national secondary review has placed great store on active pupil learning, creativity and learning beyond the confines of the traditional classroomsetting. If the emergence of imagination as a multifaceted phenomenon in this study in any way accords with the rhetoric around ambitions for a more 'creative approach' to curriculum design in Key Stage Three, then it gives credence to a significant reexamination of the teaching and evaluation practices that frame much of the imaginative educational experiences of pupils in secondary school settings.

In my final visit to Lakeside School a poster on the wall of one classroom proclaimed:

The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.

Whilst the national secondary review may provide new possibilities and freedoms for pupil imaginative expression, findings from this study suggest that there is still much to do in enacting the beauty of those dreams.

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EIGHT

'Doing Theory' on Education

Julian McDougall and Dave Trotman

"Education Studies will mess with your mind!"
(Katie)

Advice to undergraduate students as they were about to enter the world of Education Studies for the first time.

Why theorise education?

Students are understandably tense about embarking on a three year degree in a subject that doesn't actually exist in schools or further education. As a former Education Studies undergraduate, Katie was in a good position to know this. Her comment certainly got a few laughs during student induction, but, moreover, it established a really important point early on: Education Studies is *supposed* to mess with your mind. Through making the *familiar* world of education – after all, you are *in* education at the same time as studying it – *unfamiliar* we can take a step back and look at it as an idea, a practice and even a form of control.

Because we have all experienced education, the subject is profoundly different to, say, Maths. Although a mathematician would say quite rightly that the universe is understood by human beings pretty much totally in mathematical patterns and structures in one way or another (whether most of us realise this or not), mathematics cannot be discussed in relation to everyday life experience in the same way as education can. Most people can offer an opinion straight away in response to something like discipline in schools or the value of a University degree, but it is a bit harder for most of us to offer a perspective on relativity or chaos theory. This makes it vital to always theorise education, to ensure that what we are doing is sufficiently informed by research, discussion, argument and a range of academic reading. Put very simply, it is a good idea to regularly review your work and ask yourself – could someone who is *not* skilled in the study of Education at degree level understand this? If the answer is yes, you are probably not 'doing theory' enough.

So this theoretical distancing of ourselves from education allows us to interrogate it, to explore it and to question it – why do we have schools, why do we fail people, why are Governments so obsessed with changing education all the time, why is the school curriculum in England organised around subjects and why is education so important in prisons? These are some questions that we can only start to answer if we spend time labouring over facts, opinions, research and personal experiences. Putting a range of ideas together, testing how they fit or contrast, reflecting on how they relate to our own experiences and how we are culturally 'situated' ourselves

within education – this is 'doing theory'. And the 'doing' word is very important. Theory has connotations of being dry, abstract, artificial when set against the more lively, applied 'real world' notion of its 'sexier' cousin 'practice'. But it is a mistake to think of theory and practice as opposites. Theory, when done well, is a practical activity. It is the process of forming new ideas, creating new knowledge and changing how we think about the world.

Activity

Any person educated within a large system will feel supported by, and alienated by, that system at different times.

Think about your own educational history. Tell a story to another student about a time when you felt like you didn't fit into the educational system you were in – a moment when you felt like you were not cut out for learning. Then hear your partner's narrative. As you listen, think of a single word to describe the experience and how they felt. Then look in a thesaurus and find an unfamiliar word that means the same thing – the kind of word that you might expect to read in an academic text book but not use in everyday conversation with your friends. Put your name and the year in brackets after this word and you have the beginnings of a theory that can be used to discuss and explore ideas about ways in which education excludes and discomforts members of society in various ways. Now you are becoming an academic, as this is how academic work typically happens – often we need an unfamiliar word to describe a common experience as this distances us from the everyday and allows us time and space for 'doing theory' on it.

The idea of theory

For the reasons we have begun to outline, the need to theorise our educational work is of considerable importance. One of the common challenges that confront students new to the study of education is the need to interrogate and substantiate their experiences, observations, ideas, claims and aspirations in the field of education. It is not surprising then that at first we find this difficult to do, for, like so many of the issues relating to education, 'theory' is also one of those labels that is more complicated than it at first might seem.

A useful account of the idea of theory can be found in Wellington's (2004) discussion of theory in educational research. Originating from the ancient Greek theor, this involves the notion of the spectator or envoy – a person engaged in a practical and critical activity.

By around the 17th century, however, an unhelpful distinction between theory and practice began to emerge, with theory being regarded as a mental activity divorced from the practice of the field: 'the speculative and the practical' (Williams, 1983: 316), 'that's all very well in theory but how will it work in practice?'

For writers Carr and Kemmis (1986) the idea of praxis (another concept rooted in Greek philosophy) predates this separation of theory and practical knowledge,

and, more usefully, connects theory and practice through a dialectical approach to thinking. Dialectical thinking is important in our study of education as it involves searching out contradictions that exist in particular educational issues through reflection on the many contributing elements. It is a process where informed action is actively re-shaped through the continuous review of the actions and the knowledge which inform it.

Theories, of the practical sort are used to explain why or how events, patterns, experiences and so on might appear as they do. Theorising education involves us in observing, listening, sensing, reflecting upon, reading (in both senses of the word), researching and questioning our interpretations of particular educational phenomena (although this may not necessarily happen in that order). Importantly, such explanations are human by design and are, therefore, open to question, improvement and rejection. Theorising is therefore always provisional - and our language of observation, interrogation and reporting should reflect this.

Here are two pieces of writing, both on the same topic – recent changes to education in England – by Education Studies undergraduates.

Case Study

Extract 1:

I would argue that over the past twenty years we have witnessed a relentless series of market orientated reforms which have further distorted principles of equality and moral purpose in education. As Porter observed in 1999 'education has become narrowed to an economic function…. governments are effectively neutralising schools, colleges and universities as independent and democratic institutions' (Porter, 1999: 11). This preoccupation with marketisation can in fact be linked to a wider concern regarding Britain's continued competitiveness within a global market economy. In order to maintain the competitive nature of the UK economy, the Government appears to be encouraging competition in a deliberate effort to prepare its citizens for the rigours of a global jobs market. Yet again we are faced with an apparent conflict between what Gamble (1994) describes as 'a liberal tendency which argues the case for a freer, more open, and more competitive economy, and a conservative tendency which is more interested in restoring social and political authority throughout society'.

Extract 2:

The National Curriculum has increased standards and ensured consistency in schools. In addition, parents now have more information about the quality of teaching and achievement rates in schools, which previously only the middle classes could access. In my work placement I assisted a teacher in a year 9 English class and it was clear that, by referencing national curriculum criteria she was able to plan lessons with confidence that the teaching would be at the right level and cover the same material as other schools. On the other hand some teachers and

academics argue that this approach stifles creativity.

At first glance these two extracts might not seem so different. After all, both deal with an aspect of educational policy, both present contrasting arguments or ideas and the first goes further by linking the personal, 'practical' experience of work placement to the abstract, 'theoretical' essay. But as we will demonstrate in this chapter, the first extract theorises education. The second tries to, but doesn't manage it. There are no references to writing, policy or research – who are the people that argue about the stifling of creativity? There are three unsubstantiated, unsupported and 'taken for granted' assertions – for example, what are standards, what is consistency, and what is the evidence that only middle class parents had access (and what does 'middle class' actually mean)? The first extract interrogates education as a social practice and it makes clear connections to broader social, economic and political factors. Most importantly it makes it very clear that what is presented here is argument rather then fact and it references two academic sources – Porter and Gamble.

Being theoretical

Being theoretical, in an active, engaged way, is different to simply learning theory that other people have come up with and writing about it. Education Studies draws together ideas from a range of existing academic disciplines – typically, these include Psychology (how people learn, how individuals function mentally, how a person's identity is formed and how this informs their educational experiences), Sociology (how education functions within broader social structures and the degree of agency individuals have within this), Cultural Studies (how education relates to peoples' other cultural experiences), Philosophy (what education is, its purpose and goals within a range of complex ideas about truth, values, humanity and morality) and the History of Education. Here we will consider one example of each, and demonstrate how using these academic approaches to *be* theoretical differs from simply 'passing on' the existing material.

Working with Psychology: Example 1 - Assessment

During your Education Studies experience you will certainly come across theories about how people learn, and perhaps more importantly, how they don't – what stops them. In schools, both here in the UK and abroad, the theories of Howard Gardner (1993) have become highly popular. In particular, his theory of Multiple Intelligences has been simplified and applied in the form of 'learning styles' – with students being categorised as visual, auditory or kinaesthetic learners. Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences is related to psychological ideas about how the mind functions and it is interesting because Gardner moves us away from thinking of intelligence as a fixed, stable category (such as IQ) and helps us to imagine intelligence as fluid, varied and individual. So we might think of David Beckham ordinarily as lacking intelligence, but Gardner's theories enable us to think of him

as highly intelligent kinaesthetically but limited in terms of oral articulation – these are different forms of intelligence. But because you are doing Education Studies and not Psychology, your job at this point is not to simply 'learn Gardner' but to put his ideas into dialogue with other theoretical ideas about education. One example is assessment. If Gardner has helped us realise that there are lots of different forms of intelligence, then why does our educational system always privilege a very narrow range of these, often tested in artificial, stressful conditions such as examinations? We will find that the reasons are to do with the role of education in the broader social structure and the need for it to function as a mechanism for ranking people and equipping them (or not) with cultural capital (qualifications) that they can exchange for salaries and recognition. At this point the psychological ideas about the mind come into dialogue with sociological, philosophical and cultural ideas about what education is actually for.

Working with Sociology: Example 2 -Cultural Capital

So if assessment is geared towards one form of intelligence and the outcome is that only a minority of people get high enough grades to progress, then we may come to the view that the exchange of cultural capital is unfair. Cultural capital is a sociological term associated with Pierre Bourdieu (1990). His idea was that there are two forms of capital – money (economic capital) and cultural capital. The latter is the range of things you can collect and exchange that give you 'distinction' from other people. You can't directly buy them but you are more likely to acquire them if you have money. These are qualifications from respected institutions, clothes, property and other symbols of status. The complex thing is this – it is possible to be poor but to have cultural capital. You might be an Oxford graduate who has never had a job, for example. So education serves to provide people with more or less cultural capital, and in England at least, a degree from one University is 'worth' more than the same degree from another. This relates to philosophical ideas about the nature of education.

Working with Philosophy: Example 3 - Plato and Mill

Two philosophers with greatly contrasting ideas about education were Plato and John Stuart Mill. Plato (1988) believed that society was best organised by dividing people into three groups. The rulers (the aristocracy) were simply a superior race of people than the workers who were essentially slaves. But their power was reliant on the work of another group, the Guardians, who keep order and ensure the efficient administration of the society. This tripartite model can be found in the class system, some would argue – upper, middle and lower class people. John Stuart Mill's (1986) philosophy of education is described as 'utilitarianism' – everything should be done for the good of the highest number of people, and education empowers people and is good for them, thus education should be free for all and equal for all. This is the comprehensive view of education. But in England, we might find that, despite appearances, our school system, college

structure and University provision resembles Plato's ideas more clearly. Private schools, grammar schools, comprehensive schools, specialist status schools and academies offer different 'types' of people different forms of education. So we end up realising that what might seem like abstract philosophies actually resonate loudly with social practices. And we can easily relate the psychological ideas about how different people learn to some of Plato's ideas about differences between types of people and what education each group should have.

Working with Cultural Studies: Example 4 -Technology and the 'Disconnect'

David Buckingham (2007) suggests that some young people today are so immersed in a culture of media, social networking and online creativity that they feel a profound disconnection from the technically barren world of school. He argues that the web 2.0 experiences of children demand a response from education and that ignoring the range of literacy practices students are engaged in out of school is dangerous. Opinion is divided over this. Some educators see videogames, media, mobile technologies and the internet as a problem – an obstacle to literacy. Others, like Buckingham, see the potential for schools to 'reach out' to the kinds of creative, communication experiences that new technologies have afforded, and most importantly, they see these as learning experiences. James Paul Gee (2003) suggests that playing a videogame is actually a literacy practice in itself. These are pertinent issues for the student of education, but like the other theoretical ideas we have discussed, just knowing what Buckingham thinks won't get you very far in Education Studies. You need instead to put his thoughts into dialogue with sociological ideas about education and the 'insulation' between school and students' cultural experiences outside of the classroom. And you need to consider these notions that new technologies offer rich cognitive experiences by putting them in touch with psychological theories about learning and intelligence. And you might purposely engage with 'postmodern' philosophies about digital culture, virtual experiences and the challenged nature of reality, and what education might do in response to all this change.

Working with the History of Education: Example 5 - The 1988 National Curriculum

The history of education, offers another 'lens' through which we can examine education as a phenomenon which is situated in time and space. For many people the idea of a National Curriculum is a way of ensuring equality of provision – with all children and pupils getting the same curriculum diet wherever they happen to go to school. Some believe that society needed a National Curriculum because before 1988 schools just 'did there own thing' and it was time for change.

Placing the idea of a National Curriculum 'in dialogue' invites us to evaluate some of these common assumptions. The History of Education reveals that educational interventions on this scale are more often than not related to economic imperatives

of the time, such as economic recession, workforce reform, changes in the global labour market etc. The processes of design and 'delivery' of the curriculum also says something about the extent of political control being exercised at the time. For example, commentators at the time were quick to note the remarkable similarity between the 1988 National Curriculum and the 1904 Board of Education Codes (Aldrich, 1988). In 'dialoguing' with history of education we locate educational policy and practices within a historical and cultural continuum.

Theoretical Remixing

These brief examples serve to demonstrate the way that the Education Studies student needs to do theory, which is very different to the student of Sociology, Cultural Studies, Philosophy, Psychology or History. A theoretical idea about education needs to be understood, applied but then tested out in relation to ideas from the other disciplines and in relation to the lived experiences of the people involved in education – teachers, students, parents, employers, Government and those excluded from or disengaged by education. And there must be a reflective dialogue between these theoretical ideas and your own cultural situatedness – how are you constructed as a social subject, and what part has education played, and is it still playing, in this construction of identity? We might call this active engagement with and negotiation of theory as remixing it – reworking, exploring, creating ideas yourself out of these theoretical stimuli. This 'remixing' is a way of thinking that is dialectical.

Interpretation and dialectical thinking

Interpreting educational phenomena and applying dialectical thinking is an important skill that we have to learn to practise in the study of education. A useful starting point for this is what C. Wright Mills (1959) calls the 'Sociological Imagination'. The sociological imagination enables us to see the relationship of our personal biography to the wider events of society at large. This involves us not simply taking things as given, or at first sight, but requires us to consider 'alternative futures' or possibilities. In applying the Sociological Imagination we come to consider a particular event or occurrence from a variety of angles or standpoints – as if looking through different 'lenses' which are then placed into the kind of dialogues we have outlined above. In doing so it enables us to consider alternative possibilities.

Activity

Chose one of the following for discussion:

1. Why is it that standards in state education are in decline?
2. How do children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder experience life in school?
3. What is the connection between healthy eating and improvement in the

educational performance of fourteen-year olds?'

4. Should we encourage the continuance of faith schools?
5. When should we start compulsory education and when should it end?

In applying the sociological imagination, here are some of the ways we might consider these question and their underlying dialogues.

1. What are educational standards? In what ways can they be defined – if at all? Who decides what constitutes education standards? Who does this involve? Do standards change? Do they matter? If so, to who? What would you consider to be your own educational standards, are they the same as your friends'?
2. What is an attention deficit? What makes a disorder a disorder? Who decides? Who does it affect? What does it mean for the people who are deemed to have it? What might it mean for carers, parents, teachers, governors? What does it mean for those deemed not to have it?
3. How do we define healthy eating? Why should we control what children and adolescents eat in school? Who should control what children and adolescents eat in school? Is there any demonstrable educational benefit?
4. How are faith schools different to any other type of school? How do we know this? By what criteria are we judging their success or usefulness to society? What are the issues surrounding community, equality, access, spirituality, indoctrination and segregation?
5. Is early intervention in education a good or bad thing? What might educational intervention involve? Who benefits – parents, government, the economy, children? Should we raise the school leaving age? What would the consequences be?

Each of these educational 'problems' requires that we first exercise something of the sociological imagination in order to consider them from a variety of angles. To do this we first have to begin to recognise and then suspend our predispositions and biases that may cloud our 'reading' and interpretation of the issue – this is not always easy to do when we are likely to have a vested interest in a particular stance related to the issue or unique positive or negative experiences. It may be something that is deeply embedded in our cultural experience and expectations that make it difficult to stand apart from. It is here that out ability to theorise becomes important through combining the skills of critical interpretation with an increasing knowledge of the field of study in the ways that we have previously described.

Strengthening the 'remix': developing a praxis of critical judgement

From the starting point of 'thinking out' educational issues through using the sociological imagination and dialectical thinking, you will quickly realise that the former becomes increasingly superficial and the latter increasingly difficult

without a supporting 'scaffold' of educational concepts to inform your theorising. So it is essential that we get into some good practices of studentship early in our study of education:

Example Of Good Practice

1. Get inquisitive. Ask yourself questions and examine and challenge your own ideas and convictions
2. Develop a reading strategy. Target your reading to encompass chapters from essential and recommended texts, journal articles, broadsheets, reliable websites etc… Familiarise yourself with 'field' through sampling the literature, begin to recognise some of the competing arguments, interests, 'contenders' and biases.
3. Evaluate your position. Ask yourself where you stand on the issue in question – if you don't know or don't care, then you have some work to do! Get inquisitive!
4. Keep a reflective journal (hardcopy or electronic) in which to record your evolving perceptions, thoughts, arguments around what you have read, discussed, observed and heard - make it at a habit.
5. Learn to embrace ambiguity. Education and its processes rarely work in 'straight lines'. Be ready for discomfort, confusion and the occasional headache. You will, out of necessity, be frequently working in the 'grey areas' of educational thinking
6. 'Dialogue' educational issues and 'problems' with informing disciplines.
7. Rehearse your arguments and get critical. Think through your lines of inquiry and argument. Finding time to do this may not always be easy, but is an extremely important part of the 'doing theory' process. Look for structure and pattern in your thinking, evaluate the arguments
8. Commit your thinking in writing - frequently: practise, practise, and practise - draft and redraft your work – aim to ensure clarity and critical quality (this is a skill to be developed).
9. Review your work. Tutors will have something to say about your work, recommendations to offer, criticisms to make and, occasionally, praise to heap – review your work in light of this.
10. Be collaborative be independent. 'Doing Theory' in Educational Studies involves our ability to undertake solitary reflective work and collaborative discursive work – be prepared to do both in equal measure.

And remember - 'There is nothing so practical as a good theory' (Lewin, 1946, 169 quoted in Wellington, 2004, 25).

Further Reading

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NINE

Networking for Educational Change: Concepts, impediments and opportunities for primary school professional learning communities

Introduction

Enthusiasm in England for inter-school networks has seen a burgeoning of new partnerships between schools, local authorities and institutions of higher education. As ministerial doubt has increased over the certainty of educational 'gains' through prescriptive intervention, the idea of 'learning networks' and 'learning communities' has become an increasingly attractive alternative in the realisation of school improvement through 'informed professionalism'. These ideas have now coalesced around the professional learning community. Based on the belief that learning and teaching are best enhanced by teachers working and learning together across intuitions, one manifestation of this has been the National College for School Leadership's (NCSL, 2002) *Networked Learning Communities* programme. Ranging from small clusters of phase-specific schools to more ambitious cross-phase networks, professional learning communities have generated new configurations of collaborative engagement between local authorities and institutions of higher education. Despite the paucity of evaluative evidence relating to professional learning communities in England, inter-professional collaboration is set to both increase and become more complex. Emerging from the Laming Inquiry (Laming, 2003), *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003) and The Children Act of 2004, a reform agenda of 'extended schools' and integrated children's services has meant that schools are now positioned in new multi-professional partnerships as part of multi-agency initiatives allied to the fields of health and welfare. Whilst collaboration has by tacit consensus come to be regarded as 'a good thing', professional knowledge around processes and theories of change agency in collaborative practice have often been peripheral concerns to those involved in the development of both school-to-school networks and inter-professional 'communities'.

In July 2002 and January 2003, the Education and Professional Studies Subject Area at Newman University College became involved in two different network ventures. The first of these followed an invitation to act as the university partner in an NCSL-sponsored Networked Learning Community programme involving six junior schools. The second venture followed a successful tender for the design of a professional development programme for serving primary school headteachers around collaborative change as part of an authority-wide school improvement programme.

City-side[1] network comprised six 7–11 junior schools, with only one of these deemed unsuccessful on the basis of inspection evidence and Key Stage 2 national

assessment data. The network was jointly coordinated by two of the headteachers who had made the initial bid to the NCSL'S Networked Learning Communities Programme. Funding for the network came directly from the NCSL and was fixed for a three-year period. While the network was at liberty to select its own learning focus, all NCSL networks were governed by the programme's six levels of learning'.[2].

Adopting a similar approach to the Specialist Schools Achievement Programme (Chapman & Allen, 2006), the 'Linkway'[3] network was initiated by a metropolitan local authority with the specific aim of improving educational attainment amongst a target cohort of primary schools. Comprising 36 schools, this was organised around a 'triad' of 'lead' and 'partner' schools. Lead schools were designated on the basis of successful inspection outcomes and pupil performance data. Schools in close geographical proximity but performing below national benchmarks were designated 'partner' institutions. Each triad was resourced directly from the local authority for a maximum period of three years.

Methodology

Fieldwork with both networks followed the principles of an ethnographic methodology (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Denscombe, 2003). This requires that the Networking for education change 343 researcher spends considerable time in the field amongst the informants of the enquiry—as a full participant in the process and lives of the community, rather than as a detached and privileged observer. In the case of City-side this involved a three year collaboration, and with Linkway our partnership was to extend over a five-year period. During this time our experiences were, as Denscombe describes, 'a journey of discovery in which the explanations for what is being witnessed emerge over a period of time' (2003, p. 84). 'Routine and normal aspects of everyday life' were to become the locus of our research data (Denscombe, 2003, p. 84), and analysis typically involved interpretations of meanings and human actions through verbal accounts and explanations (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). In each site fieldwork began with a series of preliminary interviews with headteachers, focusing on themes of leadership, collaboration, and professional learning. In City-side network this involved individual semi-structured interviews, and in Linkway semi-structured group discussions (Fontana & Frey, 2008, p. 128) were conducted by the author and two co-researchers. In each network this involved the audio-recording of discussions and the transcription and coding of data, which respondents were then invited to comment on. The research categories then informed the framework for participant observations and further semi-structured discussion. The category headlines were:

- professional confidence and trust;
- professional exchange;
- network maturation;
- conceptions of community; and
- network–local education authority tensions.

Diaries were also kept by the researchers throughout the fieldwork, and regular review meetings provided opportunities to share observations, perceptions and provisional conclusions. Participating headteachers were then invited to comment on emerging findings.

Early encounters with group processes

The participants of inter-school networking bring with them a range of responsibilities, motives and ambitions; and these have an immediate bearing upon the collective vision, focus, working process and accountabilities of the group. A crucial part of initial networking is the creation of conditions in which participants are critically conscious of these dispositions yet have sufficient confidence to meaningfully engage in what Heifetz (2003, p. 74) calls the 'difficult conversation'. The first theme to emerge early in these projects was that of role ambiguity and unconscious participatory process. While some of the network headteachers had experience of inter-professional work through their local authority clusters and other involvement in Education Action Zones,[4] many of them were not necessarily equipped to initiate new forms of less formal and less hierarchically structured participatory collaboration. In the absence of strong external direction, our first encounters underscored the need for groups to clarify their roles and responsibilities, but also to develop a critical professional consciousness of participatory processes in action. On this matter we were of the view that three well established approaches to collaborative participation were largely absent: the work of Belbin (1981, 1993) on team roles, Tuckman (1965) on group processes and de Bono (2000) on thinking skills. Notwithstanding the extensive critique of Belbin's role types[5] (Furnham *et al*., 1993; Dulewicz, 1995; Huczynski, 1997), we anticipated that there would be at least some awareness or expectation of role definition and role shift within the group. If such awareness was present amongst the headteachers in these groups, this was not articulated publicly or privately. Similarly, ideas around phases of group development were also absent; for example, Tuckman's (1965) established work on developmental sequence in small groups (forming, storming, norming, performing). Finally, given the growth in popularity of de Bono's (2000) *Six thinking hats* as a thinking skills strategy with children, it is surprising that there was little cognisance of the potential application of this approach to the resolution of group differences and collective problems. In enacting these practices at a formative stage, the initial process of network collaboration can be considerably eased. Crucially, network collaboration then avoids what Perkins (2003) calls co*blab*oration: 'blab that does not really pool the minds around the table, going nowhere in any one of several different ways, or all of them' (Perkins, 2003, p. 149, quoted in Fullan, 2005, p. 48).

The ability of participants to recognise and respond positively to interactive processes of 'norming' and 'forming' enables network groups to transcend routine operational bureaucracies and offers the potential to make professional exchange

and collaboration more meaningful and professionally enriching. Failure to attend to the collective critical consciousness of group processes and new role orientations becomes a serious impediment to the conditions for building professional *trust*; without which, networks neither learn nor commune. Our experience would suggest that this aspect of collaboration was subject to differentiation between network groups. Failure to give sufficient attention to these practices meant that some networks were to find themselves caught in a repetitious cycle of 'surface' and technical preoccupations in which routine matters of organisation, structure and deadline became a matter of co*blab*orative ritual. In other instances these preoccupations were shaped by a dominance of instrumental and performative interests. These, in turn, were to reveal clear demarcations between networks, learning communities, and what Hargreaves (2003, p. 145) calls 'performance training sects'—an issue to which I will return later.

Towards a collective consciousness

Successful networking requires more than a tacit recognition of change processes. Schratz (1993, pp. 67–68), for example, has highlighted the powerful impact of 'collective consciousness', arguing that collective reflection is both an educative and transformative force for revealing underlying processes and meaning. The development of individual and collective reflective consciousness around change processes is fundamental to meaningful collaborative practice and group renewal. A useful and well-established reference point for this can be found in Fullan's (1999) revised Networking for education change 345 'Eight Lessons from the New Paradigm of Educational Change', and it is worth reprising this here:

Lesson 1: Moral Purpose is Complex and Problematic
Lesson 2: Change is a Journey not a Blueprint
Lesson 3: Problems are Our Friends: Conflict and Diversity Are Our Friends
Lesson 4: Understand the Meaning of Operating on the Edge of Chaos
Lesson 5: Individualism and Collectivism Must Have Equal Power: Collaborative Cultures Are Anxiety Provoking and Anxiety Containing
Lesson 6: Neither Centralization Nor De-centralization Works—both are necessary
Lesson 7: Connection with the Wider Environment is Critical for Success
Lesson 8: Every Person is a Change Agent. (Fullan, 1999, p. 18)

Irrespective of the specific focus and mission of each network, our experience suggests that such lessons were not always at the forefront of the collective consciousness of headteachers in their decisions about network practice. For some network headteachers, little secret was made of their material motives for entering into collaboration. For some, this was no more than a matter of access to both the financial resources earmarked for network learning and the free exchange of curriculum and pedagogical innovations within the network. For the most part, the contributions from these participants were tentative and their status within the community remained peripheral. The involvement of the local authority also

had a significant bearing on how participant commitment was shaped within the community. Where there was a genuine commitment to networked learning amongst authority officers, new avenues of mutual enquiry were established. More often, the response of headteachers to local authority intervention was framed by a perceived Foucauldian form of 'surveillance apparatus'. The responsibility of local authority officers for public money coupled with their pursuit of the standards 'silver bullet' invariably meant network events were places where headteachers were obliged to be seen to proactive. For others, networks were to become important sites of authentic professional exchange. In these examples, interactions within networks were characterised by an emerging sensitivity by the participants to what Engeström calls 'multi-voicedness'. According to Engeström, activity systems such as professional learning networks involve, *inter alia*, multiple points of view in which participants bring their own diverse histories: 'the activity system itself carries multiple layers and strands of history engraved in its artefacts, rules and conventions' (Engeström, 2001, p. 136). Professional interactions amongst these groups were, in our observations, characterised by confidence and dexterity in the exposure and reevaluation of collective engraved histories through the 'difficult conversation'.

In other school clusters, network collaboration was framed by wholly instrumental imperatives. In this network, the more complex facets of pupil and professional learning were frequently eclipsed by preoccupations with short-term strategies for the improvement of pupil performance against national standards. In this regard, networks committed themselves to a spurious idea of 'knowledge transfer' in preference to engaging with the complexities of authentic *transformative* educational practice.

Learning community or performance sect?

In light of these observations, a stark division emerged between those networks whose orientation was towards professional learning communities and those whose working practices mirror Hargreaves's (2003) description of 'performance training sects'. Drawing on Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on communities of practice, professional learning communities have at their core an emphatic desire to be, in the words of Mitchell and Sackney (2001), a 'human system' concerned with 'a way of being and a way of living … a group of people who take an active, reflective, collaborative, learning-oriented, and growth-promoting approach toward both the mysteries and the problems of teaching and learning'. The idea of an educational 'community', however, is not without contention. As Beck (1999) points out, the concept of 'community' in educational settings is subject to multiple, ambiguous or conflicting meanings. Beck pinpoints six metaphors that are commonly cited in the literature around community and educational leadership, and for the purpose of this article it is useful to summarise the central tenets of these.

Ontological metaphors

According to Beck this metaphor reflects three images: the family as a centre of

care, the village or settlement (following the African proverb 'It takes a whole village to raise a child') and musical communities of being 'in-tune':

> In many ways, life in community is like life in an orchestra. An orchestra is made up of many individual members, each of whom has a particular instrument to play. Each instrumentalist is part of the orchestra, yet an orchestra is more than just the grouping of individual musicians. It takes on its own identity and purpose as a whole unit. (Kratzer, 1996, p. 297, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 20)

In this musical image, an important educational parallel emerges in relation to the social and the individual in traditions of practice:

> The practice of jazz makes demands on the musician as person continually to develop and extend musical technique … Jazz, however, is also a social practice … It has its history and tradition … The aspirations of the emerging jazz musician include coming under the influence of and mastering the tradition, finding an individual creative voice, and, at the highest level, making a contribution so creative that the tradition itself changes to reflect it. The 'top down' of jazz as social practice merges, therefore, with the 'bottom up' of the jazz player as a person. (Dokecki, 1995, pp. 8–9, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 21)

Psychological metaphors

With an accent on the psychological safety of its participants—pupils, teachers, parents and administrators—Beck's psychological metaphor emphasises 'long-term, committed, intimate relationships' and the 'affective ties'. Community in this sense is as much about a *feeling* of belonging as a shared faith that the participant's needs will be met through a commitment to be together (Beck, 1999, p. 22).

Behavioural metaphors

In this metaphor, conceptions of community transcend subjective phenomena, with observers noting that certain types of *behaviour* are also likely to be present in these settings. Embracing such things as modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation (Noddings, 1992, pp. 22–25, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 24), *interaction* becomes critical:

> … community may be distinguished by the ways each member's life and behaviors interpenetrate those of others. Activities in community are characterized, at least in part, by the fact that people carrying them out are connected, often in deep and complex ways. (Beck, 1999, p. 25)

Structural metaphors

In Beck's fourth metaphor, attention is turned to descriptors of non-communal schools: the 'shopping mall high school' (Powell *et al.*, 1985, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 27), 'artificial barriers between learning and living' (Sarason, 1974, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 27), 'fragmentation, jaggedness, decentering' (Bernstein, 1987, p. 517, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 27), the bureaucratic (Lieberman *et al.*, 1995, p. 115, quoted in Beck 1999, p. 27) and the compartmentalised (Barth, 1990, p. 12, quoted in Beck, 1999, p. 27). In contrast, communal organisations are characterised

by open, inclusive social arrangements with permeable boundaries and 'flat' structures:

> … a key difference between hierarchies and communities is the fact that the former have rigid dividing structures whereas the boundaries inside communities are flexible and accommodating (Johnson, 1990, 166).They exist primarily to foster the possibility of face-to-face 'up close' (McLaughlin, 1993, p. 99) interactions among participants. The necessity of such interactions if a sense of community is to exist is an idea echoed by several people writing on this topic. (Beck, 1999, p. 29)

Political metaphors

> The reality that power structures, conflict, and struggle exist even in communities that embrace egalitarian values is evident in several case studies of educational communities. Beck and Newman (1996), in their discussion of life and work in 'one urban high school' that functioned as a caring community, portray Wilson High School as a place of care but also as a site of struggle for influence. (Beck, 1999, p. 29)

Thus, Beck's political metaphor emphasises the distribution of power in decision making and the possibilities of choice amongst its many varied participants. Ideas around structure and agency permeate this metaphor of community.

Ethical metaphors

In this sixth metaphor, Beck locates ideas around justice, critique, caring and Friere's concept of conscientisation as the imperatives of community:

> … learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality … any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence… to alienate people from their own decision-making is to change them to objects (Freire, 1970, p. 74; quoted in Purpel, 1989, pp. 132–133). (Beck, 1999, p. 33)

Much of our experience resonates with Beck's metaphors. At the time of writing, a small number of triads in the Linkway network were emerging from a form of shared restlessness that is implied in Beck's political metaphor. They are now entering into a formative and constructive stage of *conscientisation* enabled largely through opportunities to engage in authentic discourse. In moving beyond *collaboration*, authentic discourses of the sort embodied in *conscientisation* create powerful reciprocities between the principles of effective teamwork (alertness to role ambiguity, micro-political power structures and technical capabilities within the group) and the key characteristics of change processes; in particular, those facets that emphasise complexity, anxiety, moral purpose and agency.

For many of the Linkway headteachers, such discourses were made possible through the rejection of managerial hierarchies in favour of 'flat', 'permeable' network structures—a professional and strategic disposition that was not always shared amongst all the participating headteachers. For a significant number of the triad schools, the features described in the psychological, ontological and

behavioural metaphors were also central to their interests. In this orientation to networking, participants emphasised the reciprocity between the pedagogic issues of deep and meaningful learning and that of 'deep teacher change' (Harris & Muijs, 2005).

Embracing such things as reflection, the affective dimensions of learning, interpersonal relationships, creativity, risk-taking, thinking skills and critical judgement, these facets of practice were to become powerful agents in professional renewal, the development of professional identity and the generation of new systems of meaning (Andrews & Lewis, 2004, p. 130). In a substantial number of network discussions, participants placed significant emphasis on the importance of person-centredness (Rogers, 1980, 1994). These observations chime with Harris and Muijs's (2005) conclusions that school professional learning communities involve three interrelated components:

> … first, trust among those who are working together; secondly, knowledge of what the issues or tasks are that need to be addressed to move the school forwards; and, thirdly, the leadership capacity to undertake the necessary work in a way that allows modification and encourages reflection. (Harris & Muijs, 2005, p. 48)

This view of a learning community adds a level of complexity to conventional measures of demonstrable impact in educational evaluation. Moreover, it gives credence to collaborative enquiry as a powerful agent in the pursuit of a principled professional learning community.

In contrast to the professional learning community, the characteristics of a small number of schools in City-side and Linkway networks bore greater resemblance to Hargreaves's (2003) description of the performance training sect. Drawing on the work of Wilson (1961), Hargreaves lists seven characteristics of sects that have direct relevance to our observations:

- Exclusivity
- A monopoly on truth
- Demanding standards
- Total allegiance
- Fundamentalist orientation
- Ascetic origins
- Equal obligations. (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 145)

Placed in a context of educational networks, Hargreaves compares performance training sects with professional learning communities:

> Professional Learning Communities Performance Training Sects
> Transform Knowledge Transfer Knowledge
> Shared inquiry Imposed requirements
> Evidence informed Results driven
> Situated certainty False certainty
> Local solutions Standardized scripts

Joint responsibility Deference to authority
Continuous learning Intensive training
Communities of practice Sects of performance. (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 145)

There is evidence from our observations to suggest that for a number of networks their mission remains in keeping with the features of the performance training sect. In City-side and Linkway there were examples of school clusters where the conferred status of individual institutional success (through the apparatus of inspection outcomes, league-table rankings, awards from the Department for Education and Skills, etc.) provided more than an implicit basis for their sense of exclusivity. With a commitment to the importance of external standards and a demand for participatory allegiance, these networks exhibited, in Hargreaves's use of the term, fundamentalist traits: a return to the 'pristine message of the faith' that calls for 'a new level of dedication and performance' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 145). For some members of City-side, the pristine message was unequivocally embodied in a version of 'truth' around teaching effectiveness. As Hargreaves warns, such truths are subject to monopolisation by 'gurus of particular initiatives' and the 'governments who impose them' with the sect 'beholden to the truth' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 145). In City-side network, these features were to become the principal agency for a form of preferred cultural reproduction, characterised by ritualised symbolic practices in preference to locating the more idiosyncratic processes of educational transformation.

Emerging agents of effective collaboration

In the course of the research, two key features were to have a significant bearing on the direction and purpose of network collaborative strategy; both of which have been the subject of education policy interest in the United Kingdom. The first, and more advanced of these, was the headteachers' ambition for a dispersal or distribution of school leadership. For many participants it was their explicit intention to enable a greater democratisation of the managerial structure within their schools. It also marked the first tentative steps towards leadership succession planning, as these vignettes from three of the headteachers suggest:

> So the co-ordinators have all had opportunity to work alongside other schools and it's boosted their confidence. I mean, we had Ofsted in January and the things they were able to sit and talk to Ofsted about were phenomenal really. The background, the work they had done, the work they had developed, and they were able to talk like a mini headteacher about what was happening in their school as a result of working with other schools.

> I have got a leadership team now that I totally trust in, they can do it, they can deliver it; I don't need to be there necessarily for a lot of the things, which before, they would have said; 'I'm not sure I can do that'.

> I think the most significant change that I am experiencing is the development of the middle managers, their experience, abilities competences and expertise in order to move the school forward.

An outcome not immediately foreseen in this liberalisation of managerial structure was the growth of new inter-school dialogues between members of the schools' middle managers; notably, assistant headteachers and key stage coordinators. These new avenues of communication typically revolved around mezzo-level school-wide initiatives such as the use of classroom-based technologies, pedagogical approaches to support pupil preferred learning styles and 'buddying' strategies to improve the social, emotional and affective aspects of pupils' school experience:

> We did a lot to ensure the release of staff so they could go and see how other children were learning. We particularly did numeracy because the three schools had achieved quite well for level fours, but the level fives were not rising, and yet we all knew we had children within our year groups who had that capability. So the release of the teachers was very interesting. There were certain ones who were going out; 'well I've been doing this for years I don't need to go and see somebody else do it, I know how to'. To hear the comments coming back sitting in the staff room; 'I saw a really good idea today, I'm going to try that one, I had never seen that before'. So it was a learning process for that staff and also a learning process for the headteachers in different ways to have the access to go and visit other schools and see what is going on there.
>
> Dialogue on a day-to-day level is now much more focused on the learning process and the observations of the effectiveness of different teaching strategies.
>
> What I believe I've done is to encourage, develop and facilitate all—whether they have taken this on board or not is another thing—for teachers perception of themselves as making a difference in our school and interacting with other schools to make a difference as well; and that, by the way, is just as much about their listening as their talking. That was not at our school about three, four, five years ago. It's as simple as that.
>
> I think the biggest impact that our particular triad has had on classroom teachers is the opportunity we gave for them to visit the other two schools; for lesson observations, for chances to talk to the other teachers. We have also had a training day where we were all mixed up and that gave us the opportunity to talk to others. So it is taking practice and Networking for education change 351 observations and being able to discuss them with others. It is about the different varieties of learning styles that children can now use instead of this facts myopia. The majority of teachers, to my mind, seem to be in a school and they have very little opportunity to visit elsewhere.

Given the central message of the management of change literature cited earlier, it is perhaps not surprising that, for many headteachers, initiatives of this sort were to become the most transformative in terms of shared pupil experience and the professional learning of school personnel. A number of these developments are now embedded in the 'day-to-day' practice of the networked schools. The second feature to emerge from the research, but still very much in its infancy amongst the participating networks, is possibly the most critical aspect in the sustainability of informed professionalism: practitioner and pupil enquiry. The tradition of the

reflective practitioner and action research is well established in the history of teacher education in the United Kingdom (Stenhouse, 1975; Schön, 1983, 1987; Elliot, 1991). However, in England, government pre-occupation with *particular forms* of school data (Shirley & Hargreaves, 2006) and the erosion of teacher professional judgement through state-mandated change (Trotman, 2007), continue to obstruct practitioner-informed practice as part of meaningful wholeschool evaluation. Despite these impediments, school-based practice in the province of pupil voice (Fielding & Rudduck, 2002; Fielding, 2004), collaborative practitioner enquiry (Street *et al*., 2005) and children as researchers (Kellett, 2005) is now emerging. When purposefully configured, these developments offer powerful alternatives for school evaluation that extend beyond the technocracy of school inspection data and league tables. Such configurations enable schools to access and legitimise the full variety of the pupil experience whilst empowering forms of strategic vision through what Eisner calls 'the artful use of critical disclosure' (Eisner, 1985, p. 93). Disclosures of this sort become pivotal in the transformation of 'sect' and 'club' to that of the professional learning community. As two of the participating headteachers from Linkway were to observe:

> I think that the emphasis on packages and prescription, which we have all gone through, literacy and numeracy strategy and other initiatives, has sort of persuaded staff that they have to get onto some sort of packaged band wagon, and it seems we have lost the ability to discriminate according to our own knowledge about how children learn. That's changing; I think that some of the staff, longer serving members of staff, have sort of gone down hill in that way while the literacy strategy and numeracy strategy was being implemented, but I think they are now regaining their own confidence in their own observations and decisions. Newer members of staff who have come into it don't know any different. They came into being trained about a prescripted approach and I think that they have been, I suppose, emancipated by it really.
>
> We are getting away from the need to go on one particular band wagon. There are all sorts of things like accelerated learning and different learning styles, but you don't have to go down one band wagon do you?
>
> The staff are learning to take what's useful for them from the range of approaches. It's a much more intelligent view of teaching I think.

Conclusion

As our work with regional network learning communities enters its sixth year, we have learned much from the fieldwork with our partners, and we remain deeply indebted to City-side and Linkway Networks. The educational benefits of interschool collaboration are potentially considerable. However, as Harris and Muijs (2005, p. 2) caution, 'it does assume that teachers automatically possess the will, skill and ability to work in this way'. In relation to similar studies in the field (Smith & Wohlstetter, 2001; Dooner *et al*., 2007), our experience resonates with findings that conclude that network participants are often unprepared for,

and are then frustrated by, group tensions resulting from an inattention to group processes. Moreover, our observations lead us to believe that an understanding and assimilation of change management processes is crucial to the development of strategic intelligence in network practices, and that it is only amongst a small minority of participants that this is recognised and valued as important professional expertise.

The field of change management has an extensive research history, encompassing school case studies, longitudinal school-level reform (Fullan, 2003; Hargreaves, 2003), district-wide reform and the evaluation of national strategy (Fullan, 2005). Insights into personal and organisational capacity (Mitchell & Sackney, 2001), school self-renewal and transformation (Dalin, 1978), and community and sustainability (Fullan, 2005; Hargreaves & Fink, 2005) have all provided important tools in enabling a deep understanding of intuitional change and our orientation to it. Our experience with the participants of City-side and Linkway networks, however, tells us that we have yet to fully capitalise on this substantial pool of knowledge. Whilst a number of schools in the networks maintained close connection with the NCSL's Networked Learning Community programme, the performative tenor of its messages around 'optimal gains' and pupil attainment (see Carter and Sharpe's [2006] report on the impact of networks and collaboration) has largely served to validate the practices of the performance training sect For professional learning communities, the conclusions from our observations point to a number of challenges in the development of collaborative participatory practice.

First, networks that develop and integrate a strong sense of strategic 'withitness' (where role definition, developmental sequence, conceptions of community and management of change processes are fully attended to) have a considerable advantage in developing meaningful collaborative partnerships over those that do not. This requires the acquisition of professional expertise in hitherto under-developed areas: tolerance of role flexibility, sensitivity to the pulses in micro-political power in new educational contexts, and a personal commitment to the obligations of community participation amongst institutions. Expertise of this sort necessarily involves a deep knowledge of self, trust in professional intuition and alertness to the anxiety-provoking characteristics of change.

In Bolam *et al*.'s (2005) study for the Department for Education and Skills, mutual trust, respect and support surfaces as one of eight key characteristics of effective professional learning communities. As the authors go on to note: 'mutual trust, respect and support—emerged clearly in a workshop conference and was subsequently confirmed as important in the case studies' (Bolam *et al*., 2005, p. 134). Whilst, the adoption of 'Action Learning Sets' by the NCSL has gone some way to enabling a mechanism for the practice of social trust through problem-based learning, our observations suggest that the affective dimensions of network collaboration remain a neglected area of professional development in the initiation

and maturation of collaborative network activity.

Second, the role of research as a practitioner and pupil activity has been pivotal in providing focus and sustained commitment in collaborative networking. In relation to this theme, our observations accord with the NCSL's imperatives around practitioner enquiry. By extension, enquiry into all facets of the pupil experience presents new challenges for the professional repertoire. This requires immersion in forms of classroom research that accommodates and celebrates originality, novelty, imagination, the unanticipated and the unknown in the learner experience. Moreover, developing enquiry of this sort as a core educational activity opens new possibilities in the province of school evaluation. Practitioner research in such areas as creativity, emotional literacy, spirituality and so forth may offer a richer and more meaningful landscape of pupil learning and achievement than that afforded by current external accountability measures. The possibilities for school self-evaluation through more innovative forms of enquiry have been extensively rehearsed in the United States by Eisner (1985) and in the United Kingdom by MacBeath (2006). These have embraced the use of such things as paintings, drawings, diaries, role-play, critical incident analysis, photograph evaluations and so on. Innovation of this sort will make new demands upon practitioners in sharing and validating their professional judgements around learner experience and progression. Findings from this study, however, confirm that such approaches to enquiry and evaluation remain in their infancy within many primary phase networks.

Third, and less clear, are the challenges that now confront schools in engaging in the discourses of multi-professional practice. Although very much in its infancy in the United Kingdom, multi-professional work and inter-professional collaboration present important but as yet untested opportunities for headteachers and other lead professionals in a new phase of partnership building between schools, health and welfare professionals. If these developments are to have any degree of long-term success, then the conclusions drawn from our observations with school networks have intrinsic merit in the preparation of this work.

Notes

1. 'City-side' is a pseudonym.
2. Each Networked Learning Community was required to have its own learning focus but was governed by a framework of six independent levels of learning:
    1. Pupil learning—with each network having a clear pedagogic focus
    2. Adult learning—creating school cultures where practitioners learn alongside their students
    3. Leadership learning and development—the capacity of network practitioners and network leaders to create conditions for network learning

4. Schoolwide learning—the development of schools as professional learning communities
5. School-to school learning—premised on the belief that the best way to encourage practitioners to share knowledge within a school is also to encourage them to share knowledge with others outside the school
6. Network-to-network learning—network-based organizations are seen to carry the potential to accelerate knowledge creation and innovation across the education system. (Street *et al*., 2005, pp. 5–6)

3. 'Linkway' is a pseudonym.
4. Education Action Zones were designed as a collaborative initiative involving business, schools, local education authorities and parents 'to modernize and improve education in areas of social deprivation' (DfEE, 1998).
5. Belbin (1981) identifies eight distinct role types that contribute to teams, with each having identified strengths and allowable weaknesses:
    1. Company worker.
    2. Chairman.
    3. Shaper.
    4. Plant.
    5. Resource investigator.
    6. Monitor-evaluator.
    7. Team-worker.
    8. Completer-finisher.

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TEN

Deliberate Imprecision: Critical directions in researching imaginative education

> Recall and imagination are qualities of human experience that are internal and private. I can enjoy my own fantasies and you can enjoy yours, but you cannot access mine, nor I yours. If things were left that way, culture would be static… culture depends on communication…the externalization of what is internal… what is private is made public. —Eisner, 2005, 108

This chapter explores the possibilities and limitations of research design and representation in imaginative education. Its point of departure is, to follow Eisner, an imperative to make possible the external *representation* of the interior lifeworld. As imaginative phenomena are a significant feature of this interior world, the aim of this chapter is to consider ways in which strategic approaches to research in imaginative education can be meaningfully developed amongst educational practitioners and participants. The lines of discussion that follow then are intended to foreground approaches to research design that resonate with subjective experience and imaginative phenomena. Hence, the field of qualitative research, with its extensive repertoire of methodological approaches, provides particularly fertile ground for this discussion. In particular, the practices of Arts Based Educational Research (ABER) and the *bricoleur* approach to research method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) are given special consideration in this chapter. In this undertaking, I hope to encourage practitioners to explore and extend the scope of the representation of their research in their own educational settings.

The Imagination

Imagination, as many of the contributors to this text have sought to demonstrate, has a particularly important role in the education of young people. Whilst there is a modest history of philosophical interest in imagination in contemporary western societies (see, for example, Satre, 1940; Warnock, 1976; White, 1990), it has, for the most part, been connected to the field of creativity in the expressive arts. In western curriculum traditions the subjects of art, dance, drama, English, media education and music have all made particular claims to imagination and imaginative thinking in some shape or form (Eisner, 1998, 1994; Ross, 1989; Abbs, 1987; Tickle, 1987; Best, 1985)

Allied to this, there has been a resurgence of interest in creativity in education as a generic field of endeavour (Fryer, 1996), particularly in the province of primary and early years education (Woods, 1995; Craft, 2000, 2002; Jeffrey & Woods, 2003; 2009). Among the contemporary studies of the field, some have adopted interdisciplinary approaches (Fisher & Williams, 2004; Craft, 2005) while others have drawn on the traditions of ethnographic research to explain creative practice

in school settings (Jeffrey & Woods, 2003; 2009). Not surprisingly, imagination appears as an important aspect in studies of creativity, with a number of observers identifying the importance of its role in educational practice and curriculum provision (Beetlestone, 1998; Fisher & Williams, 2004; Wilson, 2005). Fisher and Williams, for example, regard creativity as 'embodied imagination':

> What imagination does is to enable the mind to represent images and ideas of what is not actually present to the senses. It can refer to the capacity to predict, plan and foresee possible future consequences. In short, imagination is the capacity to conceive possible (or impossible) worlds that lie beyond this time and place. (Fisher & Williams, 2004, p.9)

Others, such as Passmore, have drawn distinction between those aspects of language that are commonly associated with imagination: *imaging*, *imagining* and the *imaginative* (cited in Craft, 2005, p.18). *Imaging* is enabled through various forms of mental representation - visual, auditory, olfactory, kinaesthetic, gustatory and other forms of sense data. *Imagining* involves pretence, supposition, hypothesising and empathy, whilst the term *imaginative* implies the generation of novel outcomes. Eisner, in his work on imagination, regards *image* as central to our understanding of the concept:

> The engine of social and cultural progress is our ability to conceive of things that never were, but which might become…To imagine is to create new images, images that function in the development a new science, the creation of a new symphony, and the invention of a new bridge. It is a process critical for the creation of poetry and for innovation in our practical lives. (Eisner, 2005, p.107-108)

Imaginative play, a prominent feature in early years education, should, according to Wyman, extend to 'environments where individuals of all ages, backgrounds and walks of life can explore creative possibilities in an unhurried, unthreatened setting'; this, Wyman argues, is the key to more involved, thoughtful and responsible citizens (Wyman, 2004, p.146-147).

Notwithstanding the importance of these perspectives in both championing the cause of imagination and clarifying our terms of reference, it remains that only limited attention has been given to developing a more complete and trenchant *theorisation* of imagination in education. Of the few scholars to have undertaken this task, Egan's work is probably the most well known (1992; 1997; 2005; 2008). Given the substantial level of interest in Egan's ideas in this book, it will suffice to note only the main tenets of his approach to imagination in this chapter. Egan, like Eisner and Fisher, also regards imagination to be essentially about the possible (Egan, 1992, p.4). However, in the pursuit of the possible, *cultural* and *cognitive tools* become pivotal concepts in this particular framework for imaginative education. Cultural tools include such things as language, writing, forms of numeration, symbols and signs, works of art, diagrammatic representations, maps and so on. Cognitive tools are those 'things that enable our brains to do cultural work' (Egan, 2008, p.40), in which we establish reference to past experiences and

events. When learned, cultural tools become cognitive tools (Egan, 2005, p.7). Egan argues that imaginative understanding is achieved though different cognitive 'tool kits' anchored in our experience of the somatic, mythic, romantic, philosophic, and ironic (Egan, 1997). Crucially, the cognitive tool is one that combines epistemological, psychological and emotional characteristics (Egan, 2008, p.84). Gajdamaschko, in her writing on imagination, explains the appropriation of cultural tools as follows:

> Imaginative activities develop through the interiorization of correspondent cultural forms that serve as psychological tools. Imagination, which in early childhood appears as a function of play activity, is gradually developed and appropriates new cultural tools in learning activities, and as it changes, it gradually turns into the imagination of adolescence and then into the productive imagination of the adult. (Gajdamaschko, 2005, p.20).

In order to establish something of the pupil perspective on imagination, my own research in secondary schools provides another 'take' on the imaginative experience of young people (Trotman, 2008). This, too, corroborates much of the thinking described above, with students constructing often sophisticated conceptions of imagination within their school and personal *lifeworlds*:

> DT: OK, perhaps we can start by deciding what our own definition of imagination might be.
>
> Emma: I think it's when you switch off; when something gets a bit boring and you go into your own world.
>
> Jack: Day dreaming, you're awake but not awake; you're kind of just staring out of the window…when things are boring…when your brain's not being challenged, when you're not working.
>
> Christina: Normally your imagination is kind of the fun things that you think of in your mind.
>
> Rob: It's the way your mind interprets things. It's the way you wish things could be.
>
> Laura: Dreams as well; that's part of your imagination, because you're switching off, and that's when your mind gets into gear and you can get ideas from that. Your body's not in action, it's just your mind because you are at rest.
>
> Ross: Imagination is how you want to see things. Your interests get put in to that.
>
> Jack: A separate world where you'd like to be.
>
> Christina: And how you express yourself.
>
> Pete: Fictional subjects that are in your mind.
>
> Emma: I think sometimes it can be mistakes put together. You learn from your mistakes, so then it comes in your mind and you can evolve something new out of it.
>
> Christina: I think it's doing stuff, things, outside the box. It's like thinking, but you don't have any restrictions on your thoughts.
>
> Pete: Estimating the future.

Emma: Creativity is kind of how you transform the idea, what the end product is, what you've made; whereas imagination is the first ideas, what you've come up with yourself.

These accounts, and those that follow, reveal an important correspondence between imagination, identity, privacy and a privileged ownership of personal original thought. They also speak to the methodological demands in undertaking the design and representation of research in this province.

Christina: It's exploration of the mind I suppose. You can go to places where you wouldn't be able to in reality.

Jessica: There's like two types. There's imagination where you're in your own world and that's your escape, and then there's like imagination within the real world which is like stepping into other people's shoes and like imagining the world that way.

Samira: I think there's three different types of imagination. You've got your irrational imagination like when you're dreaming, and then the rational like daydreaming, and then you've got your real world kind of thing.

Reece: There's creative imagination and there's perceptive imagination. Creative imagination is when you are thinking of things or imagining things that you know aren't going to happen but you want to think of anyway. Perceptive imagination is that you are imagining it even though you know it's going to happen.

Christina: I suppose imagination is a bit of a distraction from the real world. It can be used to disappear into…you can imagine anything.

Josie: It is an escape. You can become something else, like stepping into peoples' shoes. It's a relief from being yourself a bit isn't it? From all the stresses and everything. If you go into imagination it is like a release.

Tammy: I made a little poem up.

> Imagination means to me
> To go beyond reality
> To think of things that other's don't
> To create your world like others won't

Your imagination is totally different to the person next to you. That's why I said 'beyond reality' because it isn't real, it's just what you're thinking in your head.

Jack: When you're a little kid you dream about flying and stuff but you never think about it anymore because reality comes at you.

Nathan: It depends, because some people have good imagination and it helps them to invent something. Like what Jack was saying; a jet pack, you could dream about flying, but not actually flying like Superman. So you can build up on your imagination even though it's not real, you can

make it real.

John: And develop it like adult understanding.

Jack: There's another part of your imagination that makes you achieve your dreams.

In these exchanges, further insights emerge from the ways in which young people are able to conceptualise imaginative thinking, perception and action. Furthermore, the vignettes from Jessica, Samira and Reece resonate with Jungian ideas of the 'active imagination': in which participants may deliberately enter into contact with the unconscious, 'the solitary experiment of a free individual…the reverse of a guided attempt to master the unconscious' (von Franz, 1964, p.219). The findings from this research also mirror outcomes from small-scale undergraduate inquires conducted by students at Newman University College as part of their own studies of creativity and imagination. Thanks to Tara and Charlotte for these excerpts from their study:

Imagination is…?

Jenny: to express yourself in different and exciting ways.

Mark: to be able to make any idea or story up inside your own head.

Luke: the vast mind of which make [sic] random thoughts and creations.

Lauren: creating pictures that show what emotion you are seeing.

Joe: your mind's capacity to think deeply into things and create an atmosphere using nothing to help you.

Thomas: the ability to take an object and mentally improve its appearance or function.

Fran: to be able to create something wonderful from your mind

Beth: when you think up different stories in your head.

Michael: create pictures in your mind's eye.

Jonathan: your own little world where everything you've ever thought is there and never stops working.

Benito: when you have weird and wonderful ideas, which could be the best or worst to write about.

Lucy: to be able to draw pictures in your head

Hannah: when you express what you feel by making something up that makes you happy, sad, angry etc.

Rachel: your mind going over-blow; you can't control it. It's your interpretation of something that is perhaps supernatural that you are recreating in some wacky way.

Olivia: being transported to somewhere that you have created. What your mind makes up.

Policy contexts

The continuities, not to mention depth, in these pupil accounts stand in stark

contrast to the policy rhetorics that typically surround claims to the provision of creative and imaginative education in the school curriculum.

In England, recent government-sponsored reviews of both the Primary and Secondary National Curriculum (DCSF, 2009; QCA, 2007) have seen ad hoc endorsements of imagination. In the revised secondary phase programmes, imagination makes appearances in a range of disparate guises in the subjects of art, English, history, geography, maths, modern foreign languages and physical education. Visual imagery, the creation of moods and settings, the construction of new knowledge, modes of personal expression, and visualisation of other times and places are all regarded as facets of imaginative work. The subjects of art and design, English, maths, modern foreign languages and physical education also offer tentative connections between imagination and creativity, in which pupils are encouraged to produce 'imaginative images, artefacts and other outcomes that are both original and of value' (art); 'use imagination to convey themes, ideas and arguments, solve problems, and create settings, moods and characters' (English); combine 'understanding, experiences, imagination and reasoning to construct new knowledge' (maths); use 'imagination to express thoughts, ideas, experiences and feelings' (modern foreign languages); and as a means to 'express and communicate ideas, solve problems and overcome challenges' (physical education) (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2007). In the primary curriculum imagination fares less well, with creativity and imagination afforded only a marginal position in the six 'areas of learning' proposed in the recent national primary review; despite an, albeit unqualified, identification of imagination as an 'essential for learning and life' (DCSF, 2009, 76).

Although there have been ambitions in some quarters in the UK to extend creativity, and with it imagination, to all areas of the school curriculum (see the National Advisory Committee on Creativity, Culture and Education, *All Our Futures* report, 1999), recent researches in secondary phase education indicate that imagination continues to reside in the province of the creative arts (Nicholl & McLellan, 2008; Trotman, 2008). In North America, the picture appears to be little different with observers lamenting that '[imagination] is not on anyone's list of basics, at least not in any national report on the state of our schools' (Eisner, 2005, 108).

How might educators then respond to the challenges of designing, researching and representing imaginative experience within these policy contexts? My exploration of this issue with colleagues, students and peers reveals a common polarity; one which many readers will no doubt be familiar with. On the one hand, the public evaluation of the *outcomes* of imaginative and creative activity is regarded by some as essential to establishing their value, worth and originality. For others, the affective and feelingful personal *lifeworld* is private and sacrosanct ['…you can enjoy yours, but you cannot access mine, nor I yours…' (Eisner, 2005, p.108)]. Interventions designed to *shape* the *interior lifeworld* are then regarded

as little more than a euphemism for intrusion, surveillance and subordination. Meanwhile, those who defend an unobtrusive *nurturing* of imagination are viewed with suspicion by those who regard this as licence for an 'anything goes' approach to education. As the reader will be aware, these contrary positions are hardly new. In North America there has been a long-standing interest in the psychology of measuring creativity as a means to making the interior world accessible to public criteria (e.g. Guildford, 1968; Torrance, 1974). In England the 'debates' around creativity in the arts prior to the introduction of a National Curriculum were dominated by the issue of assessment, in which themes of 'feeling' and 'reason' were often presented as contradictory positions (Ross, 1989; Best, 1985; Witkin, 1974). An enduring legacy of this has been that teaching for imagination and creativity has been subject to a polarisation of competing claims. The first, that in making creative and imaginative experience public through demonstrable outcomes, practitioners run the risk of distorting and stifling the intrinsic qualities of imaginative and creative practice they seek to promote. Alternatively, if they adopt a position of simply *nurturing* imaginative and creative growth they expose themselves to the criticism that their practice involves little more than instinct, personal interpretation and tenuous claims to palpable educational evidence - these particular standpoints can be traced to earlier Classical and Romantic traditions, which in western educational systems have manifested themselves in the discourses of traditional and progressive education. In recent years this polarisation has been further exacerbated by demands for particular forms of educational accountability. In North America and England instrumental approaches to educational evaluation have been valorised in the standardisation of educational practice and performative measurement (Ball, 2003; Shirley & Hargreaves, 2006; Wrigley, 2006) - a model of accountability now being mirrored in the education policy of other English speaking countries, e.g. see proposals being developed by Australia's Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR, 2008, p.19-31).

Researching imaginative education

In response to this somewhat bleak point of departure, we will do well to remind ourselves of Herbert Blumer's (1954) axiom that our research should be faithful to the phenomena under investigation (Atkinson & Delamont, 2008, p.289). Given then the complexity of the field out-lined in the preceding pages, it follows that research designs for imaginative education will be significantly more sophisticated than the instrumental practices currently favoured by many policy makers. Faithfulness to the phenomena of imaginative experience, whilst creating its own particular practical and intellectual demands, offers new possibilities for research practice in imaginative education. Two approaches that are worthy of particular consideration are those in the field of Arts-Based Educational Research (ABER) and Denzin and Lincoln's (2008) concept of the Bricoleur. It is to these approaches that I now wish to turn.

Arts-Based Educational Research (ABER)

Arts-Based Educational Research offers, as the title suggests, a genre of inquiry that embraces a variety of arts–based approaches. According to Barone and Eisner (1997; 2006), this typically involves the creation of unconventional and experimental research texts that enhance the perspective of both the researcher and audience and provoke educational questions in the mind of the 'reader'. To this effect, ABER frameworks utilise particular language forms, means of empathic understanding and exposure to virtual realities (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.96-98).

The first of these strategies involves the use of *evocative*, *contextual* and *vernacular* language. Evocative language, as the name implies, serves to fire the imagination, 'inviting the reader to fill gaps in the text with personal meaning' (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.97). Unlike the language of conventional research texts, expressive language draws on metaphor as a device to enable the reader to connect with re-created experience. Transcending the literal and the finite, the research language is expressive and connotative, like that of the storyteller, poet, dramatist or novelist (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.97). The language of ABER is also grounded in the use of thick descriptions. These descriptions are fashioned from close observation and are designed to reveal the complexity and unique attributes of the particular setting or context – a typical feature of ethnographic research. In highlighting the use of vernacular language, i.e. language that is *not* specialized, technical or exclusive, Barone and Eisner illustrate the polyphonic character of ABER texts. Following Bakhtin (1981), vernacular language embodies 'personal histories, experiences, and outlooks, none of which is necessarily privileged over the others' (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.97). This use of ordinary, everyday speech then enables a potential broadening of research audiences that may extend to 'onlookers, nonresearcher educational practitioners, educational policymakers, and even members of the general public' (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.97) – a theme I shall return to later in this chapter.

In promoting empathic understanding and virtual realities, Barone and Eisner argue for a mode of research text that entices the reader into a 'virtual world'; a world that 'speaks directly to familiar nearby concerns, even as it raises questions about them' (Barone & Eisner, 2006, p.98). Such texts are designed to temporarily take the reader from their every-day 'real world' to one with which they are less familiar, where physical realities are recast into what Suzanne Langer calls 'composed apparition' (Langer, 1957). This virtual world of composed apparition involves the reader/audience entering a new psychological landscape, where s/he has to acquire an empathic understanding of its inhabitants.

One example that might serve to illustrate the composed apparition of this virtual world is Michael Winterbottom's (2002) film *In this World*. *In this World* traces the harrowing over-land journey of Jamal, an Afghan orphan who leaves his refugee camp in Pakistan in order to seek asylum in England.

In this World

This intimate, yet hard-hitting, response to the asylum controversy follows two Afghan teenagers as they escape from the Shamshatoo refugee camp in Pakistan, along the smugglers' route known as The Silk Road. Travelling through Iran, Turkey, Italy, and France, Jamal and his cousin Enayatullah embark on a desperate journey to freedom. Short on money, lacking proper papers, and forced to travel in trucks, lorries, and shipping containers, the two boys find themselves at the mercy of the people-smugglers who make their living out of others' misery.

Shot on digital video, "In This World" is styled as a fictional documentary, using voiceover narration and real refugees and locations (including the now infamous Sangatte camp). The predominantly improvised script creates a powerful piece of guerrilla filmmaking.

Building on two engrossing performances from the non-professional leads, and with a striking sense of the psychological effects of displacement and loss that these boys suffer, "In This World" challenges knee-jerk reactions to the asylum debate by questioning the neat bureaucratic distinctions between economic migrants and political refugees.

Although it was originally conceived as a response to the UK's on-going asylum debate, the events of September 11th (which occurred while the film was still in preproduction) have given it an additional resonance.

More than a response to the asylum issue, it's also a staggeringly persuasive reminder that the West's duty to the people of Afghanistan is far from over.

As Winterbottom points out, we spent $7.9 billion bombing the Taliban regime. The question remains - how much do we owe those whose lives were ruined as a result?

A stark, intelligent, and utterly essential contribution to the asylum debate.

In Pashtu and Farsi with English subtitles

Russell, J. (21 March, 2003)

In my view, *In this World* satisfies most if not all of the criteria for an ABER research text. Having used Winterbottom's film many times with undergraduate students to imaginatively (and, by association, empathically) explore the theme of global citizenship, I continue to be impressed by the film's ability to impact on student perceptions of political and sociocultural issues. Moreover, through its mix of evocative music combined with narration and text, it underscores Egan's reminder that we 'think, feel and perceive together' in one unified experience (2008, p.46). It is not possible to say whether Winterbottom had ABER research principles in mind when the film was made; all I can add is that readers should see it and make their own decision. *In this World* also provides an apposite link to a second set of possibilities for research representation in imaginative education: Denzin and Lincoln's (2008) concept of the *bricoleur.*

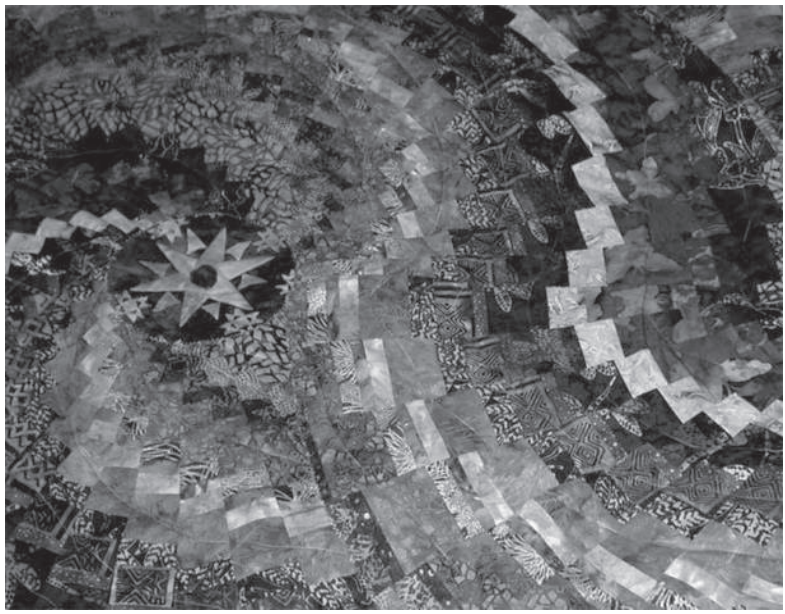
The Bricoleur

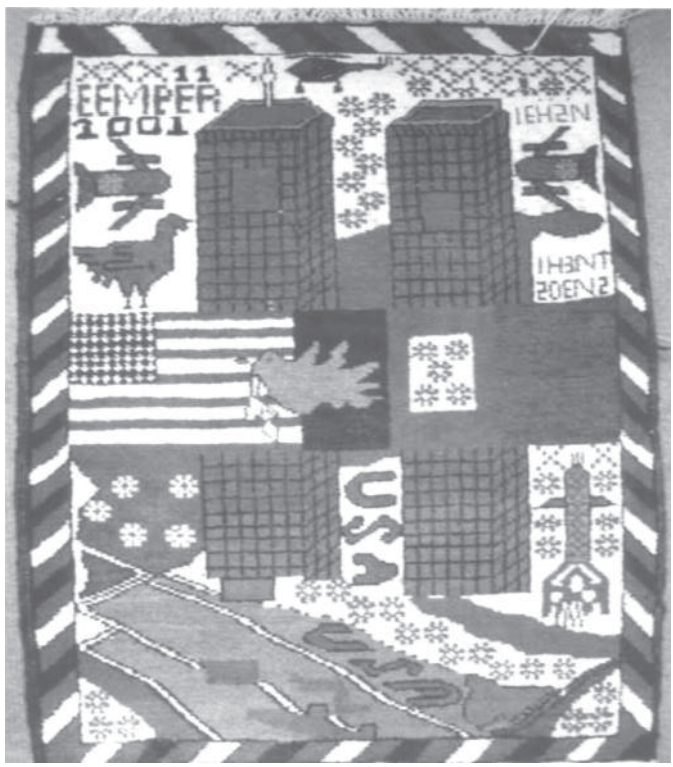
According to Denzin and Lincoln we can regard the qualitative researcher as 'a maker of quilts, or, as in film making, a person who assembles images into montages' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.5).

Following Lévi-Strauss' concept of *bricolage* (1966), the *bricoleur* utilises the aesthetic and material tools of his/her craft. Adopting or devising whatever approaches, strategies, methods, and empirical materials are available to them, 'if the researcher needs to invent, or piece together, new tools or techniques, he or she will do so' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.5) - much in the way Winterbottom has crafted *In this World*.

For Denzin and Lincoln, *montage* becomes a key dimension in the craft of the *bricoleur*. Analogous to the cinematographic technique of mixing film, sound, narrative and meanings into a new composite form, *montage* provides 'psychological and emotional unity – a pattern – to an interpretive experience' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.7). This view of qualitative research practice has obvious resonance with the field of inquiry in imaginative education, where access to imaginative activity, analysis and representation is undertaken through making selections from a wide repertoire of means and materials.

Engaging with the aesthetic aspects of research is well documented in the research literature, particularly in the field of ethnography (Bagley, 2008; Bagley & Cancienne, 2001; Richardson, 1992). For example, Atkinson and Delamont argue that some cultural domains and artifacts can be accessed only through their visual representations and codes (Atkinson & Delamont 2008, p.290). Similarly, the use of non-traditional literary forms, poetry and performance techniques are also well established genres of ethnographic research. In this vein, the following abstract in the I*nternational Journal of Education and the Arts* comes from Blaikie's (2009) article on a visual and poetic inquiry into the professoriate:





Afghan carpet, circa 2002

This next example comes from Saunder's paper in the *British Educational Research Journal* (Saunders, 2003, p.182):

What goes around
The natural condition of our existence is to revolve
(Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi)

I
am
the
greatE
the electron
and the ecstasy
I am MC2 meaning
mistress of ceremonies
I'm a spinning top, a prayer- or
potter's wheel, I'm the RotoGyrator
at the fair your Catherine can't get enough of
tomorrow's anticyclone over the Irish Sea
I invented the roulette the boomerang
the spindle for pricking fingers
see how the butter thickens
and how I chase my tail
without getting dizzy
the still centre
my favourite
show
am
I

The limitations of printed text prevent further illustration of possible research representations in this chapter. However, readers will be aware of the range of contemporary digital media that offer alternative modes of representation, including those now emerging in the much publicised field of 'second life'. Such approaches to research representation are of course 'stock-in-trade' for those working in the province of ABER. However, Atkinson and Delamont warn of the dangers of collapsing social action, in all its various forms, into a single aesthetic mode (Atkinson & Delamont, 2008, p.287). This is perhaps an important caution in our decisions governing the development of research approaches to imaginative education, where the risk of obstructing audience access through the privileging of one aesthetic form can be particularly acute.

There are then a number of significant ramifications for those wishing to develop approaches to research in imaginative education. As the earlier definitions and accounts illustrate, imaginative education involves a range of meanings that transcend curriculum disciplines and boundaries. For Egan and other contributors to the field, this is framed by ideas of the somatic, the mythic, the romantic, the philosophic and the ironic (Egan, 2008). It then follows that imaginative education is both a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary field of inquiry, in which the concept of the *bricoleur* provides a means to the design and representation of researches in imaginative education. In the work of the *bricoleur*, montage offers a powerful but complex triangulation of research method and representation. In this regard it is possible to extend the concept of montage to involve 'patchworks' that can transcend conventional/traditional text and two dimensional imagery to include, *inter-alia*, the capture of particular incidents, events and meanings through textures, sound files, moving images, real-time performances, improvisations and reenactments. Necessarily, this means that those who encounter such potentially complex research representations must then develop and refine their *dispositions* to research interpretation. Eisner's use of *connoisseurship* and *criticism* may help to illuminate something of this disposition, in which we begin 'to notice or experience the significant and often subtle qualities that constitute an act, work, or object…' (Eisner, 1998, 85). These qualities are then made public 'through the artful use of critical disclosure' (Eisner, 1985, p.93).

Montage of the sort described above involves close attention to the relationships and idiosyncrasies that exist amongst the constituent elements, dimensions, aesthetics and often indistinct qualities as experienced by the individual. This is the province of what John Law calls *deliberate imprecision*:

> If the world is complex and messy, then at least some of the time we're going to have to give up on simplicities…perhaps we will need to know them [the realities of the world] through 'private' emotions that open us to worlds of sensibilities, passions, intuitions, fears and betrayals…Perhaps we will need to rethink our ideas about clarity and rigour, and find ways of knowing the indistinct and the slippery without trying to grasp and hold them tight. Here knowing would become

> possible through techniques of deliberate imprecision. (Law, 2004, pp.2-3)

Law's idea of 'deliberate imprecision' is fundamental to both the realisation of montage and the development of a necessary mind-set for engaging with the imaginative domain in the representation of educational research. A key concept in this process is *allegory*: a way of 'meaning something other and more than what is being said' (Law, 2004, p.88). Law draws upon allegory as a means of reading between the literal lines to understand what is actually being depicted, much in the same way that Barone and Eisner invite the reader to fill gaps in the text with personal meaning (Barone & Eisner, 2006, 97). To be deliberately imprecise [to not 'shoehorn non-coherent realities into singularity' (Law, 2004, p.93)] requires a particular form of rigour in our approach to research in which we seek to enable *enhanced powers of individual and collective interpretation*. In the creation of montage we not only construct a vibrant representation of research outcomes, we enter a realm of discovery through enactment using allegory to craft what it is we are discovering (Law, 2004, p.92). In this approach, a myriad of qualitative materials can be co-constructed to provide configurations of emerging data in a range of aesthetic and cultural forms. Some of these will be more accessible than others. Some will complement each other, e.g. sound/music, lighting and dance, whilst others may comprise discrete or insular elements, e.g. a narrative or poem. Research texts may also be the product of singular or collective endeavour, but in undertaking critical disclosure this requires research audiences to engage in a *communalisation* of interpretation: a process which Moustakas, (1994, p.95) describes as a continuous alteration of validity to reveal complete layers of meaning through reciprocal correction.

In the province of educational evaluation, montage then offers a potent vehicle for the representation of complex outcomes as a constituent feature of the curriculum programme. In the UK, MacBeath (2006) has provided examples of approaches to educational evaluation where alternative methods of data representation can enrich our understanding of the 'hard to get to' aspects of educational outcomes. MacBeath proposes methods that include interviews, focus groups, observations, card sorting exercises, sentence completions, drawings and paintings, photo evaluation, diaries, role play etc. (MacBeath, 2006, pp.156-160). Although not as radical as the possibilities offered by montage, these approaches offer a tentative step to encouraging teachers to work beyond conventional evaluative parameters and, equally importantly, present an alternative vision of school evaluation.

In common with ABER approaches, the arguments for a bricoleur approach to imaginative education advance both aesthetic agency in educational research and the *enhancement of perspectives* (Barone and Eisner, 2006, 96). This point is central to the discourse around research analysis and representation, for in the province of imaginative education the need for audiences to be able to adopt multi-

perspectival approaches is paramount. In other words, those with responsibility for the evaluation of educational provision must be skilled, first and foremost, in the apprehension of educational phenomena. Put simply, they must be able to adopt a multi-perspectival stance to the representation of educational researches. Adopting such an approach recognises that external reality is not knowable in any direct and emphatic way but, rather, recognises that different participants, groups and communities have their own interpretations and definitions of particular social phenomena. The essential skills of multi-perspective approaches then revolve around a number of important professional practices that include empathy, intuition, our suspension of predispositions and forms of 'indeterminate judgment' (Trotman, 2007)

Conclusion

The work of particular interests groups such as the Imaginative Education Research Group (IERG) at Simon Fraser University have emphasised the development of curriculum materials and methods for imaginative teaching. However, the development of a complementary methodology for the research and representation of imaginative education remains elusive. As I hope to have outlined in this chapter, there are existing approaches, practices and discourses with which groups such as IERG may wish to engage.

Whilst the concept of montage offers a possible strategy for the design and representation of educational researches in imaginative education, adopting these approaches requires educators to be skilled not only in the application of such things as cultural tools, but also in the practice of individual and collaborative research. A concomitant of this is a necessary parallel empowerment of young people as researchers and co-researchers; as connoisseurs of their own experiences (Eisner, 1998; 1994; 1985). In the UK there has been an increasing commitment to collaborative inquiry amongst teachers as a means of bringing about fruitful educational change (Street *et al*, 2005). In some quarters there has also been a serious attempt to position pupils as the chief commentators on their social and educational worlds (Kellett, 2005; Fielding, 2004; Fielding & Ruddock, 2002). The recent history of school inspection in England, however, stands in marked contrast to this, characterised by a culture of audit, surveillance and punitive accountability. Whole-school evaluation, particularly in regard to the promotion of imaginative education, requires a significantly different approach. Crucially, lines of accountability must include the interests of young people, educators, parents, community and funding bodies through a means of critical friendship. This requires a substantially different vision of the external critic from that which currently exists in the UK – a shift from the standards auditor to that of an expert advisor skilled in the art of human affairs (Claxton, 2007, p.43).

Many readers will have recognised the compatibility of the ideas expressed in this chapter with the traditions of participative action research. Indeed, much

of the discussion in this chapter has signalled a move in that direction. Heron and Reason (2008, p.367) in their account of co-operative inquiry identify four ways of knowing: *experiential knowing* (the face-to-face encounter with the person or object/artefact involving perception, empathy and resonance); *presentational knowing* (involving the intuiting of significant form through things such as imagery, painting, sculpture, movement, sound, dance, music, poetry, story and drama etc.); *propositional knowing* (knowledge of ideas and theories), and *practical knowledge* (skills, competences and techniques). When combined with the practices of the *bricoleur*, these approaches offer powerful means for practitioners of imaginative education to conceptualise the design and representation of their research.

As I have attempted to argue in this chapter, there is much that we may learn from existing and evolving research practice. For some within the community of imaginative education the wholesale adoption of ABER approaches may align too closely with practices that have come to be regarded as part of the 'problem' of progressive education. For others, the collapsing of research data into a discrete aesthetic form may distort research outcomes or impede access to research data. The instrumental alternatives, to which educational programmes can so easily succumb, however, are even more troubling. My hope is that readers may elicit from this chapter a way of approaching research that allows them to demonstrate the worth of their work in terms that are amenable to public scrutiny whilst remaining faithful to the phenomena and participants of their inquiries.

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ELEVEN

Interpreting Risk: Factors, fears and judgement

Stan Tucker and Dave Trotman

The aims of this chapter are to:

- Understand how risk impacts on our day-to-day lives and the different forms that it can take
- Explore the implications of risk for children, young people and their families and those who work with them
- Use a range of explanatory frameworks to consider the relationship between risk and judgement
- Consider and analyse the reasons why different forms of risk differentially impact on particular groups and individuals within society
- Use the `typology of risk' provided to examine the different levels of risk that children, young people and families encounter and their implications for developing responsive practice and services
- Offer an understanding of the range of interrelated factors that impact on judgement forming processes.

In this chapter we explore the idea of *risk* and how we can understand this in relation to work with children, young people and their faniilies. At the heart of the chapter lies the key aim of increasing understanding of the complex worlds that the young live in and how risk increasingly shapes their day-to-day experience. We use the discussion to introduce you to a range of explanatory frame works that it is hoped will prove useful in encouraging you to think proactively about the nature of risk. Crucially, we set out to create an important link for any work with children, young people and families. The notions of risk and judgement are connected to increase your understanding of how effective decisions can be made in the development of more responsivc practice and services.

In our day-to-day lives we all encounter some form of risk. Crossing the road, using the internet, making a career decision all involve risk. In some instances we may be conscious of the risks that certain activities involve, for example the danger ef physical harm from a fast moving vehicle, in others we may be more blasé, such as the financial and psychological risks of identity theft on the internet.

The sorts of risk and the degrees of risk. we encounter can be subject to any combination of physical, emotional, financial, socio-cultural, environmental, psychological and moral or ethical factors, And these factors can change depending upon the nature of the activity, for example commuting to work by bicycle, taking recreational drugs, being unfaithful to a partner or selling our home. Crucially, our understanding of risk is contingent upon our *situation*, *perception* and *disposition*. For example, the risks associated with the lifestyles routines of a 'developed' western society may be radically different for those in less privilegecl

circumstances: a routine trip to the supermarket in England involves considerably less physical and psychological risk to shoppers than for people shopping at their local market in war-torn Iraq. The physical risks associated with making a cup of tea in England are minor compared with those faced by communities whose only availably drinking water is either infested with parasities or polluted with effluence from their local factory. We can call this *situated risk*.

Our 'situatedness' to risk can be dependent upon any number of factors: are geographical location, our race and culture, our homeland, our genetic heritage, our socio-economic circumstances, happenstance or as a consequence of deliberate. choice. Consider the following, for example:

- The range of situated risks for young Afghan women whose ambition it is to attend their local school. Compare these to the risks facing disaffected girls truanting from an inner-city high school in the UK.
- The risks associated with a high-altitude trekking holiday in the Himalayas. Compare these to those faced by Tibetan refuges attempting to evade an armed Chinese border patroI in the same region.
- According to epidemiological research there is a greater risk of dying from heart disease in Glasgow or Belfast than anywhere else in the UK.
- Particular activities or occupations may carry different and higher levels of situated risk: putting out fires, playing the stock market, or diffusing landmines.

Activity

Look at the images in Figure 8.1 (a—g) and place them in the order of high to low situated risk and think about your reasons for doing so. Think about whether the risks are physical, emotional, financial, environmental, socio-cultural, psychological and moral and ethical.

This is an important activity to reflect on. The intention was to get you thinking about the nature of risk and the various forms it can take that is high or low risk. We wanted you to start categorising different forms of risk and in doing so decide on the factors that might influence the extent and impact of the risk on those involved., Did you struggle to decide on the actual nature of the risk? Perhaps you thought that a range of factors came into play in deciding whether a risk was high or low. This is a fascinating activity to do with a group of people, particularly if you are required to defend your ranking order.

Risk can often be thought about in terms of 'calculated risks' where our *perception* of risk is shaped by our previous experience of similar actions or situations, or the social forces that govern our behaviour, our sense of intuition, or our moral imperative, for example risking the late arrival to work by taking a short-cut to avoid a traffic jam, risking the long-term detrimental effects of smoking cigarettes, concealing the 'whole truth' from a friend for fear of causing offence or rejection.

(a) Young men in Glasgow, photograph taken on 5 April 2006 by user: Dave Souza at Wikipedia. Category: Charles Rennie Mackintosh

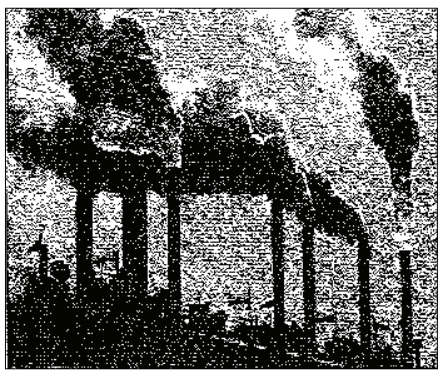
(b) A boy from an East Cipinang trash dump slum shows his find, Jakarta Indonesia. (Jonathan McIntosh, 2004: Wikipedia)

(c) Unknown paddler using a playboat at Paddle for the People, July 2007, Manchester New Hampshire, Crackpipe playwave on Merrimack River. (Original uploader was Mikespenard at en. wikipedia, 2008-03-01)

Figure 8.1 Images of potential risk (a-c)

(d) Dr Schreiber of San Augustine giving a typhoid innoculation at a rural school, San Augustine County, Texas.Transfer from U.S. Office of War Information, 1944

(e) Turret Lathe operator machining parts for transport planes at the Consolidated Aircraft Corporation plant, Fort Worth, Texas, USA. (This image is available from the United States Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs Division under the digital ID fsac.1a34951)



(f} Industrial landscape (attributed to Danang government website Vietnam www.danang.gnv.vn/ photo/ pictures/05072U-O-nhiem. jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.danang. gov.vn/home/view.asp)

(g} Unknown source

Figure 8.1 Images of potential risk (d-g)

The actions ere take as a consequence of our perceptions involeve us in making *judgements*. Judgement then becomes a critical agent in our ability to calculate risks, our understanding of the potential consequences and our decisions about what action, or not, needs to be taken. Critical judgement is necessary in ensuring our perceptions of risk do not become subject to distortion through. the vagaries of particular 'moral panics', for example, the risks portrayed in the popular press around 'hoodies', 'yobs' and 'chavs' and the 'so-called' phenomenon of 'black-on-black' shootings.

Activity

Consider the following and decide what factors will have a bearing upon how we determine risk.

- 'Chat rooming'
- Holidaying in a different country to your own
- Buying goods on the internet
- Walking underneath a ladder
- Having unprotected sex
- Playing video games
- Buying a lottery ticket
- Going to the gym
- Deciding who to marry.

So far we have framed risk as a largely *problematic* social phenomenon. However, research tells us that certain forms of risk are important to the well-being of the individual and society. For example, risk-taking appears as a consistent feature of creativity; without risk-taking the pursuit of innovation would cease, as would invention and exploration.

Consider the following. In any number ef contexts the positive aspects of risk have to be balanced against the potential negative outcomes of risk activity, for example risk is an essential attribute of entrepreneurialism, but an uncritical approach may negatively impact upon the locations and people situated within and around that risk. For example, a decision to build a new plant to create the next generation of G4 mobile phones in India may have considerable financial risks for the company directors; it may result in significant liberating technological benefits for particular phone-using communities; it may yield considerable financial returns for the shareholders; it may also result in the forced relocation of a small farming community with no possibility of local employment; it may result in catastrophic levels of environmental damage as the plant diverts water from a site of natural heritage. All these factors involve moral and ethical judgements about risk that extend beyond the material and the financial.

When we consider risk we also have to account for personal and collective *dispositions* to risk. What may appear as 'risky' to one person may be regarded

as nothing more than a challenge to someone else. Our disposition to risk is likely to be based upon such things as our prior experience, our ability to adapt to new experiences, our calculation of the odds of success or failure. So far we have considered risk as something that involves 'doing', however, risk can also be connected to inactivity, inertia, or 'risk avoidance'. Indeed, we often have to weigh-up the risks of choosing to do nothing, in 'sitting-tight' or 'hoping it will go away' .

Communites of risk

An important question to ask is whether some people live in communities that may be considered to be more 'risky' than others? And if that is the case what factors are likely to define the nature of such communities? Now, you might want to argue that such a question is relatively easy to answer. Communities of risk are likely to be those that experience high levels of poverty and it is important to remember that despite government efforts, significantly large numbers of children are still living in poverty in the United Kingdom (Harker, 2006b). You might define a community of risk in terms of, say; the high levels of unemployment experienced by its members (Nickell, 2004), reported incidents of anti-social behaviour (Brown, 2004), the incidence of chronic illnesses such as heart disease or the prevalence of obesity (Lobstein *et al*., 2004), or the quality of social housing available (Harker, 2006a). All of these indicators might seem to the impartial observer to be entirely appropriate. However, we want to argue that the debate can't be seen solely in such terms and other factors and outcomes need to he carefully considered.

Let's reflect on what we might usefully call the *internal life* of a community by considering the educational and social facilities available to its children and their families. The internal life of a community can be most usefully described as consisting of a set of common experiences that serve to shape future life chances and aspirations, day-to-day interactions, the availability and use of resources and the way a set of shared problems are defined and responded to. In approaching the discussion in this way a more complex debate is revealed for consideration concerning the idea of communities at risk. You might find it helpful to complete the activity below in order to assist your thinking around this notion.

> ***Activity***
>
> Think about a community you know that you would define as a 'community of risk'. Then reflect on how you think poor quality experiences of primary or secondary education, or, say, the availability of appropriate play or youth facilities might increase exposure to risk. Note down some of the factors that are likely to be highly influential in shaping the internal life of the community.

We hope that the activity helped you to begin to reflect in a little more depth on the nature of communities of risk. If we take the educational experiences

of children and young people, for example, we would want to argue that such experiences have a profound impact an the *internal life* of any community. Let's take just one group of young people, white working-class boys. The one thing we know from research is that this group of young people experience the lowest level of educational achievement when compared with that of any other group of young people (Evans, 2006). Now if that is the situation, and you don't accept the view that white working-class boys are in some biological sense 'less able' than their peers, we need to gain a clearer understanding of factors that place this group at higher levels of risk than other potentially disadvantaged groups. As you might expect -the explanation is far from simple in that a range of factors combine to foster what has become an enduring outcome for many white working-class males. These factors include the influence of peer culture, the value placed an education within the home environment, the response of schools and individual teachers to individual and collective learning needs and the perceived relevance of the curriculum in terms of creating higher levels of career expectations.

Similarly, when we consider how a lack of social facilities might impact on the *internal life* of a community, the argument can be made that elements of individual and collective risk are again increased. Impoverished backgrounds are as likely to be generated out of physical and social environments that offer little opportunity for developing creativity; where, for example, play is seen as an unimportant learning tool, as they are from social exclusion and poverty-induced alienation. Indeed recent government policies in this area, through, for example, the development of Children's Centres, recognise the importance of holistic responses to meeting need through the integration ef education, social welfare and health education programmes (Payile, 2008).

However; there is one more important idea we want to consider here when it comes to thinking about communities of risk. On first consideration the concept can be a little difficult to comprehend, not least because the terminology used to describe it appears complex in itself. However, we want to argue that specific individuals and groups of young people are consistently 'problematised' (Griffin, 1993) in terms of their lifestyles, the way they present themselves in public, the way they speak and describe their worlds and the ways in which they are presented through the media. And it is the action of 'problematisation' that effectively separates them out as a community of risk. Griffin (1993), in her seminal text, argues that a range of dominant discourses (the way we think, speak and act towards the young) impact on our perceptions of them. Such discourses are used to declare individuals and groups of young people as 'mad', 'bad', 'diseased', 'perverted', etc. As you can no doubt see, in speaking of young people in such a way essentially we stereotype and categorise areas of their day-to-day existence. Moreover; Griffin maintains that these forms of discourse are so dominant that

they are highly influential in shaping fine way services for young people actually respond to them. Reflect for a moment an the question that if young people are essentially seen as a problem within society then how are those charged with working with them likely to see them? This is more than just a debate about media representations of the life of the young or the way as a society we `panic' (Cohen, 2002) from time to time when we find the lives of young people difficult to understand. The power of such dominant discourses, Griffin argues, actually goes a long way towords shaping the nature of the treatment that young people are given, their life chances and their aspirations.

Activity

Having read through this. section you should now be in a better position to understand what constitutes different kinds of communities of risk. Make notes on the various factors that can increase the level of risk that children and young people face. Reflect on whether you think some children and young people might be more at risk than others.

The last part of the activity, in particular, moves us into an area for debate that certainly generates a whole range of views and ideas. You might have argued that risk increases according to the social class you are born into, or the ethnic group you are part of, or because of your gender. You might have noted that those young people who spend most of their time in public spaces are exposed to increased levels of risk, You might be convinced by Griffin's argument that risk is a byproduct of the dominant representations. Whatever your position, perhaps you now feel that risks come in all kinds of shapes and forms and some are potentially more serious than others. This is an issue we explore in the next section.

Typology of risk

In this section we present the idea that one way of understanding the idea of risk is to start from the position that different kinds of risk will have a range of very different outcomes attached to them, We want to argue that there is a whole range of risk that people routinely encounter in their everyday lives and that such risks can only be really understood when we delve beneath their surface manifestations. To help with this task we offer for consideration what we term as a *typology of risk*. As the name suggests it attempts to draw together different types of risk by looking at what specific forms of risk have in common and their potential outcomes for some children and young people.

In Table 8.1 you will find below our typology of risk. Have a look through it and then undertake the following activity.

Activity

Look carefully over the typology of risk presented in Table 8.1 and write notes on how you think each category is likely to impact on the future aspirations, ambitions and life chances of individual and groups of young people.

Type of Risk	Common Characteristics	Examples and Outcomes
Positive-intentional Risk	• Risks that are intended to build skills, widen horizons, promote imagination • Risk arises out of exposure to new ways of thinking, working, or challenging perceptions and stereotypes • High level of creativity, ingenuity, tenacity and self-motivation required to achieve desired outcomes	• Taking part in a play for the first time where a high degree of public presentation of self is required • Learning to speak a new language with a group of peers • Travelling to a new area of the country as part of a youth exchange programme
Environmental Risk	• Living in an impoverished community • Having limited access to social facilities and support networks • High levels of family and community poverty • Inadequate housing, high levels of chronic illness and exposure to crime	• Experiencing significantly high levels of illness throughout childhood • Lack of public parks and spaces to encourage creative play • Exposure and possible participation in low level crime
Historic Risk	• Enduring and endemic failure of children and young people to achieve positive educational outcomes • 'Cycle of deprivation' preventing social mobility and reinforcing economic insecurity • Weak community infrastructure produced by consistent and significant lack of investment	• Ongoing individual and collective underachievement by young people in public examinations • High levels of youth unemployment produced by long term economic decline of an area • 'Failing' schools that suffer from low levels of inward investment, long term staff shortages and poorly designed and furnished buildings
Pathological Risk	• Based on perceived and stereotypically informed representations of children and young people • The young perceived as 'mad', 'bad', 'deceased', 'perverted', sexually promiscuous • Characteristics used to justify early and high levels of service intervention • Lives of specific individuals and groups of young people are consistently 'problematised'	• High level of public supervision of behaviour particularly in public places e.g. extensive use of ASBOs • Premature labelling of individual and groups of young people to justify early intervention into their lives • Some young people begin to conform to dominant discourses and stereotypes
Personal Risk	• Involvement in substance abuse and excessive use of alcohol • Involvement in situations where there is the possibility of abuse and/or neglect occurring • Weak peer/family/community ties • Low sense of self worth and esteem	• Drug dependency and alcoholism • Depression possibly leading to suicide and attempted suicide • Physical and mental trauma born out of the experience of an abusive relationship

Table 8.1: Typology of Risk

Hopefully you picked up on the fact that not only does the typology offer us a useful way of looking at risk but it also brings into sharp focus the fact that risk does not fall equally on all groups of children and young people in society. There is ample evidence to suggest that children who live in poverty for example are likely to be exposed to increased levels of risk in terms of experiencing negative outcomes in the areas of health, education and social care (Beckett, 2007). At the same time it is also important to remind ourselves that different forms of risk are often connected. For illustrative purposes the typology separates out different forms of risk but clearly the chances of becoming involved in 'high personal risk' are likely to be increased for example if 'environmental risk' is significant.

Did you find yourself reflecting on the nature of 'pathological risk'? This idea is highly contentious in the sense that it is used to 'blame the victim' for many factors that shape their lives and yet are out of their immediate control. The 'historical risk' category provides examples of the way this can happen – educational failure for example has clear and enduring social class and ethnic foundations. Yet, the power of pathology is undeniable and it is frequently presented in the media as the 'explanation' for those 'solutions' that are concerned to punish, regulate and control the activities of the young - particularly in public places (Cohen, 2002). There is also a neat simplicity involved in that cause and outcome are directly connected. The young are effectively 'blamed' for the situations they find themselves in.

Yet, despite the many negative outcomes of risk presented above it is important to consider another important question 'why do some children and young people seem to be resilient, and continue to grow and thrive, despite the negative risks and outcomes facing them in their daily lives?' One way of understanding such a situation is by considering the concept of 'resilience' (Daniel and Wassell, 2002) in more depth. The idea of resilience is a fascinating one. Here the child is seen as anything but 'the victim' of the circumstances they find themselves in. Resilience is generated through the development of a sense of inner purpose that enables them to cope with crises, set-backs and challenges. Crucially then it is important to consider how such a sense of resilience might be fostered and generated. Here, we would argue that the availability of 'creative risk' has an important role to play in any work with children and young people (see Nickerson, 1999, 413-414). As we indicate in the typology such risk is concerned with developing skills, widening horizons, promoting imagination, etc. The issue of understanding and exploring choice and opportunity comes into play here especially when a choice to act in one way or another has clear negative and positive connotations attached to it.

Hopefully you are beginning to understand the complex nature of risk in work

with children, young people and their families. The fact is that those working with the young encounter risk in a variety of different ways throughout their professional careers. Some forms of risk may require a level of immediate reaction whereas others offer more time and space for critical reflection. However, those working with children and young people are required to make judgments; a matter explored in more detail in the next section.

The idea of judgement

We move into yet another fascinating area for consideration. To begin with it is important to make an important connection – increasingly debates about judgement are connected to debates about accountability. Pressure for the public and professional accountability of those working with children and young people has significantly increased in recent years. For example poor professional judgement has seen to be a central factor in contributing to the death of a number of children at the hands of their parents and carers. Those investigating such cases like Lord Laming (2003) have gone out of their way to connect matters of judgement with issues of public accountability.

Public debate of this kind has made it all the more important to understand on what basis judgements are made in work with children and young people. We have moved a long way from being able to explain our actions in terms of a 'gut response' or seeing it a 'the right thing to do' – many judgements will require a level of analysis and ultimately justification if called into question. Use the next activity to help you to start thinking about this matter.

Activity

Read the three scenarios presented below and reflect on the factors that you might consider in forming a judgement about the circumstances and needs of the child concerned. How would you respond to each of the scenarios?

- Halima, a five year old, has become very isolated in the classroom sitting alone for long periods of time. The risk is that her communication skills will deteriorate further as she has always been a very shy and withdrawn child.
- Rex is 15 years old and a very good guitarist. He has been invited to perform at a youth music festival but his mother can't afford to let him go as it means staying in a hotel over night. The risk is that this will severely damage his self- esteem. He was heard to say, "Kids like me never get any real breaks and chances because of where we come from."
- Mandy is 12 years old. She has turned up dirty and tired to school on four separate occasions during the last fortnight. One of her best friends has told you that her mum is really ill and she has to look after her. The risk is that in looking after her mother Mandy is suffering an unacceptable level of neglect.

These kinds of scenarios are relatively common and as such are ones that those

working with the young are likely to encounter on a reasonably regular basis. Yet to make effective judgements in such situations it is argued here that a range of linked factors have to be carefully considered. The factors concerned are represented in Figure 8.2 and explained in more detailed below.

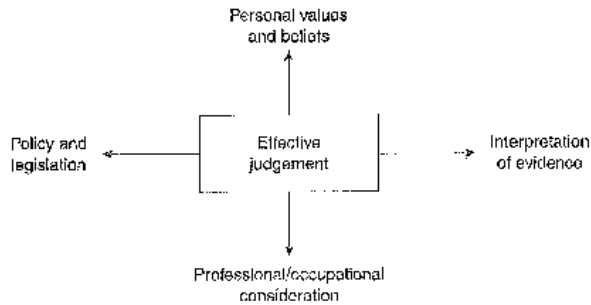


Figure 8.2 Effective judgement

What is demonstrated through Figure 8.2 is that the development of judgement has to be related to a number of interrelated factors:

Personal values and beliefs

It is impossible to come to an informed judgement without acknowledging the influence of the personal values and beliefs you hold. This is not just a debate about levels of objectivity or subjectivity. Personal values and beliefs often drive people in making a choice about the kind of work they want to do and the way they use that work to influence change. However, it is also important to acknowledge that personal values and beliefs can have both a positive and negative impact on judgement making processes. An important aspect of this is our ability to know something of our own dispositions and predilections; for the Greek philosopher Socrates this was the province of 'knowledge of the self'. Although Socrates was arguing his case over two thousand years ago, developing an understanding of our personal values, feelings, vulnerabilities and convictions is an important judgemental skill. A useful development of this can be found in the work of American 'care theorist' Nell Noddings who invites us to consider whether the unexamined life is worth living? (Noddings, 1995: 191). This is particularly important if we are then able to recognise and set to one side those features in our own biographies that may cloud or colour our judgments – this is know in some fields of philosophy as 'bracketing'.

Policy and legislation

Current policy and legislation can be highly influential when it comes to informing judgement-making processes. Those working with children and young people have to fulfil their legal obligations to, for example, meet the demands of the national curriculum, enforce child protection procedures and respect human rights and

choice. Policy is also highly influential in shaping the way work is prioritised and responses to national and local policies can shape the outcomes of internal review and national inspection activities. We should not assume, however, that all policy and legislation is chronologically designed to be in concert with one another. Hence, it can often be the case that collective judgement is required to mediate and interpret competing policy interests, e.g. ministerial ambitions for enabling creativity in the school curriculum do not sit well with a parallel preoccupation with national tests in literacy and numeracy (see Chapter 5). On this point connection and collaboration with the wider community is imperative.

Professional/occupational considerations

At the heart of any professional training programme it is usually possible to identify key values, ideas, methods and approaches, views on evaluation and assessment and theoretical frameworks that are likely to be highly influential in shaping the judgements of practitioners (Coles, 2002). At the same time notions of multi-professional practice now require individuals and groups from very different professional backgrounds to work more closely together, and communicate effectively, when it comes to developing informed judgements (Glenny and Roaf, 2008). Professional judgement can no longer be regarded as an independent or solitary activity. In addition to this, new professions are emerging that appear to be challenging the tradition 'authority' of more established ones. For example within a classroom setting teaching assistants and learning mentors may well see their views as being as valuable as that of the teacher when it comes to matters of judgement formation (Cajkler *et al.,* 2007). The important point to make here is that the right to judge is no longer seen as the sole province of the 'established' professions.

Interpretation of evidence

This represents a very important element of any judgement making process. The way that evidence is interpreted and who is actually involved in the process of interpretation is central to the making of sound decisions. Clearly evidence that is opened up for scrutiny and questioning is more likely to emerge as sound evidence than that which is reviewed and evaluated by a single individual or group. Increasingly emphasis is being placed on the need for all stakeholders to be involved in the review of evidence including children, young people and their families whenever possible (see Chapter 8). Once again, this emphasises collective rather than isolated individual judgement making. It also has considerable ramifications for the contexts in which judgements are situated.

Regional and Local contexts

Myriad decisions will be made in our day-to-day encounters governed by those features described above. However, these decisions will not take place in isolation; a recurrent theme throughout this discussion has been the need for

collaboration. Moreover, for collaboration to be in any way meaningful it also has to be transformative, through empowering and maximising those 'voices' that are situated in particular, and often unique, cultural contexts.

The argument constructed in this section has been used to demonstrate the complex processes and factors involved in producing informed judgements. One of the main themes to emerge is that the generation of judgement is seen to lie beyond traditional professional boundaries i.e. with teachers, doctors, social workers, police officers, etc. All those involved with children and young people in whatever capacity have important information and perceptions to offer that should help in producing better quality evidence. Together with this the views of the young should also be treated with respect and dignity when it comes to making informed decisions.

Some concluding thoughts

You will no doubt remember that the key aim of the chapter was to encourage you to reflect on the complex world that children, young people and their families live in and how various kinds of risk shape day-to-day experience. We have used the discussion to highlight not only the nature of the kind of risk that the young face but also how that risk is intricately linked to matters of judgement. Our purpose in pursuing this line of argument was to emphasise how a range of different factors mediate perceptions of risk. We also provided you with a framework to help you reflect on how it is possible to come to what might best be described as informed judgements when working with children, young people and families.

Yet we also raised some important ethical issues through the discussion on communities of risk. The fact of the matter appears to be that for some individuals and groups levels of risk are significantly influenced by matters of poverty, educational underachievement, poor housing and health, lack of play facilities, etc. However were you also left pondering why it is the case that certain people appear to be more resilient when it comes to surviving personal and collective risk and seem to have both the internal resources and external networks to grow and thrive despite the adversity they face? You need to give this matter more consideration when it comes to developing effective forms of work with the young. Through the Typology of Risk we introduced the notion of 'positive intentional risk'. Perhaps one of the key matters we need to consider in working with children, young people and families is how work strategies can be developed that foster exposure to risk without fatally injuring confidence, future aspirations, skill and knowledge development and courage to take risks. We also want you to reflect again on the ideas of both 'pathology' and 'problematisation' and the ethical underpinnings of both of these ideas. Essentially the argument has been made that these concepts are so powerful that they determine the nature, philosophy and priorities of the services provided for children, young people and families.

Our purpose in raising these issues at one level is very simple; services for the

young will only ever really change if and when such ideas are positively challenged and countered. We would want to argue at a very fundamental level that the transformation of services has to be predicated on a rights promoting agenda that advocates the importance of seeing children, young people and families as crucial contributors to decision making activities and any processes that used to evaluate service effectiveness. Here of course new risks are introduced onto the agenda in that service users might advocate approaches and strategies that are at odds with professional views and expectations. Thus any judgement that is made to change policies and practices will require a level of resilience to see things through even when other approaches appear easier and therefore more attractive in the short term.

Further reading

Robb, M. (2007) *Youth in context: frameworks, settings and encounters*, London: Sage and Open University Press.

Wilkinson, I. (2010) *Risk, Vulnerability and Every Day Life*, Abingdon: Routledge

TWELVE

'Real Audience Pedagogy' Creative learning and digital space

Julian McDougall and Dave Trotman

How can educators and students make sense of the plethora of creative tools afforded by broadband internet communication? Is it a 'given' that web 2.0 fosters a 'participation culture' whereby the dynamics of expert and apprentice are deconstructed as an epistemic turn reconfigures the roles of student and teacher – towards a 'pedagogy of the inexpert'? Or should we tread more carefully, bearing witness to the distinction between the democratising impulse of prosumer activity and the conditions of possibility for meaningful creativity in these new technosocial contexts.

In this chapter, three case study examples are explored to challenge assumptions and identify practical strategies in this arena: a web drama project with primary school children preparing for transition to 'big school', a university module hosted in 'Second Life' and an AS coursework unit using social networking for planning and evaluation.

Through a comparison of the three interventions, the chapter will offer some answers to questions about form, content, processes and outcome, towards a more informed approach to the realisation of creativity in new digital spaces. We are particularly interested in digital affordances in relation to the opportunities they present for students to engage with real audiences beyond the classroom walls and the school/college hall or theatre. Such opportunities exist every day, but they present real challenges to the teacher, possibly insurmountable in the orthodox construction of the curriculum and the phenomenology of the educational institution, bound as it is in time and space by the timetable, the curriculum and the authority of the teacher as 'gatekeeper'. Working carefully with these new dynamics is what we mean by 'real audience pedagogy'.

In this modest undertaking, our lines of enquiry owe a small debt of gratitude to those scholars who have contributed to shaping the insights now emerging in the field of creativity and which have informed our thinking in this chapter. Our analysis is further sharpened by a number of studies of creativity which, although significant, originate from different disciplines and from within different traditions of social science research (e.g. Willis, 1990; Fryer, 1996; Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Sternberg, 1999). In the UK, a number of government-sponsored reports have also offered their particular 'take' on the definitions and purposes of creativity. A dominant theme in much of this work has been a compulsion to establish creativity as a 'democratic' practice framed neither by 'sectoral' interests, e.g. the creative arts, nor as the exclusive province of a gifted elite (NACCCE, 1999). Despite a paucity of research evidence to corroborate the existence of a curriculum-wide

practice of creativity in UK schools, an alignment of creativity for entrepreneurial purposes, such as those expressed in the Roberts report, has become a significant aspect of ministerial interest in the field (Hartley, 2003).

Our direction in this chapter is both experimental and exploratory, and it will be useful therefore if we sketch some of the contexts of our work. For those readers who are familiar with Arts Based Educational Research (ABER), the parallels are deliberate. For those for whom this is new, the approach has gathered increasing interest among researchers whose enquiries are less amenable to conventional representation. Typically, ABER research 'texts' are designed to temporarily take the 'reader' to new psychological landscapes where new and empathic understandings can be assimilated and familiar realities recast. This, in the literature of ABER, is what Susanne Langer calls 'composed apparition' (Langer, 1957; quoted in Barone and Eisner, 2006: 98). With this aim in mind, researchers are actively encouraged to experiment with their text and representational formats. ABER then offers a means of enhancing the perspective of researcher and audience while simultaneously generating further questions for the 'reader'. Useful examples of the approach can be found in the work of Barone and Eisner (2006), Bagley and Cancienne (2001) and Richardson (1992).

A second context is provided by media education. Gauntlett (2007) provides a helpful visual metaphor for web 2.0 in which he presents the world of collaborative 'we media' creativity as a shared allotment, replacing or at least adding to the hitherto separate arrangement of individual gardens. Wesch (2009) offers a genealogy of the expression 'whatever' and suggests that while in the era of web 2.0 young people may be 'switched off' from orthodox public sphere discourses and democratic processes, they are nonetheless connected to a range of micropolitical and creative activities online. Meanwhile Buckingham (2007) and Marsh (2007) draw our attention to the 'disconnect' between the schooled curriculum and the various and increasing forms of digital learning practice in which children participate.

Advocates of a subsequent 'Media 2.0' (Merrin, 2008) claim that the notion of 'the media' as an object of study or a coherent set of power structures is outdated in the age of this 'alwaysalready connected' world of more democratic creativity – a 'remix' culture in which any media text is likely to be amended, 'mashed up' and made subject to a range of parodic shifts by its audience, who in turn become producers; prosumer activity then becomes standard and it is no longer tenable to talk of 'new media' as separate and bracketed from traditional media.

A further context is provided by policy. Policy agents such as Ofcom, a UK regulatory body, situate 'media literacy' as key to a healthy democracy – particularly with regard to the safety and well being of children. This legitimising gesture is awkward for media educators since it at the same time provides credibility for the production of media material within the formal educational system and obliges a

more or less protectionist agenda, as 'being media literate' is offered as a safeguard for children in the online age.

All of these emerging discourses are situated in close proximity to a loosely defined discourse of 'creativity' as part of media literacy and of 'media 2.0'. This discourse is connected to economic categories in the UK – 'Creative Britain', 'Creative Industries' and the introduction of a new qualification for 14–19-year-olds – the Creative and Media Diploma.

Case study 1: web drama

Web drama is a medium gaining increasing momentum in education, given its affordance of a 'real audience'. Through the use of a simple blog with embedded video and a polling facility, a more or less 'walled' audience can shape the development of the drama. *Moving On, Moving Up* is the outcome of an after-school 'film club' run at a primary school for Year 5 and 6 students, during which the students created a five-episode narrative through which they were able to dramatise (and thus externalise) a set of anxieties about moving on to secondary school. For the participants, this was a pressing issue and the expectation was that the students would 'project' their own anxieties onto the characters and that this 'distancing' through representation and narrative would be richer than a purely personal sharing of worries. The innovation, in terms of pedagogy, lies in the voting feature, through which the audience (the rest of the school, staff and students at two partner institutions – a secondary media arts college and a university college specialising in teacher training – as well as parents and friends) chose the focus for the next episode, constructed as a series of dilemmas presented to the characters and a 'What should they do now?' question on the blog.[1] The characters' talking heads introductions were uploaded to a blog, which was accessed by parents, fellow students, friends, relatives and, potentially, strangers. Interviewed about the process at the end point, the students offered a range of responses but all agreed about three things:

- The web drama had been a suitable vehicle for the discussion of anxieties about 'big school'.
- The creative (and imaginative) process of characterisation and fictional scenario-building had been essential to this.
- Most clearly, there was consensus that the 'real audience pedagogy' could not have been replaced by a more orthodox approach. Had the audience only been able to vote as a response to seeing the episodes in school assemblies or on DVD, something significant would have been lost. It was the extended, real, online audience (and the removal of time as a constraint) that made the difference. As one participant has it, 'Anyone could see it – your mums, your dads, your aunties, your grandads.'

In terms of their 'creative learning', some of the participants expressed

1 http://cvtvspielbergclub.blogspot.com/.

frustration at the relatively small degree of 'hands-on' filming and editing they had experienced, in keeping with Reid, Parker and Burns' findings from a project commissioned by BECTA (Reid *et al*., 2002). Due to the context of a time-pressured after-school club and the necessity of filming and editing in response to the online voting so that the next episode could be uploaded on time to keep the momentum, the participants' creativity was restricted often to scripting, filming and acting and rarely post-production. Subsequently, they felt that a more substantial role in decisionmaking about editing, music and structure would have enhanced their creative development.

The creative dimensions of this case study are at first relatively easy to locate, e.g. in the literature on creativity Wallas's (1926) four-stage process is frequently reprised:

- preparation: identifying problems and setting goals;
- incubation: making associations and reflecting;
- illumination: seeing new configurations;
- verification and validation: balancing outcome against public judgement.

Here, within their given terms of reference, young people have been encouraged to construct their own characters, explore their identities and generate these in fictionalised 'realised form'. The projection of anxiety, however, is critical to the creative impulse of this work, and here three pivotal concepts were germane to the project: *imagination*, *empathy* and correspondent troubles and issues.

The first of these concerns the centrality of imagination to creativity. Indeed, studies of creativity have typically located imaginative work as an important precursor to creative endeavour (Eisner, 2005; Fisher and Williams, 2004; Cropley, 2001). Fisher and Williams, for example, regard creativity as 'embodied imagination':

> What imagination does is to enable the mind to represent images and ideas of what is not actually present to the senses. It can refer to the capacity to predict, plan and foresee possible future consequences. In short, imagination is the capacity to conceive possible (or impossible) worlds that lie beyond this time and place.
> (Fisher and Williams, 2004: 9)

This has an obvious and particular resonance with the creative challenges confronting the participants in this case study. However, as authorities in the field of imagination have continued to point out, imaginative work involves more than just the capacity to *image* in a detached, dispassionate or abstracted sense, but involves us in thinking, feeling and perceiving as a single and unified experience (Egan, 2008: 46). For the young people in this study, the creation of characters, events and scenarios has meant that the dimensions of their work, whilst embracing possibility thinking, have generated a more meaningful engagement in *empathic* work. The tasks involved in this first case study required young participants to adopt a form of empathic agency in their creative work. Without this requirement

the tasks would have been rendered both meaningless and uncreative in the terms we have previously taken care to describe. Moreover, contrary to the 'moral panics' concerning the dehumanising effects of contemporary media technologies, we see this imaginative-empathic work as entirely in concert with the conceptions of empathy described in the discourses of care theory (Noddings, 2005) and which enrich the sorts of creative practice undertaken in this case study. Typically, the defining features of this work necessitate a 'cognitive understanding of the other's situation and emotional resonance with the other. … Not only must the one caring emotionally resonate with the other, she must *move* to do so. She must shift herself into the other's perspective and affective life' (Noddings, 1984, 16; quoted in Verducci, 2000: 89).

We are careful to acknowledge here that it was entirely feasible, as similar transition projects have successfully managed to do, for this work to reside simply in the domain of the private imaginative-empathic. However, in embodying private troubles in imaginary characters made public, we pay intentional homage to C. Wright Mills' (1959) coupling of '*private troubles*' with '*public issues*' as a means of participants locating personal biography and historicity in the social mix.

Public voting on pupil-generated story-lines through digital means may reflect attributes commonly associated with creative practice; such as innovation, ingenuity, originality and tolerance of ambiguity (Dacey, 1989; Cropley, 2001). Indeed, we would argue that this case study meets many, if not all, of these criteria. Moreover, in facilitating a real audience pedagogy, we argue its potency in enabling young people to develop a creative 'space' in which authentic private troubles can be realised, positioned and valued as a corresponding 'public issue': a metanarrative of the possibilities of school-to-school transition, if you will. The empowerment of personal agency is clearly a desirable thing for young people, but we are also reminded that ownership of creative outcome is of corresponding importance (Hargreaves, 1989).

Case study 2: Second Life

This second example is different in context but similar in that novelty and defamiliarisation are key to understanding the outcomes. A second year undergraduate module on 'Media Futures' was hosted in the virtual world Second Life, requiring students to teleport their avatars to a virtual lecture theatre once a week rather than to physically attend a 'real' lecture. What is important here is that the subject matter of the module is partly the experience itself – a self-reflexive set of learning outcomes. In other words, the students were engaging with a series of ontological questions about the nature of reality in relation to experience, and so to do this in a virtual space like Second Life (where the residue of the 'real' remains – through the lecturer's spoken voice and PowerPoint slides) had a learning benefit in addition to the novelty. (This might not be the same for a set of History or Maths lectures, of course.)

The striking outcome for students was that the level of response to material was much higher than for 'normal' seminars. And, most intriguingly, even very sceptical students discussed the retrospective feeling that they had 'been to' the lectures – the memory of the events was in most cases described in terms of the lecture theatre in Second Life (SL) rather than their bedrooms or wherever they were with their laptops at the time of 'being' in the module. Some responses follow:

> The obvious pro was that I didn't have to leave the house.
>
> I'm not very talkative in the real world but I felt comfortable and talkative in SL.
>
> We should have had more lectures in SL as we were just getting into it and it was becoming more 'real'.
>
> Students feel more free to type their responses rather than being in a lecture and not wanting to feel stupid. '
>
> Attendance' would go up in SL.

These responses are mundane on one level – they describe basic issues of access and comfort. But they set up some interesting questions about engagement and it was clear that the 'creative' (and imaginative) practice of making choices about how to represent oneself – how to 'be with others' in this virtual domain – were beneficially distracting from the practice of being a student in a set of lectures. Rich discussions took place within the module about the nature of identity in a post-modern, partly virtual society (in relation to theories and research from Baudrillard [2002], Frasca [2003], Žižek [2002] and others) and almost always these debates were enhanced by the experience of students realising their identities and reflecting on their own 'hyperreality'. Further development of this module will feature students making films in the virtual world – setting up possibilities for setting, character, action and mise en scene that are prevented in the physical universe. The case study raises intriguing questions. To what extent is the technology available merely liberating an imaginative potential in students that was alwaysalready waiting to be harnessed? And do videogames and virtual worlds, then, offer something beyond the classroom that connects to Egan's desire for 'imaginative education'? On the other hand, it was clear that the degrees of cultural capital required to 'self-present' and to theorise on this practice were in keeping with those required for more traditional forms of academic practice – to articulate, to reflect, to be 'self-knowing'. Research into videogames and learning that 'gives time' for respondents to go beyond a surface level tends to reveal the same unfortunate truth.

In this case study, we have, once again, experienced a powerful resonance between the 'opening out' of creative spaces and possibilities for imaginative empathic work. The reciprocity between the composed apparitions of ABER and the virtual environments of Second Life is a difficult one to resist. There is also an equally emphatic correspondence between common creative traits and the desirable conditions for creativity. In particular, we have noted the following:

- functional freedom: involving the visualisation of different outcomes to given situations and imagining different uses of objects (Dacey *et al.*, 1998: 231);
- tolerance of ambiguity (Cropley, 2001);
- receptiveness to stimuli;
- androgyny: involving the presence of 'so-called' 'masculine' traits of autonomy and selfconfidence aligned with 'feminine' traits of sensitivity, intuitiveness (we would add that in Second Life the possibility of the representation of androgynous identity is, for some participants, also one of its attractors);
- informed risk.

As the informants in this case study continued to reiterate, Second Life provides an environment in which forms of intellectual risk are enabled through the adoption of alternative persona and a different kinaesthetic dynamic of space and time. Second Life, whilst providing new possibilities for a particular form of liberation of the learner, crucially provides a palpable virtual world in which risk, ambiguity and possibility coalesce to creatively shape intersubjectivity and personal meaning.

Case study 3: evaluative blogging

This third example is very different in its institutional nature – an awarding body 'prescribing' an approach for teachers and students to follow, as opposed to a more organic pilot project like the two above, which have arguably lower stakes in terms of outcome. AS Level Media Studies is an examination usually taken at 17+.[2] The OCR examination board, which devises one such course, requires students submitting coursework for moderation (video, print, web design or audio) to use digital contexts for their work in progress and evaluations of their work. Previously marks awarded for research, planning and evaluation had been in response to either paper-based material or teacher testimony. The model offered as a template here was a blog, on which students would upload material in progress for peer evaluation, embed 'real media' with which to compare their developing work and store archives of planning and process – design drafts, research outcomes, animatics. The other difference to the previous examples is in scale – this new approach was expected of hundreds of schools and colleges and for this reason the outcomes were far more varied. Partly the experience was divided by access and surveillance – students in one institution were able to use web 2.0 platforms in school and at home, whereas others were restricted by local education authority 'firewall' blocks on social networks; thus an unintended 'digital divide' was constructed. And partly the distinction was a factor of teacher ease or unease with social networking in the lifeworld – what kind of pedagogy is required for an extended educational encounter where students take control of the majority of their learning in distributed spaces that may exclude their teacher. In this case a 'pedagogy of the inexpert' is required and it is inevitable that teacher

2 See http://www.ocr.org.uk/qualifications/type/gce/amlw/media_studies/index.aspx.

identity, constructed for decades around a discourse of mastery and control, will be threatened.

Prima facie, this case study appears to be predicated on a fairly rudimentary framework for creativity: students fashioning their work through a mix of drafting, selection, problem-solving, sequencing, etc. – practices that may align better with some of the more routine principles of design than those we might associate with a rich creative dynamic. However, a number of the unanticipated consequences of this work have allowed us to glimpse ways in which creative spaces and digital networks might be further shaped *with* young people and the subsequent demands that this places on the would-be creative pedagogue. In adopting a post-modern reading of this case study, multiple versions of an intended curriculum innovation become mediated and inscribed through varying technological frameworks; frameworks that enable differentiated forms of agency for the informants. In some instances the existence of electronic 'safeguards' has, quite literally, framed and insulated the scope of innovation and possibility for individual creative agency. In other examples, where it has become possible to transgress such boundaries, or where such parameters do not exist, curricula become indeterminate, fluid, provocative, ambiguous and complex (Pinar, 1998: 84). The 'conditions of possibility' that are generated or impeded either by intention or accident in this case study have, then, important connections with the qualities of the creative field which we have previously highlighted: experimentation, risk, knowledge of the medium, challenge, functional freedom, etc. The creation of these conditions is a *leitmotif* that connects each of these case studies and, once again, invites us to re-examine the relationship between creative practice, creative environments, curriculum, participation and pedagogy.

Beyond the pilot project

How, then, to 'roll out', at institutional levels, creativity of this nature? How to distinguish between 'out of school' creativity – a video achieving significant 'playback' on YouTube – and formal coursework? How to deal with 'digital plagiarism' and how to construct a consensus of what counts as knowledge and of 'craft' in these contexts? And how to move beyond the constraints of the 'perennial pilot project' – drawing down small pots of funding to work on innovative experiments in temporary creative spaces while the rest of the approved educational enterprise carries on as before? If students are both a self-realising audience and 'creative natives', then the educational job of work, as we are proposing here, has to do with reflection on creative activity. Teachers of a wide range of subjects might usefully adopt approaches that arts educators use to negotiate the 'creative act' with their students. In a subject like Media, the word 'creative' appears in assessment criteria but is rarely defined or exemplified. As such it is only applied in a proximal relation to other criteria – thus as a discourse it remains both empty (in and for itself) and full (when adding weight to another unit of measurement). For this reason,

wherever educators wish to develop and, usually, assess the kinds of creativity 'affordances' which new digital media seem to provide – what we are calling 'real audience pedagogy' – dynamics of parody, reimagining, imitation set against discourses of 'origination' must be more explicitly worked out in relation to what we think we want to 'measure' from learning. This is pressing. Teachers are obliged to enable critical reflection on 'being in culture' through digital participation. But the present state of play in media education, to continue with this example, seems to be that 'being creative' is measured but isn't taught – assumed either to be some kind of innate quality or somehow always-already arising from the act of 'making and doing' with new media. As Buckingham warns:

> Despite the claims of some media evangelists, digital media are not likely to result in a society of creative media producers, any more than the printing press resulted in a society of published authors. While there is certainly a democratic promise here, the realisation of that promise will require more than technology alone. (Buckingham, 2010: 7)

We are, then, tackling two related discourses in this analysis: on the one hand, what Buckingham calls an 'evangelical' set of precepts regarding the apparently inevitable fostering of digital creativity in the arena of 'Media 2.0' and, on the other, the institutional discourse of creativity in the English education systemworld, which is equally fraught with tensions and contradictions. The English school inspectorate, although not the most likely body to cite in relation to the promotion of creativity, reports a number of pedagogic and curriculum features that equally enable and impede creativity in schools. Amongst the barriers to creativity, *Expecting the Unexpected* (Ofsted, 2003) identifies the inability amongst teachers both to 'let go' and to recognise the creative moment. They highlight the tensions between an agenda of national testing and creativity and note the limited scope of extra-curricular opportunities for enabling pupil creativity. Many readers will no doubt see these inspection findings as indicative of a need for a more coherent analysis of the relationship between 'school', curriculum, participants, educators and researchers. It is our view that each of these case studies reiterates the connectivity of these constituent elements. Slattery, for example, argues that in the post-modern milieu, curriculum development will be the concern of a 'community of interpreters working together in mutually corrective and mutually collaborative efforts' (Slattery, 1995: 118). Drawing on the principles of the 'hermeneutic circle', Slattery's thinking reciprocates with our own analysis of real audience pedagogy, where, through the interplay of language and the creativity of interpretation, we engage in the process of understanding text, the lived experience, and the self in relation to the other (ibid.: 119). As we have previously indicated, this necessitates a significant shift in (re)cognising the spaces where creative learning can be sited. It also demands, if we are to make any legitimate claim to authentic creative endeavour, that we diffuse the power structures that permeate both the stratification of curricula and the construction of teacher, pupil, researcher roles.

Creative space, creative curricula and creative learning have all been afforded necessary attention in the mainstream educational literature. Curiously, the *evaluation* of creative educational work appears, by comparison, to have been eclipsed (see Chapters 14, 15, 32, 33). Following our observations in these case studies, we regard evaluation as a central feature of a creative pedagogy. A corollary of this is that approaches to creative evaluation mirror many of the principles of ABER outlined earlier, and, moreover, echo the words of Herbert Blumer's well-known axiom that the research must be faithful to the phenomena under investigation (Blumer, 1954; cited in Atkinson and Delamont, 2008).

Here we have offered a tentative theorisation of creative learning in digital space. Through discussion and observation with and of our participants we have attempted to 'map' some of the conditions of possibility for real audience pedagogy. Degrees of cultural capital, aptitude for risk and for identity-play, and a willingness to take part in a set of 'distancing' operations are required not only to participate but to 'achieve' in the idioms of these language games. Whether or not these types of acumen are sufficiently different to those required to succeed in the orthodox curriculum might be the focus of further enquiry. Here we merely skim the surface.

The growth of interest in creativity as a school-wide phenomenon in education in England is to be welcomed. As we have attempted to illustrate in these case studies, creativity, in the terms we have defined it, has a valuable role in the practice of 'real audience pedagogy'. As we have also argued, the conditions of possibility generated through digital space are not restricted to any particular domain of the educational lifecourse. Our enthusiasm is, though, tempered by our observations of those initiatives that have sought to cherry-pick or sponsor particular aspects of creativity. This is best exemplified in the Roberts report (2006), where creativity is framed through a language of 'the creative offer', 'commissioning', 'creative protocols and creative industries', which both reconfigures and impoverishes creativity in the interests of narrow economic imperatives (see Chapters 9, 10, 12 and 14). In advancing the possibilities of real audience pedagogy, we premise our work on the full variety and richness of the creative endeavour. As we have argued, this necessarily involves creating space and stimuli for the development of imaginative powers, embodying the sensuous, feelingfulness and empathy. In these conditions of possibility, we contend that new digital spaces enable the creation of previously unexplored landscapes for the exercise of functional freedom, ambiguity and informed risk. In our analysis, we not only retrace earlier studies of creativity but also align our interests with a number of related developments in the field of ABER research. In particular, Willis's (1990) work on symbolic creativity in the lives of young people provides a study that is situated beyond the bastions of formal education, illuminating a powerful dynamic of creative work in young people unfettered by institutional restraint and approved pedagogy. This, we argue, corresponds well with the practices revealed in the first

two case studies. The encounters in Second Life, for instance, reveal something of the 'grounded aesthetic' which Willis describes as a creative process in which meanings are attributed to symbols and practices. These symbols and practices are then selected and reselected, highlighted and recomposed to offer further resonance with appropriated and particularised meanings (ibid.: 21). The power of 'new' technologies in liberating this is also not lost on Willis (ibid.: 20) (in a study of creativity that is now 20 years old). Similarly, in reporting our first case study, we have seen young people imaginatively address the conditions of possibility in primary–secondary school transition (and we bear witness to the importance of the online distribution of such imaginative work in this) to generate what Willis describes as a personalised cultural map (ibid.: 53). In light of our own work and the studies that have foreshadowed this, the ramifications for educational practice in creativity are stark. Real audience pedagogy and the corresponding characteristics of creativity necessitate approaches to educational practice which in one sphere celebrate a 'pedagogy of the inexpert' and in others require us to reconsider in much greater detail our approach to the research, evaluation and representation of creative practice in ways that we have begun to outline.

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THIRTEEN

Devised Drama, Shakespeare and Creativity: Practical work on Othello's Pathos

Persephone Sextou and Dave Trotman

'The process of devising is about the fragmentary experience of understanding ourselves, our culture, and the world we inhabit.' (Oddey, 1994, p.1)

In this paper we present three inter-related lines of argument. Our first is that we share Oddey's (1994) conviction that devised theatre must reflect the perceptions of actors, their social values, beliefs, ideologies as well as the events of our time. Second, we argue that devised theatre offers opportunities to explore and represent both private troubles (Wright Mills, 1959) and contemporary social issues through artistic symbolic practice. Third, we argue that key aspects of creativity have special significance for the practice of Devised Theatre. Drawing on our reflections of working with undergraduate Drama students (Level 4) we consider how devised theatre as a collaborative and experimental practice might promote our powers of imagination, generosity and trust in others by stretching the students' boundaries of their imagination and positioning themselves in the place of dramatic characters. Perhaps more radically, we see the imagination as a powerful means to releasing a sense of the internal self by letting people present who they really are through heightening their senses, enabling the expression of 'crazy thinking', and opening their minds to 'forbidden areas' and the 'taboo' issues in society (Johnstone, 1999, 73). For these undergraduate drama students the precise nature of the final product (performance) would be unknown to them. Students were neither limited by outlines or scripts but, rather, used extracts from Shakespeare's plays as a starting point to create something original (to the creator) that represented their biography and life experiences. The performance then became the responsibility of the students who devise theatre pieces as part of an artistic journey of investigation and self-discovery towards personal and social awareness. For some of the students this was to be their first encounter with devised theatre.

We begin by first briefly presenting the 'cultures' of devised theatre followed by an overview of creativity and the significance of imagination and emotion. We then provide the reader with an account of the procedure as introduced to the students and, finally, we discuss the ways in which students' personal experiences were revealed, interpreted, transformed and creatively adapted as part of the practical devised work. The practical work we describe focuses on William Shakespeare's 'Othello' and the use of the Aristotelian 'pathos' mode of persuasion in the play.

Devised Theatre & Creativity

Recently, devised theatre has been adopted by colleges and universities particularly

for undergraduate courses in the creative/performing arts (Morrow at al., 2009) but the British tradition of devised theatre emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s in response to social changes that offered a promise of individual liberation, democracy, experimentation, creativity and collectivism. Devised theatre companies challenged the dominant literary theatre tradition which focused on the director's interpretation of a script and placed groups of actors in a peripheral/subservient role from rehearsal to performances in conventional theatre buildings (Oddey, 1994; Heddon & Milling, 2006). Devising advances the actors' physical, mental and practical creativity of giving shape and meaning to an unstructured idea through representation. Actors are then empowered to think, to be critical and to make artistic decisions about the content, style, and form. The final product of theatre work is then realised through collective experimentation with form, ideas and various stimuli such as visual, audio and movement in educational contexts (Jellicoe, 1987). Devised theatre has been widely used in imaginative site-specific and communitybased theatre performances and 'staged' in alternative venues, ranging from schools to hospitals and from prisons to zones of war. Performances are then products of skill sharing, the consideration of socio-political topics such as war, palliative care, young offenders, women's role in society, and involve audiences that are both culturally diverse and intergenerational that, in turn, reflect a wide range of interests, needs and abilities in participatory theatre forms (Erven, 2001; Nicholson; 2005; Kuppers, 2007; Prentki & Preston, 2008; Schweitzer & Bruce, 2008; Thompson, 2005).

Devised theatre is not only a collaborative endeavour of self-discovery, it is also a creative process. We have already alluded to our application of 'aspects' of creativity to devised theatre and here we are mindful that this requires qualification. Even amongst professional arts practitioners and performers the term remains elusive. Where research studies of creativity have been successful undertaken with professional creative workers (Csikszentmihayli, 1996; Tusa, 2003) they cast useful light on the creative impulse, working processes and the means of artistic realization. Devised Theatre offers the first of these challenges in relation to applying theoretical framework of creativity. With its accent on collaboration and community, the working process of devised theatre stands in marked contrast to the traditions typically associated with a Western approach to creative work.

In relation to earlier reference to devised theatre and its accent on imagination, critical thinking and decision-making, the devising process offers important connections with a theorised domain of creativity. Imagination, and its particular dynamic with devised theatre, offers a potent vehicle for creative work. Indeed observers of creativity have made much of its significance. McCammon *et al.* (2010), for example, argue that 'Drama/theatre has enormous potential to uncover and enhance the creativity capacities of young people as individuals and as members of a social group' (McCammon *et al.*, 2010, 219). Fisher and Williams

(2004) regard creativity as 'embodied imagination', whilst Eisner's considerable body of work in this area underscores the pivotal role of imagination in creation and innovation (Eisner, 2005, 107–108). To pursue this further in the context of devised theatre and the actors' ability to think critically, make decisions, and empower their audiences to do the same, imagination is an advanced form of synthesis a combination of ideas with a political purpose. Original ideas are created out of imaginative, and sometimes unconventional, explorations of possibilities that demand decisions to be made in order for the devised process to emerge. Actors are invited to make connections between stimuli such as images, songs, artefacts, stories, body movement, films, DVDs, costume and masks, props and personal life experiences. These connections call upon innovative thinking as part of the creative process but they also aim to introduce innovative ways in which audiences can experience theatre. The ambition here is to suggest to audiences something new, or an originality of thought as they experience the play-to encourage them to consider their perceptions about life and society by challenging their preconceptions and prejudices.

Imagination, we argue, is also a vital ingredient in the development of personal learning and the promotion of the 'inner self' through drama–and this, in turn, involves a process of advanced empathic work. Empathy is, then, another constituent feature of rich imaginative work and it emerges in a number of studies of imagination (in particular see Warnock, 1976 and Egan, 1992). Empathic work of the sort we describe here is a form of 'emotional knowing' in which one projects oneself into the physical being of the other, what Noddings (1984) regards as:

> a cognitive understanding of the other's situation and emotional resonance with the other… not only must the one caring emotionally resonate with the other, she must *move* to do so. She must shift herself into the other's perspective and affective life. (Noddings, 1984, 16)

It then follows that in order to do work of this kind in devised theatre it requires of the creatorperformer a level self-knowledge *par excellence*.

Technical Repertoire

Devised theatre extends from the initial 'brainstorming' to a period of writing where the participants make decisions about content, characters (the power relationships and their social status) and the possibilities of theatrical form. A blend of imagination, creativity, emotion and social awareness of self and others is integrated in this process and this can then be further exploited within the 'Stanislavski system'. This offers yet another creative technique towards the 'sincere' representation of characters. (Benedetti, 1989, 1999)

Again we find powerful resonances with the literature of imagination and creativity research, where imagination and emotion are configured in what Warnock calls 'imaginative emotion' (1976, 206) in which 'vivid' conceptions of

ideas excite within us not illusions but facts 'as real as any other qualities of objects.' These are neither erroneous nor delusive but consistent with 'accurate knowledge.' The connection between 'imaginative emotion' as expressed by Warnock and the imagination and emotional flow of Stanislavski's devices becomes an important onein which the actor's disposition to imaginative-emotional work becomes an essential aspect of the technical repertoire.

Devised theatre demands emotional work, and this, in turn, involves risk. For example, when actors reveal their emotions in the improvisation of a character, they are exposed to those who may not necessarily respect the process or may not be able to cope with the emotions of others when these are openly expressed. Once again, we find correspondences between devised theatre, and the typical features of creativity research. Here, we see the need for *creative risk* in emotionally supportive but nonetheless challenging environments. Similarly, in the shift from experimental play to improvisation and ultimately performance, the exposure of the interior imaginaryemotional life world to public gaze and interpretation becomes a vital part of creative-performance work. And then there is the psychic 'flow' that Csikszentmihalyi (1996) talks about involving the merging of action and awareness, the elimination of distractions, a lack of fear of failure, a lack of self-consciousness and the distortion of sense of time. Devised theatre 'moments' may then range from a strong excitement and willingness to experiment in rehearsal to the plethora of problems that commonly emerge in the group-such as making decisions about the style of presentation and the relationship with the audience. The groups we describe here are typically 'creative people' who not only share and articulate their views and opinions but also desire to grow as artists–emotionally, professionally and personally.

Our Approach to Devised Practice

Our approach to devised theatre derives from a desire to experiment artistically and democratically in a way that can help our undergraduate drama students to improve their understanding of self and their relationships with others, to develop their socio-political awareness and their creative abilities. One approach to this can be found in Eugene Van Erven's appraisal of Ernie Cloma's 'Creative Pedagogy', which he developed as head of PETA's School for People's Theatre programme. Cloma's aim was to increase enthusiasm for drama, broaden students' perceptions and enhance creativity (Erven, 2001). Cloma's own involvement in cultural diverse community theatre participation and devised practices enabled him to connect collective drama work to the creative development of school children.

In our approach we adopt a similar stance by encouraging the following. First, we invite students to explore the possibilities offered by Shakespeare's themes and characters. Second, we encourage students to broaden their perception of his plays through making links to contemporary social local and global themes.

Third, we ask students to connect these themes to their own 'realities' through a creative mediation of these personal and social aspects. This process involves attention to group dynamics, interdependence, ambiguities, and the challenges of communication in devised work. In this context, 'doing Shakespeare' offers both a 'mask' (Arnold, *et al*., 1998, 311) and a stimulus for individual and collective imagination and creativity.

Relating Shakespeare's characters to the student *lifeworld* enables emotions, memories and experiences to be investigated. In balancing the comical and tragic aspects of life, Shakespeare creates intense psychological scenes that students are able to analyze and develop through an appreciation of their situation within the play. Shakespearean characters are confronted with their reflective self and the need to step 'beyond themselves', to deal with their fate and either compromise or resist the supernatural powers of Gods and Fairies. It is important that students come to an understanding of this in order to deal with questions about each character's identity and destiny. This includes both a 'sense of self' and a consciousness of human relationships work as a critical preparatory stage for creating a trusting environment in which to release vivid imagination. This, however, does not imply an introspective or purely self-indulgent exercise. One of the most contentious areas of argument in discussions of creativity relate to the ways in which the processes or products of creativity may be variously privileged. It is our contention in this paper that the creative work of devised theatre and Shakespearean characterization all move in the direction of realized form–the realization of collaborative creative endeavour informed by individual emotional-imaginative work. In short, drama is creative visualization and realization.

Methodology: The Devised Theatre Process

Our explorations took place with 33 first year University College Drama students who were actively involved in devising theatre. The Shakespeare unit took ten three-hour sessions to complete. Our approach was informed by two specific questions: How does devised theatre affect students' appreciation of, and interest in, Shakespeare's work? What role do the creative and imaginative aspects of devised theatre have in promoting students' sense of self and others in society? The challenge in our experiment was that we aimed to teach our students how to devise a storyline for a short play based on Shakespeare's texts without studying his texts from a linguistic approach-rather from a socio-political comparison between Elizabethan times and the present day.

Traditionally, British 'text-led' theatre companies study Shakespeare's language by looking at how the Elizabethan text works with modern styles of acting as it is evidenced, for example, in the work of John Barton (DVD Royal Shakespearean Company, 1969). The innovative aspect of our approach was that we asked our students not to use Shakespeare's language and text as a stimulus

for acting, but as an introduction to a thought process that could generate ideas grounded in the deep psychology of a character combined with emotional imagery and metaphors. We also encouraged the students to use modern English or a mixture of spoken English and Shakespearean language in their episodes, in order to make them feel less stressful about using a language that can often be challenging to understand. Should we had chosen to study the linguistics of the text, this would have entailed an examination of how similarities or antithesis (the setting of one word against the other) work in a play. For example, we would have considered how Hamlet should act probably one of the best-known lines in English literature: 'To be or not to be. That is the question' (Shakespeare, 1599–1602). In contrast, our approach encouraged students to examine how similar or different Hamlet might be to contemporary people who experience problems within family relationships. Here we invited the students to research similar stories via the internet in order to broaden their understanding of the tragic character. In other words, we were 'digging up evidence' from Shakespeare's plays-diachronic themes and characters-that relate well to contemporary issues and situations that young people experience and that can be used as a starting point for writing new plays.

As part of this process we undertook a series of steps. First, we introduced the students to the Shakespeare unit and the learning and teaching methods involved: lectures, workshops, online tutorials, rehearsals and self-directed time. Taught sessions involved the use of photographic projections of historical figures of Shakespeare's times, Elizabethan music and dance, stage designs, videos and films, and extracts from Shakespeare's sonnets and plays. The aim was to immerse the students in this process before writing the storyline of a short play, to stimulate their imagination and to provide them with a basis for decisions about the content of the devised pieces, which we called 'episodes'. The students worked in small groups to maximize the student interaction, promote collaborative learning, devising and management skills (Griffiths, 2009). Each group decided to work on a play that had not previously featured in the taught programme. As the students were in the first year of undergraduate study, we offered them a detailed introduction to the techniques that could be used use in the devising of their plays. These included:

- the improvisation of as many different scenes as necessary in order to produce a fixed episodic scene structure of the story/play;
- visualisation of images and characters;
- recasting (inviting more than one students to play the same character);
- change of dialogues (alterations of the speeches);
- alternation moments of reality with fiction with a balance between the symbolic and realistic scenes;
- creating climax;
- using a range of emotions and a variety of speeches;

- working with facial expressions in combination with emotion and sound;
- experimentations of body movement with masks;
- mapping the character (exploring the character's internal and physical characteristics, her personality etc);
- the Stanislavski system;
- the establishment of distance between the episodes and their personal stories to avoid drama therapeutic implications;
- run-throughs
- a series of exercises to support their writing.

As part of the discussion of the process we elicited feedback from 23 students who completed evaluation forms after the end of the module. Records of students' theatre practical work were also kept during the teaching sessions. Anonymous questionnaires were used to invite students to respond to questions about their perception of Shakespeare, their confidence in devising on Shakespeare and recommendations for the development of the module. The records aimed to remake connections between the chosen topic, a Shakespearean play, research they had conducted on a chosen play linked to a current topic, and their personal achievement. The evaluation of our experiment was conducted in accordance with the institution's protocols for ethical approval.

Discussion of the Practical Work

The episodes provided useful outcomes on the impact of devised theatre processes on students' interest in and personal reactions to contemporary social themes. Key moments in their presentations revealed significant emotional expression. Typically, these reflected real life stories of forced life-decisions, family crisis, parental relationships, divorce, financial problems, domestic violence, sexual orientation, early parenthood, abortion, adoption and fostering, euthanasia, homelessness, death and bereavement, race and jealousy.

One example of work based on 'Othello' focused on Othello's relationship with the fair and innocent Desdemona and his false impression that Desdemona was abusing other men. In the play, deceitful and manipulative Iago is jealous of Cassio because Othello has made Cassio a lieutenant. Iago convinces insecure Othello that Cassio was sleeping with Desdemona. This leads Othello to murder Desdemona in order to save his pride but after killing her he also takes revenge and kills Iago and then commits suicide. Using this plot-line, students explored the theme of misrepresentation and trust by looking at Iago misrepresenting himself as an honest man and misleading people into untrue images about who he really is. According to Aristotle, there are three modes of persuasion; ethos which deals with the character of the speaker, pathos which deals with the emotional influence of the speaker on its audience by putting him/her in a particular frame of mind and, logos which relates to the provision of a logical argument suitable in the case (European Rhetoric).

Pathos aims to reduce the audience's ability to be critical. Iago's audience is Rodrigo and Othello. Iago uses the three modes of persuasion to gain others' empathy and trust, inflames their jealousy, poisons its audience's thinking and uses them for his own purposes. Othello's black skin colour (which was equated with the devil by the Elizabethans) and nationality make him vulnerable to Iago's skilful control (Maguire, 2006). Iago knows this and tells Othello that he is not aware of the Venetian women. Iago damages Othello's confidence, makes him feel ignorant about his own wife's customs, less capable of being critical on how Desdemona acts, and believes Iago as one to be trusted for his knowledge.

In their contemporary version of the main characters, students worked on the power of language and 'pathos' in particular. They worked on the case of a man who was convinced by a friend that his spouse was having an affair and kills her with a pillow, just as Othello does under the manipulation of Iago. The students dressed 'Othello', 'Desdemona' and 'Iago' in circus-style clothes and wore grotesque makeup (in the style of Punch and Judy) aiming to blend elements of the tragic and the comic and to argue that comical characters with a 'Punch and Judy' appearance can be poisonous, cruel and violent. The devised episode then began with the two characters (husband/Othello and wife/Desdemona) presented on stage as string puppets animated by another character playing a trustful family friend/Iago who is performed as a puppeteer.

> 'A puppeteer of the psyche, Iago pulls the strings of those who should know better with a battery of verbal weapons. In his soliloquies and dialogues he reveals himself to the audience to be a master of connotative and metaphoric language, inflammatory imagery, emotional appeals, well-placed silences, dubious hesitations, leading questions, meaningful repetition, and sly hints. Indeed, Iago is so good at lying that he is able to convince even himself that he has the soundest of reasons to destroy Othello, Desdemona, and Cassio.' (Edsitement, 2010)

We saw that the students started from Iago's skilful manipulations based on jealousy, revenge and anger and developed their ideas with everyday characters. The aim was to tackle issues of pathos, trust and love and a passion for power as strongly interrelated elements of their story. The students acted out Iago as a puppeteer who uses the language; whispers poisonous words of jealousy in the puppets' ears, threatens them to spread fear in their hearts and offers them protection provided that they are obedient and faithful to him.

From the perspective of the 'purist', the group's approach could be seen as limited because they focused on only one aspect of the original play rather than studying the whole play in detail– instead looking at the different layers of relationships between the characters and the complexities of different scenes. However, we find in their work creative and imaginative dynamics with social implications. They managed to be both critical and selective, and to separate one element of the play that that they considered to be relevant to contemporary society. From this they were able to create a plot-line and develop original speeches that would matter

to them. They explored the theme of misrepresentation, manipulation, power and control in a broader social context. In their discussions they looked at how the politician's talks throw a tapestry of lies to the public and yet, are believed. In short, they were both inspired by Shakespeare and acted as creators with artistic autonomy and social awareness.

We argue that it would not have been enough to ask the students to purely imagine scenarios or engage in some form of creativity by considering the word of Shakespeare. It would not have been enough to extract quotations from his plays and place them in the mouths of new characters, or patronize the network of relationships that develop with Shakespeare's characters to create a modern theatre episode that applies to contemporary society. To create a character from scratch and predict her spoken and physical reactions one needs to take responsibility for the birth of the character with the audience. The artist needs to use a personal 'storage' of experience and encounter in devising theatre to represent social incidents as well as to 'disturb' its audiences. By 'disturb' we mean the awakening of a critical judgments about how human beings interact with each other and how socials forces shape human behaviour. The work recorded in these sessions provided a glimpse of how students made links between the personal, the social and the universal.

The records provided evidence about the impact of devised theatre on the students' appreciation of Shakespeare's work. The practical approach of the module, in which students had opportunity to workshop their ideas, analyse themes and characters, improvise and rehearse, worked as an effective introduction to Shakespeare and generated a developing curiosity and attention to his work amongst students. The students reported that 'devising' helped them realize the demanding intellectual and emotional work that is required from them in order to 'cope' with Shakespeare. Evaluation responses reveal that the students also enjoyed the devising aspect of the module. They wrote: 'it offered scope for lots of discussion', 'we had the freedom to negotiate ideas and create something personal and original', 'I am not afraid of Shakespeare any more', and 'Shakespeare is one of us.' The enjoyment of the devising process matches the students' expectations of the module as evidenced in the evaluation forms. These could be categorized in three groups: (a) to understand Shakespeare's work, (b) to learn about devised theatre through practical work and (c) to develop skills in creativity and writing for theatre. Our experience of working with these students taught us much about the students' desire to discover both their sense of self and to develop otherness in social contexts. Devising on Shakespeare's plays worked as a reminder to the students that the personal and the universal are united. This, for example, can be as simple as attending to the connections between Othello's passion and insecurity and the feelings of most lovers in erotic relationships. By observing how Shakespeare gives an emotional quality to the characters' thoughts and emotions, the students revealed interesting ideas about

how people experience similar situations and how they process thoughts and emotions when they interact with others socially. In other words, Shakespeare provided drama students with clues about learning to use the human mind from a different perspective, another place from which to view and from a different point for relating to others.

Conclusions

Being inspired by Shakespeare to devise plays can be applied to all aspects of contemporary life. For some students it can be a development plan towards building emotions in characters or improving their creative writing skills. For others it might be part of improving their understanding of their relationships with parents, friends and associates by stretching the boundaries of their imagination and positioning themselves in the shoes of others.

From our explorations of devised theatre and creativity we observed that many students began to develop their interest in and appreciation of using Shakespeare in making effective connections between a sense of self and others. They compared Shakespeare's characters with personal experiences and identified social issues which are inextricably linked to the present. They shared notions, ideas, and views with others either consciously by recounting stories that happened to them, or unconsciously by expressing themselves in spontaneous improvisation. They looked at Shakespeare's characters having made just about every mistake possible in their lives and considered how to avoid making similar ones. This does not mean that Shakespeare gives advice to the students on how to best live but how to potentially live it in a way that it suits one's life style.

The students' experience should not, however, be read as a suggestion that our experiment was the most suitable process, particularly in light of the time limitations of a taught programme. It is challenging to arrange the devised process within the tightly defined time scales of semesters–something that runs counter to the freedom necessary to enable changes of focus and experimentation. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these limitations, we believe that in the writing of roles, in devising characters, through developing original dialogues and performance, students were able to give voice to their social concerns, viewpoints and fears by means of creative and theatrical media.

Through the drama work presented here we have tried to illustrate the relationship between the devising process and the nurture of creative students. We believe that through this process students are able to generate new insights and challenge the existing repertoire of conventional ideas, gestures and responses. We might want to offer our students learning opportunities that respect individual needs but also the ability to see the world in a different way, where necessary. Studying drama both as an activity in its own right and within educational contexts should, we argue, be about understanding self, others, our society and culture, and the world we inhabit.

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FOURTEEN

Young People and Risk

Dave Trotman, Madeline Martyn and Stanley Tucker

Introduction

One of the more recent additions to the lexicon of education and schooling in the United Kingdom has been the concept of 'risk'. Over the past 20 years practices such as 'risk assessment', 'risk awareness' and 'risk management' have been introduced to schools from fields as diverse as medicine and public health, finance, law, business and industry (Lupton, 1999, p. 9). However, only limited attention has been given to 'risk' from the perspective of children and young people from within the school setting.

This paper reports the findings of a small-scale study with a view to eliciting perceptions of risk from children and young people as they approached the end of primary-phase and secondary-phase schooling. In this endeavour we set out to understand risk as an educational project in its many manifestations——from the official curricular of schooling to the pastoral and social aspects of school-worlds and beyond. We wanted to explore how risk impacts on relationships with peers and significant adults (e.g. teachers and parents). We wanted to know what concerns children and young people have and how they make sense of their lives both inside and outside school. We wanted to consider whether the risks children and young people encounter should help to shape pastoral approaches and support systems.

The study was intended to build on work carried out by the authors with undergraduate students into the nature and range of risks the young might encounter in their day-to-day lives (Tucker & Trotman, 2010). We wanted to use that research to explore how far the initial work could be validated, modified and extended through consideration of the direct experiences of children and young people.

Our earlier work had been utilised to provide an initial theorisation of risk as a typology. As Cohen *et al.* (2000) point out, the generation of a typology can assist in helping to clarify the key characteristics, phenomena and dimensions of particular social circumstances, issues or experiences. A typology of risk offers useful insights into how risk can be analysed and better understood.

Contextual literature

The subject of risk has not been without significant theoretical interest, and nowhere has this been more focused than in the field of cultural sociology. In particular, the seminal work of Ulrich Beck (1992) and Mary Douglas (1985, 1992) has made their names synonymous with the field, whilst Michel Foucault and Anthony Giddens have in their separate accounts of 'modernity' (Giddens, 1990)

and 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1991) become closely associated with the social construction of risk.

Whilst Beck and Giddens have focused on the idea of the 'risk society' in late modernity, Foucault's interest in risk is linked to what he calls 'governmentality'. Like Beck and Giddens, Foucault also sees risk emerging from its analysis and classification by various groups in positions of influence and power; medical practitioners, scientists, economists, bankers and so forth, each with a view to calculating risk. Moreover, for Foucault it is through this calculation of risk that particular groups or communities are identified as 'at risk'. It is these 'at risk' groups that then become the subject of particular forms of intervention. A corollary of this form of 'governmentality' is the emergence of risk in the field of cognitive and behavioural psychology, in which cognitive scientific approaches are developed for the purpose of testing individual exposures to risk based on psychometric methods (Lupton, 1999, p. 38).

The psychometric approach to risk assessment, however, has been the subject of critique, and amongst the most trenchant is the work of Mary Douglas (1985, 1992). In particular, Douglas counters the individualistic and realistic view of risk common amongst cognitive-scientific practitioners who claim lay communities are unable to think in terms of the *probability* of risk. Rather, she argues, lay judgements are emphatically shaped by socio-culturally learned assumptions. This lies at the heart of Douglas's *cultural–symbolic* thesis of risk in which judgements about risk are primarily political, moral and aesthetic matters that are mediated through cultural frameworks (Lupton, 1999, p. 57).

Those groups that are particularly susceptible to the 'governmentality' of classification and intervention are often children and young people. Whether labelled as part of a 'feral underclass', or the subjects of 'Islamic radicalization' or in need of protection from the perceived harmful effects of video games, chat-room grooming and fast food, children and young people easily become the locus of what Stanley Cohen (2002) has called a 'moral panic' where a condition, group or individual becomes defined as threat to societal values and interests.

Despite an impressive range of scholarship on the subject, attention to children and young people's perspectives of risk has been limited. Whilst proper attention is now being given to children and young people as 'reliable witnesses' (France, 2004) and 'social actors in their own right' (O'Kane, 2000, p. 136), there remains a paucity of research in the United Kingdom on risk from the viewpoint of children and young people. Research that seeks to elicit the viewpoints and perspectives of young people necessarily concerns itself with the cultural–symbolic mediation of risk that Douglas sees as essential to our understanding of it.

In the development of our typology of risk (Tucker & Trotman, 2010) we consider how children and young people encounter and negotiate different kinds

of risks——some safe and some unsafe. Our initial theorisation located risk in five key domains: positive-intentional, environmental, historic, pathological and personal. Taking each in turn, *positive-intentional risk*, we suggest, involves those that arise out of exposure to new ways of thinking, working or challenging perceptions and stereotypes; widening horizons and the promotion of imagination and creativity, offering opportunities for ingenuity and self-motivation and personal development. *Environmental risk* may arise from living in a community with limited access to social facilities and support networks; where there are high levels of family and community poverty, inadequate housing and high levels of chronic illness and exposure to crime. *Historic risk* is characterised by enduring and endemic failure of children and young people to achieve positive educational outcomes; 'cycles of deprivation' that prevent social mobility and reinforce economic insecurity, and weak community infrastructure produced by consistent and significant lack of financial and social investment. The fourth category considers risk as *pathological*, through which communities, groups and individuals are blamed for their 'inadequacies' and 'failures'. In policy terms, we argue this is based on a perceived and stereotypical representation of children and young people in which they are seen as 'mad', 'bad', 'diseased', 'perverted' and sexually promiscuous (Griffin, 1993). In turn, these caricatures are used to justify early and high levels of service intervention with the lives of specific individuals and groups of young people being consistently 'problematised'. Our final category in the typology shifts its focus from community to *personal* risk. In this category, personal risk involves such things as substance abuse and excessive use of alcohol, involvement in situations where there is the possibility of abuse and/or neglect occurring, weak peer/family/community ties and a low sense of self-worth and esteem.

The typology brings into sharp focus the 'fact that risk does not fall equally on all groups of children and young people' (Tucker & Trotman, 2010, p. 126). This point is usefully illustrated when reflecting on the experiences of children and young people who live in poverty; for, as Beckett (2007) argues, they are exposed to increased levels of risk in terms of their health, education and social care experiences. Equally, we need to bear in mind that different types of risk are frequently connected. It is also argued that risk is not just a matter of choice, or the outcome of specific problems or personal circumstances. Different forms of risk point to strong and enduring connections between personal, familial, community, class and ethnicity-based relationships.

Methodology

Our interest in garnering the perceptions of children and young people necessarily determined that the study would be naturalistic and interpretive. The enquiry design was then premised on the tenets of qualitative research, which Van Maanen (1979, p. 520) describes as '… interpretive techniques which seek to describe,

decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning…of naturally occurring social phenomena in the social world'. Of the range of interpretive techniques available to us, it was decided that the focus group (Merriam, 2009) offered the most suitable means of eliciting participant perceptions through communal discussion. The researchers also considered this to be the most manageable device for generating an appropriate enquiry forum for the identified participants in Year Six, Year 11 and post-compulsory education. An additional imperative was to ensure that pupil participants would be at ease with their peers, the researcher and the range of topics that were likely to emerge in the focus group discussions. On this latter point, the focus group interview was designed as an exploratory and creative medium for dialogue, which would bring its own attendant risks in relation to potentially sensitive areas of discussion. The research proposal received ethical approval by the University College's Ethics Committee following a second and revised submission where appropriate safeguards for the withdrawal of participants were refined. Strategic matters of informed consent, the right to withdraw and academic honesty were all addressed by ethical approval. However, following Simons and Usher (2000), it was considered inevitable that ethical judgements in any discussion of risk with children and young people would be 'situated' in time and place and would therefore require situated judgements in the conduct of the focus groups.

Definitions

For many of the primary-age children, risk was seen largely in terms of physical danger, such as traffic accidents, potential physical harm on building sites, being physically attacked or swimming in deep water. These ideas are captured in the views of children at Broadway, Coldway and St Rita's primary schools:[1]

> You could say for an example your mates dare you to go on the building site where they are building houses, you go over there and you could get caught or you could injure yourself and plus you could really kill yourself. (Amrit)
>
> Diving from the deep end and it's really deep. Normally if I have to go into the deep part of the sea my dad swims there but when I was out far from shore it didn't sound like a risk at first but when I finished I was like that was a risk, and I'm never taking that again. (Brianna)
>
> … my friend actually got run over and he's only six or seven and he was there and he went down off his road and wasn't even looking coz he thought it was really good to do that as it was a dare. (Carri)

For the older pupils in the secondary group, risk had rather different connotations, as these extracts from the respondents at Saddleford Academy reveal:

> Something you like you wouldn't normally do. (Ryan)
>
> Like if you knew you had an opportunity to do something but could fail, it's a chance to try and do something that could succeed. When you do something

1 All institutional names are pseudonyms.

> where there's consequences, where you're likely to get in trouble. It puts you in that position where you almost don't know what to do next. (Kudzei)
>
> If you take a risk and it works out good then you get like a better reputation for yourself. (Jess)

At Foretown Green Secondary, risk begins to be shaped by adolescent themes of identity formation and peer dynamics:

> … more popular girls hang around together and then not so popular girls have a risk of being bullied.
>
> …it's mostly verbal abuse, it's not physically, girls tend to be more verbally abusive and sometimes it relates to just silly things like what you wear and how you dress like and the way you speak.

Here, aspects of *personal risk* emerge that appear to be connected to potential outcomes and consequences. Elements of peer pressure and the need to belong are evident. The idea of gendered risk also emerges for consideration based on expectations of behaviour and the need to belong. The idea also emerges from the data that often a degree of calculation is involved and potential outcomes considered.

Risk and school

We considered risks both in and out of school. For many of the focus group participants, school represented both a site of protection from potential harmful external risk and, at the same time, a place of possible emotional danger:

> It's like in school you're protected because we're not adults in school, if you make a mistake they always give us the opportunity to change it, but outside school you don't get that chance … we have more authority figures in a closer environment. (Georgina)
>
> Like, I dunno like, if you did something at school say like you had your hand up for a question and you're not a hundred per cent sure of it but you take a risk, and if you get it right then you've done well for yourself but if you get it wrong it's kind of embarrassing. (Fran)

Here, the risks identified by the participants within the school community were less about physical harm, confrontation or material risk, but, rather, about the emotional labour of risk. In particular, the risk of humiliation in school and classroom contexts was an emergent theme. This often involved anxiety around public ridicule, humiliation, 'losing face' or betraying the limitations of their knowledge or expertise in assigned curriculum tasks. We found evidence of pathological risk based on perceived internalised perceptions of 'inadequacy' and 'incompetence'.

In recent years, significant attention has been given to the development of pupil voice (Fielding *et al.*, 2005) as a means of securing authentic pupil agency in matters of curriculum and the learning encounter in schools. Similar attention has also been given to the promotion of what has been termed *dialogic* teaching, where,

inter alia, teacher–pupil interaction is considered to be a collective, reciprocal and supportive activity (Alexander, 2010). Whilst these complementary approaches have attracted considerable interest in the research literature, our provisional findings suggest that for these secondary pupils 'voice' and dialogic teaching continue to be largely alien to their day-to-day encounters.

Germane to both of these approaches are the necessary conditions for informed or calculated risk; that is, *positive-intentional risk* as outlined within the typology. The idea of risk as a positive, dynamic and necessary property of rich leaning experiences has been reprised in other studies (Madge & Barker, 2007) and occupies a pivotal feature of studies of creativity, innovation and enterprise across the life-course (Claxton & Lucas, 2007). Despite this, risk as a positive school encounter in both primary-phase and secondary-phase education was neither an emergent nor recurrent theme in the accounts of these young people——although some limited evidence was found for the existence of more informed or calculated risk in the subjects of art and media and as part of their extended schools programme:

> Art; …We had a photography class where we've got like ideas from different films or like different clips of things or just different posters and we had to make our own like, she didn't tell us what we had to do, it just came from our own ideas. (Fran)

And from St Clement's Secondary:

> Like after school clubs and that, like rock climbing and stuff, with people who haven't done it before, and like it gives them an opportunity to make new friends, and like people may be scared but it is a risk like, it is up to you to go and try it out and go without your friends or something. (Audrey)

Our initial findings suggest that a paroxysm of risk-taking has yet to take place in any of our school settings. This appears to corroborate other studies on opportunities for informed risk-taking, creativity and innovation (Craft & Jeffrey, 2008). *Prima facie*, the curriculum experience for many young people fails to celebrate engaging in *positive-intentional* forms of risk. This is further exacerbated for young people in secondary schools by the demands of making examination choices early in their school careers——generating in turn other less-palatable risks that are strangely obscured in the literature of risk and young people:

> DT: What do you think are the most significant risks that young people your age are likely to encounter?
>
> Alesha: I think education.
>
> Ryan: Yeah, education choices for the future mainly.
>
> Kudzei: Because like, like now the whole system of education, picking our options at the end of Year 9.
>
> Alesha: Yeah, so two years early, so like I mean some of us didn't know what we wanted to do when we left school … but it's a risk of having to pick those subjects

because you're always thinking ahead.

Coupled with this, some of the young people interviewed understood and acknowledged the potential consequences of *historic risk*. They lived in communities where traditionally educational success and social mobility had been severely limited. Such communities were also marked out by long-term poor economic performance and a social infrastructure that lacked investment in youth facilities, play spaces and so forth.

Interpersonal risks

The 'affective' risks of humiliation in school and classroom contexts identified by young people were not the exclusive province of the school and classroom encounters. The *personal risks* attached to being humiliated, ostracised by their peers, 'losing face' and compromising friendships were continuing themes for many of the young people in the focus groups both within and beyond the parameters of school:

> I think a big risk is being independent, especially if you like being a bit more independent from your friends. If you do something different that they might not approve of that's a big risk. (Gillian)
>
> Or some of them could be doing drugs or smoking, drinking and because you want to fit in with them and have a good time sometimes you want to follow them but like you don't know what to do because there's consequences … (Mitchell)
>
> … you've all got different backgrounds and you've all got different morals and beliefs and things. (Alesha)

It is perhaps inevitable then that for Year 10 pupils the issues of *interpersonal* relationships should focus on the risks of adulthood, sexuality and gender identities:

> … at 13, 14 you have other things on your mind at home. At 13, 14 we're thinking about going out with our friends you know and stuff like that. (Elaine)
>
> When you start getting to relations and you understand the implications of having those relations with people and then it comes to that risk where you've got to make an option, whether it's your boyfriend or girlfriend, of where to go next and I think that's one major risk that teenagers have to face at some point in their lives now. (Kudzei)
>
> For lads risk it's different from girls because if you're a lad you haven't got to, in terms of relationships, you don't have to worry about yourself being pregnant obviously. (Mitchell)
>
> Lads are less sensitive. (Alesha)
>
> I think it's quite a big risk because some lads, like boys that you're with, they're not going to be there forever and they're not going to be like your lifetime love partners so if you take a risk with that and go do something yeah, you might take that risk of losing your friends that could be there potentially for a lifetime. (Elaine)

> Yeah, I think it's all about trust, you've got to trust the boy or if you don't trust the boy just don't take any risks, it'll just backfire. (Jess)
>
> Boys cope with it different to girls. (Gillian)
>
> They get over it. (Alesha)
>
> For a lad you have all your other mates who put on this big hard persona, you can't be seen as a lad being emotional because you'll be seen as being unable to cope. (Kudzei)
>
> A ponce. Like feminine. (Ryan)

The lines of discussion around the risks associated with interpersonal relationships were further underscored by a number of young women amongst the secondary school respondents. In these accounts, the 'checks and balances' of risk relate to the emotional substance of inter-relational trust, sexual health, pregnancy and peer-group bullying; exemplified in this extract from Martyn's focus group at Glenbrook Academy:

> I just think that yeah like girls, I think girls want to be with older boys because that they think that they're like more mature or whatever, but they don't realise that that they could force them into doing stuff that they really don't wanna do and they do it anyway because they don't wanna lose them, you know?
>
> It can affect their lifestyle and that like, it can actually give a girl a reputation.
>
> Like people at school are doing it, and they're telling you what it's like and you're not doing it then you feel left out and bullied and stuff.
>
> I think it's like peer pressure sort of thing, because if like all your mates are doing it and you obviously feel left out … like lead to getting bullied because you're not really confident to do it or be able to do it sort of thing.

Similar accounts from young women were also revealed in Martyn's focus groups at Foretown Green Secondary school. In this second extract, one of the participants sensitively underscores the problem of judgementality in relation to the personal risks of accrued reputation:

> … boys have this like thing that they have to keep up like a reputation and girls they do have it 'I'm going out with so and so I'm doing this and that have you done it yet blahdy blahdy blah' and then it's just like it's just the risk that oh she hasn't done it, she's not like, it's like you're not one of them if you haven't.

Findings

From the study we are able to locate a number of emerging themes. The first of these concerns a general absence of any significant preoccupation with risk by children and young people around Internet grooming, 'so-called' stranger-danger, drugs, knives, guns and gangs. For the majority of primary-age participants, risk was largely constructed in terms of the imagined risks of serious physical harm. For older students in secondary school, their identification with risk was much more subtle and abstract. Young people tended to be less preoccupied with adult 'moral panics' of rampant chat-room

grooming, inculcation into gangs and street-level violence—— largely forms of pathological risk that problematised the life of the young. Instead, their anxieties were determined by the need to navigate the emotional terrain of the adolescent life-world. In particular, as these vignettes illustrate, the issues of identity formation, independence of thought and consequences for this on social inter-relationships were much more pressing concerns for both young women and men. For young women, the issue of relationships and relationship choices was a recurrent and often fulsome area of focus group response. The emotional risks of future-partner choice were identified, and unsolicited, even by some of the younger girls in the primary-phase sample. All of these emerging themes could be seen to be clearly related to the idea of *personal risk* outlined in the original typology.

For young women in secondary schools and across cultural groups,[2] the emotional risks of attraction and attachment to young men were at the top of their lists of risks—emotional damage being equal to the very real possibilities of unanticipated and unwanted pregnancy. For young men there was some indication from the pupil accounts that supports other studies of the 'coping strategies' developed by young men in response to the dangers of peer-labelling of effeminacy and homosexuality (Messner, 2001). Amongst young women there was a particularly strong sense that trust and judgement were pivotal to their emotional choices, and for which they had to shoulder significant personal responsibility.

The perceived consequences of sexual relationships were clearly demonstrated by the girls at Glenbrook Academy in the extract above. At Gratested Secondary School this was further defined in relation to family relationships and cultural norms:

> it is like you can't really talk to your mom about sex or drugs or alcohol because there are things you can't talk to your parents about but you can with other people, with teachers.
>
> But that is a culture of variation, because our Asian society we can't talk to our parents about it. Some can, it is a norm for them, but with my mother for example I wouldn't talk to her about sex, it would feel a bit awkward. First of all I talk to my sisters about it but not my mother because she will probably think 'is she involved in this?

What also emerges is the significant level of *environmental risk* that exists for many young people who took part in the study. For it is evident that the seeking of support and advice can be difficult, precarious and challenging. The seeking out of someone 'to talk to' requires a level of judgement that has to take some account of the perceived boundaries of a relationship, cultural and social expectations and who can be trusted.

Humiliation was also a theme that emerged during the pilot study focus groups. For many of the respondents, school environments provided sites of

both comfort and safety, shielding young people from the risks of external street-level deviance—— where there were perceived and real risks of being coerced or misled into risky activities of petty theft, vandalism, gang association and so forth. Inversely, schools were also cited as places where there was a high level of *personal risk* that could result in humiliation. Whilst some of these risks pertained to the social dimensions of friendship, pupil disagreement, relationship breakdown and ostracisation, it also extended to the classroom encounter as part of the formal curriculum, with young people seeking to avoid what they saw as the embarrassment and humiliation of public failure and 'wrong-answerism'. The latter is particularly concerning in the context of learning encounters as possibilities for the promotion of positive risk-taking. We have already commented on what appears to be a general absence of opportunities to encounter *positive risk-taking* as a legitimate curriculum activity, but when combined with such pupil anxieties the possibility of humiliation would appear to be an additional barrier to promoting learning opportunities that celebrate learner confidence through acceptance of failure and the promotion of tenacity. We should caution here that our reading of the data is not intended as an unwarranted or overly critical assessment of teachers, who in English educational contexts work in difficult policy contexts. Rather, the responses of young people are framed by what Balarin and Lauder (2010) describe as 'state approved learning', where the policy rhetorics of entrepreneurialism, calculated risk and innovation are poorly matched by the statutory curriculum requirements and punitive mechanisms of public accountability. From the pupil accounts there were, however, illustrations of practice to support calculated creative *personal risk* (in art and media), and in one primary school in the pilot study pupils were invited to discuss perceptions of risk as part of their programme of 'Philosophy for Children'. In the literature of Risk, Lyng's (2005) concept of *edgework* is pertinent here. Through pitting oneself against the environment—— climbing, cave diving, whatever——Lyng argues that such activities offer opportunity to transcend both the 'tribe' and the routines of social life as a necessary form of 'edgework' in which actors are able 'to seek refuge from the alienating structures of modern society' (Arnoldi, 2009, p. 140). With similarities to Giddens's (1991) concept of the reflexive self, edgework presents risk as an agent of personal development and fulfilment in the construction of self identity. The conditions of edgework, then, resonate with opportunities that have yet to be fully realised in both the curriculum and pedagogy of schoolwork.

Conclusion

At the outset of this study our interest in children and young people's perceptions of risk were shaped not only by our own earlier theorisations of the field, but also by a desire to understand pupil perceptions of risk within contemporary school contexts. Drawing on the themes outlined in Madge and Barker's (2007) report to

the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA), we also had an explicit desire to observe how far these perceptions of risk aligned with an adult 'folk-culture' of children and young people *at risk*. As one pupil at St Clement's High School put it:

> It is the way like the press make our problems so much bigger than they actually are.

This portrayal of children and young people and assumptions about appropriate policy interventions in the lives of children and young people occupied a pivotal position in our comparative method of analysis.

Despite our own assumptions that particular moral panics would surface early in the research, the focus group discussions failed to reveal these as significant lines of interest for the participants. In particular, issues around Internet grooming, 'stranger-danger', drugs and gangs were less of a preoccupation than other group initiated themes. The theme of gang threat emerged in focus group discussions at four of the secondary schools, at the Cobbleton Hill Project and two of the primary schools. However, gang membership and the risk of gang-related violence was, in most accounts, portrayed as an imagined possibility rather than an immediate and experienced *environmental* risk. Given the settings in which the research sites were located, the marginal status of risks associated with gangs is surprising, particularly given the fact that some of the institutions were located in areas where gangs were known to operate.

The moral panics of Internet grooming and 'cyber-stalking' had even less presence in the focus group accounts; surfacing only in the discussions of pupils at Cobbleton Hall and St Clement's Secondary School. In contrast to these moral panics, we might have anticipated seeing evidence of schools as sites of *positive-intentional* risk. However, as we have previously alluded to, aspects of creative risk in schools continue to be a marginal feature of the curriculum encounter for many children and young people in this study.

Interpersonal relationships, on the other hand, emerged as a recurrent and significant theme of discussion amongst the young women of the secondary-age participants. The reasons for this may be more complex that this study is able to reveal but its emergence does stand in stark contrast to the moral panics that are commonly projected on the life-worlds of children and young people. There can be little doubt that school-worlds are social worlds and that in the life-course of young people interrelationships in all their manifestations are a predominant *educational concern*. It would be remiss of the authors of this study to not acknowledge policy interventions of such things as the Social, Emotional and Affective Aspects of Learning (Humphrey *et al*., 2008). However, and despite the critics of programmes designed to promote the status of Social, Emotional and Affective Aspects of Learning, there is little evidence from the focus group discussions in this study that the social life-worlds of young people are any less problematic. Rather, our conclusions confirm that schools remain to be first and foremost social worlds

in which young people have to navigate their way through often complex and profound emotional encounters. Critically, it is these encounters that young people consider to be high risk——whether or not they accord with adult perspectives. Our findings then affirm aspects of risk as a very real and present facet in the school-worlds of children and young people. Although much of the scholarship on risk has emphasised historic, environmental and pathological factors, and we have proposed a typology involving equally weighted dimensions, the findings of this study point to a more nuanced dimension of personal risk in the lives of young people. Through adult lenses, personal risk can easily be commuted to issues of safeguarding and prevention. In this study, the voices of children and young people offer an alternative and richer narrative; one in which personal–emotional risk is a complex but nonetheless lived and live-able experience.

This has significant ramifications for how we understand pastoral care and welfare in the school-worlds of children and young people. We need to comprehend the range and complexity of the risks that young people face in their day-to-day lives. We need to acknowledge the fact that young people can act as 'reliable witnesses' and thereby offer unique accounts of their experiences. Those working in a pastoral capacity need to proactively respond to those who feel ostracised and humiliated by school experiences, or are bullied. Social education opportunities also need to be created for children and young people to explore the risks created through gender stereotyping, racism, homophobia, poverty and discrimination.

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FIFTEEN

'Nice to think I'm not on my own': Lessons from an arts-based workshop in an urban Children's Centre

Dave Trotman, Helen Davies and Deborah Harris

Introduction

Since 1998, Children's Centres have been a distinctive feature of the educational landscape in England. Based on a widely held belief that early intervention is when the greatest difference can be made to a child's life chances (House of Commons 2010, 3), Children's Centres were a pivotal part of a New Labour policy strategy designed to tackle social deprivation and regional inequalities through Sure Start Local Programmes (Belskey *et al*. 2007). Initially badged as Sure Start Centres, Children's Centres were conceived as a means of increasing community access to a range of services for parents and their children (Bochel *et al*. 2009). During 2006 and 2007, the National Audit Office (2006) and the DfES (2007) highlighted an urgent need for Sure Start Centres to engage so-called 'hard-to-reach families' in areas that were deemed to be at the greatest disadvantage.

Children's Centres now offer parents with children up to statutory school age wide ranging practical activities. Typically, these are designed to enable parents and children to learn together, often through creative and expressive activities such as drama, art, music, dance or play (Ellis 2007). For some observers, these community-based play opportunities provide 'part of the glue that brings communities and families together' (Playlink *et al*. 2000, 5).

It is in this context that the Children, Parents and Arts Workshop programme that we report in this paper arose from a partnership between 3-D Children Centre[1] and the Children and Families Research Centre (CFRC) at NUC, Birmingham. The genesis of this project followed an initial approach to the CFRC from the centre's manager. Amongst the concerns of the Children's Centre staff was their priority to improve parental attendance and involvement in the Centre. Exploratory discussions with the centre manager and representatives of CFRC began in October 2010. In these initial meetings, our conversations were immediately shaped by an agreement that any proposed programme must be engaging for children and parents, be as practical as possible, and enjoyable in its own right. Once these initial parameters were established, it was agreed in the second of our meetings that the best vehicle for this would be a series of free-standing arts-based workshops delivered over a 10-week period commencing in the Spring of 2011.

1 3-D is a pseudonym.

The children, parents and arts workshop

Grounded in a recognition by 'Birth to Three Matters' (DfES 2002), QCA/DfEE (2000) and EYFS (DfES 2007) of the importance of creativity and the arts in the earliest years of children's lives, five areas of arts-based activity were identified: visual art, dance, drama, music and media. Three workshop facilitators were then commissioned from amongst NUC staff with two facilitators in the areas of art and dance secured through external partners. The workshop facilitators were asked to design and lead their own arts activity in consultation with members of the research team and the Children's Centre. Each activity would be advertised to the local community via the Children's Centre and phased over two consecutive Friday mornings. It was decided that on completion of the programme that the coordinators would conduct a summative evaluation of the workshops based on the perspectives of the participating parents, workshop facilitators, the children centre manager and her assistant. In addition, each facilitator would conduct their own evaluation through whatever means they deemed appropriate. The end point evaluation would then consider the role of the programme as a means of improving parental participation as well as an exploration of the experiences, perceptions and observations of the facilitators, participants and managers.

Each workshop was observed by a participatory member of the Research Centre throughout the programme. The summative evaluation involved semi-structured telephone interviews (Bryman 2001) with each of the workshop facilitators, a focus group discussion (Merriam 2009) with the participating parents accompanied by their children and separate individual interviews with the Centre Manager and her assistant.

For organisational reasons, it was agreed to start the programme with music workshops, followed by drama, art, dance and media. Following the negotiation of workshop material, workshop sessions took the following format:

Music: exploring different instruments, musical games and singing.

Drama: involving drama games, movement, voice, puppets and mime games.

Art: using a variety of art materials to create badges and bags that children and parents could take home.

Media: filming and editing a short video diary of 'life at home' using portable video cameras.

Dance: improvisation and movement involving different genres of music and nursery rhymes.

The overall brief for the workshop facilitators was to design and lead practical activities that maximised opportunities for experimentation and play. Each workshop would take a learner-centred approach (Soler and Miller 2003) where ideas are co-constructed between the adult and the child. This interaction between adult and child replicates the ideas of Vygotsky in terms of social construction

of learning (Lee and Smagorinsky 2000). The activities were therefore focussed on engaging parents as well as maximising children's participation. The aim of the workshops was then to enable children and parents to undertake a range of creative activities whilst at the same time promoting an environment in which parents might begin to feel increasingly secure, as well as an opportunity for promoting informal networks of family support. In addition, each of the workshop facilitators would provide brief information to the parents about the benefits of the types of activities for their child's development and how these could be encouraged in the home.

The workshops took place in the spring term 2011 on Friday mornings and lasted anywhere from an hour to an hour and a half. They took place in the community room which allowed us to have up to 15 participants and their children. 3-D centre advertised the workshops using a flyer, weekly newsletters and word of mouth. Parents could attend as few or as many of the workshops as they wished. Although the lists for the workshop attendance were usually full, typically only a third of those who signed up would attend. Moreover, there were a core group of parents and children who came most weeks with one or two others attending the occasional workshop. On the whole, it was the mother or female relative who attended with their children. The ages of the children varied from six months to three years.

One member of the Research Centre attended all the workshops as a participatory member. This allowed from continuity between the workshops as each set of creative art workshops was led by different facilitators.

Observations, discussion and emergent themes

The majority of the mothers were from a range of professional backgrounds, on maternity leave or had taken time out to raise their children. Although some of the parents had attended the occasional 'stay and play' sessions at the centre, none of them had met prior to the arts workshops. This became evident during the first music session where the parents interacted with only their own children and those facilitating the workshop. It was decided in the following sessions to encourage parents to interact with each other and with each other's children in order to develop both their confidence and familiarity through the workshops. Strategies were consequently put into place to support this including informal discussions with the parents about their background interest and anxieties.

Parents may find entering a new situation such as a programme of workshops daunting, and for many this could be a significant deterrent. Parents may need support in order to become involved in a partnership with educational settings and this needs to be carefully planned for, particularly when a range of staff are facilitating sessions. Ward (2009, 40), for instance, discusses a review of intervention programmes and emphasises that those which do not 'pay close attention to implementation factors are unlikely to be successful'. Consideration also needs to be given to eligibility criteria; for example, is the service designed

to suit the needs of the intended target group such as socially excluded families, or 'hard to reach' parents? Is it based on fidelity, in terms of commitment and support from the professionals involved? The intensity of the programme needs to be considered in terms of the frequency of delivery and the degree of intervention that is required when working with parents.

For many observers, Early Years practice play is regarded a vital form of agency, providing children with the opportunity to learn and develop skills, concepts and attitudes that are the foundation for future learning (Moyles 1994, 2010b; Ellis 2007). Duffy (2010, cited in Moyles 2010a) suggests that the innate curiosity of play and exploration is an essential precursor to the development of creativity. From the anecdotal comments made during the sessions, it became clear that the parents who attended on a regular basis valued the educative aspects that were integral to each workshop.

In the music sessions, for example, parents were eager to engage with rhymes, singing and rhythmic activities as potential vehicles for supporting emerging communication, language and literacy skills. Providing a range of experiences in a social setting also allowed parents to engage with aspects of the arts with what Smidt (2011, 83) calls 'creative experts' to take their own learning and understanding to a new level.

Early in the discussion, parents Corrine and Alisha highlighted distinctions between what they considered to be the unstructured environments of play groups they and their daughters Freya and Lianna had encountered compared with the programme of sequential arts workshops.

> HD: Was the structure important to you?
>
> Corrine: Yes it was because she goes to playgroups where you just do as you like kind of thing and it wasn't a learning environment but this seemed to be interesting each time, it was a structured organised event so yeah we did. It was something to do first of all and it was quite interesting each time it was a structured organised event so yeah we did
>
> Alisha: It was, because she goes to playgroups where you just do as you like kind of thing and it wasn't a learning environment but this seemed to be.
>
> Corrine: It was set for them and they were able to get things out whereas if you go to a playgroup a lot of it's 'play with that toy or do that' while you have a coffee or something.

For both Alisha and Corrine, it appears that the idea of activities designed as 'learning environments' was important – particularly where the focus was on forms of collective play that enabled exchanges between other children and parents whilst maintaining clear focus and direction. For Corrine, this was also about her daughter Freya experiencing a range of different artistic activities that she neither had the expertise nor resources to facilitate for her in her own home, and where Freya was able to experiment without Corrine being concerned about the

inevitable mess. Referring to recent TV programmes she had seen about children with food disorders, Corrine also regarded the tactile messiness of experimental play, and parental confidence in encouraging this, as an important dimension of the healthy development of her child.

> Corrine: They learn from play because they're able to feel things and textures and stuff that you necessarily haven't got at home or you wouldn't want to risk at home. You see a lot of programmes where kids have had funny things with food because the parents are scared to let them get messy and scared and I think if it was started from a young age where they are able to get messy and touch things. I think it will be beneficial for them in a controlled way/environment.

As we discussed earlier, learning through play is widely regarded as essential to the development of young children (Ellis 2007), as both the 'signature of childhood', as a means of learning about our world, and imaging all the other ways that the world could be (Gopnik 2009). The literature on play has also led us to make some firm assertions about play being 'a leading factor of development and not the predominant activity of childhood' (Lindqvist 2009, cited in Nilsson 2010, 4). Bruner (1972, cited in Moyles 2005), for instance, highlights the importance of legitimising play, informed by his research around the power of play to support children's learning. Certainly within the context of the workshops, we wanted to maximise opportunities for exploratory play which would allow children the opportunity to develop curiosity, learning and creativity and encourage parents to participate in and enjoy the learning encounters of their children. It was not our intention to encourage children and parents to behave as artists, dancers or musicians, but to ensure that children and parents were given a range of strategies, tools and materials in order for them to be able to express ideas, make links and connections between their learning, and to affirm play as a significant way of learning.

Much of the content and approach to the workshops resonates closely with Lindqvist's Pedagogy of Play (2009, cited in Nilsson 2010, 9), in which she advocates the 'joint participation of children and adults in collectively created and shared world of fiction'. This allowed meaningful contexts to occur where children and adults were able to engage in preverbal communication and dialogue. This was particularly evident where parents were engaging with very young children in the sessions. Bruner (1983, cited in Smidt 2011) describes the earliest forms of communication and interactions between infant and caregiver as proto-conversations 'in which children learn the 'rudiments of turn taking, sensitive timing, responsiveness to others' behaviour and facial expressions' (David *et al.* 2005, 47). These forms of protoconversations were observed in music and drama sessions where parents and infants were engaged in turn taking activities, exploring roles they could play and enjoying events which are, according to Smidt (2011, 26), 'the essence of learning'.

However, play can also be messy. This can be an issue for some parents in that

play which appears untidy, disorganised and messy can be undervalued (Duffy 2006, cited in DfE 2011). Following Mercer's (2000, cited in Smidt 2011) idea of 'community of discourse', which focuses on the importance of dialogue and talk between children and adults within play situations, the workshops provided an opportunity to develop a dialogue with parents about activities that encouraged children to explore play in a variety of ways whilst underscoring their underlying developmental significance. According to Mercer (2000), these dialogues are imperative features of play and learning, but often require the sensitive and respectful intervention of adults. Typically, this is achieved through adults *joining* children in play through a creative approach (Lindqvist 2009, cited in Nilsson 2010, 9) rather than adults *directing* young children's play.

Amongst the theorisations of play, the work of Winnicott (1971) is well known. Ross (2011) in his use of Winnicott's work in the creative arts in education and therapy summarises the centrality of its role. Ross describes the child's identification with mother as the source of relief, satisfaction and pleasure where pain and hunger are displaced by gratification, comfort and protection in the mother's arms. As these nurturing aspects are established, Ross considers 'the mother's next most insistent impulse seems to be to play with her baby and initiate the process of empowerment and independence' (Ross 2011, 162). In Winicott's terms, this phase of 'handling' and 'being handled' then marks an episode in the mother-child relationship where, according to Ross, 'entertainment' is introduced:

> life comes to include mutual fun, and contact includes give-and take in a convivial (smiling) atmosphere that is loving, delightful, and exciting. We call this active play. The seeds of the child's potential for wonder, risk-taking, creativity and curiosity are sown here. (Ross 2011, 162)

Symbolic mediation and dialogic interaction

It is perhaps predictable that parental respondents were quick to identify the intrinsic properties of arts work as positive visual, tactile and sensory encounters for their children. Less obvious, however, was the respondents' unequivocal emphasis on the arts as a powerful conduit in mediating inter-personal exchanges, dialogue and language between their own children, the children of other parents and between the parents themselves.

> Corrine: So when we actually were doing something, like the dance one and the drama one where she was actually involved herself she really loved it and excited and she loved looking at other children as well, she was quite amazed by looking, getting together and because of the kids.
>
> Alisha: But they were actually hands on and they were actually doing stuff so we were like lifting them up in the air and stuff and talking to them and they actually got the other babies to talk to the babies we went round with puppets they were like holding the baby next to the baby and they were talking to each other
>
> Persephone (facilitator for Drama & Puppetry): The puppetry animation was inviting parents to engage with puppets. They used the puppet as an instrument

> to communicate with their child and to other children. The younger the child the more fascinated they became with the colour and puppet. The puppets became a means of dialogue between parents when they needed to exchange puppets and parents talking to the children of other parents. And then the parents, children, and puppets went to sleep – as a meditation at the end of the session with music and relaxation.
>
> Frances (Dance facilitator): As a creative dance workshop I involved the mums and toddlers in walking at different levels using turns, shape and patterns on the floor, spiral work and canon, one two-to-three year old became confident so I used her as the lead. Two mums began chatting to each other and got to know one another through the workshops.
>
> Alisha: The dance one was brilliant because we were bonding individually with our child coz we were doing the picking up and look but they were also following everybody else that was really nice coz we had some time where we were allowed with our own child to like pull faces and then we had stuff where we were in a routine and following each other around and that was her favourite one that one
>
> Alisha: It was visual as well because they put a lot of blankets and stuff and throwing things up and it was very visual for them, especially when they're so young coz they don't understand what you're saying and stuff and so it was ok for them to actually visualise things and see things and they're laughing coz you're laughing.

In these participant accounts, we may then find an immediate, and perhaps obvious, correspondence with the field of play and a perhaps less obvious connection with dialogic processes. With regard to the former, the role of play in the workshops, either by intention or accident, has immediate resonance with much of the work that has been written in this area.

Certainly in the reported accounts of the parents and workshop facilitators, their profound moments of play mirror much of the description of active play offered by Ross. In a similar vein, these accounts of active and creative play connect with ideas of dialogic processes. Although predicated on practices with older age groups, in his discussion of dialogic approaches, Alexander (2010, 306) highlights the following elements: dialogic teaching is supportive, collective, reciprocal, cumulative and purposeful. It begins in environments where children are able to express their ideas freely, without fear of embarrassment over 'wrong' answers and where children are helped to reach common understandings. Dialogic pedagogies are collective and reciprocal with teachers and children addressing learning tasks together – as a group or as a class – with teachers and children listening to each other, sharing ideas and considering alternative points of view. Dialogic approaches are also cumulative, involving teachers and children building on their own and each others' ideas by 'chaining' them into coherent lines of thinking and enquiry; they are also purposeful in that teachers plan and steer classroom talk with specific goals in view. Despite the obvious differences in terms of maturity, cognition and language usage, Corrine and Alisha's reference to the purposefulness of the activities does seem to us to echo the environments and scaffolds of dialogic

learning that Alexander refers to.

These opportunities for play were also identified during the telephone interview with Pat the art workshop facilitator. Confidence building, communication and creative play became dominant aspects of Pat's reflection on her session – with parental need and support in some ways assuming greater importance than the positive benefits to the children.

The centrality of active play was then a strong and recurrent theme in the evaluation. Whilst this was not central to the aims of the project, although creative activity (and play by association) was the agreed vehicle, it was not necessarily surprising to see play so clearly represented in the observations of the facilitators and parents. The media workshops, however, introduced another unanticipated outcome in the form of video 'vignettes' of family lifeworlds. These vignettes provided not only a point of discussion but offered a hitherto unrealised approach for building parental confidence, esteem and insights into approaches of novice and other more experienced parents

> Corrine: Yeah because you do want something for your child especially because I'm a first time mum and you've got such a gap our child have got no one else to interact with so it is really important especially when you've got such a short amount of time with just your child, but then again I do think it's important that you do get to speak to other parents as well because I feel a bit cut-off and isolated here as all my work's the other side of town and my husband's got the car and it is nice to be able to speak to other people, if you just talk about what stage of development your child's at and stuff I dunno, so you know that you're not on your own as a first time mum as well I found it really nice to think I'm not on my own and it was nice to speak to other people and I got really friendly with a couple of the other mums as well and the three of us all had babies in November as well so it was nice for us to have this in common as well.

In a similar vein, Pat the Art facilitator identified moments in her workshop when what she described as 'disclosure' occurred: 'a young mother sharing her family network and what had happened to her; a great opportunity to talk'.

Conclusion

The participants who attended the workshops emerged as a small but significant community of parents who were in similar positions to themselves that is parents from professional backgrounds who were either on maternity leave or had taken time out whilst their children were young. The workshops facilitated the development of friendships that went beyond the initial aims of the project as the focus shifted from targeted intervention to emerging interpersonal and community dynamics (Weinberger *et al*. 2005). It became apparent that the use of 'arts' were a powerful vehicle to encourage dialogic interactions.

Could it be that so called 'hard-to-reach' families have encountered negative experiences of the education system and allied services that have led them 'to disinvest' and instead prioritise 'helping their children negotiate disadvantages and

adversities which middle class families rarely face'? (Gillies 2006) The preschool learning alliance (House of Commons 2010) note that encouraging 'hard-to-reach' parents to come along to stay and play sessions can be problematic as these are the same parents who do not access main stream services in general for fear of being judged by other professionals and parents about their parenting skills. Certainly, although the Children, Parents and Arts Workshop cannot claim absolute success in attracting the so-called 'hard to reach', our observations of the processes do encourage cautious optimism. The opportunities for inter-parental dialogue through mutual fun, convivial give-and take in a non-threatening atmosphere that Ross (2011) talks about is part of the key to success of extending and sustaining parental engagement. Perhaps our next challenge then is to communicate in more emphatic terms the possibilities of artistic creative play in mediating and exploring approaches to parenthood.

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SIXTEEN

The Road to Change? A case study examining educational reform in Sibiu County, Romania

Stan Tucker, Dave Trotman, Horatiu Rusu and Daniel Mara Lucian

Introduction

The impetus for the article lies in a belief that schools can only be improved if significant attention is paid to factors that drive educational reform at a school, local, regional, national or international level. Alexander (2010, pp. 195–196) reminds us of the underlying educational principles that should inform debate about the nature and need for reform. For him these include: the fostering of human rights; the notion of 'entitlement'; the need to balance individual, local and national needs; the creation of guidance over prescription; 'evidence based' policy construction, 'quality, standards and accountability', and equality of opportunity. These principles proved to be important in shaping the conversations we had, as part of the research process, with educationalists from Sibiu County, Romania.

As Birzea and Fartusnic (2003) maintain, to understand the trajectory, approaches and priorities governing educational reform within Romania, it is important to be mindful of the social and economic challenges, institutional and structural changes, and political crises and uncertainties, that have sometimes propelled, and sometimes hampered, change. They argue that the foundations of change lay in the creation of a new Constitution (1991) which served to establish the basic structures for educational reform including: 'freedom of access, new structure reform, diversification of programmes, high quality education, choice of language of instruction, autonomy of higher education, openness towards private education, and the provision of alternative schools' (p. 81). Yet as Fullan (2003, p. 7) advocates, such a radical change agenda is likely to bring with it 'multiple innovations', sometimes introduced simultaneously, that can be 'nonlinear', 'disconnected', and crucially 'not usually in concert'. Coupled with this, as Manolescu (2006) reports, pressure for change at the macro level can impact on the attitudes, behaviour and outlooks of educators, their students and those who seek to reform school structures, curriculum content and the education of teachers.

An outline of the nature and extent of change experienced nationally, and within Sibiu County, is presented below. However, it is important to remind the reader of the way the education system was organized prior to the overthrow of Ceausescu in 1989. Essentially, policy and practice was centrally controlled and starved of resources. Birzea and Fartusnic (2003, p. 78) note that by 1985 the amount of GDP spent on education had been reduced to 2.1 percent. They also point to the fact that educational practice was dominated by 'political propaganda'

and underpinned by 'paramilitary training, uniformity and the annihilation of student individuality/autonomy'. Immediately following the revolution however, a level of political ambition existed to reduce compulsory education from 10 to eight grades, reform teacher workloads and class sizes, ensure 'university autonomy' and discard 'polytechnic education as the foundation of educational policy'.

Over the past 23 years, changes in the Romanian education system have reflected the transformations and tensions of the economic and political climate. During that time, seven parliamentary elections have taken place generating 15 government restructurings and the appointment of 11 Prime Ministers and 20 Ministers of Education. However, it should be noted that a major educational change occurred, at the beginning of 1990, which reduced the period of compulsory education from 10 to eight years. In the years that immediately followed, and especially between 1992 and 1994 (the commencement of the post-communist era), reform was characterized by frequent changes to the content of the school curriculum. Subsequently, legislation was adopted in 1995 (Law 84/1995), further amended in 1997 and 1999, to support: a process of school decentralization at county level; the reorganization of the academic year from three semesters to two; change to the period of compulsory education extending it from eight to nine years; the creation of external school evaluation systems and national examinations; the development of alternative national textbooks; and the introduction of performance descriptors, instead of grades, in primary schools.

From 2000 onwards, with the political and economic systems in a more stable condition, further reforms were enacted. Between 2000 and 2008, a further 38 legislative changes were made. These resulted in: revisions to the national curriculum and national examination systems; the further development of performance descriptors; a restructuring of the school network; investment in infrastructure projects that introduced social programmes which it was hoped would have a major impact, for example, free textbooks for children from low income families and the provision of a daily bread roll and milk programme in schools. There was also a return to a period of 10 years free and compulsory education for all children and young people. Specific legislative activity to support the development of national quality assurance systems was also introduced between 2003 and 2006 (Law 268/2003, OUG 75/2005, Law 87/2006). Finally, we note here, the impact of major legislative change passed in 2011 (Law1/2011) – this included the introduction of a preparatory grade (zero grade) that increased the duration of primary education to five years, an extension of the period of secondary education to five years (grades 5 to 9), a reduction in the number of teaching hours depending on age and a further reorganization of the assessment system and school structures. However, aspects of the legislation were modified or cancelled in 2012 following the election of a new government.

The foundations for the development of the case study on which this article is

based, were laid between 2006 and 2013. During that period strong links were created between academics at Newman University in the United Kingdom, local inspectors in Sibiu County's education department, the headteacher and staff from the Rosia Commune in Sibiu County and academics from the sociology and education departments at Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu. Routine discussions about the nature and pace of educational reform in Romania consistently revealed the kind of stresses and strains typified by Hargreaves (2003) as being endemic in other countries. We found, in particular, examples of 'chaotic' approaches to educational change that mirrored his research experiences in Ontario, Canada:

> A barrage of simultaneously imposed and inescapable changes – a newly imposed set of curriculum and assessment requirements that arrived late, in fragments. . . . high stakes tests in literacy and mathematics that took several weeks out of the teachers' curriculum to prepare. . . (p. 105)

Yet, as Hargreaves goes on to argue in his exploration of *Teaching in the knowledge society*, the very least that those at the centre of reform, that is, school managers, teachers and inspectors, must be given is the space and time to 'understand, learn about, and reflect on what the change involves and requires' (p. 108). One headteacher from a secondary school in Sibiu, when attending a CPD session on change management, typically described dominant change processes thus:

> We are overwhelmed, no time to think, act, or respond. One government change after the other meaning curriculum change or changes in text books, or . . . Nothing negotiated but everything coming from the outside.

The link made by the headteacher in relation to change management drivers and 'everything coming from outside', reflects the direction of policy travel in Romania post-1991; a time marked by a radical restructuring and reorganization of an state education system heavily influenced by the demands of key external organizations, that is, the World Bank and the European Union. As a consequence of such demands, many of the teachers, headteachers, university lecturers and inspectors interviewed argued that it had proved extremely difficult to match externally driven demands for change with what can be described as a the development of a more 'humanizing pedagogy' (Bartolome, 1994, p. 123); that is a pedagogy that 'values the students' background, culture and life experiences, and creates learning contexts where power is shared by students and teachers'. Despite the fact that discussions about the philosophical underpinnings of pedagogical reforms were marked by a vision for 'child-centred approaches', 'critical thinking', 'early education', a requirement to link 'care and education', and the development of 'practice-focused' teaching approaches, it was maintained that current reforms were significantly geared towards meeting external demands and had led to 'overcrowding of the national curriculum', an unduly 'heavy political influence', retention of 'failed' traditional forms of teaching, 'thick text books written in isolation from each other', a 'lack of practical focus' and a 'decline in curriculum innovation'.

Table 1. School data.

Type of school	Number of...	Year				
		1990/1991	1995/1996	2000/2001	2005/2006	2011/2012
Kindergartens	units	232	231	217	46	43
	enrolled children	N/A	16,289	13,687	14,559	15,513
	teaching staff	1023	966	825	856	895
Primary and secondary	units	224	226	206	96	86
	enrolled pupils	N/A	53,964	48,991	38,190	33,482
	teaching staff	3631	3945	3502	2880	2496
High schools	units	35	39	36	35	38
	enrolled pupils	N/A	17,063	13,659	14,523	16,100
	teaching staff	1295	1129	1491	907	1077
	enrolled pupils	N/A	9973	8853	7747	1819
	teaching staff	471	631	99	468 41	

Source: National Institute of Statistics (2011).
Note: N/A refers to data not available or collected.

Yet, despite the consistent reporting of stress and frustration on the part of those interviewed, we found evidence to support the view that attempts are being made to change, re-orientate and realign pedagogical thinking and practice. In addition, there exists a desire to build capacity that might ultimately lead to long-term change at three levels: 'the personal, the interpersonal and the organizational' (Mitchell & Sackney, 2001, p. 2). Later in the article we examine a number of 'research portraits' (Hall, Jones, & Thomson, 2011) to illuminate the processes of capacity building that were evident from the discussions. In citing these portraits, our intention is to explore key elements of change activity: the accumulation of collective understanding gained through discussion and debate; a capacity and desire to embrace 'risk and change' strategies; 'collegial learning'; continuing professional development; and experimentation (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 24).

At the time of the last census in 2011, the total number of inhabitants in Sibiu County was 375,992. Table 1 provides details of the types of schools existing in Sibiu County and pupil numbers. The decline in numbers of school units reflects changes brought about by reorganization following legislative/policy interventions.

Methodological approach

The methodological approach adopted was influenced by the work of Hammersley (1992). The intention was to develop a case study, as a phenomenological entity, that could be understood in terms of its location in space and time. Drawing on the tenets of critical ethnography, we wanted to understand how specific groups position themselves and relate to dominate powers, ideologies and discourses (Quantz, 1992, cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2002, p. 153).

Although focused on a specific geographical region of Romania from which it may be difficult to draw generalizations, the value of the case study approach adopted within the article, lies in its power to penetrate the dynamics of change while establishing a level of 'cause and effect' by looking at 'real contexts' and the ways in which events can unfold to stimulate, open up, frustrate or stymie human actions and interventions (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2002, p. 181). Here, we pay particular attention to the actions and interactions of those charged with improving educational outcomes for children and young people and their attempts to sometimes advance, and sometimes mitigate the demands of external and internal drivers for change. To support the analysis we produce a set of 'research portraits', (Hall *et al.*, 2011) designed to provide a series of 'snapshots' about individual and group experience of reform. At one level, the article explores the struggles and difficulties involved in the management of change. At another, it seeks to identify how change can lead to new approaches, intentions and improved outcomes for children. It utilizes data largely drawn from a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with school inspectors, managers, class teachers and university academics. It also employs observations gathered from a series of CPD events, designed in conjunction with the city's school inspectorate and targeted at headteachers, senior managers and serving teachers from a range of schools in Sibiu County.

In striving to meet our intention, we developed a series of 'narrative portraits' to produce what Lawrence-Lightfoot (2005, cited in Hall *et al.*, 2011, pp. 136–138) describes as 'impressionistic' 'essences', that can serve to capture key narratives, issues, events and the 'textures' of day-to-day existence. Emphasis was placed on gaining 'impressionistic' narratives that combined experience with context and the 'the complex "sprawl" of institutional life' (p. 139). Each of the portraits should be viewed as self-standing, in the sense that it reflects the views and experiences of particular groups and individuals. In turn, we attempted to attribute a sense of collective meaning to the narrative portraits through a process of researcher reflexivity that required an exploration and understanding of both 'context and culture' and what it 'represents' for individuals and groups (Brewer, 2002, p. 127). We achieved this through the construction of portraits based on, what Hall *et al.* (2011, p. 128) argue, should be a 'common template' with the potential to generate 'anonymized synopses'. In essence, we explored a range of issues with all participants, these included: the internal and external drivers and motivations for change; the genesis and intentions for changes that have already occurred; challenges and blockages to change; and visions for the future.

The majority of the data was collected through the use of a semi-structured interview format. We also made use of contemporaneous field notes produced in CPD sessions. At all times an interpreter was present to ensure accuracy of translation from Romanian to English. This supported the activities of researchers whose first language was not Romanian. Matters concerned with anonymity,

confidentiality and the right to withdraw from the research process were explained. Time was taken within and after interviews, to clarify issues and summarize key points with all participants. In CPD events a series of small group activities and question and answer sessions were used to capture discussion.

Narrative portraits

We present for consideration four narrative portraits that emerged from the research. Each has a specific focus but needs to be read against the backdrop of educational change described earlier. The portraits explore: school level change; inspectorial priorities; responses to policy changes in teacher education; the evolution of a rural school commune.

Portrait 1 – School level change

The data examined in this portrait largely derives from a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with six teachers and three school managers. It also makes use of observations gathered through CPD events involving 73 heads and senior school managers and 83 serving teachers from across Sibiu County.

The emergent portraiture points to a sincerely held desire on the part of all those interviewed to improve educational outcomes for children. The potential for education to act as a vehicle for individual and collective 'liberation' was widely espoused. We encountered arguments for a repositioning of educational values to foreground: 'creative and critical thinking'; 'psychological space' to foster reflective professional practice; and the adoption of child-centred approaches that stressed the importance of 'personal growth and development' and 'listening to children'. Discussion of early years practice offered illustrations of the adoption of such values. For example, Pestalozzian child-centred practices (Brühlmeier, 2010) are now being utilized that favour traditional music forms, song, story and poetry to encourage social interaction, the development of self-confidence and the valuing of a diverse cultural heritage. For other areas of primary and secondary education, a similar holistic approach to curriculum development was advocated, together with the need to increase the use of 'project-focused work' to introduce, or reinforce, the importance of forms of inquiry that 'strengthen the voice of children in educational processes'. Those interviewed also offered examples of how 'more practical activities' were being integrated into the classroom supported by web-based materials.

Yet despite the desire to rethink and realign educational philosophy, policy and practice, tensions and problems exist that it was felt were blocking, or at the very least restraining, the momentum for change. The school managers talked about the difficulties of managing a curriculum that was 'disconnected' and 'overloaded with national curriculum and national textbooks that attempt to justify hours for a particular subject'. It was also acknowledged that a level of uncertainty and risk-aversion exists when new approaches to teaching are introduced. A situation summed up by an inspector thus:

> Children can sometimes be spectators when it comes to introducing new classroom practices. . . elements of 'old' and 'new' pedagogies are seen to always be in conflict. . . the changed climate [particularly in terms of meeting external targets] has teachers preferring to demonstrate to show how good they are.

Crucially, it was argued that to counter such difficulties there was a 'need for more in-service work to allow teachers to explore new and traditional approaches'. Other challenges discussed by both teachers and school managers included: 'relentless' external pressure for change applied by government; lack of opportunities for constructive dialogue between policy makers, school managers and teachers; the ability of 'wealthy parents' to supplement their child's education through private lessons; and 'limited capital allocation for repairs, equipment, new buildings'.

Portrait 2 – Inspectorial priorities

This portrait has been constructed from the views of four school inspectors arising out of a group discussion.

The portraiture emanating from the discussions within the inspectors' group offers a revealing snapshot of the demands placed on those charged with articulating, interpreting and driving policy and practice changes. The inspectors chose to self-locate in an educational 'middle ground,' acting as a buffer between the 'local and national state, individual schools and their teachers, and some parents'. At the same time, they held views about priorities for reform at variance with those of government. We found, for example, criticism of the structure of the curriculum and its preoccupation with subjects at the expense of 'coherence'; concern about the 'density' and 'heavy' nature of a national curriculum that lacked a 'practical focus' and vocational intentions, and classroom practices that placed limited emphasis on differentiation and 'formative and interactive learning'. Those interviewed also pointed to the negative impact of the introduction of a national testing regime that had resulted in a narrowing of teacher focus and a preoccupation of 'teaching for tests'. Such tests, it was also asserted, had impacted on teacher autonomy and restricted opportunities for creative learning. At the same time, those interviewed noted a recent policy change, in relation to the National Curriculum, that was intended to give teachers up to 25 percent of curriculum time to determine lesson content and pedagogical approaches.

The views of the inspectorate were congruent with those of school staff concerning the positive changes made following the introduction of government-sponsored early years/kindergarten strategy. Particular stress was placed on the importance of approaches that 'focus on the whole child'; with play seen as an important vehicle for supporting socialization, 'social and emotional development', 'motor skill' construction and the creation of early learning opportunities.

It proved impossible to escape from, in all interviews with different groups, the problems faced in recruiting and retaining teaching staff. The inspectorial group were particularly vociferous in their discussion of the 'low status' of teaching and

their difficulty in promoting the profession as a 'worthwhile career for young people'. It was argued that such difficulties stemmed from the salary level available on qualification, and the need to develop robust systems of mentoring and support, that focused on the development of 'good pedagogy', during the initial 'practice year' postqualification and beyond.

Portrait 3 – Teacher education

Our third portrait emerged from discussions with four university academic staff with a direct responsibility for initial and postgraduate teacher education and training. The conversations took place during a period when major policy changes were being introduced to establish initial teacher education and training at 'masters' level'.

Despite external policy uncertainties, which one of the group referred to as 'trying to build change on quicksand', the academics shared a vision for teacher education and training founded on a strong philosophical base. As with other groups interviewed, the importance of developing teachers who would position the child at the centre of educational policy and practice was reinforced. This they saw as being achieved through the development of students who possessed a high level of 'critical reflection', 'creative thinking', 'respect for children' and the ability to grasp and employ theoretical concepts and pedagogic skills. Crucially, education was portrayed as a way of 'bringing about social and educational change within Romania'. In turn, it was argued that the teacher education curriculum should have a strong social science and education studies focus, underpinned by a challenging school placement programme. For those interviewed, pastoral aspects of teaching were seen as being important areas for personal and professional development. The ability to listen and respond to children, support those with special educational needs and understand the requirement for differentiation in pedagogic approaches were all debated.

The importance of developing effective mentoring structures to support trainee teachers was acknowledged. However, a degree of tension exists when it comes to the selection of mentors, a responsibility that currently sits with the local inspectorate. Other difficulties being experienced included: a lack of funded places to support those wishing to enter teaching; a 'shifting and uncertain timescale for the introduction of masters' level reforms'; the fact that teaching was often regarded as a 'second choice route for some students' associated with a 'failure' to secure a job in their chosen academic discipline; and a failure on the part of the state to predict future teacher numbers across primary and secondary sectors. A failure to provide a salary comparable with similar professions was also cited as a major difficulty in recruiting students to teacher education programmes.

Portrait 4 – Development of a school commune

The final portrait is based upon the work of the School Commune of Rosia situated six miles outside the city of Sibiu, in Sibiu County. The commune consists of six

schools, drawn from five villages, with a total school pupil population of 905 children and young people. The ages of the pupils range from three to 16 years, with some being taught in kindergarten and primary provision, and others in integrated primary and secondary buildings. Sixty percent of the school population come from Roma families and food vouchers are given to 160 parents living in poverty, to encourage their children to attend kindergarten provision. The portrait was developed from discussions with the commune's headteacher and school staff. It specifically focuses on how educational change has been managed in a changing social and economic climate.

Rosia Commune is situated in a geographical area that has largely depended on agriculture for its financial security. Recent economic changes, migration patterns and demographic shifts have combined to impact on the nature and quality of everyday life. Many villages within the commune now experience severe poverty and schools are housed in buildings that suffer from a lack of long term investment. To understand the work of the commune then, it is necessary to understand the motivations and actions of its headteacher, senior management team, teachers and parents – as well as the impact of external policies and activities.

The School Commune of Rosia is defined by its ability to both understand and respond to external social and economic challenges. The importance of managing such challenges through a change management strategy underpinned by the creation of strong partnerships – between schools within the commune, with the local state, with religious groups, with international and national charities and NGOs, and with parents, has proved to be of paramount importance. Such partnerships have been utilized to promote, for example, community self-build initiatives, the refurbishment of classrooms and upgrading of resources, and the provision of basic foodstuffs for pupils, and food vouchers (financed via an international charity) for the poorest families.

Access to education is provided through a kindergarten system that has adopted the key principles of child-initiated learning supported through play. At the heart of the early education strategy lies a belief, held by the school manager, teachers and some parents, that early exposure to learning assists children in gaining key skills, self-confidence and, crucially, the ability to communicate effectively. There is within the schools in the commune a valuing of local cultures celebrated through music, dance and story. The connection 'to the land is strong' and consistently emerges in pedagogic activities within kindergarten classes.

Yet, whilst approaches to the development of early education have largely been driven by external policy initiatives and the enterprise of the headteacher, staff and parents, the rate of pedagogic change elsewhere in commune classrooms is less marked. Much of the teaching, for example, lacks a significant element of differentiation, national textbooks shape and limit the nature of classroom activities and interactions, and the physical setup of the classroom has a

'traditional' character. The reasons for this require a multi-layered level of analysis: there is a lack of teaching resources; the national curriculum dictates pedagogic approaches and outcomes; 'graduation' to more prestigious city-based high schools at the age of 13 years, requires success in national tests that relate directly to the national curriculum.

Analysis of the portraiture

The portraiture provides a rich and penetrative overview of the motivations, successes, frustrations and problems facing those working in demanding and difficult circumstances. A clear desire exists to bring about substantial change, but at the same time external drivers, resource limitations and an ever-changing political climate seem to be significantly influencing change processes. It is also important to recognize that the demands placed on those working within Sibiu County schools are mirrored in the landscape of educational reform in other countries. For example, Hargreaves (2003) talks of the 'tyranny of time' – change that is required almost in an instant and pays little account of the 'demands on people's existing commitments and calls for patience and perseverance in understanding what change requires'. There were clear echoes of the dominance of such a perspective in the discussions held with all groups.

Debate about what constitutes school effectiveness was consistently raised. However, such discussions were frequently marked by the nature of the pressure applied by national government in terms of what is needed to bring about rapid and radical reform. For example, the 'official' language of school improvement in Romania continues to be dominated by the need for a subject specific national curriculum, national text books, national testing and the generation of measurable outputs. As Wrigley (2006) argues, such approaches and mechanisms are largely used as the means through which an ideology of school effectiveness can be pursued which separates off 'social deprivation' from the day-to-day work of school managers and their staff. In turn, much less emphasis is placed on the social and cultural context of the school, community and parental aspirations, the need to understand the impact of poverty on a child's ability to learn, and creative pedagogical and curriculum innovation. A clear parallel, then, can be drawn between the experiences of schools in United Kingdom and Romania, in terms of the level of government support and sponsorship given to approaches that advocate target setting and testing, increased levels of state intervention and surveillance, the growth of managerialism and accountability, and its attraction to external funding organizations such as the World Bank, European Union and the OECD (Fielding, 1999, 2001; Hextall & Mahony, 2000). The dilemmas attached to pursuing the *official* discourse of school effectiveness was described by one teacher thus:

> There's more to education than a national curriculum, texts and international research. Children get lost in the discussion at a national level in the search for

> solutions that focus on testing and much less on caring and personal growth.

A headteacher added:

> Pressure always pressure from the top to do things. Policies seem to change almost daily and you have to get on even if the resources and skills aren't there. . . At the same time you are supposed to lead and motivate others.

Despite the challenges and difficulties outlined above, it proved possible to locate approaches to educational change management, underpinned by the need to develop effective collaborations that could improve existing social and economic conditions and thereby improve learning opportunities. In Rosia, for example, we found school development plans and initiatives underpinned by what Beck (1999, p. 33) sees as the need to both understand and challenge existing 'power structures, conflicts and struggles' in order to create a 'sense of community'. The commune's headteacher pointed to that fact that it was no use expecting children to attend commune schools regularly when 'they were starving and poorly clothed'. To address this issue specific interventions were required, generated through the development of what Trotman (2009, p. 348) describes as 'a range of micro-political power structures' and community-based partnerships. There was a requirement to create a school that would be a 'place of care' as well as 'a site of struggle for influence'. In order to construct new and outward-facing networks, strong relationships had to be built with the Rosia Commune's local Mayor, politicians and inspectors from Sibiu County. In addition, a regional NGO was created to act as a focus for attracting external funding from international charities. The outcomes of this work were marked by: the introduction of food vouchers to support families living in poverty and encourage school attendance; infrastructure improvements to school buildings; and the construction of an IT lab by parents, teachers and pupils.

Capacity building was also seen as a key strategy in promoting effective change management. Employing the ideas of Mitchell and Sackney (2001) it proved possible to locate examples of where capacity building was being achieved through the development of 'personal capacity' and 'interpersonal capacity'. We saw numerous examples of teachers, headteachers, higher education staff and inspectors attempting to construct new personal and professional narratives; narratives that placed the child at the centre of the educational enterprise, saw creativity, play and critical thinking as key concepts in the development of a more responsive pedagogy, whilst emphasizing the importance of listening to children, giving constructive feedback and building effective systems of pastoral care. We also saw, at an interpersonal level, groups of educators working together to develop their collective perceptions of what constituted effective professional practice, 'among different people with different knowledge bases, different histories, different hopes and aspirations, different personal styles and emotions, and different desires and needs' (pp. 3–4).

Concluding thoughts

This article has set out to present a picture of the complexities facing educationalists in trying to bring about significant change within a specific country's education system, that is, a region of Romania. In producing a series of research-focused portraits the ambition was to capture the views and opinions of those charged with inspecting, managing and delivering education, as well as those with a responsibility for teacher education and training. Underpinning the study is the idea that, as Hargreaves (2007) argues, the direction of educational change is significantly influenced by particular organizations, philosophies, political ideologies and strategies. For example the OECD argues that:

> We are moving into a 'learning economy' where the success of individuals, firms, regions, and countries will reflect, more than anything else, their ability to learn. The speeding up of change reflects the rapid diffusion of information technology, the widening of the global marketplace… and deregulation of and less stability in markets. (OECD, cited in Hargreaves, 2007, p. 19)

Such a perspective has been so influential that it has shaped policy, strategy and pedagogy as much in Romania as elsewhere in the world. Yet, at the same time, education policy and practice within post-communist countries such as Romania, has had to move through specific periods of transition marked by 'deconstruction', 'stabilization', 'transformation' and 'coordination' (Birzea & Fartusnic, 2003), coupled with the outcomes of economic uncertainty, the demands of external funders and frequent shifts in political power and ideology. In entering the life worlds of the participants involved in the study, it was necessary to acknowledge such factors. We met individuals and groups who were striving to change educational philosophy and practice for the benefit of children, yet at the same time they felt 'held back' by reactionary forces, political demands not supported by adequate resourcing, frequent policy shifts, and uncertainties about parental needs and expectations. We also found a teaching workforce that saw itself as being economically and socially undervalued.

Yet despite such pressures and difficulties, there were clear signs of an enduring thirst and motivation to challenge some dominant aspects of school life, for example the proliferation and 'dense' content of national textbooks, and 'traditional', for example, pre-revolutionary, pedagogical practices. Each of the portraits demonstrates the ability of different groups of education professionals to deal with the demand for change in creative ways. In the Rosia Commune for example, strong partnerships are being developed with a range of groups and organizations to provide a level of social support that will hopefully improve school attendance and educational attainment.

There can be no doubt that a significant level of educational change is occurring in Sibiu County. Where that change will lead in the future is difficult to predict. However, the evidence derived from the study suggests that there is a willingness

to debate and consider a range of options and possibilities within local schools, the university system and inspectorate. All of the conversations we had were concerned with the need to improve educational outcomes for children and young people. At the same time, it has to be acknowledged that strong external forces exist, at national and international levels that are pushing forward reforms that are sometimes unwelcome. Even at the local level disagreement exists as to the best way to move forward in terms of developing robust change management strategies – a portrait of change management uncertainty not uncommon in many countries.

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SEVENTEEN

Vulnerability: The role of schools in supporting young people exposed to challenging environments and situations

Stanley Tucker, Dave Trotman and Madeline Martyn

1. Introduction

The article considers the role played by schools in the United Kingdom in supporting young people who encounter environments, both inside and outside of the school-gate, which can be hostile and challenging. To achieve this, we examine data from previously published work on young people who have experienced discrimination, exclusion, violence and human trafficking (Tucker, 2011; Tucker, 2013). A typology is constructed from a series of interlinked case studies. Each element of the typology provides 'underlying dimensions, or key characteristics', examples and outcomes of school-based interventions (Cohen *et al*., 2002, p. 152). In constructing the typology, we synthesise data collected from interviews with over 250 young people aged between 11 and 25 years. Interviews were conducted with young people currently in school as well as those who had completed their secondary education. Young people are required to stay at school in the UK until they are 16 years old. We also make use of data gathered from discussions with those responsible for managing schools and Alternative Provision (AP) and Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) – provided for students who have been permanently or temporarily excluded from school, school behaviour co-ordinators and pupil support staff.

Our previous work has, to a significant extent, concentrated on reporting on the impact of the difficulties and challenges faced by highly vulnerable children and young people both inside and outside school. Here, we synthesise aspects of that work, in order to provide examples of effective school-based interventions specifically targeted at vulnerable young people. We concentrate on examining a range of interventions generated outside of the 'established curriculum'. In adopting such an approach, we demonstrate how different forms of personal and collective change can be promoted via a range of educational, group-focused, social and pastoral interventions. Consideration is also given to the importance of multi-professional and multi-agency responses.

The article is underpinned by a human rights perspective that provides a framework for evaluating and assessing the effectiveness of school-based interventions. It is informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The UNCRC requires that each individual child be protected and safeguarded, as well as being provided with opportunities for self-advocacy, self-determination and participation in decision making where appropriate. In creating the typology we show how the life chances of young people can be

significantly improved not only through developing a better understanding of the situations they face, but also the importance of generating strategies that encourage and foster positive participation, choice and change.

Many of the young people whose lives form the focus of this article have encountered harrowing, traumatic and abusive events. Some have been trafficked, victimised, ostracised and tormented others have sought help and support without being 'listened to and believed' and educational systems and processes have compounded existing levels of disaffection, exclusion and alienation. It is our ambition that this article will help to raise professional and academic knowledge and awareness, and thereby stimulate changes in practice.

2. Contextual background

To understand the appropriateness of the interventions discussed below, the nature and outcomes of the risk (and potential increases to collective and individual vulnerability) experienced by some young people need to be considered. For as Beck (1992) argues, the 'abundance of risk' that is likely to increase vulnerability emanates from personal circumstances and actions, as well as wider social, economic and educational factors. For example, increased levels of vulnerability may occur due to poverty – including risks to mental health, educational success, homelessness or exposure to crime (Osler and Vincent, 2003). Crucially, it is argued that failure by schools, and other social care and health agencies, to involve young people in exploring, assessing and responding to their own risk- based behaviour and the development of strategies to reduce or eliminate vulnerability, can 'impact on confidence, self-esteem, motivation and emotional health' (Smith *et al*., 2007, p. 243). Moreover, Brotherton and Potter (2010, p. 77) point to the fact that 'groups identified as being particularly vulnerable are very disparate' due to a mixture of 'structural' and 'cultural-behavioural' factors.

Research also points to a range of 'deficit agendas' influencing professional judgements when it comes to assessing the needs of particular individuals and groups of young people (Smith *et al*., 2007). Such agendas, it is argued, arise out of dominant discourses concerning 'dysfunctional' life styles, choices, behaviours and attitudes – rooted in negative perceptions of class, family and community values. It can be argued that such agendas are so powerful, that they restrict the ability of young people to articulate their needs, advocate for their rights and participate in decisionmaking processes. This is a view endorsed by Griffin (1993), who points to the existence of a linked set of representations portraying young people as 'mad', 'bad', 'diseased', 'perverted' and sexually promiscuous. The impact of such 'deficit agendas' is further played out when it comes to restricting opportunities for particular groups of young people. For example, Cronin (2013, p. 102) points to ways in which such dominant discourses have impacted on 'school admissions and exclusions because 'looked after children' . . . might be viewed as potentially disruptive to overall school performance'.

Our research challenges dominant perceptions of vulnerability, risk and exploitation constructed through the discourses described above. We adopt a position, advocated by France (2004), that young people should be seen as 'reliable witnesses' when it comes to exploring aspects of their life-worlds and as 'social actors in their own right' (O'Kane, 2000, p. 136). We wanted to find out the perspectives, ideas and viewpoints of young people who have found themselves in high risk situations. We explored strategies and approaches, adopted by schools, AP services and PRUs, that young people found helpful. Our intention was to foster methodological research approaches and practices through which young people would have 'their individual and collective voices heard in matters that impact on them' (Article 12). Such an approach is supported by Smith *et al.* (2007, p. 328) who advocates that a rights-based approach offers young people 'better protection from harm, provide[s them] with services and benefits and encourage[s them] to participate in decisions affecting them'; the voices of highly vulnerable young people whose voices often go unheard.

3. Methodological approach

In seeking to establish those factors likely to generate high levels of individual and collective risk and vulnerability amongst young people, our methodology was underpinned by an ethnographically- based approach (Hammersley, 1992). At the same time, we wanted to understand the roles that schools and other social agencies can play in proactively supporting young people. The data emanating from the research has all been generated through utilisation of voice-focused methodologies (France, 2004; O'Kane, 2000) premised on constructivist approaches to interpretivist research (Schwandt, 1994), involving interviews with young people, many of whom have previously struggled to make themselves heard and have their needs met.

From this approach, four inter-linked case studies have been generated. Each of the case studies share a number of common factors, in that they deal with the experiences of groups of young people who have found themselves in extremely challenging situations. The case studies then, present evidence of the effectiveness of school-based approaches used to support young people who experience high levels of vulnerability. Taken in combination, these interconnected studies reveal a number of common themes and demonstrate how specific individuals and groups position themselves in relation to dominant powers, ideologies and discourses (Quantz, 1992 cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2002, p. 153). They also offer a better understanding as to the relevance of particular forms of intervention in supporting young people to manage complex situations.

From the composite case studies recurrent themes were then identified. These then formed the basis for the construction of key categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 101) for a typology of intervention, focusing on themes concerned with: problems and issues facing some young people; range of help and support offered;

practitioner perspectives on the value of specific interventions; the relevance of particular forms of intervention; how such interventions might be improved and further developed.

We cross-referenced the emergent themes from each case study and through this process revealed examples of related experiences for young people and adults, evidence of effective interventions and outcomes, and implications for policy and practice. These examples provided the content for the typology as well as highlighting aspects of good practice in working with vulnerable young people.

4. Typology of intervention

Within this section we present through a typology of intervention, examples of a range of interventions used by schools, AP and PRUs to support vulnerable young people. Some interventions were developed in co-operation with social care and health agencies that were willing to share both expertise and resources. Although interventions are presented under separate headings, young people frequently engaged in a range of activities covered within other typology. The range of interventions covered by the typology is indicated in Fig. 1. Following that, each element of the typology is described in more detail.

4.1. Group work and positive intentional risk

The first case study is constructed from encounters with young people who had reached '*breaking point*' in terms of their ability to withstand peer pressure and acts of brutality inflicted by both peers and adults. These young people had often suffered both mental and physical abuse through persistent acts of exploitation and humiliation. The group work category incorporates two approaches to school-based group work: work with a girls' group who wanted to escape from '*disrespectful street-life and guns and gangs*'; and work with a group of young people trying to '*defend themselves*' from situations where they were being sexually or physically exploited, bullied or excluded.

Focus of Intervention	Characteristics	Example	Outcomes
Group work	Use of social group work processes to allow young people to take 'positive intentional risks', challenge and change their personal situations	Creation of girls' group to explore how to exit a gang and build resilience and skills to cope with outcomes associated with their departure	Gaining the ability to challenge 'myths' connected with gang-life, build self-motivation, strength and ability to creatively respond to problems

Responding to problematic and challenging behaviours	Using expertise located inside and outside school to work with young people to understand the underlying causes of behaviour and ways to change/modify their actions	Intensive short course for pupils with complex/ multiple behaviour and emotional behaviour followed by structured opportunities for individual support	Better understanding of classroom dynamics and 'triggers' that can instigate violent episodes and development of personal coping strategies
Pastoral policies and practices	Development of coherent and consistently applied pastoral policies and practices based on a values-driven whole school philosophy	Implementation of policy and practice that places a high value on listening to children and understanding of educational, social and economic factors that are likely to put them at high risk	Building pastoral care programmes and activities that stress elements of mutual care, channelling of resources to the most vulnerable and linking aspects of welfare, counselling, therapeutic interventions to individual educational needs and aspirations
Inter-professional and inter-agency working	High importance placed on the value of multi-professional and multi-agency interventions Existence of level of tension arising out of expenditure reductionsconcerning the continuation of such approaches	'Team around the child' where interventions are developed based on holistic assessment of individual needs Creation of 'safe spaces' for young people to engage with range of professionals Specialised interventions using high level expertise	Use of diverse and linked programmes of intervention to expose young people to a range of education, social care and health responses Emphasis placed on the assessment of nee ds of 'young people in the round'

Fig. 1. Typology of intervention.

For both groups of young people, significant levels of risk were attached to challenging and changing their personal situations. The young women in the girls' group explained that escape from a gang required '*courage*', '*strong strength*' and a '*clear idea of how things could be better*'. They were also trying to understand contradictory feelings and emotions arising out of, on the one hand, a binding and significant 'family' dynamic (generated within a gang) and on the other hand, the fact that they were consistently '*disrespected*', sexually '*humiliated*' and '*treated like possessions*'. Within the second group, similar types of risk highlighted the need to '*fight back*', gain confidence and confront problems. For some of the young people, victimisation and humiliation had become '*a way of life*' – '*it's sometimes easier to give in and take a beating*' and '*fighting back means doing stuff you don't feel strong*

enough to do' (*Eddie, 14 yrs*). Group work processes encouraged the promotion of high levels of 'positive-intentional risk', i.e. risk arising out of:

> . . .exposure to news ways of thinking, working or challenging perceptions and stereotypes; widening horizons and the promotion of imagination and creativity offering opportunities for ingenuity, self-motivation and personal development. (Trotman *et al*., 2012, p.319)

Dealing with outcomes of actual or threatened violence, proved to be an essential element of group work activity. For Alesha (the girls' group facilitator), it was necessary to introduce a level of risk analysis into her style of group facilitation, through which young people were encouraged to think about likely outcomes – '*if they did nothing or they positively tried to change the script for themselves what was likely to happen*'. From there, scenario building activities were applied to assess the level of risk attached to a particular action or behavioural response – '*You say let's work out a way forward; what's the up and down side; push yourself to look at things you have thought about doing but not dared. What would it take to do those things?*' (*Alesha*) The scenario building activities explored strategies to improve personal safety, '*thinking about where you go, staying out of fights, not putting yourself in danger*' (*Pattie, 15 yrs*), coupled with building self-confidence, awareness and personal resilience.

Much of the group work was built on several identifiable principles: it is necessary to create non-threatening spaces where young people can be supported in exploring the risks attached to specific issues and problems – '*a place where they don't interrogate you; listen to what you want to say*' (*Marcel, 16 yrs*); opportunities to construct new or alternative scenarios and ways of responding to challenging situations – '*somewhere to come that is safe. . . to share stories and think about a way out of a hole*' (*Angie, 15 yrs*); a good level of empathetic and non-judgemental listening – '*it's about the person themselves and you want them to listen to you*' (*Tee, 16 yrs*); exploration of other available support services – '*seeing if you can work to create solutions that are individual and supporting young people to really consider options and services available*' (*Alesha*).

4.2. Working with problematic and challenging behaviours

In the second case study, we focus on exploring how schools might respond in meeting the needs of vulnerable young people who display highly challenging behaviours both inside and outside of school. The examples used are generated from work carried out by behaviour co-ordinators, pastoral tutors and specialist group workers and counsellors. It explores problematic and challenging behaviours at two levels; firstly, approaches that are intended to offer a level of therapeutic intervention; and secondly, approaches designed to influence pedagogical interventions.

Many of the young people we interviewed were trying to find ways to deal with problematic and challenging behaviours. For some, these surfaced in the form of violent episodes both inside and outside of school; for others, anger was

internalised, causing them to become socially isolated from peers and school staff. Wayne (14 yrs), for example, spoke of '*anger boiling up inside and just going really inside myself*'. For his part, Amrit a sixteen year old found himself '*kicking out, beating anyone up that got in my way, getting thrown out of school, disrespecting everyone who came near*'. Michael (18 yrs) spoke of the ways in which '*my anger has got me in trouble with the police and nearly taken me away from my family*'. Provision of 'anger management' classes within schools was consistently cited by young people interviewed as being very effective in helping them to become calmer, more self-confident and able to manage their own behaviour better.

One particular school offered an intense one week short course for highly vulnerable students with complex multiple behaviour and emotional difficulties. The course involved opportunities to explore root causes of personal behaviours, as well as the teaching of techniques for pre-empting outbursts and managing loss of selfcontrol. Kudzei (14 yrs) attended one such course and provided a succinct account of the importance of such forms of school-based work:

> You have to help people to understand what they're doing and why they're doing it. Sometimes people behave like terrible but there are always reasons. You got to help people control their behaviour. . . Doesn't mean like they're necessarily bad people [I] don't think they are, but they can be in heavy pressure and stuff like that.

For some students, a group setting offered an opportunity to reflect on the impact of chaotic classroom environments which could become catalysts for their own and the negative behaviour of others, '. . . *losing control because of crap teaching, at least they would talk about it in the group and try and help you think about what you can do to help yourself*' (*Sophie, 15 yrs*).

Data gained from interviews with young people attending AP and PRUs and their teachers, pointed to the value of complementary approaches in dealing with anger and aggression in highly vulnerable young people. In particular, environments that promoted calm were seen to be helpful. Students talked about the teacher's ability to use different strategies such as humour and enjoyment as an integral part of their interactions and teaching. For example, relaxing classroom controls to allow one young person to sometimes listen to her own music through personal headphones was seen as important. For a number of young people space to express feelings of anger and frustration also proved to be crucial – '*you need space to say stuff. We've got like support assistants and they're different. Mine sits in lessons and watches when I'm getting mad and stuff then talks about it . . . it's great*' (*Dex, 15 yrs*). Young people also emphasised the importance of attending to conditions within the classroom to support and enhance their learning. They valued '*variation*', '*flexibility*', '*tolerance*', and the need for '*fun*', whilst also accepting the need to '*behave properly*', '*make progress*' and '*shape up*'.

4.3. Pastoral policies and practices

The third case study is used to sketch a picture concerning the importance of

developing coherent and well-developed pastoral policies and practices. In the UK, pastoral care provision is now being targeted towards the most vulnerable young people in school (authors' reference). However, it would appear that the development of effective pastoral policies and practices is, to a significant extent, dependent on the existence of a strong valuesdriven philosophy that is embraced by all members of staff. One head teacher described her school's philosophy thus:

> There is a moral imperative to provide educational and support services for those at the highest level of risk. We have to build strategies that really relate to what young people need. There is a requirement for us all to listen to what young people say, but more than that understand the educational, social and economic conditions that put them at 'high risk'. . . Schools need to embrace work with other agencies and respect what they can bring to the table. But above all, we have to desperately care for such young people if they are to cope with school, grow and achieve. (Barbara)

We found schools actively engaged in defining and responding to what they saw as key factors likely to increase student vulnerability. School managers and teachers spoke of the need to respond to a range of 'internal' and 'external' vulnerabilities. Internal vulnerabilities were often related to behaviours considered to be '*unacceptable*', '*untypical*' or '*likely to escalate and become out of control*'. Those who had 'struggled to integrate', possessed 'poor learning skills and attainment outcomes', or were the subject of high levels of behaviour referral, tended to be included in that definition. As to external vulnerabilities, they were defined in terms of: the way they can '*arise out of family problems and relationship difficulties*'; gang membership and peer dominance; being '*brought to notice by the authorities*'; emanating from '*loneliness and isolation*'. There is evidence to suggest that some schools are attempting to understand how life outside school impacts on life inside. The impact of such a perspective is evident in comments made by a senior school manager:

We had to think about pastoral care differently. We try to provide it to all our students but the reality is we have to use our limited resources to focus on the neediest. . . we have to work at not only who, but also what we are going to do. We have to build hard data that could be closely scrutinised [in creating a specific intervention]. The information comes from all kind of sources inside and outside schools. . .. Matching need to intervention is the most important; a pastoral policy that contains group work, individual work, behavioural support, counselling, I could go on. (Colin)

This case study illustrates the importance of particular therapeutic approaches as effective interventions:

> *Student welfare, counselling and education are more likely to assist students to remain engaged in school than punitive and inflexible measures contained in [many] student behaviour management policies* (*Josie – form tutor*).

In some schools there clearly existed a desire to create caring relationships that were not dependent on the 'virtues' of the care giver and the 'passive acceptance' of the care receiver. However, many of the behaviour co-ordinators involved in the research argued that there was a need to develop relationships based on mutual respect in order to encourage 'capacities' to foster pupil abilities to care for others (Noddings, 2005, p. 18).

4.4. Inter-professional and inter-agency working

The fourth and final case study focuses on the way in which inter-professional and inter-agency working is making a significant contribution to the development of school-based interventions to support vulnerable young people. The underlying assumption in many of the conversations we had with school managers and behaviour co-ordinators was that the most effective interventions required the involvement of other professionals working in, or with, schools. One behaviour co-ordinator commented that:

> Schools now recognise that those with the most challenging behaviours and greatest needs require different kinds of support at different times. For me it is futile to think effective learning is possible if young people are caught in circumstances that I would find daunting or disturbing. . . We are moving away from thinking that the only people who should be in schools are teachers and pupils – that's gone. (Martha)

However, for another behaviour co-ordinator the challenges associated with economic recession have seriously impeded the ability of schools to secure the services of external agencies and specialised staff – '*cuts to external services have had a major impact on the nature of the specialised resources available*' (*Joyce*). Indeed, it was argued that there was now increased pressure on schools to '*plug gaps*' through a redirection of their own resources – human and financial. She went on to say that without a '*top-down approach to funding backed by coherent and properly costed policies*', strategies to support young people can easily fall victim to resource cuts '*when time gets rough*'.

Yet despite the existence of such pressures and difficulties, we saw examples of highly effective work being carried out with vulnerable young people. In one school the need to build an interprofessional and inter-agency team '*around the child*' was given high priority – in terms of both human and financial resources. A clearly defined philosophy as to the value of inter-professional and agency work was in place. The school had employed a nurse, social care worker and home-school liaison officer, to work alongside pastoral support staff, SENCO and year heads. With such a rich professional mix of staff available, it proved possible to offer a diverse support programme that included anger management interventions, behavioural support work, adult and peer mentoring, small group work and counselling. For the leader of the team (a non-teaching member of staff) the team 'around the child' approach offered distinct advantages:

> We see the need to understand what is happening to the young person inside and

> outside school. Invariably the two combine to create difficulties. We have to form positive relationships with parents; they are vital if things are going to change. I use what I call intelligence not just from other agencies but what we see from our own interactions with pupils. . .. Sometimes stories can appear to be very different. (Yvonne)

An aspect of inter-professional work in another school pointed to the importance of creating places/spaces where young people could find refuge or just '*sit and talk*' without feeling threatened or judged. Some of the young people we interviewed had actually sought out a physical space where '*you could be comfortable with a teacher who really knows how to listen and care. . . and will do something afterwards*'. The theme of listening and caring proved to be vitally important in the creation of a mentoring scheme, provided by a voluntary sector organisation, aimed at meeting the needs of unaccompanied asylum seeking young people. The importance of the scheme is painted through the words of Mohammad:

> I needed someone to support me. Someone to help me work out the problems of being here. They are asking in English, you know, they say words and they try to explain to me. I don't know these words. I don't know how to answer questions. . . Someone to listen to like Frank. You get good advice and you can ask questions. Read books and tell stories. Would like to volunteer to help other young people.

5. Reflections on the typology

We began the article with a specific proposition; that for schools to develop effective and proactive interventions with pupils who experience significant levels of personal and collective vulnerability, it is necessary to develop multi-layered strategies and interventions in response to their complex needs. In exploring that proposition we have brought together data from a number of interlinked case studies (authors' references) which focused on how some schools are developing work with vulnerable young people that attempts to creatively meet the challenges they face in their day-to-day lives.

The article develops a typology derived from inter-linked case studies directly constructed from the perspectives of young people themselves, as well as those working with them. The composite case studies serve to demonstrate how some schools are attempting to radically transform the nature of the work they do with young people who find themselves in difficult situations. We have highlighted the work of institutions who are challenging traditional 'deficit' (Smith *et al*., 2007) and 'problematizing' (Griffin, 1993) agendas. The schools featured here, want to understand not only the factors, experiences and pressures acting on some young people, but also how they can construct meaningful responses based on that understanding.

The young people featured in this article have encountered extremely challenging circumstances – violence and aggression, discrimination, educational

and social exclusion, the outcomes of human trafficking, gang culture, etc. Although individual and collective situations differed, we have examined the kind of circumstances and needs that bind the young people together. We found young people actively building their own personal resilience, self-confidence and awareness, and ultimately attempting to change their life-worlds. We have considered those struggling with their own violent behaviour because they wanted more from their lives. In addition, the enquiries conducted with young people demonstrate the importance of attentive listening and reporting on the part of adults.

The development of the case study typology has revealed themes of common and significant concern amongst young people and the possibilities afforded through new school-initiated approaches and professional interactions. Moreover, it corroborates a grounds well of opinion in support of the authentic positioning of voice-based research and evaluation (MacBeath and Sugimine, 2003; Rudduck and Fielding, 2006). Many of the young people we met greatly valued the opportunity to discuss the challenges they faced and to talk about the types of support that they found helpful. The school managers, teaching and nonteaching participants shared new ways of working – often against a challenging backdrop of economic and political constraint. Indeed, some schools were actively trying to promote new interventions and strategies at a time when it would be easy to marginalise pastoral responses due to insufficient time because of curriculum pressures, lack of resources, management priorities and the demands of meeting performance targets (Ball, 2003, 2008; Jeffery and Troman, 2012). Furthermore, Wrigley (2006) argues that pursuit and dominance of performativity policies can bring about a reduced emphasis on the social and cultural context of the school and difficulties and problems faced by vulnerable young people.

Despite the challenges of performativity and resourcing, there is evidence to suggest that through school-based, inter-professional and inter-agency work imaginative interventions can be developed. The complex nature of many young peoples' needs makes it unlikely that any one professional group can offer a fully comprehensive approach and moreover, effective interventions require additional financial investment. Almost all of the examples of practice offered for consideration through the case study typology emanate from the existence of school policies that place value on: listening to children and young people; philosophicallyconstructed pastoral policies and practices (authors' reference) that are supported by school managers and governors; and looking outside of the immediate school environment to develop interventions that respond to dominant 'ecological' factors.

We were only able to understand the difficulties and problems facing young people and those working with them through forms of engagement that privileged their voices. For young people in particular, this required us to create a climate

based on trust, respect and the valuing of what they had to say: '*nobody has ever talked like this before to me*'; '*Yes, I want to say things but I need to take it slow*'; '*I'll only take part if it makes a difference*'. We also found school managers and staff desperately searching for solutions to what they saw as complex problems generated out of multilayered social, economic, educational and health-related factors.

Where significant change has taken place when a school, it appears that a number of related issues have come together to stimulate new thinking and responses. There has been an acceptance of the fact that highly vulnerable young people often have multi-layered needs and because of this they can be highly disruptive, or withdrawn, or isolated. It has been acknowledged that current pedagogical practices, pastoral policies and systems of resource allocation need to be scrutinised and changed order to respond to the needs of vulnerable young people. There also appears to be a much greater understanding of the value of inter-professional activity and the need to develop more effective partnerships with parents and carers. For us these are the issues and challenges that must be addressed if schools are going to respond to the needs of the most vulnerable.

6. Concluding thoughts

The case study typology has informed the drawing together of key messages and issues about the needs of vulnerable young people. From the composite case studies, the typology reveals new themes relating to effective school-based interventions, imaginative responses emerging situations and demands, and increased understanding of ecological factors and determinants. These themes are cumulatively influencing and affecting knowledge and understanding of vulnerable young people and development of school policy and practice.

Young people were willing to talk provided that what they had to say was listened to, valued, respected and fairly reported. Some found the experience of being interviewed uplifting, challenging and '*the first time anyone has talked to me in this way*'. For our part, we wanted to promote their right to be heard and be involved in shaping services and interventions that could have a major impact on their lives. At the heart of the research was the intention to use the portraiture to examine specific circumstances and experiences and ways in which interventions can increase 'human agency', 'shed light on the relationship between social actions and social structures' (Brewer, 2002, p. 51) and crucially foster the development and promotion of the human rights of the young people involved.

The examples of emerging policy and practice should be read as just that – examples of work in progress subject to constant evaluation, re-analysis and further modification. We recognise that the type of work discussed in this article is not being carried out in all schools. However, what can be said with a degree of certainty is that where innovative school-based practices are being developed, examples of positive individual and collective change can be demonstrated.

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EIGHTEEN

Understanding Problematic Pupil Behaviour: Perceptions of pupils and behaviour coordinators on secondary school exclusion in an English city

Dave Trotman, Stanley Tucker and Madeline Martyn

Introduction

Background to this study

The article explores the outcomes of a research project focusing on behaviour referrals and the use of school exclusion, in secondary schools situated in a large metropolitan authority in central England. The research was commissioned by a large and well-established consortium of schools working together to facilitate educational change, equality of opportunity and the raising of attainment in inner-city communities.

The research was developed in the context of increased levels of concern, on the part of the consortium schools, about the behaviour and educational performance of pupils, and the temporary and permanent exclusion of pupils in Year 9 (aged 13–14). A decision to exclude a pupil can be made following a serious behavioural incident or persistent acts of misbehaviour by a young person. Notably, there had been an increase in the number of referrals being made to the consortium's Sharing Panel, which assesses and coordinates pupil access to alternative provision (AP), and pupil referral units (PRUs). AP is arranged by the local authority in which the consortium is situated and is intended for pupils for whom access to education in mainstream schools is either not possible or desirable. The reasons for this may include exclusion, illness, pregnancy, school phobia or lack of a school place. AP will often take the form of a formally organised PRU, and is similar in design to small secondary or special school provision.

Such provision is intended to improve behaviour and learning and ultimately support the re-integration of pupils into mainstream schooling, where possible. The Sharing Panel currently serves as a forum for negotiating temporary and permanent placements, and exchanges between the consortium's schools.

Initial discussions between the research team and the Sharing Panel revealed a gap in the consortium's understanding of the behavioural challenges faced by schools. Specifically, there was an absence of the viewpoints and reported experiences of pupils within the consortium's schools. While the omission of the pupil perspective was recognised by the members of the Sharing Panel, it also served to underscore more generally the limited attention that is given to the meaningful promotion of pupil voice (Fielding 2004). We argue that pupil voice has an important role to play in increasing authentic forms of agency and generating insights into young people's experiences from the perspective of 'reliable witnesses' (France 2004).

It was agreed with the members of the consortium that the research sample should include young people with direct experience of exclusion, and those willing to offer views on how behavioural issues impact on classroom life. Through this approach, we hoped to increase understanding of: the impact of the curriculum in the first three years of secondary schooling (Key Stage 3, covering pupil ages 11–14) on behaviour; how pupil behaviour can shape educational experience; the factors that are likely to trigger a behaviour referral or exclusion; how key transition points can influence behaviour and learning; pupil experience of AP. From the initial discussions it was decided that the research design should aim to elicit the views of young people alongside those of teachers with responsibility for behaviour coordination. A sample of 60 young people and eight behaviour coordinators was then proposed, and it was agreed that all participants should be interviewed individually.

Contextual literature

While previous qualitative studies of pupil behaviour in the UK have tended to focus on causal attributions of pupil behaviour in secondary phase education (Miller, Ferguson, and Byrne 2000; Miller and Lambert 2010), this study aimed to examine the perception, held by teachers, of an increase in incidences of negative pupil behaviour in Key Stage 3 (pupil ages 11–14) by investigating the perspective of pupils and teachers.

Previous studies have typically tended to be limited to a single case, e.g. one secondary school. In addition, only limited attention has been given, in the UK, to the sustained effects of primary–secondary phase transitions in relation to negative pupil behaviour. Conceptualisations that place young people in the role of 'diminished selves' in need of therapeutic intervention have been challenged (Ecclestone and Hayes 2009, 136). Following earlier studies of the challenges surrounding transitional life stages (Earl 1999; Galton, Gray, and Rudduck 1999; Galton and Hargreaves 2002), the approach in our study involved the explicit foregrounding of transition between key stages of education. These transitions, often involving significant changes to the affective, cognitive, social and physical self, are regarded by Earl (1999) as a period entailing three simultaneous transitions: adolescents in transition from childhood to adulthood; the world in transition from separate societies to more complex patterns of interaction and dependence; schools in transition from a style that worked well for most of the twentieth century to one that will prepare students for life in the twenty-first century (Earl 1999 in Stobart and Stoll 2010).

Behaviour and discipline

Issues of behaviour and discipline in schools have retained political and educational prominence in the UK since the UK government's education department publication in 1989 of the Elton Report called Discipline in Schools (DES 1989). In more recent times, two government-commissioned inquiries reported as Steer (2009) and Taylor (2012), have widened the scope of enquiry to include management

practices, the use of exclusion, pupils with special educational needs (SEN) and the quality of AP. Similarly, increased concern about the relationship between learning and discipline, improving pupil behaviour and safety in schools has been expressed by the UK's Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, known as Ofsted (2005, 2008, 2011c). In 2012, the issue of school exclusion was highlighted by the Children's Commissioner for England during a national inquiry that emphasised the necessity to listen to the voices of young people in order to fully understand the impact of exclusion (Children's Commissioner for England's 2012).

Throughout the literature, the importance of building effective behavioural policy and practice in schools, based on consistent and rigorous application, is a recurrent theme (Horner and Sugai 2000; Luiselli *et al*. 2005; Hallam 2007). An argument is made for policy development and the training for school leaders and those with pastoral responsibilities to be founded on meaningful evidence-based practice (see, for example, Edmond and Price 2009). Ofsted (2005) in reporting on the work of the behavioural improvement programme, stress a requirement for developing secure monitoring and evaluation systems, in order to track behavioural trends and assess the effectiveness of individual interventions.

Transition

In England, the transition from primary to secondary school made by most 11-year-old pupils coincides with the transition from the Key Stage 2 national curriculum (studied by most 7–11-year-old pupils in primary schools) to the Key Stage 3 national curriculum, which is studied by most pupils aged 11–14 in the first three years of secondary education. Consideration of the challenges faced at the Key Stage 2 to Key Stage 3 transition point is examined in the literature. For example, the work of McGee *et al*. (2004) raises the importance of considering three linked issues: (1) a requirement to demystify pupils' perceptions of secondary school; (2) the need to create strong links between schools; (3) the problems arising out of the departmentalisation of subjects and early streaming (i.e. where pupils are grouped according to an assessment of their attainment in English and Maths). Also noted is the importance of taking into account socio-economic, cultural and gender-based differences between pupils. Jindal-Snape and Foggie (2008) reflect on the need to develop support systems at the level of the family and peer group in order to build effective communication during the transition point between primary and secondary school at this transitional time.

Research from elsewhere suggests other potentially important factors at the point of transition. In their study of transitions between elementary, middle and high schools in the United States, Anderson *et al*. (2000) note the effects of school size and its impact on student behaviour arising from pupils' feelings of loss, uncertainty and insecurity (including frequent changes of subject teachers, complex timetabling requiring significant movements around a school and

losing contact with significant peers). The authors point to the increased level of importance placed on 'rules of behaviour' experienced in larger rather than smaller schools and the concomitant decrease in tolerance of misbehaviour, as students move from elementary to high school settings. Placed alongside this, a much greater emphasis is given to ability, success and competition at the expense of individual effort and the improvement of performance. It is argued that negative experiences of transition affect not only academic performance, but also the well-being and mental health of young people (Zeedyk *et al*. 2003).

Teaching and learning

Dunlap *et al*. (2006) explore the importance of the impact of preferred learning styles (Riding and Rayner 1998) and the construction of an effective learning environment in countering poor behaviour. They argue that young people respond to a range of approaches and strategies at different times, in different ways, and in different circumstances. Such diversity of learning can be acknowledged, for example, through the creation of classroom environments that use furniture in flexible ways, while employing a variety of activities to promote forms of interaction and communication that are not overly reliant on direct instructional dialogue. The need to reinforce positive behaviour within the classroom has been highlighted (see Kern *et al*. 2001). What are sometimes described as 'antecedent interventions' may also be required, it is suggested, to help teachers to understand the behaviour of young people. It is acknowledged that poor behaviour in the classroom may mask other social and emotional issues, and impact directly on a young person's ability to learn (Taylor 2012).

The literature also suggests that the curriculum and school timetable design can impact on pupil behaviour. For example, Galton and Hargreaves (2002) have reported how timetable structures common to many English secondary schools and involving short periods of transient compartmentalised study can impede productive and lasting teacher–pupil relationships. Interestingly, Stobart and Stoll (2010), in their study of the English Key Stage 3 Strategy, note that educational policy elsewhere has moved away from subject-based curricula to a more integrated approach.

Alternative provision

Taylor (2012) asserts that academic outcomes for young people attending AP are generally poor. It is argued that this is largely due to the fact that pupils arrive in AP late in their school careers, with poor educational and behavioural records. In citing examples of good practice, the report points to the existence of strong partnerships between schools, local authorities and PRUs. It notes the need for the development of 'rigorous programmes to prepare them [pupils] for the next stage of their lives' (162), and the use of sustained pedagogical interventions to promote and enhance literacy and numeracy skills. A strong case is made for the need to understand that instances of poor behaviour frequently mask a range of

complex and 'chaotic' home, community and school experiences. Included in the characteristics required to promote high quality AP are: demonstration of good outcomes and positive impact; the construction of robust working relationships between services; high quality assessment and information sharing; the goal of reintegration (Taylor 2012, 9–10).

A review of AP by Ofsted (2011b) is critical of how schools manage pupil placements. Ofsted argues that schools spend insufficient time and resources tracking attendance, assessing if improvements in behaviour are evident and monitoring progress in terms of skill acquisition and personal development. There is also a need, they argue, to 'ensure that the quality of what is provided by the alternative placement is never less than could be provided at school' (Ofsted 2011b, 8).

Method

Research design

The research design adopted an ethnographic approach (Brewer 2002), with the intention of exploring the multi-layered educational, social, and, in the case of the behaviour coordinators, professional worlds of the participants. Using qualitative research methods, it was hoped to generate 'thick description' (Lincoln and Guba 1985) in order to provide a more nuanced account of the educational, social and cultural practices that exist within schools. It was anticipated that a number of emergent and interlinked themes would be generated to stimulate wider discussion and debate. This approach was designed to enable young people and staff to enter into a dialogue that encouraged the exploration of their views, opinions and beliefs. Both groups were encouraged to reflect on their day-to-day experiences; staff were specifically asked to consider the impact of external and internal policies and practices on their work.

Ethical considerations

Account also had to be taken of a number of intersecting rights given to children through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Article 12 of the UNCRC asserts the right of the child to participate in discussions on issues that may impact on their lives. As Jones (2004, 125) points out, by drawing on young people's 'understandings of the phenomena they observe, measure or are part of, new possibilities are opened up' in relation to extending existing knowledge and understanding, and improving educational policies and practices. Issues concerned with 'best interest' (article 3) in terms of participation in the project, and the potential for personal 'harm' in relation to 'welfare and development' (article 36), were also considered. It was recognised that exploring experiences and feelings about exclusion can be difficult for some young people, and that this would require particular sensitivity from the research team in the conduct of the research project. Furthermore, in collecting the research data, those involved with a level of 'critical voice' (James and Prout 1997) would be provided with an assurance that their views would be received confidentially and in a spirit

of openness, mutual respect and tolerance.

Approach to data collection

To meet the demands of such an approach, a semi-structured interview format was adopted. This enabled particular topics to be explored, while simultaneously offering space to consider emergent themes (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2004). All interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis and were recorded using a combination of digital dictaphones and field notes; those conducted with young people met the demands of standard safeguarding policies and practices.

The interview schedule was designed and subsequently refined, following an initial pilot in three of the sample schools. Questions were then grouped around themes of: experience, enjoyment and dislikes of school; experiences of pupil behaviour in school and classroom settings; knowledge of school systems of behaviour management; processes leading to exclusion; experiences of AP and knowledge and understanding of self. The interviews were designed to enable the progressive focussing on key emerging topics and the probing of significant supplementary themes. In tandem with this, interviews were conducted with the participating school behaviour coordinators. These interviews focused on systems of behaviour management, processes and practices of referral, perceptions of changes in behaviour amongst young people and how pastoral welfare and care was undertaken in schools.

Selection of participants

With the agreement of the consortium, a criterion sampling procedure was adopted (Patton 2002, 243) in order to select schools with known categories of challenging behaviour reported to the Consortium's Sharing Panel, including persistent deviance, aggressive behaviour, inappropriate sexual behaviour and the carrying of weapons. From a total of eleven Secondary Schools and the two APs within the Consortium, random sampling (Merriam 2009) was then used to select seven secondary schools while two AP projects were subject to purposive sampling (Given 2008, 799).

Individual schools assumed responsibility for selecting a representative sample of pupils (up to six per school) that ensured a mix of gender and ability. We gave schools the choice of including in their sample, pupils currently or previously excluded, in AP, or who had an understanding of behaviour support systems existing in their school. We did not ask schools to favour a particular grouping of pupils in their sample. Schools did not provide details of pupils' behavioural history; it was decided that disclosures of this nature would breach confidentiality rules. It was also agreed that participants would only disclose their history if they chose to do so. In doing so, we recognised that young people who chose to participate might not reveal their behavioural history in any depth. At the same time, it was considered important that participants who had been excluded should not feel under pressure, stigmatised or stereotyped.

The research team negotiated the process of informed pupil/parental consent with each individual school and checked understanding of choice, consent and confidentiality at the start of each pupil's interview. Contributions from the behaviour coordinators were similarly respected. The young people interviewed were predominantly in the 14–15 age group, with a small group of five pupils all aged 15. All the 15-year-olds were currently attending AP. By the end of the project, 49 young people had been interviewed, of whom 23 were girls. Almost half of the sample (23 young people) self-declared that they had been either temporarily or permanently excluded from school. Eight behaviour coordinators, from different schools, and the two heads of AP were also interviewed. They were randomly selected by the researchers from information provided by the consortium.

Data transcription

Audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed into hard copy and these were then coded by each member of the research team and cross-referenced to their field notes. All transcripts were made anonymous and pseudonyms allocated to participants to ensure that any quotations used in the final report, or subsequent articles, could not be traced to their original source (Alderson and Morrow 2004).

Data analysis

Data analysis then followed the principles outlined by Stake (1995); an iterative and reflexive process that begins at the outset of the initial interviews and continues throughout all phases of the data collection. The research team then met at regular points throughout the fieldwork to undertake progressive focussing (Parlett and Hamilton 1976) and subsequent categorisation and moderation of the data. Progressive focussing was employed to enable a systematic reduction of broad categories of data and to ensure 'unique and unpredicted phenomena' were made visible in the analysis (Parlett and Hamilton 1976, 20). Categories were then further refined through a collective critical reading of researcher coding and justification of data interpretation.

Emergent themes

In this section, we examine the emergent themes constructed out of the research data. From the interviews conducted with 49 pupils and eight staff, it proved possible to identify five recurrent themes. In developing the themes, an attempt is made to build up a picture of the range of factors that are likely to impact on pupil behaviour. Although the conceptually independent themes raise particular issues, challenges and problems, links and overlaps exist between them. The first two categories explore young peoples' experiences of transition processes between the ages of 13 and 16 (Key Stage 3 and 4). The remaining themes focus on: issues connected with the generation of the emotions of anger and calm in and outside the classroom, teaching and learning, and home-parental involvement. Included within the emergent themes are specific issues raised by staff that corroborate or add additional dimensions to the information provided by young people.

Transition – primary to secondary

The research revealed that both pupils and the behaviour coordinators share concerns about the processes and quality associated with transitions from primary to secondary school. The disconnect between teacher–pupil relationships previously enjoyed at primary school and feelings of being 'lost' physically and emotionally, within secondary schools, were recurrent for a number of pupils. Representing this perspective, one young person reported:

> … in Year 7 it took me time to settle down, and I don't think they [teachers] handle it in the right way … Like they don't understand you are coming from a primary school to a secondary school, it is a big move, they are still children, they are not mature yet, they are not teenagers yet ….

Some young people described their experiences in ways that we have interpreted as significant affective disturbance. Feelings of being 'lost', both in geographical space and in terms of cognitive and affective orientation, were common themes in the interviews. Chiming with other studies of primary–secondary school transition, it seemed that, when transition is managed badly, the effects can negatively impact upon the academic performance, personal well-being and mental health of young people (Zeedyk *et al.* 2003; McGee *et al.* 2004).

The Key Stage 3 phase of education appears not only to signify entry into the different environment of the secondary school, but for some pupils, these years also represent a period in which the initial traumas of primary–secondary phase transition are amplified or incrementally condensed. In other words, it is a transition from childhood to adulthood that occurs whilst also dealing with complex patterns of interaction and dependence (Earl 1999). It is evident that for some pupils, behavioural problems triggered by school transition are sustained and exacerbated across the transition from primary to secondary schooling and into their later school careers. For example, the purpose of using poor behaviour to elicit attention is described by Zenoah, a student who had experienced exclusion, thus:

> …. One way [of drawing attention to yourself] is getting noticed. I was saying, I am here notice me, but what I did was to behave badly to do that …. Once you start that stuff you draw attention to yourself … when it works you carry on.

The interviews with the consortium staff reveal that some schools have already begun to address the issues concerned with school transition. For example, one behaviour coordinator described how some schools were developing a 'combined approach' to the curriculum in the first year of secondary education (Year 7, pupil ages 11–12) in which Humanities and English are taught by the same teacher using a project-based approach; it was felt that this would result in more consolidated learning and be of particular benefit to less able students.

It is important to note the increased difficulties that exist for pupils with SEN at key transition points. There was recognition by staff that unmet needs at the primary–secondary transition point are likely to become considerably magnified

by Year 9 (pupil ages 13–14). For example, one behaviour coordinator commented:

> … we do find it difficult to manage to keep [young people with SEN] going in a mainstream setting … the idea of moving around all the time unsettles them … [there is a] need for more joined up thinking in terms of transition from primary to secondary.

Echoing the previously noted findings of earlier studies of transition (Galton and Hargreaves 2002 and Stobart and Stoll 2010) this comment links with the observations in Jindal-Snape and Foggie's (2008, 5) study of transition in Scotland. In that study, profound anxieties were often experienced by pupils in relation to secondary school timetables and the perceived dangers of simply getting lost in large and unfamiliar school buildings were noted.

Data analysis from our study suggests that negative behaviour is magnified when the emotional effects of transition are inadequately managed. Furthermore, pupil accounts demonstrate that, when left unaddressed, negative effects of transition are carried and amplified across the phase of education.

Transition from Key Stage 3 to Key Stage 4: 'Knuckling down, buckling down, and stepping up'

The second of the emergent themes explores a range of perspectives specifically associated with the transition from Key Stage 3–4, which occurs when pupils are aged 14 and 15. Amongst the emerging pupil perspectives, 'knuckling down', 'buckling down' and 'stepping up' were cited by a significant number of pupils as relevant. Year 10 (the start of Key Stage 4) was widely regarded as the year in which past misdemeanours and behaviour histories had to be set aside, in favour of an imagined future, where educational achievements and behaviour would be transformed. Whether these terms are inherited from pupil/teacher, home/parental or peer discourses is difficult to establish from the interviews. Yet for many pupils, Year 10 was seen as a vital entrée into the arena of qualification acquisition and the job market. Ryan's perception of Year 10 was typical of many of the pupil respondents. It is also interesting to note how the issue of 'choice' was used to define the forthcoming Year 10 experience:

> …. I know I mess around in Year 9, but like as soon as I hit Year 10 I am going to knuckle down and like concentrate, and like, because it is me and what I have picked is what I have chosen, so like I know what I have picked I can't dislike or like. I can't dislike because it is my choice, so I should be fine because I am going to like subjects I picked on my own.

Key Stage 4 was seen as a departure from the formal and mandated curriculum offered at Key Stage 3. The Key Stage 4 General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), which is the public examination system in England offers some pupil choice of curriculum subject and therefore can represent the promise of a new beginning for improved pupil behaviour, based on a perception that these choices provided an authentic opportunity for pupil autonomy and independence. The considered introduction of choice, opportunity and independence has significant implications

for the perceived absence of these characteristics in the Key Stage 3 programme. Interviews with behaviour coordinators reinforced a lack of realism displayed by some young people with long histories of poor behaviour. They argued that major blockages to learning were embedded and that these effectively prevented change. The young people were seen as being '*saddled with a record*', that they had '*learnt the rhetoric of bad behaviour*' and '*played to the peer gallery for too long*'. For one coordinator the opportunity for reform was challenged by '*13 different subjects, 13 different rooms, 13 different faces*'. The point was consistently made that Key Stage 4 requirements would prove overwhelming for some young people and they would return to previous forms of poor behaviour.

Behaviour coordinators identified the Key Stage 3 to 4 transitions as complex and a particular challenge for managing pupil behaviour in relation to academic, emotional, pastoral and biological factors. One behaviour coordinator summarised his perception of 'biological' transitional factors:

> We have also got the sort of biological hormonal factors in terms of Year 9. Again, as I said, it sort of tends to dip into the second half of Year 8 now but it is also thinking about it in terms of their life's span in educational settings. It is almost a midpoint in their life in a secondary school.

In response to such complex factors, the behaviour coordinators advocated the development of robust pastoral systems. Reflecting the views of Cooper (2008), some saw the existence of pastoral support systems as being 'underpinned by values of respect and care for all persons' and as a way of challenging 'disaffection and lower levels of exclusion' (15). However, in reviewing the research data provided, one head teacher challenged the assumption that values alone would necessarily deliver effective pastoral support:

> Strong pastoral systems require leadership from the top, otherwise they become marginal activities. And in the end that requires a level of resource that schools have to buy into whatever the financial pressures to do otherwise.

Anger and calm: pupil and teacher behaviours

The findings indicate that pupil respondents understand and appreciate the importance of creating and sustaining conditions for positive pupil behaviour; this level of understanding has implications for the initiating and managing of teacher–pupil interactions. Pupil responses also offered insights into how the behaviour of teachers and young people is shaped by the conditions of the classroom and how their individual dispositions are subsequently affected.

'Anger' and 'anger management' issues appeared in a number of pupil interviews; this was contrasted with notions of 'calm' - in terms of both individual behaviours and classroom environments. Abdinasir was amongst a number of pupils who referred to their experience of anger management classes, in which he was taught techniques for pre-empting outbursts and managing general loss of self-control. Typically, this would involve developing levels of self-awareness, thinking about

relationships with fellow pupils and teaching staff and understanding peer influences. For some pupils, chaotic classroom environments were a significant factor contributing to their disenchantment. Such environments served as a catalyst for their own and the negative behaviour of others.

It was evident from staff interviews that a great deal of consideration has been given to anger management. We found examples of anger management courses being utilised to support pupils experiencing difficulties. Both pupils and staff cited the benefits of mentoring, group work and counselling, the use of peer mediation and the value of strong pastoral support systems. Different systems of support existed in different schools and their effectiveness in improving pupil behaviour appears to be mixed. Most schools identified their pupil withdrawal facilities as 'behaviour support rooms' with some adopting the practice of pupils having to sit facing a wall. These facilities and designated rooms were perceived as having different outcomes: for some behaviour coordinators, they provided the opportunity to '*cool down*' and '*reflect*'; for others they offered respite for a teacher having to manage the pupil behaviour, and their/other pupils. The young people interviewed also placed different values on interventions that required them to work in isolation; for some they were important in '*bringing you back into line*', while for others they were a '*doss*', '*waste of time*' or '*useless*'.

Pupils made specific comments about the effects of teachers struggling to control classroom behaviour, and these were accompanied with recalled scenarios identifying personal frustration. One young person who had not been excluded said:

> … teachers not taking it seriously probably takes most of the time disciplining than more than doing the work so whilst they're disciplining you can't do the work …. Like half the people haven't done nothing and she's still disciplining, like when we're doing the work, so how we meant to do the work if she disciplining [all the time.] How we meant to learn?

Young people with experience of AP and PRUs made some interesting observations. For example, the practices of PRUs often appeared as positively different to the experiences encountered in mainstream secondary schools. In particular, environments and teacher behaviours that promoted calm were highly valued. Pupils frequently referred to a teacher's ability to use humour and enjoyment as an integral part of their interactions and teaching. The relaxing of classroom controls to allow listening to music on a personal mp3 player was seen as particularly important by one young person in AP; not simply as a re-negotiation of power relationships, but as a legitimate aid to generating conditions for purposeful learning in a personalised work space.

The young people re-emphasised the importance of continually attending to conditions within classroom environments to support and enhance all aspects of learning. They valued '*variation*', '*flexibility*', '*tolerance*' and the need for '*fun*' whilst at the same time accepting the '*need to work*', '*behave properly*', '*make progress*' and

'*shape up*'. Such findings reflect the importance of attending to preferred cognitive/learning styles and 'flow' in learning (Csikszentmihayli 1996). Nevertheless, pupils recognised that the behaviour they displayed also impacted on teacher responses, accepting some level of responsibility for their part in 'ratcheting up' behaviour, increasing tension and adding to problems (Rogers 2007).

Teaching and learning

The data fail to support any obvious connection between pupil behaviour and the liking or disliking of particular subjects. Indeed, respondents reported the contradictions of liking a subject but disliking the teacher, or vice versa. In the accounts given by pupils, their like for a teacher was determined by his/her ability to teach well and their relationship with pupils. This highlights the importance of developing and sustaining high quality and enduring 'human' connections between teachers and pupils. However, such connections, and the ability to critically reflect on them, can often be eclipsed in intense teaching environments.

While critical reflection on the part of teachers was readily endorsed by behaviour coordinators, they also recognised that not all staff shared similar levels of confidence or enthusiasm in exposing '*personal frailties*' for scrutiny by colleagues and managers. Despite the challenges involved, one behaviour coordinator felt that critical reflection might beneficially lead to teachers becoming more open and honest with pupils. As the extract below illustrates, processes of critical reflection may involve recognising and renegotiating classroom power relations and expectations:

> I'm quite happy to share anecdotes with children about my own life, about my own children because it shows them that I'm a human being, it also shows them that I make mistakes, and I've re-sat English and they find that fascinating that someone can admit it, it means that you then develop a position of strength ….

Interviews with pupils provided supporting evidence that they like teachers who, *they believe*, can teach well and that this contributes significantly to their in-class behaviour. Pupil responses also point to an awareness of their own learning strategies with one young person reflecting:

> …. I give myself targets every now and then and I try to achieve them, and once I have achieved them I know I am getting better. If I don't achieve them then I may need to work hard and then tell the teacher so they can understand me.

There is no evidence in this study, from either pupils or staff, that young people maintain particular preferred learning styles. However, there is evidence from our interviews that some pupils do prefer practical approaches to particular subjects. More significantly, one approach to teaching that emerges is dialogic teaching. The principal attributes of dialogic teaching involve: teachers and young people addressing learning tasks together (as a group or as a class), sharing ideas and considering alternative viewpoints. In dialogic teaching, classroom environments support the free articulation of ideas without embarrassment or ridicule; teachers

and pupils build on each other's ideas and lines of thinking and teachers plan and steer classroom talk with specific goals in mind (Alexander 2010). In the following quotation, the basis of such a relationship was summed up by one pupil, Marcus, who had been excluded:

> The best bits are when we are working together. Sir gives us a chance to sort things out, but he's there when we need extra help…. We work in groups, I like that. You get less messing around because someone [another pupil] will say 'stop messing about' and stuff like that.

The term 'pastoral welfare' is considered outmoded according to the current language of school improvement. It emerges as an absent form in the pupils' perceptions of school experiences. While we chose not to introduce the term 'pastoral care/welfare' in the pupil interview schedule, it did emerge in a number of the staff interviews, where it was regarded as a vital but now marginal aspect of the secondary school programme. For some participants, pastoral care was fundamentally about children being '*taught guidelines and boundaries of what is socially acceptable*', for others the accent was firmly on young people appreciating the impact of their behaviour on others. One behaviour coordinator asserted:

> … one of my concerns at the moment is that by the time students reach us in Year 7 at the age of 11 they seem to have a lack of empathy. That means that when I ask a child 'what do you think they felt when you did this?' they can't understand that.

The descriptions from pupil respondents point to a significant disconnect between learning, teaching and the pastoral aspects of the educational experience. Crucially, such disconnection does not help to improve the behaviour of those students who struggle with school and classroom processes on a day-to-day basis.

Home-parental involvement and support

As part of the research, we were particularly interested in eliciting responses from pupils and staff about parental/carer involvement in school life. Examples from the pupil interviews endorsed the extent to which some staff sought to ensure their pupils were '*on track*' and that keeping '*on track*' involved direct contact with parents. One young person, who had previously been excluded, advocated the value of close parental contact:

> … they tell me that there is a lot in me and I have got a lot of potential with sports; they want me to stay in the school and they will help me and make sure I am staying at the top of my game; they will ring my parents to know that everyone is there to support me and help me through ….

Such accounts, however, tended to be the exception rather than the rule. Our research chimes with recent inspection findings (Ofsted 2011a) that, typically, parental contact in secondary schools takes the form of parents' evenings and complaints about negative pupil behaviour – the latter often being seen by pupils as having higher status for teachers and school managers. From the pupil accounts, parents' evenings also tended to be dominated by discussion about pupil grades

rather than broader issues of aspiration, motivation and interests. For a number of respondents, the limited connection between homes and secondary schools compounded the starkness experienced through transitions from primary schools. With a stronger caring ethos apparent in primary schools, parents and carers tend to be more actively involved in children's education. It is also worth noting the nature of the conversations that some pupils encounter when parents are asked to attend school to discuss behaviour issues. Young people spoke about being excluded from such discussions even though they were present in the room. Teachers and parents appeared to dominate; one young person said '*I sit there while they go on and it's like they've forgotten it's about me*'. In addition we should not underestimate the '*conditions*' of parenting, as one behaviour coordinator pointed out:

> How can I criticise a parent who's failed to get their child into school when actually they've got home from their first cleaning job of the day at half past eight in the morning? … It's hard to criticise someone who's trying everything they can to better themselves and the opportunities for their children.

It would be unfair to paint a picture that reflected disinterest on the part of parents, or others, about the education and care of children in secondary school. We also found, within pupil and staff interviews, examples of grandparents, aunts and uncles and older siblings trying to support young people at home with their work and behaviour. The data suggest the efforts of some schools in their attempts to understand and respond to the cultural context and diversity of family life. We located support staff trying to strengthen the link between home and school.

Discussion

We concentrated on exploring the experiences of Year 9 students (aged 13–14 years) in the belief that this period of education represents a pivotal transition point in the development of appropriate attitudes and skills that are likely to lead to successful educational and social outcomes. We shared the concerns of the consortium's colleagues about the relevance and structure of Key Stage 3 (pupil ages 11–14), and how this might impact on behavioural issues. We also wanted to try to understand how some young people come to be excluded from school, the behaviour and support systems in operation, and what happens to young people who are excluded. What we found were complex and overlapping issues and problems that marked out the territory that can potentially lead to exclusion from school on a temporary or permanent basis.

The research data brought into sharp relief the impact that poor pupil behaviour, inadequate teaching practices, insufficient resources and poorly thought-out management strategies can have on the lives of young people, with many accepting responsibility for difficulties they caused. Pupils did not shy away from defining what they described as 'bad' and 'good' behaviour in the classroom. They pointed to a range of teaching and learning strategies that failed to engage them. We did not find a majority of students who 'hated' maths, or English or science; or

any other subject for that matter. Indeed, for young people, quality of lessons was determined by engaging teachers, interactive pedagogy, challenge, practical application and the often used term, 'fun'. However, amongst some young people, we found unrealistic expectations that things would change once they 'knuckled down' in Year 10 (pupil ages 14–15). We particularly noted examples of how, once a significant level of disengagement has crept into an educational experience, it both expands and feeds into other subjects.

The theme of transition has emerged as a significant issue. We accumulated considerable data to support the view that the development of negative behaviour, and temporary or permanent exclusion, can often be punctuated by a series of 'failed' transitions. Such transitions occur between primary and secondary school, or at key points in a young person's educational biography. Issues of school size, the availability of appropriate support mechanisms, curriculum relevance, peer pressure and personal confidence all featured here.

The availability and quality of pastoral support systems proved important in 'pulling back' young people from the outcomes of increasingly negative behaviour encounters. Young people valued mentoring support, anger management classes and the opportunity to have their say. At the same time a number of young people talked about how they used poor behaviour to gain attention; for some it was seen as the only way of being noticed.

Those young people interviewed who had already been excluded from school, tended to speak positively of their experiences provided by AP and PRU services. It was not the case that such provision proved to be less demanding, but that a very different approach for learning was offered. There were smaller groups, increased contact with a teacher and more opportunities for the development of tailor-made learning programmes. In addition, space was provided to reflect on the educational, social, familial and peer-related factors adding to exclusion. The need for high quality pastoral support, particularly within AP, was seen to be significant; a point reinforced through teacher and manager interviews in relation to schools generally. It was also noted that good quality pastoral care is often 'marginalised' by the demands of 'performativity' (Ball 2003; Jeffrey and Troman 2012). Many of the young people interviewed, valued aspects of their education. Even those that had behaved badly for a long period, or been excluded, could draw on positive examples of individuals working in a range of supportive roles, including teachers, mentors, deputies and head teachers.

A particular area of concern relates to limited levels of involvement by parents in the educational experiences of their children. Such involvement was generally defined in terms of participation in parents' evenings, or at times of difficulty or crisis. For some young people, for various reasons, adult involvement in their education was provided by a grandparent, aunt, uncle or older sibling. Issues of communication, conflict, lack of confidence, school structures and fear of the

potential outcome, were all cited by the young people interviewed. However, the voice of the parent/carer is missing from this research and work in this area is certainly required, we suggest, to increase understanding.

Conclusion

In carrying out the research, we came to an early view that the findings would not necessarily prove to be surprising. However, the insights provided by the young people add an important dimension to the discussion, we would argue. Our previous work suggests that young people can act as 'reliable witnesses' and we lose something significant if we fail to listen to their voices (Tucker 2011; Trotman, Martyn, and Tucker 2012). It is important to note that both young people who had been excluded and those who had not, shared similar views and opinions about school management of behaviour. It is also interesting to note the enthusiasm with which the young people engaged in the interview process. As one young person commented, '*nobody has ever asked me stuff like this before*'.

We witnessed a very high level of commitment on the part of the behaviour coordinators, and the consortium managers, to gain a clearer understanding of the challenges faced on a daily basis. They collectively recognised the outcomes of a growth in poor behaviour and incidences of temporary and permanent exclusion. They understood, and were able to clearly describe, consequential impacts on teaching and learning. They noted the trend for both internal and external behavioural support systems to be activated at an earlier age.

We believe that the article raises issues about the connection between the management and delivery of effective teaching and learning, and the increase in behaviour referrals and exclusions. We acknowledge that this was only possible because the consortium was willing to expose itself to external research-based scrutiny that, it is hoped, will lead to improved outcomes for young people. What is evident, we would argue, is that significant change can only be achieved if schools are willing to critically reflect on how they manage and deliver educational experiences for young people.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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NINETEEN

Towards a Spiritual Pedagogy of Pastoral Welfare and Care

Introduction

In recent years, the well-being of children and young people has been a topic of increasing concern both within the UK and in other international contexts. Reflected in recent reports by the Children's Society (Layard & Dunn, 2009), the National Institute for Care Excellence (2013), the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2014), the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD, 2015) and UNICEF (2007), the well-being of children and young people has become an emerging issue of national policy concern. While definitions of child well-being are variously defined in the literature, common characteristics typically coalesce around the domains of physical, psychological, cognitive, social and economic well-being (Pollard & Lee, 2003). UNICEF, in its influential survey of child well-being (2007), discusses six dimensions of well-being: material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviours and risks, and subjective well-being. On the basis of these dimensions, UNICEF concludes that the UK, alongside the USA, has the worst profile of child well-being amongst the world's 21 richest countries. While some reportage has given justifiable attention to the economic factors governing child well-being, bodies such as NICE have devoted their attention to the domains of emotional well-being (being happy, confident and not unduly anxious or depressed); psychological well-being (involving personal autonomy, problem-solving and resilience, managing emotions and exercising empathy) and social well-being (developing positive relationships with others and not exhibiting disruptive, violent or a bullying behaviour; NICE, 2013). With explanations of well-being relying predominantly on models of cognitive and interpersonal psychology, less attention has been given to the spiritual development of young people as part of a broadly based project of improving well-being. The identification of spiritual education in the English school system does, however, have a long but nonetheless poorly defined history. While much of the interest in addressing the spiritual realm of young people as a matter of educational concern can be traced to the inclusion of spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) education in the curriculum aims of the Education Reform Act of 1988 (and the requirement for this to be reported on as part of school inspection), precise and coherent definitions of the field have remained elusive (Brown, 1996). In the UK, the emergence of learned societies and scholarship devoted to the field, e.g. the *International Journal of Children's Spirituality* of the Association of Children's Spirituality have provided one example of an attempt to develop more meaningful lines of discussion. Despite much of the scholarship around spirituality in the UK focusing on faith and religious practices, studies of the field in North America have

typically drawn on cognitive psychology in an attempt to offer both explanation and measurement of the spiritual realm by means of demonstrating such things as cognitive and phenomenological orientation, existential well-being, paranormal beliefs and religious dispositions (Hill & Pargament, 2008; MacDonald, 2000). Elsewhere, work by Heron (1998) in the realm of person-centred enquiry has focused on revealing the essence of spiritual encounters through co-participatory encounters. Meanwhile, the continuing tensions around spirituality in educational contexts have been further highlighted by Best (2008), Bigger (2008) and Marples (2006) in their response to the challenges around the possibilities of the spiritual realm as an educational concern. Notwithstanding the continuance of contested standpoints around spiritual experience, the emergence of well-being as a policy concern coupled with professional disquiet around increasingly corrosive forms of performativity in the province of education and care has given renewed impetus to the possibilities offered by the spiritual domain.

A brief policy context of education in the UK

Over the past 30 years, public education in England has undergone an unprecedented level of state intervention. In the wake of the 1988 Education Reform Act, concerns amongst the teaching profession about the effects of an emerging evaluation culture (Campbell & Husbands, 2000) have since given way to greater alarm over the detrimental effects of performativity within a larger political project of neoliberalisation (Ball, 2003; Jeffrey & Troman, 2012). Lyotard (1984) describes performativity as both a culture and technology, involving the macro-societal pursuit of efficiency and outcomes governed by narrow bureaucratic forms of output and accountability. Performativity has subsequently become the defining feature of public service remodernisation in England, and from which Education has not been immune. As the intensification of data-evidencing in schools bears testimony to, pivotal to performative cultures is the assumption that it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance of the core activities of an organisation (Lyotard, 1984). Moreover, as Wayne Ross and Gibson note (2006), in dominant neoliberal cultures where market freedom, privatisation and competition are valorised, such assumptions are asserted to have no credible alternative. In England, the embracing of neoliberal interests by successive governments has seen in state education an increasingly intrusive regulation of the curriculum, punitive forms of accountability through the Office for Standard in Education (Ofsted) and the forced academisation by government of those schools deemed to have failed centrally determined standards. While terms such as 'special measures' are now part of the educational lexicon and a failing school is assured media interest, less has been known about the effects of performative cultures on children and young people. Amongst the early exceptions, Cullingford (1999, p. 6) has reported the anxieties felt by primary age children during school inspection. Park (2013) has noted the debilitating effects of Ofsted on children

and young people as they are made to feel responsible for judgements about their school on the basis of their test performance. Burke and Grosvenor (2003, p. 70) also describe young people's criticism of testing in schools and its increasing separation from meaningful learning while Trotman, Martyn, and Tucker (2012) have reported the concerns of adolescent pupils being pressured into making early and potentially detrimental examination choices. In a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of performativity on pupil well-being, Hutchings (2015) report for the National Union of Teachers highlights the anxieties and stress now being induced amongst young people as part of the pressure to perform in English state schools. Combined with the World Health Organisation's (2012) finding that 11 to 16-year old pupils in England feel more pressured by their school work than in the majority of other European countries, and evidence from the Children's Charity ChildLine (2014, 2015) of a 200% increase in counselling sessions related to exam stress in the period 2012–2014, the effects of performative cultures have become increasingly visible. While Trotman, Tucker, and Martyn (2015) have noted that key transition points in statutory education also coincide with times of significant physical and emotional change for young people, Mayall's (2007) research for the Cambridge Primary Review reports that the home has become increasingly regarded as an extension of school, with homework encroaching significantly on the time for children to enjoy non-school activities. Hence, it perhaps unsurprising that concerns over pupil well-being are now the subject of increasing political as well as professional and attention.

Well-being: whose concern?

As noted in the introduction to this paper, the well-being of children and young people has now become a matter of transnational policy interest derived from often differing configurations of assessment and emphasis of approach. The emergence of well-being as an educational issue also owes something to earlier preoccupations with themes of emotional literacy and emotional intelligence largely popularised in the writings of Daniel Goleman (1996). While this has served to highlight the importance of the relationship between cognition and affect in lifeworlds of young people, in some quarters, it has contributed to what Ecclestone and Hayes (2009, p. 137) have described as a diminution of the human self as a consequence of well-intentioned but nonetheless misguided preoccupations with forms of therapeutic education. Amongst the underlying problems that inform Ecclestone and Hayes concerns is the prevalence of adult anxieties over the behaviour of young people with little or no attempt to engage their viewpoints. In their study of young people and risk Trotman *et al.* (2012) report the disparity between the moral panics typically governing adult perspectives of young people (such as stranger danger and cyber criminality) and the legitimate worries of young people related to often less visible forms of risk in school settings, such as interpersonal relationships, identity, lifestyle and restricted career choices caused by enforced early examination

options. In contrast, in undertaking its 'Good Childhood Report' (2015), the Children's Society set out with a clear and alternative mandate to understand the well-being of children and young people, noting that the debate about their well-being was not adequately representing their views and experiences both in the UK and internationally. The report states that:

> Children's well-being was being discussed primarily in relation to adult concerns, which focused on negative behaviours (eg drinking and drug use) and on their future well-being – or 'well-becoming' – as productive members of society (eg educational attainment). (The Children's Society, 2015, p. 11)

Furthermore, the report's authors go on to highlight that while increasing attention is now being given to subjective, as well as the measurement of objective, well-being amongst adult populations, the subjective well-being of young people is notably absent in the discussion (2015, p. 9). Hence, the ramifications for pastoral education and the possibilities for spiritual education are significant.

Pastoral welfare and the possibility of the spiritual

In reviewing the conditions of pastoral education in UK schools at the turn of the millennium, Best helpfully reminds us that pastoral welfare is a uniquely British concept (Best, 2000a, p. 3). While practitioners and academics have struggled to meaningfully define its epistemic field, they have also had to resolve criticisms over its problematic historical roots in religious hierarchy and paternalism (Best, 2000a, p. 4). Meanwhile, pastoral welfare as curriculum concern has tended to coalesce around imperatives of care, personal and social development and civic responsibility. The inclusion of the spiritual development as part of what was to become a government strategy for the promotion of spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) education in the curriculum in the mid-1990s, has, in turn, added more complexity to problems of definition. Writing specifically on this issue, Best (2000b) notes the long-standing controversies around attempts to disaggregate and evaluate holistic areas of school experience. In particular, Best notes that the spiritual dimension has been the least amenable to definition. Referring readers to the School Curriculum Assessment Authority (SCAA) 1996 conference on SMSC, Best notes those aspects that made the shortlist for spiritual development: religion, thinking, prayer, meditation, ritual, the awakening of feelings of awe and wonder in nature and the universe, positive relations with others and essentially reflection and learning from one's experiences (SCAA, 1996, pp. 6, 7 in Best, 2000b, p. 10). Despite the challenges of definition, the attractiveness of a spiritual dimension in education continues to sustain in the discourses of education while remaining largely unfulfilled as both a curriculum and pedagogic project.

The promotion of the spiritual welfare in the field of health care has, in contrast, enjoyed a long history of development with much of the discourse focusing on the concept of spiritual transcendence. Sulmasy (1999) typifies the dominant lines of

argument, noting that while both spirituality and medicine have a long history, 'for much of that history the rupture between medicine and spirituality that characterises Western medicine at the brink of the twenty-first century is a distinct anomaly'. Sulmasy argues that spirituality is primarily defined by our relationship with the transcendent and that this can be experienced in and through the practice of medicine as one that 'involves personal relationships with patients and always raises transcendent questions for patients and practitioners' (p. 1002). Sulmasy's definition of the spiritual as the individual's relationship with the transcendent is a common and recurrent theme in accounts of the phenomenon. Hunt and West (2007) similarly report a strong reciprocity between personal perspectives of the spiritual and the 'transcendental' or 'transpersonal', noting that:

> the former acknowledges the mysterious, an 'outside' of the known and knowable universe which nevertheless penetrates and animates that universe; the latter does not admit the possibility of anything beyond the known and knowable but operates at a subtle level of inter-subjective experience.

Developing earlier lines of enquiry methods established by Heron (1998), Hunt and West's research points to the 'nourshing' and/or 'inspiring' spaces of transcendent participation and how these contrast with the participants' usual working environments. Coyle (2002) in her study of spirituality in healthcare points to a trichotomy of approaches. In the first of these, the transcendent approach, transcendence is seen as an essential quality of spirituality. In the second, spirituality is regarded as residing in the province of the personal values that gives life meaning and purpose – a value guidance approach. In her third approach, Coyle describes a structural-behaviourist view, where the focus is on those 'reproduced actions' and behaviours associated with organised religion (Coyle, 2002, p. 592). While, in the first of this trichotomy, Coyle points to transcendence as an essential feature of spirituality, she makes the important distinction between transpersonal and intrapersonal transcendence. Transcendence of a transpersonal kind involves experiences of connection to a higher power, consciousness and God – experiences typically reported by members of communities of faith – while intrapersonal transcendence concerns inner knowing, inner resource and the potentiality of the self (Coyle, 2002, p. 590). Coyle asserts that this latter orientation to transcendence in the spiritual realm is one that has been widely reconstructed within the social sciences. Mirroring Socratic ideas of inner knowing combined with inner resource and the potentiality of self provides important correspondences with the affective labour of teaching as a spiritual endeavour. Moreover, as Hickson and Phelps (1997) observe, the spiritual person can be regarded as one who has a strong sense of social justice with a commitment to altruistic love and action. It is this orientation to intrapersonal transcendence that has much to offer in the province of a spiritual orientation to pastoral welfare for the well-being of young people in educational settings. Following Sulmasy's assertion that the spiritual needs

of patients are necessarily enhanced by clinicians intensifying a commitment to their own spiritual beliefs and practices (Sulmasy, 1999, p. 102), this casts important light on how a pedagogy of spiritual practice might be achieved in pastoral education in an English context of performativity and heightened concern for the well-being of children and young people.

Towards a spiritual pedagogy

In addition to advancing a specific orientation to spirituality in the context of education policy already described – intrapersonal transcendence against perfomative cultures – scholarship around the term pedagogy offers important insights into how this might be usefully configured with a spirituality of intrapersonal transcendence. In the UK, Brian Simon in his seminal paper 'Why No Pedagogy in England?' (1981) famously lamented the absence of pedagogy in English educational practice while noting its 'honoured place' in continental Europe. From the Greek paidagōgia 'to lead or tend to the child', the development pedagogy in continental Europe can be traced to the writings of Comenius in the Seventeen century and in the later work of Herbart. In turn, pedagogy was to become broadly defined, embracing areas as diverse as health and bodily fitness, social and moral welfare, ethics and aesthetics (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 178). Subsequently, in continental Europe, pedagogy has evolved to include interrelationships between theories of learning, educational philosophy, curriculum and methods of teaching, mentoring and facilitating. By comparison, in the UK, the term is infrequently and often erroneously used as shorthand for a method of teaching in schools. Unlike in the UK, pedagogy in continental Europe is also applied to a range of services that can typically include childcare and early years, youth work, parenting and family support services, secure units for young offenders, residential care and play work (Petrie *et al.*, 2009). In further reorientations of pedagogy, social pedagogy and relational pedagogy have emerged notably in the province of youth work and social work as a means of more effectively addressing the integration of the intrapersonal, interpersonal and the communal, while actively promoting learner agency and shared experience. In the policy context outlined earlier, interest amongst policy makers in England in the possibilities of continental European pedagogy remains particularly remote while opportunities for education and staff development continue to be subject to intensive regulation and control. Meanwhile, pedagogy of the sort that has been advanced in continental Europe can offer significant possibilities for enhancing pupil well-being, while pedagogy in England is urgently in need of a significantly different orientation. Giroux (2004), in advancing the principles of Freire's critical pedagogy (1970), views pedagogy as a theoretical resource that is both determined and motivated by the problems that emerge in the 'in-between spaces/places/contexts that connect classrooms with the experiences of everyday life' (Giroux, 2004, p. 37). Echoing Van Manen's (1997) earlier reading of a post-modern pedagogy, we are encouraged not to think

of pedagogy as process or content, medium or end but something that operates powerfully and constantly in the realm of the 'in-between'. It is in this realm of the in-between where the imperatives for a spiritual pedagogy may be both made vivid and promoted for pupil well-being; a pedagogy that necessarily involves, on the one hand, resistance, courage and innovation in the 'in between' of school curricula and its regimes and, on the other, a commitment to social justice, altruistic love and action. Hence, a pedagogy that may be worthy of the term 'spiritual' necessarily involves a commitment to the practice of human interaction as a fundamentally compassionate, dialogic and communal process. Pedagogy in this sense involves a strong ethical quality directed to the subjective felt experience and lives of others – as a simultaneous action involving intuitive and reflective powers combined with sensitivity and soulfulness.

In the domain of spiritual intrapersonal transcendence, a renewed emphasis is then placed on the practice of care and its constituent empathic quality. In her substantial research of the field, Noddings advances an ethic of care where 'the greatest obligation of educators, inside and outside formal schooling, is to nurture the ethical ideals of those with whom they come in contact' (Noddings, 1984a, p. 49). In advancing an educational theory of care, Noddings (1995, p. 190) advocates a four-stage approach involving: modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation. The first of these components requires a demonstrable moral commitment to the practice of care in everyday encounters in contrast to much of the contemporary and sanitised rhetorics that now surround a 'duty of care'. Dialogue for Noddings involves a 'common search for understanding, empathy, or appreciation' and 'builds up a substantial knowledge of one another that serves to guide our [caring] responses' (Noddings, 1992, p. 23). Thus, dialogue is more than a matter of effective communication but one in which ethical ideals are exchanged and through empathic encounters are engaged and mediated as a practice of professional empathy. In this third aspect of care, Noddings calls for participatory experiences of care in which children are encouraged to participate in caring with adult models who show them how to care while confronting the difficulties and rewards of such work (Noddings, 1995, p. 191). In the final stage of her approach Nodding's advocates 'confirmation' in which the identification, affirmation and nurturing of a 'better self' is recognised 'as admirable, or at least acceptable, struggling to emerge in each person we encounter' (Noddings, 1995, p. 192).

Following Van Manen's (1997) conception of the pedagogical 'in-between', it is here that we might locate, position and begin the practice of a spiritual pedagogy of welfare that is first and foremost defined by the twin concepts of care and intrapersonal transcendence. The cornerstone of Noddings model of care is a commitment to empathic practice. While only limited consideration has been given to empathy as an attribute of human interaction and spirituality in education, health care, once again has a wide literature on the importance of empathy and its different manifestations. Gould (1990, p. 1172) describes

empathy as an ability to appreciate the feelings of other people with whom we are not similar while Rogers (1980, p. 142) in his earlier account of the field considers this to be a sensitivity to changing, felt meanings and experiences which flow in the other person without recourse to judgement. Kunyk and Olson (2001) in their deconstruction of the concept suggest that there are five dominant conceptualisations, embracing: human trait, empathy as a professional state, empathy as a communication process, empathy as caring and empathy as a special relationship (Kunyk & Olson, 2001, p. 318). Importantly, in these five conceptualisations, Kunyk and Olson identify a repertoire of empathic approaches that are essential to good health care and the professional judgement that informs how these might be practiced. This, in turn, suggests a strong reciprocity between empathic orientations and care as intrapersonal transcendence of the spiritual kind.

Amongst the challenges that confront a reconceptualisation of the spiritual as a pedagogy of pastoral welfare are assumptions that qualities of the spiritual and care are intrinsically 'soft' and emotive. While these are necessarily important qualities of a spiritual pedagogy, what Van Manen (1997, p. 21) calls 'action sensitive knowledge' offers an important response from the field of phenomenological research. Van Manen asserts that a rigorous human science is prepared to be 'soft,' 'soulful,' 'subtle' and 'sensitive' in its effort to bring the range of meanings of life's phenomena to our reflective awareness (Van Manen, 1997, p. 18). Combined with Hickson and Phelps (1997) observation that the spiritual person can be regarded as one who has a strong sense of social justice with a commitment to altruistic love and action there are further nuances with earlier Aristotelian origins of practice as action; involving a transition from the adherence to the regulation and codes of rule-directed behaviour known as techne to the sophistication of *phronesis* as wisdom in action (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). As Carr and Kemmis explain, *techne* is a disposition to 'act in a true and reasoned way according to the rules of the craft' (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p. 32). Craft of this sort, they assert, is coupled to the Greek idea of *poietike*, a form of instrumental 'means end' reasoning. In contrast to the craft-based regime of *techne* and *poietike*, educational practice proceeds not from an instrumental form of rule direction but through the informed action of *praxis*. According to Carr and Kemmis, this involves reflection on the character and consequences of action, to reflexively change the knowledge base that informs it. While craft or technical knowledge is not reflexive, in that it does not change the conditions within which it operates, praxis, in contrast, remakes 'the conditions of informed action and constantly reviews action and the knowledge which informs it' (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p. 33). The pinnacle of educational practice is then the Aristotelean principle of *phronesis* – a form of practical wisdom premised upon the disposition to act truly and rightly, involving 'prudent judgment which takes account of what would be morally appropriate and fitting in a particular situation'

(Carr, 1987, p. 29). Claxton (2008), in his treatment of wisdom in teaching, also turns to Aristotelan traditions and similarly sees *phronesis* at the centre of wise professional action. In Claxton's view wise action involves three aspects. The first requires a moral quality in which wisdom 'takes account of the greater good and one's own higher, deeper, or more lasting values' (Claxton, 2008, p. 36). The second, he proposes, involves a level of disinterestedness that enables us to stand back from the mêlée in order to see the situation through a critical awareness of our cultural, emotional 'stock' and traits of personality. The third of Claxton's necessary attributes of wisdom, once again, involves empathy.

From the surveys of child well-being previously discussed, emotional, psychological and social well-being are common themes (NICE, 2013). Over the past 20 years much has been made, and variously misappropriated, of the work of Howard Gardner on Multiple Intelligence Theory (1983) and Daniel Goleman (1996) on Emotional Intelligence in meeting these perceived needs. In turn, their work has highlighted the development interpersonal relationships and the management of personal emotional states and behaviours for both young people and adults. In subtle contrast, the domain of spiritual intrapersonal transcendence configured with care and its constituent empathic quality offers a powerful but as yet largely underdeveloped addition to the teaching repertoire, enabling educators to meaningfully engage with the subjective experiences and interior lifeworlds of children and young people as a spiritual pedagogy of educational practice. Critically, this involves educators attending to an ethic of educational practice that pursues democratic dialogue of the sort advocated by Noddings to enable intrapersonal transcendence, care and modelling. By implication, this means teachers and educators working in school settings necessarily attending to the ethical qualities of care, both of others and of the self, as a means of realising *phronesis* in practice.

Conclusion

As the author has sought to demonstrate, the Pastoral welfare of children and young people in English schools faces a number of interrelated challenges that coalesce around increasingly intrusive neoliberal forms of performativity combined with growing public anxiety over the mental health and well-being of young people. In response, educators have been increasingly challenged in the conduct of meaningful educational work in schools.

While the spiritual realm can be both multifaceted and at times necessarily elusive, for it be purposefully configured as an educational practice in pastoral welfare in school settings also demands that it is understood in terms of an action of intrapersonal transcendence and care. It follows that this is not primarily a matter of curriculum content, prescribed or otherwise, but one of personal encounter and interaction in the liminal spaces of teacher–pupil interaction. A corollary of this is that a spiritual pedagogy necessarily involves

professional attention to the development and refinement of educational practice as phronesis. Prudent judgement of the sort advanced in phronesis is neither a quick nor easy acquisition of desirable practice but a wisdom that is evolutionary and ethically guided through empathic orientation. In turn, this points to forms of personal professional self-renewal that while diffuse is essentially strongly emotionally, subjectively and ethically attuned. Hence, a spiritual pedagogy of the sort advanced in this paper closely aligns with a view of teaching as a theoretical resource that is both determined and motivated by the problems that emerge in the in-between contexts of teacher–pupil encounters and everyday life. Moreover, it follows that effective pastoral teaching resides in the province of all those charged with the education of children and young people, regardless of status, role or curriculum affiliation.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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TWENTY

Police Community Support Officers in Schools: Findings from an evaluation of a pilot training programme for school liaison officers

Dave Trotman and Lorraine Thomas

Introduction

The role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), introduced as part of the Police Reform Act of 2002, was to be a defining feature of New Labour government policy on neighbourhood policing (Quinton and Morris, 2008). Echoing community policing practices initially developed in the Netherlands in the 1980s (Terpstra, 2010) and more recently trialled in Canada as part of initiatives such as Community Policing Centres (Dumaine, 2005), as uniformed civilian staff PCSOs in the UK have limited powers with duties restricted to dealing with minor offences; early intervention to discourage criminal behaviour; crime prevention advice; conducting house-to-house enquires; and supporting frontline policing. At the time of writing, PCSOs comprise 6.6% of the 213,620 full-time equivalent police workers in England and Wales (Home Office, 2013).[1] As part of these duties, PCSOs can be assigned as a School Liaison Officer (SLO) where they are brought into direct contact with children, young people, teachers, and the wider school community. The challenges around the implementation in the UK of what Jason-Lloyd (2003) has called 'quasipolicing' are, however, well documented (Crawford *et al*., 2003; Cooper *et al*., 2006). Merritt (2010), for instance, asserts that the role of the PCSO has been less a matter of clear strategic implementation and more a matter of evolution with significant 'drift' between the roles of law enforcement and community bridge-building. Similarly, Crawford *et al*. (2004, p. 81) note the volatility around balancing formal and coercive legal powers with that of persuasion and negotiation, with the latter being seen as the most potent aspect of the PCSO role. Merritt and Dingwall (2010) also report a lack of career development to support meaningful engagement with particular communities despite PCSOs being particularly well placed to bridge the gap between community and policing. As a consequence, as other observers have noted, community policing has often lacked credibility and coherence (Johnston, 2005). Hence, the work of the SLO in a UK context is one that remains both poorly defined and under-resourced. Notwithstanding concerns over role definition and strategic clarity, the important role played by PCSOs as pivotal intermediaries between community and policing is widely recognized (Quinton and Morris, 2008; Foster and Jones, 2010; Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2015). O'Neill (2014, p. 265), for instance, argues that 'PCSOs are uniquely placed in policing to build

1 Home Office figures include police officers, police staff, PCSOs, designated officers and traffic wardens and exclude special constables.

social capital on their beats which can be used to resolve community problems'. In turn, an important corollary of this is recognition of the significant positive contribution of the SLO to school communities (Lamont *et al*., 2011; Clayman and Skinns 2012, p. 468). Set against this policy landscape, the authors report the evaluation of a pilot training programme commissioned by West Midlands Police (WMP) to support the work of SLOs undertaking work in secondary schools in two urban authorities in the West Midlands. Prompted by the concerns of WMP about the effectiveness of SLOs working in secondary school settings, the School of Education at Newman University was approached to advise on the development of a pilot training programme for SLOs. Three key concerns were highlighted by WMP: a perceived need to 'professionalize' the role of the SLO; to improve the confidence of SLOs when engaging with young people in secondary schools; and to improve the partnership between schools and community policing. From these discussions the School of Education proposed a three-stage model, involving an initial two-day training course; school-based mentoring and coaching; and critical reflection through an individual action research project. The project commenced in November 2014, with the evaluation conducted in April and May 2015.

Participants and methodology

Designed by the coordinating police sergeant at WMP with the support of academic members of the School of Education at Newman University, the pilot training programme was trialled with all PCSOs with SLO duties in the local policing units of two urban authorities. The identification of the participating local policing units was undertaken by the coordinating police sergeant based on the strategic position of the policing units within the authority, established professional networks, and the diversity of school contexts. The training programme then involved a total of 22 participants, of which there were 11 SLOs, 10 school-based mentors (experienced teachers with responsibility for mentoring and coaching student teachers and newly qualified teachers) and the coordinating police sergeant. Eight SLOs were able to commit to the evaluation while purposive sampling (Given, 2008, p. 799) was adopted to identify five contributing mentors. The evaluation was then designed by the lead evaluator and academic team at Newman University. Adopting the principles of qualitative research design (Merriam, 2009) an early decision was made to use focus groups (Patton, 2002) to interview the participating SLOs. As Patton explains:

> In focus groups participants get to hear each other's responses and to make additional comments beyond their own original responses as they hear what other people have to say . . . the objective is to get high-quality data in a social context where people can consider their own views in the context of views of others (Patton, 2002, p. 386)

For reasons of practicality, impartiality, and time, it was agreed that individual semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 2009) would be employed for the school-

based mentors and the police project coordinator. Interview and focus groups schedules were designed in consultation with representatives from WMP using topic guides (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003, p. 115) as a means of ensuring relevant and systematic coverage of key issues without being overly prescriptive. The evaluation was subject to ethical approval by the University's Ethics Committee detailing matters of informed consent, the right to withdraw, and academic honesty. Interviews lasting approximately 40 minutes were conducted in person by a contract researcher over the period April–May 2015. Data was then manually coded by the principal evaluator and coresearchers using progressive focusing (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976) and categorization (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In addition, an evaluation of the 2-day training course was also undertaken inviting participants to comment on the perceived strengths and weakness of the training programme. With the exception of one participant, the SLOs had no prior experience of working in secondary schools.

Policing and education: complexity and sensitivities

The evaluation data revealed the work of the SLO being undertaken in a context of increasing social complexity. In contrast with those policing priorities traditionally encountered by PCSOs, the context for their work presents relatively new forms of challenge. The spectrum of issues noted by the participants typically encompassed such things as child exploitation, cyber abuse/criminality, extremism, terrorism, and female genital mutilation. As the project coordinator observed:

> The issues that PCSOs have to talk about now with young people are hugely complicated and sensitive; it's no longer just about drugs, road safety . . .

Echoing this increasing complexity in community police work, Longstaff *et al*. (2015, p. 27) note the need for longer-term solutions based on a 'detailed understanding of the multiple and persistent problems'. These, they conclude, involve high concentrations of poverty and ill-health; poor physical environment; a large number of low-income families; poor performing schools; limited neighbourhood resources; an active drug market; and substantial barriers to offender resettlement (Longstaff *et al*., 2015). It follows that these localized social complexities are also manifest in school contexts, particularly in secondary schools where the transition of young people through school coincides with significant physical, mental, and emotional change. These challenges are then often compounded when key policing priorities remain unmediated with officers left to devise their own strategies. As Longstaff *et al*. (2015) note, police are often poorly prepared when it comes to identifying issues of vulnerability and struggle to work effectively with other agencies in the context of neighbourhood policing. Hence, the factors governing whether young people choose to actively engage with the police are equally as complex (Clayman and Skinns, 2012, p. 464). One of the troubling aspects early in the evaluation was the absence of preparation for SLOs working in schools. Questionnaires administered prior to the start of the project by the WMP Project Coordinator indicated that of

the 18 SLOs surveyed only 2 of these had received any form of training for their role as an SLO. As two of the SLOs interviewed commented:

> we were just told 'there's a school, they want some input' and we have to do all the research ourselves and just go and do it in front of a bunch of teachers who are all qualified and who, I felt, were judging me (SLO 1)
>
> I've been here eleven years and I've never been into a senior school. So when I walked through the doors in January it was like 'whoa, ok', I'd never been in a senior school. (SLO 2)

Set against this context the School of Education proposed a three-stage model of preparatory training.

The three-stage training model

The three-stage model involved an initial 2-day training course; school-based mentoring and coaching; and a small-scale research project culminating in the award of national professional recognition by the Teaching and Learning Academy (TLA). The 2-day training course aimed at introducing officers to key aspects of working with young people in secondary schools with each SLO having an appointed mentor to support their work in school and the submission of an action research project to the TLA. As experienced teachers accustomed to mentoring and coaching students and newly qualified teachers, school-based mentors were well-positioned to assimilate this quickly.

Training and education

A cornerstone of the programme was the 2-day training event held in November 2014. While police training normally lies within the province of their Learning and Development Department (LDD), diminished resourcing combined with the prioritization of training schedules for new police officer recruits resulted in the LDD being unable to support or host the PCSO programme. Consequently, the programme was primarily designed by the coordinating officer in response to an internal questionnaire she had administered with SLOs before approaching Newman University regarding issues such as their confidence levels in engaging with schools and their training and development needs, with additional comments elicited from SLOs during a meeting between Newman University, more senior members of staff from WMP, and the host schools.

Due to the LDD being unable to support or host the programme this was then delivered by the coordinating officer, with additional input from the University and key stakeholders including youth advocates and senior leaders from schools, and hosted at the University. Diminished resourcing has also meant that many territorial police forces have recently announced plans to reduce the number of PCSOs in order to save costs, leaving the future of PCSO roles in doubt. Notwithstanding the reprieve in the Autumn Statement (HM Treasury, 2015), police budgets have been significantly curtailed with WMP confirming proposals

to reduce its number of PCSOs following a wholesale review of local policing and as part of a wider plan to make significant savings (Gibbons, 2015). This, in turn, has cast serious doubt over any future roll-out or development of the training programme. Furthermore, PCSOs in the West Midlands were told of plans to significantly reduce their numbers by 2020 at a higher rate than regular officers, triggering heated exchanges from PCSOs (McCarthy, 2015) while concerns were expressed by trade unions regarding public safety and concerns for their members already struggling with high staff shortages, additional workload, and continued pressure from central government to reduce crime statistics (Gibbons, 2015).

In response to SLOs' perceived needs, training was delivered around five core issues: aims and expectations of SLO work; approaches to police engagement with schools and young people; police powers and policy; strategies for effective learning and teaching; and reflection and the processes leading to TLA national professional recognition. Despite attempts to tailor the programme to the needs of the SLOs, responses from the focus group revealed this to be the least well-received aspect of the programme. Criticisms from some SLOs related to the pitch and language of sessions:

> It was . . . over the top of my head.
> (SLO 5)

> There was a lot of . . . jargon used which . . . I didn't really understand.
> (SLO 8)

For other participants their training was received in a more favourable light:

> From the talks with young people and other organisations I want to provide a service that young people will be proud of and build trust and confidence with young people.

These seemingly contradictory perceptions are, however, not uncommon. In the field of initial teacher education (ITE) and continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers, it is not unusual for participants to regard their training as either overly theoretical or of limited practical value unless this is effectively mediated in school. Criticisms of professional training then tend to emerge when the perception of the participants is that 'answers' to encountered problems have not been at the forefront of their training (Jackson, 2009; Bauer and Brazier, 2012).

Added to this, as White and Heslop (2012) point out, the involvement of the university sector in police education and training is very much in its infancy in comparison with that of teaching and nursing. Highlighting the different philosophical orientations each has to training and development, teaching, White and Heslop (2012) note, is typically associated with liberal education and critical thinking, whereas policing is more commonly associated with matters of state control and the constraint of citizenship. Nursing, meanwhile, has focused on the interface between education and professionalism, in contrast with a

police service that typically frames learning in terms of task performance and vocational competence (White and Heslop, 2012). In this context, it may go some way to explaining the criticisms amongst some SLOs of their training and the contrasting responses to this between University teacher educators and police trainers. Moreover, the ambitions of the programme to facilitate effective SLOs in schools also lie at the nexus of multi-professional practice. Studies of this in other settings such as health care and medicine have consistently underscored the challenges that surround inter-professional education (Robinson and Cottrell, 2005; Reeves *et al*., 2008). Much of the research points to issues around reconciling different professional values and practices, conditions of service, and the need to invest in joint training and professional development. Hence, studies in other multiprofessional settings offer important insights into how future training may be further improved.

School-based mentoring and coaching

The benefits of mentoring and coaching are widely acknowledged within schools (Rhodes *et al*., 2004; Forde and O'Brien, 2011) as is the efficacy of learning linked to school contexts and the involvement of experienced school-based mentors (Walker and Dimmock, 2006). From the focus group interviews, the role of the mentor was also largely seen as a significant contributor to the success of the programme; as two of the officers commented:

> She was brilliant . . . but to be fair, my school's brilliant. I've got a really good close working relationship with welfare and the school.
> (SLO 2)

> He was very sympathetic and every time I sent him any emails he would get back to me with very constructive criticism.
> (SLO 3)

In these two examples the sensitivity and commitment of the mentors were apparent. In the case of the latter, one mentor's former role as special constable played a significant part in his ability to mediate the discourses of policing and teaching that other mentors may have found more challenging. Nonetheless, effective mentoring of SLOs mirrors much of the reported best practice in the context of ITE (Hobson, 2002) with mentoring underpinned by principles of reflective practice (Schön, 1983), dialogic teaching (Wells, 2004), and constructivist approaches (Perkins, 1999).

From the mentors' perspective, responses from their individual interviews were equally as positive:

> We planned the safety day . . . they sent me their resources beforehand . . . I looked through and thought it was highly suitable, talked through their ideas and they sort of carried on from there
> (Mentor 1)

> Her [SLO] self-confidence improved because we had walked the walk . . . prior to

> the delivery of the actual activity . . . then the delivery, but the activities that she used in the delivery as well, it was champion
> (Mentor 2)

> That's [mentoring] really what I've really thrown myself into. . . not just saying "yeah come in and deliver us a session on this, off you go." We've really tried to work with him to make sure . . . what he delivers is a quality session.
> (Mentor 5)

Typically, constructive dialogue between SLOs and mentors enabled exchanges of different professional expertise and, in turn, underscored further the opportunities for promoting a more authentic inter-professional exchange between SLOs and teachers.

While access to mentoring and coaching is a requirement of the TLA CPD framework, the benefits of effective school mentoring were also recognized by the police coordinator:

> One of the best examples of where it's working is that the officer was receiving very close one-to-one support from someone within the school.

Hence, the fit between these aspirations and TLA recognition, incorporating school-based mentors, appears to be strong.

Professionalization and national professional recognition via the TLA

The move to more in-depth, sustained professional learning across a range of professions reflects a commitment to criticality, analysis, and reflection as the most effective CPD model (Kennedy, 2005). Mirroring these developments, the wider educational workforce now has access to national professional recognition via the TLA, and in this instance the TLA was pivotal in supporting SLOs' reflective practice and made a step towards starting to professionalize the SLO role. The TLA is a professional development strand of the Cathedrals' Group of universities and Newman University is the regional TLA hub.

The culmination of the pilot project was the submission by the SLOs of an individual action research project to the TLA. For many of the SLOs interviewed the completion of the TLA project requirement to gain national professional recognition was not a simple undertaking. The following comments typified many of the perceived challenges regarding undertaking written reflective commentary on aspects of their work, often for the first time:

> It actually gave me nightmares.
> (SLO 4)

> I used to wake up in the night and write notes. It was on your mind twenty-four- seven.
> (SLO 1)

Comments such as these are indicative not only of the considerable practical and psychological demands that confront adults in both returning to learning, but also in engaging with forms of reflective writing that are new or alien to their

prior experience. As Boud (2001, p. 15) observes, this necessarily requires an environment where participants are not preoccupied with defending themselves from the scrutiny of others but enables the questioning of assumptions about 'oneself, one's group, or the conditions in which one operates'. Despite the attendant anxieties, all the TLA projects were successfully verified and from the reports of the police coordinator it was evident that the personal pride in achieving TLA national professional recognition was significant.

In fact, the police coordinator highlighted the TLA as 'one of the best bits for me personally about the project. . . . They [the SLOs] seem to have such a pride about it'. She considered that TLA national professional recognition provided both renewed purpose for the SLOs and assisted in defining the scope and limitations of the PCSO role in school settings. For the police coordinator, professionalization was fundamentally about engendering personal pride. In her view, this involved officers making some small initial gains in confidence-building when presenting policing issues to young people. Much of the literature around professionalization, however, reveals this as something of a contested concept, involving matters of credential, status, and identity as much as it does remuneration (see Browne-Ferrigno, 2003; Cunningham, 2008). With regard to the first of these, the adoption of TLA action research projects culminating in national professional recognition was a direct attempt by the University to address aspects of SLOs' professional practice. The University also encouraged WMP to use TLA projects in the induction of future SLOs and to share projects via an online platform, facilitating peer support.

Despite PCSOs achieving more inclusive engagement in local communities, Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2015) note that their efforts are mitigated by their structured position in the hierarchy and the organizational environment in which they work. In light of such constraints, we argue that this presents significant impediments to the effective professionalization of the PCSO role. The paucity of recognition and training for PCSOs, for example, was a dominant theme in the interview responses of the police coordinator:

> For some reason in neighbourhood policing you don't get training . . . they [PCSOs] felt . . . they were not supported in the SLO role.

While specific divisions of policing such as firearms, dog-handling, and traffic attract specialized training to support specific skills, neighbourhood policing by comparison attracts only marginal attention despite the complexity of its work. As Foster and Jones (2010, p. 77) observe, there is a common perception that neighbourhood policing is 'nice to do but not essential'. It is something of a paradox, then, that the primacy of crime prevention advanced in the 'New Police' of Robert Peel's 1829 Metropolitan Police Bill (Emsley, 2008, pp. 73–74) has since been eclipsed by more technocratic approaches to policing in the late 20th century with its focus on crime detection, meaning there is tension between community policing models and response policing (Crawford, 2009; Reiner, 2010). Moreover,

as Newburn (2008) notes, historical accounts of contemporary policing have shown this to be predominantly a matter of peace-keeping rather than law enforcement. It would seem then that the efficacy of any future PCSO role in terms of SLO work is also contingent on a wider reappraisal of policy imperatives governing policing and organizational cultures.

Schools and SLOs

The role of PCSOs in school settings is not without controversy, involving concerns amongst both staff and pupils about surveillance and pupils' prior negative experience of the police. As Longstaff *et al.* (2015, p. 6) have noted, young people tend to be seen 'as suspects in need of control rather than potential victims in need of protection'. The findings from the evaluation, however, reveal the positive value attached by respondents to SLO–school collaboration mediated through the school mentors. From the observations and comments recorded by all the interview participants it was evident that SLO participation in the life of the school was perceived as a significant benefit. This involved building mutual trust between officers, pupils, and teachers through often differentiated but shared dialogue: adult-to-adolescent and peer-to-professional. As one mentor noted:

> . . . the PCSOs' and the police's relationships outside of school has increased . . . it's broken down those barriers that exist between students and police in terms of the lack of loyalty and the lack of trust.
> (Mentor 4)

As was also pointed out by one of the mentors, it is the school that provides important areas of safe space in which this dialogue can take place:

> . . . groups of students are recognisable now by the police because they've come in and they've talked to them in a safe, friendly environment and then that benefits them when they go out.
> (Mentor 2)

Once established, the SLOs' personal knowledge of young people in the safe spaces of school then enables a much more interpersonal set of dynamics to be capitalized upon when engaging with them in the wider community context—a view expressed by one mentor as:

> PCSOs are aware of the kids that they have on their beats, their area really. Because they've got a relationship they can build up a rapport with them and it's going to help in difficult situations . . . rather than that hostile 'we don't know you, you're a stranger' there's a little bit of softening that might help to socialise better with them.
> (Mentor 1)

As another mentor observed, the personal relationship between the SLO and mentor enabled them to feel confident in talking to a 'known person' when there was a need to escalate a school issue to police involvement or where advice needed to be sought:

> I'm no longer just dialling and asking for anybody. I actually have two PCSOs that work together that I can ask to come in and they're more than happy if they're in the area to drop in and support.
> (Mentor 4)

Corroborating earlier research on police officers in schools (Lamont *et al*., 2011), where relationships between schools and their SLO are well established, this has extended to curriculum enhancement to include such things as Citizenship days, the wider life of the school community and, perhaps most significantly, contact with parents. As the comments from one mentor demonstrate below, where the SLO role works well this provides an important bridge between those aspects of community activity that are not always visible to the school:

> We have been able to develop relationships specifically with parents. At parents evening the PCSOs will be invited to attend . . . as a result of a project such as this, the door is open for us to get into the lives of younger people. What is quite wonderful is that the young people will know the PCSOs by their name through the activities that are taking place outside school. Some of them are involved in some sporting activities in this area - they will speak to the children outside of school, in my opinion it's quid's in.
> (Mentor 1)

The findings from this aspect of the evaluation cast important light on the building of school–police partnerships through the role of the University, school-based teacher-mentors and SLOs. As Clayman and Skinns (2012), have noted in their research into young people's attitudes to the police, the power differential between PCSOs and regular officers is significant in helping young people to interact more positively with police officers. Citing the example of David, they illustrate this distinction thus:

> I have got community police in my area, I talk to them yeah because I know them, I mostly see them every day so they are the kind of people yeah, but if I see a policeman I don't know, yeah I won't communicate as much.
> 'David' in Clayman and Skinns (2012, 468)

Significantly for this research, as Longstaff *et al*. (2015, p. 6) have emphasized, neighbourhood police officers fulfil a critical role in building trust amongst young people by 'handling encounters sensitively, using interpersonal skills rather than resorting to law enforcement to resolve conflicts and tailoring their engagement strategies to this age group'. While this points to the pivotal role played by PCSOs in the ways described above, it endorses further the necessity for developmental forms of police training and education that transcend routine matters of law enforcement that instead emphasize inter-personal abilities and sociocultural sensitivity.

Conclusion

The findings from the evaluation offer a positive account of a burgeoning relationship between higher education, secondary schools, and SLOs. The accounts from the participants reveal the partnership between the University, mentors, and

SLOs to be of strong mutual benefit. From the perspective of SLOs they have access to a high level of teacher expertise that is both intelligently tailored and critically evaluated through a well-established tradition of mentoring and coaching. In turn, TLA national professional recognition through the partner university has provided an essential conduit to an evaluation of practice that accords more sympathetically to the tenets articulated in the discourses of neighbourhood policing. For schools, the benefits of SLOs also appear to have transcended staff concerns around surveillance and unwarranted intervention. Rather, in their capacity as SLOs, PCSOs offer forms of community agency that bridge aspects of the lifeworld of young people within their local neighbourhood beyond the confines of school. As the reports of the school respondents and other studies of the field have illustrated, trust between young people, SLOs, and school communities is the bedrock of successful SLO work. Trust between young people and SLOs enables the early identification of situations of risk while enabling school personnel to engage in meaningful inter-professional dialogue that supports informed judgements and actions on matters of protection and the law.

Much less encouraging though is the policy context within which neighbourhood policing now has to operate. Despite the ambitions of the WMP to undertake a systematic professionalization of SLOs, at the time of writing serious doubt exists around the future prospects of neighbourhood policing strategy as a consequence of ongoing funding constraints (O'Neill, 2015). As we have noted earlier in the article, many territorial police forces at the time of writing have announced plans to reduce the number of PCSOs in order to save costs with WMP confirming their intention to reduce the number of PCSOs following its review of local policing. Moreover, as McCarthy (2015) reports, cuts in PCSO numbers appear to be disproportionally higher than those in other areas of policing. Yet, as we have argued, the evaluation data combined with the findings of other recent research (Longstaff *et al*., 2015; Clayman and Skinns, 2012) continue to underscore the complex context in which policing is now located. As recent high profile cases of child abuse, grooming, and neglect have revealed in the UK, in conjunction with the moral panic around the radicalization of Muslim youth and cyber misuse, there continues to be inter-related challenges to crime prevention, safeguarding, and detection—all of which suggest a necessary retargeting of investment in neighbourhood policing and in which SLOs have a pivotal role.

In this context, the evaluation findings offer a clear marker for the future direction of travel for PCSO–SLO training and present a credible claim to a strategic repositioning of neighbourhood policing priorities. Underscoring Longstaff *et al*.'s (2015) assertion that there is a need for an enhanced skill-set amongst officers that does not simply rely on law enforcement combined with the significant differences noted by White and Heslop (2012) in education and training in policing, teaching, and nursing, the urgent need for an inter-professional approach to PCSO–SLO training is a major outcome of the evaluation. It has also been evident from the

evaluation that effective university–school–police partnerships can be achieved with modest resourcing. Similarly, TLA national professional recognition provides an effective entrée to a more systematic reflection on professional development. The importance of these approaches cannot be understated, yet they offer only a partial window onto a much bigger landscape of inter-professional education and training and its attendant challenges and tensions around values, ethics, identities, and conditions of service to which public services must turn. If policing strategy is to engage effectively with the contemporary socio-cultural complexities reported by the respondents in this evaluation, then a commitment by policy makers to a systematic programme of inter-professional education would appear to be an essential prerequisite.

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TWENTY ONE

Research-based Reflections on How the Educational, Economic and Social Circumstances Faced by Some Children and Young People Can Lead to Significant Disadvantage and Vulnerability

Stanley Tucker and Dave Trotman

Introduction

The primary purpose in writing this paper is to provide an account of some of the significant social, educational and economic factors that can have a detrimental impact on the lives of many children and young people. In citing examples of research undertaken with children and young people across Germany, Romania and the United Kingdom, it is possible to gain an understanding of how different experiences and their outcomes serve to shape the actions, expectations, self-image and life chances of particular individuals and groups. At one level the focus of attention is on place – where a young person lives, school attended, community and family connections, the experience of public care, etc. At another an attempt is made to analyse how social, economic and educational factors associated with place combine to create the circumstances from which significant disadvantage and vulnerability might arise.

Indeed, it will be argued that the connection between place and disadvantaged can be extended further. For attention must also be given to the dominant discourses that frequently inform not only the representations of the young we create, but also the services that are developed and delivered in their name. As Griffin (1993) argues, some individuals and groups are systematically repressed, oppressed, denied their right to a good education, abused and blamed for the failure of others. We consistently represent young people as 'difficult', 'dangerous', 'diseased' or 'perverted'. Clearly Griffin's argument can be located within a set of dominant discourses of youth that have problematized and 'othered' their behaviour. Wetherell and Potter (1992) maintain that the 'knowledge, talk and texts' applied to the lives of young people are significant in terms of how we react and respond to them. For how we speak about children and young people and their families, research into their needs, develop services for them etc. is essentially underpinned by the views that are expressed by policy makers, those who hold sway in powerful institutions, the enforcers of legislation, professional groupings, the media, academic writers and researchers – those able to influence and shape social meanings and assist in their wider dissemination.

Methodological considerations

One of the main concerns of the paper is to reflect on the educational, economic and social circumstances of the children and young people we engaged with. The words 'engaged with' are employed deliberately here – for they mark out a particular

methodological approach that was central to our research. Our intention was to build a framework for research that took account of a number of intersecting rights given to children and young people through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Article 12 of the UNCRC asserts the right of the child to participate in discussions on issues that may impact on their lives. As Jones (2004, 125) points out, by drawing on young people's 'understandings of the phenomena that they observe, measure or are part of, new possibilities are opened up' in relation to extending knowledge and understanding, and improving the quality and relevance of educational and social policies and practices. Issues concerned with 'best interest' (article 3) in terms of participation, as well as the potential for personal 'harm' in relation to 'welfare and development' (article 36) also had to be considered. It was recognised from the outset that exploring experiences and feelings about for example educational failure or discrimination, can be difficult for some young people, and that such work requires particular sensitivity. Furthermore, in collecting research data through direct engagement, it proved possible to give those involved a level of critical voice (James and Prout 1997) underpinned by assurances of confidentiality in a climate that fostered openness, mutual respect and tolerance. Accordingly, we adopted the position, advocated by France (2004), that young people should be seen as reliable witnesses when it comes to exploring aspects of their life-worlds and as 'social actors in their own right' (O'Kane 2000, 136).

A collective case study approach (Stake 1998) is used here in order to draw together examples of common factors that proved likely to contribute towards the creation of significant disadvantage for some children and young people. Using such a method of qualitative inquiry it proved possible to produce 'thick description' (Lincoln and Grubba, 1985) from which emerged a number of social, educational and economic issues whose significance featured in many of the discussions held with participants. The key findings arising out of the case studies are reported below.

Case studies

Living in residential care

The first of the case studies is utilised to explore the experiences of those living in residential care and youth offending institutions. What follows is based on empirical research and published data (Bejenaru and Tucker 2014a; Bejenaru and Tucker 2014b; Tucker 2015). It is easy to locate across residential and youth offending institutions throughout Europe some of the most educationally and socially disadvantaged children and young people (see for example Berridge 2012; Hamilton-Giachritsis and Browne 2012). In Romania and the United Kingdom, as elsewhere in Europe, resources have been allocated to improve the quality of life as well as educational and social outcomes for this group of young people - though whether sufficient funding has been made available, and sufficient evaluation

taken place, remains a matter for debate. Here, a range of common issues and factors that shaped the experience of care are presented for consideration. Their impact on the lives of the young people concerned is illustrated through the use of a series of direct quotes.

(1) The personal histories of almost all of the young people interviewed were underscored by chaotic and frequent transitions both between residential care homes and foster care, as well as from and within the family. Typically one young person said:

> *You don't stay anywhere very long drift from here to there and back… No roots, no friends and not much love…*

(2) Educational success is viewed as elusive and again marked by frequent transitions between schools. Another young person said:

> *Like never settling anywhere in a proper school and having a chance of doing well and teachers, one and then another.*

(3) Detachment from birth and extended family with in many instances only a limited interest in establishing or re-establishing family connections displayed by young people - summed up thus:

> *You don't care about parents what they are or where they are… I rang a few times but gave up, nobody was interested….*

(4) Brutalising youth offender regimes that foster aggression and violence. One young person said:

> *You learn to fight and look after yourself…. If you don't, watch out for adults and the other kids.*

(5) A lack of private space and an inability to keep secure personal artefacts. The view of another young person:

> *Hard to hold on to your life when there is nothing private that someone doesn't want to see, or steal, or make fun of…*

(6) Educational underachievement that leads to an inability later in life to obtain work or gain further or higher educational qualifications. One young person who had spent a significant period of his life either incarcerated or in public care said:

> *There is nowhere to go now. I can't get a job or a decent training course. The courts don't even allow me to live in my own town any more.*

Yes, it is reasonable to argue that some of the children and young people we interviewed had psychological, health, educational and social problems that required focused interventions. Yet in many instances it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that family, social and economic circumstances combined to generate the kind of discourses that serve to problematize the lives of those living in residential care or youth offending institutions; to create what Young (2006, 20) describes as an 'outgroup' who are effectively 'held at bay and excluded'.

Educational vulnerability

In this case study specific focus is placed on young people who experience educational disadvantage and vulnerability with specific reference to those whose behaviour in school has led them to be permanently or temporarily excluded. The research referred to here was conducted in Birmingham in the United Kingdom, over a 5 year period (see Trotman *et al.* 2011; Tucker *et al.* 2015; Trotman *et al.* 2015). During that time it proved possible to interview over 100 young people from a variety of schools across the City of Birmingham. Although the research focused on a range of different issues – definitions of risk and vulnerability, school exclusion, behaviour, curriculum relevance, etc. the primary intention of the research programme was to gain a better understanding of the day-to-day experiences of disadvantaged and vulnerable young people in schools. We undertook some initial work in 2010 with school students that focused specifically on their perceptions of risk. Following that we were contacted by a group of secondary schools in Birmingham (11-16 age group in the UK) who wanted to understand why there had been a significant increase in the number of young people being excluded from school in Year 9 (the third year of secondary school). An understanding of the key research findings can be found in the quotation presented below from our paper 'Understanding problematic pupil behaviour: perceptions of pupils and behaviour coordinators on secondary school exclusion in an English city':

> The research data brought into sharp relief the impact that poor pupil behaviour, inadequate teaching practices, insufficient resources and poorly thought-out management strategies can have on the lives of young people… Pupils did not shy away from defining what they describe as 'bad' and 'good' behaviour in the classroom. They pointed to a range of teaching and learning strategies that failed to engage them. We did not find a majority of students who 'hated' maths, or English or science; or any other subject for that matter. Indeed, for young people, quality of lessons was determined by engaging teachers, interactive pedagogy, challenge, practical application and the often used term fun (…).
>
> The theme of transition has emerged as a significant issue. We accumulated considerable data to support the view that the development of negative behaviour and temporary and permanent exclusion can often be punctuated by a series of 'failed' transitions. Such transitions occur between primary and secondary school in the UK, or at key points in a young person's biography. Issues of school size, the availability of appropriate support mechanisms, curriculum relevance, peer pressure and personal confidence all featured. (Trotman *et al.* 2015, 14).

In talking directly to young people about their education (and their exclusion from it in many instances) data is revealed that calls into question dominant political discourse about educational reform – particularly in the UK. Indeed, it can be argued that we are now more concerned with developing targets, delivering outcomes and measuring performance than we are about pedagogical practices and what needs to be in place for all young people to achieve their potential; what Kenway (1990) terms a 'discourse of derision' based on political expediency and

the creation of market relationships that set schools in opposition to each other. As Ball (2006, 121) argues market 'segmentation' is largely achieved through 'social and cultural bases of choice, by the constraints of choice, and by forms of selection'.

Human trafficking

The last of the three case studies focuses on the topic of human trafficking and is based on a research project developed through an international partnership (involving academic institutions in Germany, Romania and the UK) and supported through EU Daphne funding. This paper was written at a time of unprecedented movements of people across Europe and further afield, and the shocking outcomes that occur when nation states fail to support the most disadvantaged and vulnerable children, young people and women. Through the research we focused on the experiences of women and their children, young people including those who had entered another country as 'unaccompanied' and those who had fled oppressive regimes. At the heart of the research lay the objective of trying to understand what kind of services and support were needed to assist these highly vulnerable groups. As with other research and in accordance with a desire to adopt a human rights perspective, it was considered vital that we talked directly to children and young people about their experiences. We wanted to understand the realities of life for those who had been forced into, for example, prostitution, unpaid labour, or had travelled 'illegally' across Europe i.e. to move beyond media, political and official discursive representations. Space only permits a brief insight into what was a highly complex and multi-layered piece of work. A number of personal case studies were developed as part of the project. The power and value of listening to the stories of the young is captured in the extracts that follow (from Tucker *et al.* 2011).

One young person spoke of her experience of being in a forced marriage:

> *I was studying in a small village and was not looking to get married. I came to England on a sponsored visit (…). My visa expired and I was forced to marry my husband (…) I did not agree to this but I was far away from home and I was very scared for me and my family back home (…) I was beaten and raped by my in-laws and my uncle and made to work in my in-laws' shop from 7AM until midnight every day…*

Another young person had been moved across Europe concealed in the back of a truck. He said:

> *I was in a truck with my brother when they opened the door and they say run away, and I run from the truck (…). They took us to the police station and left us there. I was put in a children's home, that time I couldn't speak English, just 'hello'. Problems, I just cry. My brother is somewhere else now staying in another place. I am 16 but they challenge my age, social worker and doctor don't agree. They don't know should they put me with children or adults. I miss people of my own age…*

A young woman from Lithuania talked about her experiences:

> *A guy I met said there were jobs in Germany. I could work as a waitress. He would get me an apartment above the restaurant with some other girls. It would be fun. He would pay me to get set up. I could pay him back later. Could I trust him? I had heard some bad stories about girls leaving for Germany. But it wouldn't happen to me…*

The research exposed significant policy and practice failures across three countries to understand and meet the needs of young people who were in danger or had been the victims of human trafficking. Those involved recounted experiences of maltreatment, neglect, abandonment, sexual exploitation and a failure to be able to secure their human rights. Difficulties in securing appropriate help and support were increased when 'matters of prosecution, surveillance, prevention and protection do not necessarily sit easily alongside each other' (Tucker *et al.* 2011, 144). Alongside this many examples of problematizing discourses (Griffin 1993) being used to describe the lives of trafficked children and young people could be located – these were applied to both young people themselves and their parents. Place and experience were inextricably linked in the sense that where a young person ended up frequently produced experiences of violence, abuse and sexual exploitation.

Concluding thoughts

The quotes presented in the final case study sum up the main thrust of the arguments developed within this paper. They were chosen in order to focus on the lives of some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable children, young people and families. What binds them together is the way in which countries have failed to guarantee even basic human rights – safety, protection, education, care, etc. Countries legislate, construct policies and deliver services on the back of what might be most kindly describe as limited research; inspection processes are dominated by procedures that artificially separate outcomes from the affective domain, cultural heritage or matters of economic and class privilege; service providers build services based on problematic representations of children, young people and their families. We see the allocation of monies to the most vulnerable (such as those needing additional personal and educational support in schools) but it is possible to locate evidence that demonstrates that it does not always arrive at its intended target (Pop and Stănuș 2014).

Yet this discussion is about more than just reflecting on the experiences of particular groups and individual children and young people and their families. For the reality is that for those with the least power, or influence, or opportunity it is difficult to articulate what the day-to-day experience of poverty, discrimination, alienation and disadvantage is really like. For example, earlier work (see Tucker 2010) reveals how difficult it is for many disadvantaged and alienated children and young people to report abuse and neglect, and crucially be believed. Serious social disadvantage cannot be reduced to a single and simple cause. It is cumulative, deeprooted and based in experiences that are often explained through

problematizing lenses (Griffin 1993). For example as Cohen (2006, xix) powerfully explains in describing the experiences of particular groups and individuals such as refugees and asylum seekers, the 'overall narratives is a single, virtually uninterrupted massage of hostility and rejection…'.

The emphasis place on the importance of understanding matters related to place and disadvantage in this paper demonstrates the need to provide a detailed level of context to the lives of individuals and groups of children and young people if their needs and aspirations are to be fully understood. The research approach adopted across the research projects cited here, focused on the value of listening to the young not least of all because they are 'reliable witnesses' (France 2004) who have important things to say about their lives. The adoption of a human rights perspective through the use of the UNCRC also provides an important backdrop against which effective advocacy opportunities can be developed. To improve the life chances of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable it is necessary to give them a more prominent voice in shaping the decisions that will a profound impact on their lives.

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TWENTY TWO

Dreaming and Subversion - Recreating the Curriculum

> *'Ours is an age of increasing uncertainty, a time when societies are confronted by unprecedented and seemingly intractable problems. Armed conflict, an increased threat of global terrorism, environmental degradation, escalating mental illness amongst young people, suicide, child abuse, corporate greed, electronic surveillance and the proliferation of fake news (which has even directly implicated the President of the United States of America) – all are now part of the contemporary condition. Our best hope of survival, perhaps our only hope of ameliorating or even eliminating many of these problems, is through an urgently needed new approach to education.'*

If this sounds familiar, and with only the most minor adaptation on my part, many readers will recognise this from the introduction to Postman and Weingartner's 1969 prescient text *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*. Depressingly, it seems that little has changed since their view of troubling times - even the reference to the President of the United States remains unaltered. Equally troubling is their assessment of the American school system - akin to '*driving a multi-million dollar sports car, screaming, faster! faster! while peering fixedly into the rear-view mirror*' (p4).

Sounds familiar too? Meanwhile, in the UK much of the valuable curriculum research and development that had begun at around the same time as Postman and Weingartner were writing has since been lost in an avalanche of what Balarin and Lauder described in the final report of the Cambridge Primary Review as a 'state approved theory of learning'. Nearly fifty years on from *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* the urgency for an alternative educational agenda is as pressing now as it was then. In more optimistic tone, in other Provinces (literally - in Alberta, Canada) recent concern for purposeful curriculum reform has been framed by the imperative to maximise consultation between the widest range of informed parties - students, teachers, parents, academics and other professional groups. If such a policy context was similarly possible in England and the wider UK - and I consider this not to be beyond the political imagination - then what might begin to inform a meaningful curriculum for the contemporary condition?

One approach might be to first (re)consider the intrinsic meaning of 'curriculum' - from the Latin root word currere - to 'run the racecourse'. In contrast to the repeated attempts of policy makers to frame and prescribe 'the curriculum' as both fixed and static - a programme of study, the product of our cultural stock, a canon of 'the best that has been thought and said' - currere, with its analogues of motion, journey and impetus, represents fluidity, the unpredictable and the indeterminacy of what it is to be in education.

Curriculum in this sense points to the primacy of the playful, the creative and the inventive. Another approach might be to consider the curriculum as essential

areas of experience, much as Her Majesty's Inspectorate proposed prior to the 1988 Education Reform Act, involving areas of learning that includes such things as the aesthetic and creative, human and social and the moral and spiritual. Many readers may remember the HMI 'raspberry ripple' curriculum series published in the mid-1980s only to be supplanted by Kenneth Baker's ERA homage to the Education Regulations of 1904. Meanwhile, others have sought to advance the curriculum along the lines of theories of intelligence and learning, the promotion of desirable personal attributes and the intellectual skill sets needed for effective adaption in a future society.

Increasingly, my own disposition to the curriculum has been informed not by abstracted philosophical or psychological theory, but rather by the reported experiences of children and young people – particularly for those whose experience of school, teaching and the curriculum has been less than successful. In recent research with my colleagues Stan Tucker and Linda Enow on the experiences of vulnerable and excluded young people in Alternative Provision (AP) we have had the opportunity to hear compelling narratives from young people about their curriculum experiences and aspirations.

One of the starkest observations from excluded young people is that things often go wrong early in their secondary school careers - typically following what many children and young people describe as a traumatic transition from primary to secondary school. Moreover, the negative legacies of failed school transitions have emerged as a recurrent theme in the accounts of young offenders and prisoners' (see *Does School Prepare Men for Prison?* by Karen Graham, 2014). At the other end of the school continuum is the problem of the polarisation of 'academic' and 'vocational' pathways that are also heavily gendered, resulting in what some teachers in our research have lamented as the post-16 'hair and bricks' option. In contrast, many young people in our interviews demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of their own characteristics and behaviours borne out of their interactions with peers and teachers. Interestingly, few participants were critical of individual teachers with many young people demonstrating an often surprising knowledge of their own personal triggers for inappropriate behaviour and preferences for particular approaches to the most effective means of learning new things. Yet, opportunities for personal innovation and agency were largely absent from post-compulsory education. Amongst those pupils attending AP we also encountered a growing number of young people for whom school was a source of anxiety and depression. Increasingly, this has extended beyond the more common factors of bullying and school refusal to the effects of an escalating performative culture, particularly amongst young people from middle class households.

On the basis of our research and other reportage, it is evident that in the English state school system we have moved from a curriculum that, at best, can be described as unfit for purpose to one that, at worst, is now increasingly detrimental

to the well-being of many children and young people. In what ways might this then be readdressed?

Firstly, and most obviously, there is an urgent need to remove the paraphernalia of statutory testing and league tables, which many observers have consistently argued for, but without obscuring necessary public insight into the educational processes of children and young people.

Secondly, the evaluation of education provision needs to be just that – an evaluation of education that demands a far wider and more sophisticated range of procedures and informants than those currently imposed on schools through punitive inspection. At the level of domestic policy, the technologies of pupil and school assessment invariably reside within a wider macro-political and supra-national drive for 'big data' - what has become known as 'datafication'.

The most visible example of this trend is of course the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA). While much vaunted and misappropriated by Government ministers, concerns about PISA have been forcibly expressed - see Mayer and Benavont's critique *PISA, Power, and Policy* as a good example. Amongst the many concerns relating to PISA is that it makes vivid the problematic nature of narrow assessment on an international scale. Typically, those features of the curriculum that can be made amenable to blunt and cheap assessment are afforded privileged status, while those activities requiring more sophisticated means of educational evaluation are relegated to the margins as an 'enhancement' luxury, paid for out of hours by those parents who can afford to do so.

For Postman and Weingartner, their response to the social ills of 1960s were framed, not surprisingly given their own subject interests, in terms of personal enquiries, media literacies, collaborative exchange and gaming – activities that are entirely congruent with the pursuit of *currere*. In his recent book *Foucault as Educator*, Stephen Ball proposes that education must necessarily re-focus on what he calls the aesthetics of self-formation. In calling for a 're-signification' of students, teachers and their interactions, Ball persuasively argues for an education that is reframed as site for self-creation through an advanced ethics of practice. Educational environments, he contends, should then be ones that encourage experimentation, an awareness of self in terms of culture and historical time, combined with key dispositions - such as scepticism, detachment, tolerance and (presumably when confronting such things as racism and sexism for instance) intolerance.

Sharing similar interests to Postman and Weingartner's thesis, Ball's analysis of education offers a fundamental reclaiming of the subjective self and the lifeworlds of young people as the overriding focus of the curriculum. Researching with colleagues in AP has reaffirmed the urgency of both restoring the subjective self and the dismantling of the worst impediments to this. Amongst my own curriculum interests, I count imagination and creativity as vital constituents. Despite attempts

by successive governments to misappropriate creativity into the exclusive service of entrepreneurialism and business innovation, its intrinsic powers lie in the domains of imagination, sentience, aesthetics and the capacity to humanise.

Writing about the National Secondary Review from the perspective of imaginative education nearly a decade ago, I commented on a poster on the wall of a classroom at a local secondary school. Like many of the now common-place mantras of inspiration found in schools, its quotation from Eleanor Roosevelt read '*the future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams*'. Ten years on and I wonder how faded that poster might be.

TWENTY THREE

Supporting Police Community Support Officers to become Effective School Link Officers: Key stakeholder perceptions of a pilot professional development programme

Lorraine Thomas and Dave Trotman

Introduction

Prompted by West Midlands Police (WMP) concerns regarding the inadequate preparation of police community support officers (PCSOs) working as school link officers (SLOs) in secondary schools in the English West Midlands, WMP commissioned the School of Education at Newman University to design a pilot professional development programme for SLOs. Initially, a national accredited training programme was available to police officers working as SLOs in England as part of the 'Safer Schools Partnerships' initiative, but this has now ceased. Consequently, and as Lamont *et al.* (2011, p. 14) explain, 'in the absence of such formal training, a number of different training practices have developed to equip police in schools with the knowledge and understanding necessary for this type of role'. As a result, training has become fragmented or non-existent in England, with officers often being left to devise their own strategies. These challenges then appear to have been exacerbated when PCSOs largely took over the SLO role from police officers.

Three key concerns and needs, which emerged from an internal questionnaire administered by WMP, were conveyed to Newman University: to improve the confidence and skills of SLOs to engage effectively with young people in secondary schools; to improve the partnership between PCSOs and school communities; and to raise the professional confidence and status of the SLO role. From discussions with WMP regarding their concerns for the preparedness of these 'para-professionals' (people to whom a particular aspect of a professional task is delegated but who are not licensed to practise as fully qualified professionals), a researcher from the university designed a professional development model to be piloted in two local policing units. When designing the professional development model for SLOs, the researcher considered a wide range of effective continuing professional development (CPD) principles – that is, the facilitation of criticality and analysis (Eraut 1994); the importance of an in-depth, sustained programme (Kennedy 2005); the benefits of mentoring and coaching (Rhodes *et al.* 2004, Forde and O'Brien 2011); the efficacy of professional learning linked to school contexts (Walker and Dimmock 2006); and the importance of regularly reflecting on and linking the teaching experience to the intended objectives in a structured way to inform and improve practice (Bringle and Hatcher 1999). Furthermore, the

researcher considered the need for appropriate professional learning for PCSOs who undertake a para-professional role to support them in engaging with teachers about learning strategies; to facilitate the SLOs' acceptance into the professional environment of schools; and to allow them to 'grow as professional educators' (Lyle and Hendley 2007, p. 205). The researcher also considered the experiences of the PCSOs to date, who had no or few formal qualifications, and what this might mean regarding self-esteem and self-confidence.

As a consequence, the agreed three-stage professional development model comprised an initial two-day induction programme for SLOs; a sustained and ongoing programme of support for SLOs via school-based mentoring and coaching; and critical reflection via SLOs completing an individual action research project afforded by the Teaching and Learning Academy (TLA) CPD framework. The two-day induction programme aimed to introduce SLOs to key aspects of their role and working with young people in secondary schools. This was followed by a programme of support via school-based mentoring and coaching, with each SLO having a designated mentor. The pilot culminated in each SLO submitting an action research project regarding a crime-prevention input for the award of national professional recognition via the TLA. The latter two activities also started to move the model beyond professional development and delivering input to greater professional learning, 'in which individuals create professional knowledge through interaction with … information in a way that challenges previous assumptions and creates new meanings' (Timperley 2011, p. 5), supporting SLOs to advance their own learning and pupils' learning. Professional learning also epitomises 'the key characteristics of reflective practice, critical evaluation and continuing learning' (O'Brien and Jones 2014, p. 684).

The only aspects of the model proposed by the university which were not approved by WMP, due to police budgetary constraints, were the funding of a training event for mentors of SLOs and the funding of mentors to undertake TLA projects themselves alongside the SLOs they were mentoring.

Context

The role of the PCSO in England, introduced in 2002, was to be a defining feature of the former 'New Labour' government policy on neighbourhood policing (Quinton and Morris 2008). Echoing community policing practices initially developed in the Netherlands in the 1980s (Terpstra 2010) and more recently trialled in Canada (Dumaine 2005), as uniformed civilian members of police support staff, PCSOs in England are non-warranted but have some police powers. PCSO duties are restricted to dealing with minor offences; early intervention to discourage criminal behaviour; crime-prevention advice; conducting house-to-house enquires; and supporting frontline policing. As part of these duties PCSOs can be assigned the role of SLO where they are brought into direct contact with children, young people, teachers and the wider school community. Despite

criticisms that community policing often lacks credibility and coherence (Johnston 2005), and despite concerns about the role, role definition and lack of training, the important role played by PCSOs as pivotal intermediaries between community and policing is widely recognised (Quinton and Morris 2008, Foster and Jones 2010, Frondigoun *et al.* 2013, Cosgrove and Ramshaw 2015). In turn, an important corollary of this is recognition of the significant positive contribution of the SLO to school communities (Black *et al.* 2010, Lamont *et al.* 2011, Stead *et al.* 2011, Clayman and Skinns 2012, Frondigoun *et al.* 2013).

As Longstaff *et al.* (2015) note, the police often struggle to work and communicate effectively with other agencies in the context of neighbourhood policing. Although keeping children safe and improving information-sharing between agencies were key aims of New Labour's Every Child Matters policy (Department for Education and Skills 2004) leading to the amendment of The Children Act (2004), the role of the police alongside other services does not appear to have been considered fully. More recently there have been reports of improvements between Campus Officers in Scotland (the equivalent of SLOs in England) and educational staff, with informationsharing being 'viewed as an integral part of the campus officer role' (Black *et al.* 2010, p. 2). SLOs could, therefore, potentially play a key role in working effectively with schools regarding safeguarding and information-sharing. A positive example of professional development can be found in Wales, where some police officers working as Schools Liaison Police Officers have submitted portfolios as part of academic higher education studies, whilst working alongside teachers in schools to support their transition in becoming professional educators (Lyle and Hendley 2007).

Increasing acts of terrorism and extremism in the English West Midlands (where this research was undertaken) and across England and Europe mean that policing and community policing are now highly sensitive and topical issues, which impact on the lives of young people. We argue that SLOs can potentially play a key role as intermediaries within school communities, supporting the aims of and also offering an alternative or additional strategy to the Prevent agenda (Department for Education 2015). Prevent is the British government's anti-radicalisation strategy, aiming to protect children and young people from being drawn into terrorism. Several issues have been raised regarding the Prevent agenda, however, not least of which are concerns that it encourages a culture of surveillance (University and College Union 2015).

At the time of this pilot project, PCSOs comprised 6.6% of the police force in England and Wales (Home Office 2013), but diminished resourcing has meant that many territorial police forces have recently announced plans to reduce the number of PCSOs in order to save costs, leaving the future of PCSO roles uncertain. Notwithstanding the reprieve in the Autumn Statement from the wide-scale cuts planned to police budgets (HM Treasury 2015), United Kingdom police budgets

are still limited and WMP has confirmed proposals to reduce its number of PCSOs following a wholesale review of local policing and as part of a wider plan to make savings (Gibbons 2015). Furthermore, PCSOs in the West Midlands were told of plans to significantly reduce their numbers by 2020 at a higher rate than police officers, triggering heated exchanges between PCSOs and senior WMP officers (McCarthy 2015). Concerns were also expressed by Unison and Unite – two of the largest trade unions in the United Kingdom – regarding public safety and concerns for their members who are already struggling with high staff shortages, additional workload and constant pressures from the government to reduce crime statistics (Gibbons 2015). Consequently, the initial plans of WMP to roll out this pilot programme more widely across the region have now been deferred due to uncertainties regarding the future of the PCSO in the region. Further to findings from Stead *et al.* (2011, p. 13) that this type of 'work in schools should continue to be prioritised, valued and funded', we argue that cuts in this area of policing remain an important oversight in the policing approach by policy-makers, due to the potentially pivotal and proactive role PCSOs can play within communities.

Methodology and participants

This research adopted a mixed-methods research design (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004) within a case study and used semi-structured questionnaires, focus groups and individual interviews to explore key stakeholders' perceptions of the pilot programme. Respondents comprised 17 key stakeholders: 11 participating SLOs from two local policing units; five of their school-based mentors, who were experienced secondary school teachers and experienced in mentoring and coaching student teachers and newly-qualified teachers; and the police coordinator, who had significant experience in community policing.

The research was subject to approval by the university's ethics committee detailing matters of informed consent, the right to withdraw, academic integrity and the security of data. Anonymity of responses was assured. Focus group and individual interviews were conducted in person by a contract researcher. Interviews were recorded and took approximately 40 minutes. Interviews were then transcribed.

Data were collected from SLOs at the start of the pilot programme via questionnaires and at the end of the pilot programme via focus group interviews. The SLO induction took place over two consecutive days in November 2014, and at the end of the second day all of the SLOs completed questionnaires (securing a response rate of 100%) to evaluate the induction programme. SLOs completed TLA action research projects in March 2015. Eight of the 11 SLOs were then interviewed as two focus groups in April 2015 regarding their perceptions of the programme.

School-based mentors began mentoring and coaching SLOs in December 2014 and supported SLOs for the remainder of the pilot project until the end of March 2015. Data were collected from five of the participating school-based mentors

through individual semi-structured interviews during April–May 2015.

The police coordinator was in regular contact with the SLOs, their school-based mentors and the university to discuss progress throughout the project. Data were then collected from the police coordinator within an individual semi-structured interview in April 2015.

The three-stage professional development model

Induction

While police training normally lies within the province of its Learning and Development Department (LDD), diminished resourcing and police cuts, combined with the prioritisation of training schedules for new police officers, resulted in the LDD being unable to support or host the PCSO induction programme. Consequently, the programme was hosted at the university and was mostly designed and delivered by the coordinating police officer, with additional input from other key stakeholders, including an experienced and deemed effective SLO, young people (boys and girls) and a senior leader from a secondary school, and university staff. In response to the outcomes of the WMP internal questionnaire regarding SLO needs, the induction programme was delivered around five core themes: PCSO powers and policy; aims and expectations of the SLO role; approaches to police engagement with young people and schools; strategies for effective learning and teaching in schools; and processes to undertake a small-scale action research project to aid reflection, leading to national professional recognition. Perspectives regarding the induction programme are provided in quotation form and, in turn, from the SLOs via the semi-structured questionnaires completed at the end of the two-day induction and via the focus groups in which they participated at the end of the pilot, from mentors via individual semi-structured interviews at the end of the pilot and from the police coordinator via an individual semi-structured interview at the end of the pilot.

Despite attempts to tailor the induction programme to SLOs' needs, there was a differing response from SLOs via the questionnaires, completed at the end of the two-day induction programme, and the focus groups, in which they had participated at the end of the pilot. On the one hand, most SLOs made positive comments within the questionnaires at the end of the two-day induction event about what they had learnt and how the induction had motivated them:

> From the talks with young people and other organisations I want to provide a service that young people will be proud of and build trust and confidence with young people.
>
> Certainly taught me more about researching for myself because, to be fair, I think for the most part, we didn't.
>
> What I found useful and appreciated was that you need to put that same message across but in different formats because children learn in different ways … I wasn't aware of that.

On the other hand, around half of the SLOs criticised the induction programme during the focus group interviews at the end of the pilot regarding the level and language of sessions; and issues for which they considered the induction had not given them 'answers':

> It was … over the top of my head.
>
> There was a lot of … jargon used which … I didn't really understand.
>
> I came out a little bit confused at the end of it.
>
> How do we deal with disruptive pupils who don't want to listen or learn?

Interestingly, there appears to have been a shift in attitudes; with a positive response to the induction programme at the time, but a more critical response several months later. Confusion and criticisms of professional development tend to emerge where the perception of the participants is that 'answers' to encountered problems have not been at the forefront of their training (Jackson 2009, Bauer and Brazier 2012). In this case, some SLOs considered that the induction had not given them the 'answers' they needed concerning difficult issues, such as behaviour management. These seemingly contradictory perceptions, however, are not uncommon. In the field of initial teacher education and CPD for teachers, it is not unusual for participants to regard their training as either overly theoretical or of limited practical value unless this is effectively mediated in school, in order to address the gap between theory and practice. This therefore suggests that some SLOs did not see the benefits of linking theory with practice and/or perhaps these links were not made explicit. It is the responsibility of educators, however, to interpret and apply theory in a manner conducive to building knowledge that is both a solid foundation for future learning and which can be applied in practice (Bruner 1986). This is an important area, as the links between theory and practice are known to be problematic, yet practice can be greatly advanced if this issue is addressed effectively (Korthagen and Kessels 1999). Also, integrating the role of the school in participants' learning can improve the linkage between theory and practice (Simkins 2009). Furthermore, Browne-Ferrigno (2003) has shown that some teachers feel confusion where there is a 'duality of identity', in undertaking additional learning alongside professional practice, which aligns with the confusion felt by SLOs who considered they were being asked to undertake a teaching, rather than policing, role when working with young people in schools. Added to this, as White and Heslop (2012) point out, the involvement of the university sector in police education and training is very much in its infancy in comparison with that of teaching. Highlighting the quite different philosophical orientations each has to training and development, teaching is typically associated with liberal education and critical thinking, whereas policing is more commonly associated with matters of state control and the constraints of citizenship, which typically frame learning in terms of task performance and vocational competence (White and Heslop 2012). In this context it may go some way to explaining the criticisms from some SLOs of

their induction. Moreover, the ambitions of the programme to promote effective practice by SLOs in schools also lie at the nexus of multi-professional practice, which, in this instance, demands that the police, schools and university work together effectively to improve young people's understanding of crime prevention and staying safe.

Only one mentor discussed the induction programme, and this was to comment on the lack of engagement with mentors at the initial induction stage of the project:

> … maybe when the PCSOs get invited to Newman University it might be a good idea for the link teacher from the school to be invited as well, … so … we can compare and contrast the provision from the University … so that thinking can be joined up a little.

The mentor suggests that it would have been beneficial for school-based mentors to attend the SLO induction programme, so that they could also experience the SLO induction for themselves. The university researcher had advised WMP to fund a separate training event for school-based mentors of SLOs, in the same way as universities provide separate training events for school-based mentors of student-teachers within initial teacher education programmes, but this had not been possible due to budgetary constraints. School-based mentors are qualified and experienced teachers, however, who would have needed a different type of training event focusing on the mentoring and coaching role, rather than attending the event designed for the SLOs' needs. Nevertheless, the mentor makes an important point around the efficacy of learning linked to school contexts (Walker and Dimmock 2006), and if additional funding had been available for a mentor training event it would have been beneficial to discuss the SLO induction programme with mentors, so they had a greater understanding of the SLOs' needs, which would further enhance the coherence of the professional development programme and thereby support the exchange of professional expertise.

In contrast with some SLO criticisms of induction and despite the different philosophical orientations and different professional values and practices between the police and university sector, the police coordinator appreciated the university's approach to encourage SLOs to use facilitation and discussion, rather than didactic instruction with young people in schools. The police coordinator commented that the university's contribution to the induction programme:

> … gave them a number of tools and different ways that they can actually engage with young people … rather than just standing at the front and doing the input, which is traditionally what we do as police officers – just go in and say 'Don't take drugs' or 'Don't do this' – she gave them the tools to actually getting a bit of facilitating, … conversation with them.

The university contribution encouraged SLOs to work with young people within an andragogical approach (Knowles 1990), based on the social constructivist approach of teachers as facilitators of learning (Vygotsky 1962), in order to move SLOs beyond didactic instruction into facilitating reflection and discussion. This

aligns with findings from Stead *et al.* (2011, p. 7) that 'interventions which use skill based interactive teaching styles are more effective in relation to young people's behaviour' in these contexts. Furthermore, this aligns with guidance from the National Union of Teachers that discussion within schools would make a better contribution than the Prevent agenda to counter any behaviour that could be a problem (Blower 2016).

The police coordinator also expressed disappointment that the police's own LDD trainers had been unable to deliver aspects of the induction programme:

> That's probably where we've fallen a bit short. … I would have liked support … it was quite ironic really … delivering training to officers because they hadn't had any training and we felt that was important and yet I was delivering it and I hadn't any training how to deliver it!

The lack of support from the LDD therefore meant that the majority of the induction programme had to be delivered by the police coordinator herself and she acknowledged her lack of experience in delivering training and the irony of this position. Studies in other settings, such as health care and medicine, have consistently underscored the challenges that surround inter-professional education (Robinson and Cottrell 2005, Reeves *et al.* 2008). Much of the research points to issues around reconciling different professional values and practices; conditions of service; and the need to invest in joint training and professional development. It is suggested, therefore, that investing in collaborative delivery by the LDD, university and schools would have further improved induction and ultimately benefitted SLOs and young people in schools.

School-based mentoring and coaching

As discussed previously, integrating the role of the school in participants' learning can improve links between theory and practice (Simkins 2009). Consequently, the university researcher proposed that school-based mentors were assigned to support SLOs in several ways: planning and preparing sessions for young people; engaging SLOs in reflective dialogue following sessions, to advance their learning and practice; and undertaking their individual action research project. Perspectives of the school-based mentoring and coaching are provided in the following comments from the SLOs via the focus groups in which they participated; from mentors via individual semi-structured interviews; and from the police coordinator via an individual semi-structured interview.

SLO comments regarding mentoring and coaching appear to indicate that the role of the mentor was largely a significant contributor to the success of the programme:

> She was brilliant … but to be fair, my school's brilliant. I've got a really good close working relationship with … the school.
>
> … very pro-police and also he's an ex-special constable himself, so he knows the background and he knows how it works. … he was very sympathetic and every

> time I sent him any emails and said 'This is what I'm doing. Am I on the right track?' … he would get back to me with very constructive criticism.
>
> When we delivered our inputs to the pupils, by the time we came round to the third and fourth one it was so much easier and I was starting to feel a bit more confident about dealing with the pupils. … now, going in, it's … not quite as daunting.
>
> I felt like I'd been a niggle to her a lot of the time 'cause she's got more important work in her school to do, so I think the mentoring is an absolutely fantastic idea but … you've got to be careful on who you choose to mentor you.

In most examples the mentors' sensitivity and commitment were apparent, revealing the positive interpersonal relationships established between SLOs and their mentors. The second comment also demonstrates the importance of understanding the context, since this mentor's former role as a special constable played a significant part in his ability to mediate the discourses of policing and teaching that other mentors may have found more challenging. Nonetheless, effective mentoring of SLOs mirrors much of the reported best practice in the context of initial teacher education (Hobson 2002) with mentoring underpinned by principles of reflective practice (Schön 1983), dialogic teaching (Wells 2004) and constructivist learning approaches (Dewey 1904, Piaget 1972, Bruner 1996, Perkins 1999), leading to SLOs' growing professional confidence due to reflective discussions and the supportive and constructive feedback provided. Also, Lyle and Hendley (2007, p. 205) assert that para-professionals who start to engage in discussions with teachers about learning strategies 'will become more accepted by them and be treated more and more as fellow professionals'. As the final comment shows, however, it is essential to ensure appropriate school-based mentors are assigned who have the necessary time to commit to the role. If chosen appropriately, school-based mentors can be key to unlocking difficulties in linking the theory and practice of learning and teaching, in order to make a real contribution to improving SLO practice and safeguarding young people in schools.

Although WMP had been unable to fund mentor training, as experienced mentors of student-teachers and newly-qualified teachers, most school-based mentors of SLOs were well positioned to assimilate this role quickly, due to the remit provided of mentoring and coaching SLOs in a similar way as if working with student-teachers. All mentors had agreed to undertake the role to support SLOs, and the responses of those interviewed demonstrate that they had mostly understood what had been expected of them and also exemplify some of the benefits of school-based mentoring and coaching to their pupils and the SLOs. Some illustrative comments from mentors regarding school-based mentoring and coaching are as follows:

> We planned the safety day … they [the SLOs] sent me their resources beforehand … I looked through … talked through their ideas and they … carried on from there. … I asked them how it went and we … had an informal … discussion about … rather than talk at people, try and engage them actively. … Everything takes time … but I think the pay-off is … beneficial.

> … there's a development in the building of … confidence in being able to communicate to a group of students. … her [SLO] self-confidence improved because we had walked the walk … prior to the delivery of the actual activity … but the activities that she used in the delivery as well, it was champion. … I think as a result of the project and the fact that Newman University afforded them this opportunity in partnership with a number of different schools …, in my opinion it's quids in.
>
> I've had some feedback from the member of teaching staff that accompanied the PCSO … and he said that the session was well-planned, well-delivered and the pupils learnt a good deal, so it was positive feedback. … The PCSO … discussed … the Citizenship Days he'd contribute to … we discussed the topic, … he devised something, sent it to me via email, I made suggestions. … He … looked at the less effective parts, sent me a final version back, I okayed it and that's what he came in and delivered. So, there was a real discussion about … how he could improve it, … so that's really what I've really thrown myself into … not just saying 'yeah come in and deliver us a session on this, off you go.' We've really tried to work with him to make sure … what he delivers is a quality session … and ultimately the pupils have benefitted.

The need for joint planning and discussions between teachers and officers raised within the comments were also recognised as being necessary for the effective delivery of sessions by Stead *et al.* (2011). Clearly, constructive dialogue between SLOs and mentors facilitated exchanges of different professional expertise and, in turn, underscored further the opportunities for promoting a more authentic interprofessional exchange between SLOs and teachers. These comments also highlight the pedagogic benefit to young people, which should support safeguarding, and a range of benefits for SLOs, such as improving their reflective practice, professional confidence, communication skills and their understanding of pedagogy.

The police coordinator perceived the school-based mentoring and coaching to be very effective and identified some key improvements being made as a result:

> … we did have issues where people were delivering inappropriate material to different age groups … so this is a way of keeping a check from an organisational perspective, making sure that the school okays what is delivered before it's delivered.
>
> … issues which … the PCSOs would never have tackled because it's just such a complex area they'd be concerned about getting complaints or not getting it across correctly … but with dedicated support of a one-to-one mentor … it's tackled by the school and the police so it's a real partnership and it's signed off by the school to say 'we're happy for this to be delivered.'

Data collected within this research reveal that SLOs are working in more complex contexts than originally conceived. In contrast with those policing priorities traditionally encountered by PCSOs, the context for their work clearly presents relatively new forms of challenge, which has been addressed somewhat by

mentoring and coaching support. The spectrum of issues noted by participants in the research typically encompassed child exploitation, cyber abuse/criminality, extremism, terrorism and female genital mutilation. Echoing this increasing complexity in community police work, Longstaff *et al.* (2015 , p. 27) note the need for longer-term solutions based on a 'detailed understanding of the multiple and persistent problems'. These problems, they conclude, involve high concentrations of poverty and ill-health; poor physical environment; a large number of low-income families; limited neighbourhood resources; an active drug market; and substantial barriers to offender resettlement (Longstaff *et al.* 2015). It follows that these localised social complexities are also manifest in school contexts and particularly in secondary schools, where the transition of young people through school coincides with significant physical, mental and emotional change. One such longer-term solution can be found within a programme such as this one, comprising sustainable mentoring and coaching support for SLOs. The police coordinator also came to recognise the essential role being played by mentors, what was needed from them and the importance of mentors' willingness to actively support and participate in the project:

> The mentor is the absolute key role. … we've just had what we call our Blueprint for 2020 produced and in neighbourhood policing it talks about sharing and using the talents of our partners in helping us to deliver a better service to our communities and this project fits perfectly with that because it's using the talents of our schools to assist us to give them a better service.
>
> we're trying to deliver a better service to the schools, so by investing in our officer they're [the mentors] … hopefully going to gain so much from that relationship.
>
> … absolutely fantastic. From the beginning there's buy-in.
>
> One of the best examples of where it's working is that the officer was receiving very close one-to-one support from someone within the school.

These comments highlight the perceived reciprocal benefits of inter-professional and partnership working. They also demonstrate the needs of the police to gain mentors' full commitment and the need for mentors to understand the context of the SLO role.

Action research via the Teaching and Learning Academy CPD framework

Considering the appropriateness of action research to introduce the SLOs to a circle of planning, action and evaluation (Lewin 1946, McNiff and Whitehead 2009), the university researcher proposed that the pilot programme culminated with SLOs undertaking 'practical action research', which is akin to reflection-on-action (Schön 1983). Because of the PCSOs' low levels of confidence in the teaching aspect of the SLO role, school-based mentors were asked to support SLOs with their individual TLA action research projects. Originally launched as the Teacher Learning Academy in 2004 by the former General Teaching Council for England (GTCE) as its professional development strand, the TLA was deemed a highly successful CPD framework with a range of common positive impacts for

school improvement (Lord *et al*. 2009). After the GTCE was abolished, the TLA was subsequently bought by the Cathedrals Group of universities in November 2011 and relaunched with a modified structure to ensure that a wider audience beyond teachers, such as teaching assistants in schools and in this instance SLOs in the police, may take advantage of the framework and the opportunity to gain national professional recognition and also academic credits via the accreditation of prior experiential learning. The TLA is now a professional development strand of the Cathedrals Group of universities, and Newman University is the regional TLA provider for the Midlands area. Perspectives of the TLA are provided below and are drawn from SLOs via the focus group interviews, from mentors via individual semi-structured interviews and from the police coordinator via an individual semi-structured interview.

Some SLOs initially struggled with the concept of national professional recognition, questioning 'What is the qualification?', which may again highlight the different philosophical orientations and priorities the university and police sectors have to training and development. Nevertheless, the culmination of the pilot programme was the submission by the SLOs of an individual action research project regarding a crime-prevention input, and all 11 SLOs completed their projects. For many of the SLOs interviewed, the completion of the TLA project requirement was not a simple undertaking. The following comments typified many of the perceived challenges regarding undertaking written reflective commentary on aspects of their work, often for the first time:

> It actually gave me nightmares.
>
> I used to wake up in the night and write notes. It was on your mind twenty-four-seven.
>
> Well, I took mine [TLA project], she [the mentor] looked at it and said 'I can't help you with that. … I've never seen anything like that before.' … You wouldn't think teachers would have problems. … the paperwork wasn't easy at all.

Some of these comments are indicative of the considerable practical challenges and psychological anxieties that confront adults in both returning to learning and engaging with forms of CPD comprising reflective writing that are new or alien to their prior experience. As Boud (2001, p. 15) observes, this necessarily requires an environment where participants are not preoccupied with defending themselves from the scrutiny of others but enables 'the questioning of assumptions about oneself, one's group, or the conditions in which one operates', which is essential for critical reflection and understanding one's practice. Despite the attendant anxieties, all 11 TLA projects were successfully verified – although the SLOs did not know this at the time the focus group interviews had taken place, as they had only just submitted their projects for verification. From the emails sent to the university by the SLOs expressing their delight and relief upon receiving their TLA certificate, however, and reports from the police coordinator, it was evident

that the personal pride in achieving TLA national professional recognition had been significant to the SLOs. The final comment, however, also shows that some mentors were unable to support SLOs in completing the TLA project. Although the university researcher had recommended the inclusion of TLA projects for school-based mentors within the proposed professional development model, WMP had been unable to fund this aspect, due to budgetary constraints. Consequently, some mentors were not familiar with the TLA requirements and were unable to support the SLOs adequately with their project. If school-based mentors had been completing TLA projects alongside the SLOs, this would have enabled them to more effectively support the SLOs; alleviated some of the anxieties experienced by the SLOs; stimulated some collaborative professional learning, which could also facilitate greater understanding from both the school and police sectors regarding each other's practice; and may also have demonstrated further appreciation and acknowledgement of the work the mentors were undertaking.

Some mentors had taken the time to familiarise themselves with the TLA requirements, however, and were aware of the benefits of TLA projects:

> It's [the TLA] … is valuable 'cause it goes on to inform other PCSOs and other police officers and because it's quality that's being produced it then gets put onto their systems, so they can be used elsewhere.

This mentor clearly acknowledges the quality of the work being produced via the TLA projects and the importance of disseminating them. The university researcher had encouraged WMP to use verified TLA projects in the induction of future SLOs and to share projects via an online platform, facilitating peer support and enhancing the sustainability of the programme. Although WMP had been unable to fund mentors to undertake TLA projects, as teachers who themselves had to gain the national professional recognition of qualified teacher status via meeting professional standards (see Department for Education 2012 for example) and as experienced teachers accustomed to the use of critical reflection to inform their planning to support pupil progress, most school-based mentors were well positioned and able to support SLOs with the TLA project.

Finally, although the police coordinator had initially been reluctant to include the TLA project within the pilot programme, since many PCSOs do not have any formal qualifications, she saw the merits of the TLA and was reassured by the projects not being assessed at any specific academic level, but rather being verified relating to reflection of professional practice. Interestingly, however, the TLA seems to have been an especially significant aspect of this programme because PCSOs who typically have no or few formal qualifications were able to gain national professional recognition from their projects. As such, national professional recognition through the partner university has provided an essential conduit to an evaluation of practice that accords more sympathetically to the tenets articulated in the discourses of neighbourhood policing and provided an effective entrée to a

more systematic reflection on professional learning. Once SLOs started to engage with and complete the TLA projects, the police coordinator became convinced of the benefits of the TLA:

> That's [the TLA] been one of the best bits for me personally about the project. … they [the SLOs] seem to have such a pride about it.
>
> I think that's where the training has really happened.
>
> … we've had a whole range of projects coming back and it's really gratifying for me to see … stuff that I heard about on the training day … they've actually used.
>
> … showing … the way in which the police want you [the SLOs] to design future crime prevention input. If the school comes to you and says we've had a problem with cyber bullying … can you deliver an input? What you should be doing is exactly the process … you've done for this … The Teaching and Learning Academy … has given us the perfect … purpose in what they're doing … and also … to meet up with someone in that school … with a purpose.
>
> … it's [the TLA] very do-able because … the teaching and learning … they [the SLOs] do is what they're doing anyway – just in a more structured and supervised way. … all that we're doing is asking them … to actually reflect on that process … I feel personally that the police should do more of this kind of self-reflection. We are a professional organisation and I think that should be part of our work anyway.
>
> … they're [the TLA certificates] are going to be presented by senior leaders to the PCSOs because I think we should celebrate what is a real achievement for them.
>
> … talking about more complex issues … that's [the TLA] actually been a great success of the project. … one of the PCSOs … will … be submitting a project on talking to young people about the dangers of extremism and terrorism and travelling to Syria etc.

For the police coordinator the TLA was key to the programme and met the aims of improving crime-prevention inputs, providing PCSOs with significant learning via effective CPD and the credentials of national professional recognition; affording an improvement in the SLOs' reflective practice; providing SLOs with a renewed purpose and a sense of pride in their achievements; and supporting them in engaging with complex issues, which would previously have been avoided. It was also pleasing to hear that the police coordinator had taken on board the positive ethos and celebration events associated with the TLA from its initial introduction by the GTCE, since the TLA is a CPD framework which embraces a celebration of achievements. The police coordinator also reported the enhanced professional status of SLOs as an ambition of the WMP Chief Superintendent and Chief Inspector overseeing the project, and this was another reason for the police coordinator accepting the TLA action research project within the training model. For the police coordinator, enhancing the professional status of PCSOs was fundamentally about engendering personal and professional pride and involved officers making some initial gains in confidence building and improvement regarding the delivery of input when presenting policing issues to young people.

The adoption of TLA action research projects by SLOs culminating in national professional recognition was a direct attempt by the university to support aspects of SLOs' professional learning and practice and to enhance their professional status with regard to credentials.

Conclusion

Despite the challenges relating to the PCSO role, the findings from this research demonstrate that this CPD programme made significant steps forward to address the issues which initially emerged from the internal questionnaire administered by WMP – that is, to improve the confidence and skills of SLOs to engage effectively with young people in secondary schools; to improve the partnership between school communities and community policing; and to raise the professional confidence and status of the SLO role. Overall, the findings offer a positive account of a professional development initiative and the professional exchange of expertise between higher education, the police and schools. The accounts from participants reveal the value of each element of the pilot professional development programme and also aspects which could be developed, should this model be rolled out further across the police force. The findings show the quite different philosophical orientations that higher education and the police have to professional development, which underscores the need for greater collaboration in the training of SLOs, to facilitate the exchange of different professional expertise and to promote a more authentic inter-professional exchange across the police, higher education and schools. Consequently, we propose that the current model is developed further to enhance SLOs' professional learning by fully integrating all three partners, with schools and the university working in greater partnership too. Recommended improvements are: collaborative planning and delivery of the induction programme by the police LDD, the university and the secondary schools; the allocation of appropriate school-based mentors with the necessary time and expertise to support SLOs; the funding of mentor training; funding for the mentors to undertake TLA projects themselves alongside the SLOs; and a need for the police, university and schools to collectively celebrate the SLOs' achievement of TLA national professional recognition.

The findings offer a positive account of a burgeoning partnership of strong mutual benefit established via the CPD programme between the police, higher education and schools, which has also been effective in further improving relationships between the police and young people and between the police and school communities, which in turn may support the safeguarding of young people. It has also been evident from the pilot CPD programme that effective police–university–school partnerships and interventions can be achieved with modest resourcing, but providing good impact. The project has also demonstrated to the police and schools the other types of contribution that higher education can make to society, such as designing and providing appropriate, high-quality and

sustainable professional learning; and offering professional credentials, in addition to the important core academic role of higher education and the concept of the ideal university as a community of thinkers, engaging in intellectual pursuits not for any external purpose, but as an end in itself (Newman 1959).

Much less encouraging, however, is the policy context within which neighbourhood policing now has to operate. Despite the positive developments achieved by this CPD project and PCSOs achieving more inclusive engagement in local communities, Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2015) note that PCSOs' efforts are mitigated by their structured position in the hierarchy and the organisational environment in which they work. Furthermore, and despite the ambitions of WMP via this pilot to provide effective professional development for SLOs, at the time of writing serious doubt exists around the prospects of neighbourhood policing and the future of PCSOs as a consequence of ongoing funding constraints (O'Neill 2015). As Foster and Jones (2010, p. 77) observe, there is a common perception that neighbourhood policing is 'nice to do but not essential' and in particular CPD for PCSOs continues to be a marginal feature of police training, as funding settlements are prioritised amongst other competing divisions of policing. These findings, however, offer a further insight into the importance of a clear direction for PCSO–SLO professional development and for community policing. Underscoring Longstaff *et al.'s* (2015) assertion that the police sometimes struggle to work effectively with other agencies in the context of neighbourhood policing, combined with the significant differences noted by White and Heslop (2012) in education and training in policing and teaching, this research highlights the urgent need for an inter-professional approach to SLO professional development, but also provides a positive way forward and a successful model as a major outcome of the findings. Also, if the PCSO role has no future then it is imperative that warranted police officers undertake the SLO role and are offered appropriate professional learning to ensure the pivotal role of community policing is secured. If policing strategy is to engage effectively with the contemporary socio-cultural complexities reported by the respondents in this research and address safeguarding in a more meaningful way, then a commitment by policymakers to invest in a coherent, in-depth and sustained CPD programme, such as the recommended model, would appear to be an essential prerequisite and could be an effective addition or alternative to the current Prevent agenda.

Acknowledgements
The authors would like to thank the PCSOs, school-based mentors and the WMP coordinating officer who participated in this research. The WMP coordinating officer was awarded the prestigious British Association of Women in Policing's Officer of the Year for her part in the programme.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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TWENTY FOUR

Performance Capital and the Betrayal of Youth: Education in times of supercomplexity

Dave Trotman and Stan Tucker

Introduction

Ours is an age of increased complexity. The contemporary world that young people inhabit is for many older adults barely recognisable to that experienced in their own youth. Mobility and migration (economic and geographic); micro-technologies and the advent of social media; improved opportunities for the expression of ethnic, physical, cultural and sexual identities combined with globalisation and new trans-national risks of terrorism and cyber criminality are amongst a number of the contributing factors that now shape our lives in contemporary times. Added to this, a concomitant rapid access to available information, knowledge and other forms of data can now be generated, reconfigured and redistributed with astonishing ease and speed. Even the most modest reading of these social contours reveals a contemporary condition that is characterised by a potent combination of multidimensionality, indeterminacy and ambiguity. This, then, is a period where socio-cultural practices and perceived social norms have become less stable, increasingly volatile and less predictable. In short, in a relatively short space of time the social world has become increasingly challenging to navigate, accommodate, and make sense of. This is not to imply that this all bad, indeed as we have already intimated, new complexities can give rise to new spaces for positive creativity, the realisation of imagination, entrepreneurial spirit and new freedoms and opportunities for cultural expression. While such opportunities may undoubtedly exist, in this chapter we draw on a combination of policy analysis and research findings, including those from our own research, that point to a more problematic reading of the lifeworlds of young people in complex times. This reading points far less to the capitalisation of opportunity for young people but, rather, to opportunism in the construction of young people as commodified performance capital. It is from this premise that we consider the context, effects and responses to these forces as an educational concern.

Supercomplexity and the Education Policyscape

In what has become a prescient reading of the subject, Ronald Barnett argues that our contemporary condition is better understood not as one of general complexity, (involving at its most basic the unsettling features of indeterminacy and instability), but rather one of *supercomplexity* (Barnett, 2000). This he argues is predicated on a number of interrelated phenomena that have arisen out of the confluence of contexts that epitomise a so-called 'global age' and which confront

the 'triple challenges' of our understanding, our self-identity and our actions. Amongst these phenomena Barnett points to arrival of an information society, characterised by a compression of time and space; a post-Fordist environment of work where individuals are required to take greater responsibility for their actions within flatter organisational structures; and a proliferation of sites of knowledge production and the multiplication of what might be constituted as legitimate knowledge (Barnett, 2000, 257). He considers these conditions of supercomplexity to be underpinned by two further powerful dimensions that have been separately articulated in seminal works by Ulrich Beck (1992), on the 'risk society', and Jean-Francoise Lyotard (1984) in his concept of 'performativity'. In the former of these, Beck's risk thesis concerns the restructuring of society as a consequence of forms of manufactured risk generated by humankind through technological means, while Lyotard explains the concept of performativity as both a culture and technology, in which regulation serves to drive performance against generalised standards. A corollary of the performative drive for efficiency is the assumption that it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance of 'so-called' core activities of organisations through the use of audit technologies. Performativity, then, involves the macro-societal pursuit of efficiency and outcomes governed by narrow bureaucratic forms of output and accountability to serve capitalist interests. Following the 11th September terrorist attacks in America, Beck's (2002) continuing analysis of Risk positions this not as general increase in risk in everyday life but, rather, what he describes as a 'de-bounding' of uncontrollable risk (p.41) with this de-bounding running across three dimensions of the spatial, temporal and the social. According to Beck the spatial dimension of risk is unconstrained by nation-states and can involve such things as climate change and pollution. The unbounded temporal dimension relates to such things as the consequences of genetically modified food or problems of the disposal on nuclear waste – those things with a 'long latency period of danger[s]'. The social dimension, according to Beck, is the difficulty of determining who 'causes' such things as environmental pollution or a financial crisis due to the combined effects of the actions of many individuals. 'Uncontrollable risks' must then be understood as not being linked to simplistic forms of place or centre. Moreover, he cautions that global risks are not equally distributed. Rather that risks 'unfold in different ways… mediated by different historical backgrounds, cultural and political patterns' (p.42). Beck concludes that as a consequence 'people feel like the helpless hostages of this process insofar as corrections are virtually impossible at the national level' (p.42).

In prior conditions of complexity it has been possible to broadly make sense of the world by drawing upon our existing subjective and normative frameworks of perception, cognition and affect in order to make sense of complex environments and behaviours from a position of relative subjective stability. In conditions of *supercomplexity*, however, the very frameworks in which we orientate ourselves not

only become unstable but, moreover, are in themselves fundamentally contested. For Barnett, supercomplexity 'denotes a fragile world'…

> …brought on not merely by social and technological change; it is a fragility in the way that we understand the world, in the way in which we understand ourselves and in the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world.
> (Barnett, 2000, 257)

Although originally conceptualised in the field of Higher Education, supercomplexity has now gained traction as a matter of wider urgent educational concern (Hayward *et al*, 2017; Livingston *et al*, 2015) with researchers noting that '…in 2015, only two years ago, it is doubtful that we understood the full implications of what that [supercomplexity] might mean for the world and for education in 2017 (Hayward *et al*, 2017).

In his discussion of the contemporary policy in education, British scholar Stephen Ball casts further light on the 'flux' of supercomplexity from the standpoint of government and governance. In this analysis Ball considers the 'fragile and uneven moves' in education policy, education governance and the politics of educational knowledge involving a shift from government to governance through an increasing blurring of the boundaries between tiers of government, public and private sectors and between the state and civil society. This, Ball argues, requires new ways of governing that, in turn, require new forms of knowledge to make them work (Ball, 2010, 124). One such dimension of this is the mediation of 'travelling policies' and policy discourses, particularly across Europe, that constitute what Ball calls a 'polymorphic policyscape'. According to Ball, a pivotal component of this policyscape are performative forms of quality assurance such as those advanced in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other national evaluation systems that enables the state to monitor, reform and ultimately steer education policy and its systems of education. According to Hunter, that is: 'the technology of statistics creates the capacity to relate to reality as a field of government' (Hunter, 1996, p. 154 in Ball, 2010, 125). Dale (1999, 4), for example, notes that most prominent organisations involved in attempting to 'install governance without government' include the IMF, the OECD, G-7 and the World Bank. Research by Tucker *et al* (2014) similarly report how curriculum and pedagogical advances in post-communist Romania have been increasingly determined by the interests and financial terms imposed by the World Bank, the European Union and the OECD as part of constitutional reform. Amongst the ramifications of this, Romania, like many other low-income countries, is, as Kamens (2013, 130) notes, 'under the gun to establish some kind of accountability of their educational system'. Performativity then forms an essential pillar in the shift to modes of supranational governance that assumes educational outcomes can be routinely measured and that educational benefits equate to increased economic and social productivity as part of a

broader neoliberal imperative. One corollary of the 'technology of statistics' that is central to the function of performative cultures has been the emergence of what observers have called 'datafication' and 'dataveillance' (Mattern, 2103; Kitchin, 2014). As a condition of supercomplexity, the information society to which Barnett refers has now enabled the proliferation, storage and mobility of huge quantities of electronic data. Datafication, then, like the historic traditions of positivism, is premised on the assumption and arguably now a fetishisation that any form of meaningful activity can be usefully measured through the use of numbers and algorithms. As a consequence, Kitchin points to the risks of this 'data deluge' being open to dataveillance and exploitation.

> as 'a mode of surveillance enacted through sorting and sifting datasets in order to identify, monitor, track, regulate, predict and prescribe (Clarke 1988; Raley 2013); it works to transform the complex myriad of actions and thoughts that data represents into a legible landscape and 'visible forms of order' (Curry *et al*. 2004: 359) and is a key component of modern forms of governance and governmentality. (Kitchin, 2014, p168)

Derived from Michelle Foucault's explanation of the 'conceptual architecture of the modern liberal state', the Governmentality referred to by Kitchin is, as Ball (2013, 60) reminds us, how the various aspects of state apparatus act upon both the human body and social behaviour through its various conduits of power. The language and practices of neoliberal managerialism are, as Ball further asserts, seductive in enabling new kinds of success and recognition to be advanced that, in turn, lay the ground for 'making the individual into an enterprise, a self-maximising productive unit operating in a market of performances – committed to the 'headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market' (Falk, 1999, 19 in Ball, 2010, 126). At its most visible level, neoliberal imperatives have led to the commodification of educational services with the packaging of curriculum, assessment, inspection and approved methods of teaching conducted through a continuum of travelling policies. Following these lines of analysis, a less visible but more pernicious feature of this new educational governance is the subsequent re-imaging of children and young people as performance capital - to be tested, measured and evaluated within a necessary performative culture. Guided by the Bourdieuian trilogy of social, cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) our use of the term performance capital powerfully aligns with Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus'; as our disposition or sense of who we are in the world - of who we are and where we belong (Brotherton, 2018, 284). For Bourdieu 'the most successful ideological effects are those which have no need for words, and ask no more than complicitous silence' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.188). The triumph of neoliberalism, then, is its success in making the inequalities inherent within prevailing systems hidden while displacing the worst effects of differential access to the various forms of capital onto those least able to resist (Brotherton, 2018, 286). Nowhere is this confluence of performativity, capital and habitius more striking than in

the form of PISA.

Orchestrated by the OECD, PISA's history can be traced to two important historical 'turns'. The first in the emergence of neoliberalism in the aftermath of the Second World War and the second, with the advent of the Soviet-American 'space race' in 1957. While the former has been given extensive treatment in the literature, the 'technological shock' following the launch in 1957 of the Soviet space satellite Sputnik has received less critical attention. The success of the Soviet Union in launching the first orbiting space satellite prompted a significant reassessment in the United States of the relationship between University training in science and engineering and high school education. While Sputnik signalled the arrival of the space race, as Trohler (2013) notes, it also overturned long-standing assumptions in America that education in the Soviet Union amounted to little more than rudimentary training mixed with ideological indoctrination. While this marked a reappraisal of the relationship between education and training in science and engineering in the United States (only later mirrored in the UK in James Callaghan's 1975 Ruskin College speech), it also marked a reorientation in American approaches to national and international policy influence in education. As Trohler observes, American policy making had to contend with two competing imperatives: on the one hand, the need to ensure the best possible return for significant Federal investment in educational programmes, and, on the other, its constitutional commitment to the principles of local governance and non-interference. The solution to this was to be found in the concept of 'out-put steering'. This was predicated on the belief that returns on investment in education could be measured and subsequently shaped through less direct forms of intervention - and it is here we find the origins of PISA. By 1958 the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) had been created at the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, leading, in turn, to the proliferation of a new genre of educational evaluation in which state-sponsored education would be redefined through a tightly framed reading of specific educational inputs and outcomes. Designed by organisations external to the State, these inputs and outputs were to relate exclusively to the disciplines of mathematics, science and language. Emerging from the IEA were the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) with the 1964 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) providing the template for the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Meanwhile, the creation of the OECD in 1961 as the successor to the American-funded Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) provided the natural home for PISA. For many observers the OECD continues a tradition established as part of the post-war settlement of a rich nations club with national eligibility increasingly defined by the apparatus of PISA. As a consequence, Heyneman and Lee have calculated that as many as twenty-one countries have initiated education policy reforms

directly in response to international test results (2013). Moreover, the explicit reference to fifteen-year olds as representatives of 'counties and economies' (OECD, 2017) has seen a continuing trend of a re-imaging of young people as little more than necessary commodified performance capital in the service of supra-national neoliberal interests.

The negative effects of performativity on organisational cultures and professional groups has been widely reported. As Priestly *et al.* (2012, 89) have observed with regard to school and teaching, this has led to 'an emphasis on short-term instrumental goals', a 'detachment from big picture ideas', and a distancing of personal values in order to 'play the game' (Gleeson and Gunter, 2001). Such 'gameplaying' they conclude can take the form of 'fabrication of the school's image – careful impression management and discourses of excellence' (Keddie *et al*, 2011), the concealing of 'dirty laundry' (Cowie *et al*, 2007), as well as more serious corruption and cheating (Ball, 2003; Sahlberg, 2010). Much less reportage, however, has been given over to the effects of this on children and young people.

While the educational impact of supercomplexity, as Hayward *et al* note, is yet to be fully understood, the combined effects of de-bounded uncontrollable risk, performativity, datafication and dataveillance, have more recently begun to emerge as increasing concerns with regard to the lifeworlds and welfare of young people, and it is to these effects that we now wish to turn.

Effects

There is in the UK currently very little research on the impact of supercomplexity on lives of young people. It is, however, possible to trace some of the early effects of its chief characteristics, specifically in regard to performativity and risk, in the lives of young people. Cullingford (1999, 6) for example has reported the anxieties felt by primary age children in England during the performative processes of school inspection conducted by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Similarly, Park (2013) has also recorded the debilitating effects of Ofsted on children and young people as they are made to feel responsible for judgements about their school on the basis of their test performance. In some of the rare accounts of pupil perspectives, Burke and Grosvenor (2003, 70) reveal the criticism of testing and measurement by young people in their reprise of Edward Blishen's 'The School I'd Like', where children and young people fully recognise this as 'a means by which the state benefits and, through which, schooling becomes divorced from learning'. As a consequence, significant aspects of education, and often those perceived to be the most enriching (such as the expressive arts, humanities and physical education), are often relegated to the margins of formal schooling and, according to Claes (2009, 125), has led to school becoming for many young people unwelcome and barren environments.

Research conducted by the authors (Trotman *et al*, 2012) has further

shown the often debilitating effects experienced by pupils in having to make early qualification choices in their secondary education as a result of external performative pressures and the consequent effects on their career choices and possibilities. Reporting on the increasing encroachment of school work into the home, research by Mayall (2007) for the UK's the Cambridge Primary Review reveals how children in England now have to contend with what she describes as the 'scholarisation' of their home-life. Home, she reports, has become increasingly regarded as an extension of school with homework encroaching significantly on the time for children to enjoy non-school activities. In the province of literacy education, Lee (2014) has described this as nothing short of a 'systemic colonisation of the educational lifeworld'.

In a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of performativity on pupil well-being, Hutching's (2015) report for the National Union of Teachers in England has highlighted the anxieties induced amongst young people as part of the pressure to perform in English state schools. Combined with the World Health Organisation's (2012) finding that 11-16 year-old pupils in England feel more pressured by their school work than in the majority of other European countries, and evidence from the Children's Charity Childline (2014,2015) of a 200 percent increase in counselling sessions related to exam stress in the period 2012-2014, the effects of performative cultures have become increasingly visible.

Continuing this trend, and beyond the exclusive parameters of formal education, the effects of supercomplexity on young people can be found in a wave of reports in the UK that have charted a chronology of increasing pressures placed on children and young people related to their mental health and well-being (Layard and Dunn, 2009; the National Institute for Care Excellence, 2013; the Office for National Statistics; 2014) while reports for the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD; 2015) and UNICEF (2007) have added weight to the well-being of young people as matter of international policy concern. While child well-being is variously defined in the literature, common characteristics typically coalesce around physical, psychological, cognitive, social and economic well-being (Pollard and Lee, 2003). UNICEF (2007), in one of the early reports on child well-being to be brought to wider public attention, detail material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviours and risks, and subjective well-being amongst its concerns. On the basis of these dimensions, UNICEF conclude that the UK, alongside the USA, has the worst profile of child well-being amongst the world's twenty-one richest countries.

While much of the reportage has justifiably given attention to the economic factors governing child well-being, bodies in the UK such as NICE have focussed attention on the domains of emotional, psychological and social well-being. Being happy, confident and not unduly anxious or depressed are amongst the factors NICE point to in the province of emotional well-being, while personal autonomy,

problem solving, resilience, managing emotions and exercising empathy are amongst those factors that comprise psychological well-being. In their third category of well-being, social well-being is understood as developing positive relationships with others and not exhibiting disruptive, violent or a bullying behaviour (NICE, 2013).

There are, then, a number of important factors involved in the navigation of supercomplexity as a matter of educational concern in the well-being of young people. At much the same time as Barnett was advancing the concept of supercomplexity, Earl (1999) has described the problematic navigation of educational systems as a period entailing three simultaneous transitions: adolescents in transition from childhood to adulthood; the world in transition from separate societies to more complex patterns of interaction and dependence; schools in transition from a style that worked well for most of the twentieth century to one that will prepare students for life in the twenty-first century (Earl 1999).

In our own research (Trotman, *et al* 2017), we have been concerned to understand the factors leading to young people being excluded from schools and the reasons for their referral to Alternative Provision (AP). In England AP varies between public, private and third sector initiatives that can span online provision, work-based learning and vocational education and training (Gutherson *et al*, 2011; Harper *et al*, 2011). The range of concerns that AP is designed to address is, then, extensive. Typically, this can include: young people who are at risk of, or have been permanently excluded from school; school refusal, school phobia and truancy; Special Educational Needs and Disability; young people who have struggled to cope with mainstream settings; those requiring therapeutic interventions, such as anxiety, depression, and attachment disorders; victims of bullying in school or victims of crime; looked after children. Amongst the headlines in our research has been enduring problem of transition from Primary school (Year 5-11) to Secondary school with our respondents corroborating Earl's (ibid) earlier assessment of the problematic navigation of three simultaneous transitions. The following extract from our field data is representative of many of the pupil and staff respondents comment on secondary school transition:

> … *in Year 7* [aged 11 years] i*t took me time to settle down, and I don't think they [teachers] handle it in the right way … Like they don't understand you are coming from a primary school to a secondary school, it is a big move, they are still children, they are not mature yet, they are not teenagers yet ….*
>
> *Even for me now, when I visit all the schools and I go round all the schools, I walk in to some schools and I think 'whoa, this really is an assault on the senses'. So for a child, who has any of those issues it's a big no no.*
> (Head of Service)

While the problems of school-transition are well-documented (Zeedyk, *et al* 2003; Jindal-Snape and Foggie, 2008), our research has revealed that failed transitions are rarely temporary or without long-term consequence. Research by Graham

(2014) for instance in her case study accounts of adult prisoners, has pointed to a strong thematic correlation between failed transitions from primary to secondary school and subsequent and enduring educational failure in the biographies of prison inmates.

A key finding from our research has, in turn, corroborated the reported escalation of the effects of performative cultures on young people, as the following accounts bear testimony to:

> *It started in year 7* [age 11] a*t this school and then, I think it was about in year 10* [age 14] *that it got a bit too much; like I couldn't really cope. It was all the lessons and all the revision.*
> (Secondary School pupil)

> *They're bombarded constantly with 'I'm not good enough', whether it be outside socially and then in school that 'I'm not meeting the national curriculum', 'I'm not meeting that required attainment'. We don't say that to our children but our children know which ones are in the group at the bottom.*
> (Primary School Headteacher)

> *The majority of students who have behavioural difficulties are from* […] *The students that come out of schools in* […] *are often girls who are highly anxious and self-harm and that might be to do with the pressures that some schools put on them in terms of academic* [attainment]
> (Head of Service)

The comments above reflect not only the effects of performative cultures, but moreover, the wider characteristics of the supecomplexity that Barnett refers to – the fragility in the way that we understand the world and ourselves and the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world. Nowhere has this been more visible in our research than in the polarisation of AP referrals, where in areas of high socio-economic deprivation, referrals to AP are typically categorised in the domain of behaviour and attachment disorders, while in more affluent middle-class households, referrals predominantly relate to anxiety, depression, low self-esteem and self-harm.

Aligning further with the contours of supercomplextity, earlier research conducted by the authors (2012) on young people's perception of risk has shown how young people have tended to be less preoccupied with adult 'moral panics', such as chat-room grooming, inculcation into gangs and street-level violence but rather in navigating the emotional terrain of the adolescent life-world. In particular, their anxieties more typically concerned issues of identity formation, independence of thought and consequences for this on social inter-relationships. For young women, the issue of relationships and relationship choices was a recurrent them. The emotional risks of attraction and attachment to young men were at the top of their lists of risks - emotional damage being equal to the very real possibilities of unanticipated and unwanted pregnancy. For young men, their accounts correspond with other studies in which 'coping strategies' developed

by young men in response to the dangers of peer-labelling of effeminacy and homosexuality (Messner, 2001). Amongst young women there was a particularly strong sense that trust and judgement were pivotal to their emotional choices, and for which they had to shoulder significant personal responsibility.

Turning to the endpoint of compulsory education, transition to employment and the world of work seems no less problematic for young people. Our research in AP has further corroborated what appears to be an enduring binary of narrow vocational and academic pathways. Indeed, we have repeatedly encountered the polarisation of academic and vocational routes for young people entering from AP. Most troublingly for those students orientated towards so-called practical or non-academic routes, the options are typically restricted to enduring gendered stereotyped options of construction and vehicle mechanics – most typically as a masculine gendered activity – for boys, and health and beauty, or childcare for girls. As one of the staff respondents effectively put it, the options are basically 'hair and bricks'. Responses from young people, however, frequently illustrate a subtler reading of vocational aspirations, as the responses from this young man and young woman illustrate:

> *I'd have to like work with my hands. Like do something physical cause I don't want to sit behind a desk or anything. Electrics course, like fitting electrics in houses, installations and all that.*
> (Secondary School Pupil)

> *I'm going to do a year of engineering in college…and then get an apprenticeship in Land Rover but obviously I'd have a bit of experience of what to do…at Land Rover they've got a young women's apprenticeship which they take young women on 'cause it's mainly men that work there.*
> (Female Secondary School Pupil)

In this regard, initiatives such as that reported by the female pupil respondent provide an important illumination of future possibilities for those students whose preference is for active (as opposed to sedentary) and kinaesthetic (as opposed to abstract) work. Mirroring the indeterminacy of supercomplex environments, studies of global labour markets and vocational education and training (VET) point out that those skills that are typically considered essential by employers and policy makers are in fact subject to change over time. Mournier (2001, 34), for example, asserts that attempts to pursue a single 'logic' of skills has resulted in the assumption that these can be routinely compared through time and place while neglecting the value of the social processes involved. Instead, he argues for a conception of skill as a heterogeneous quality of labour involving three distinct dimensions: technical skills that are defined by the practices of labour power, technologies and methods of production; behavioural features and factors concerning employment relationships; and skills that broadly relate to the province of cognition and general education and training. Moving the focus more closely to that of individual motivation and aspiration, the observations of Lowry *et al* (2008)

chime closely with our own empirical data from young people in recognising the distinction between the skills that a particular job may require and the attributes, qualities and skills that people bring to their employment (Lowry *et al*, 2008, 11). Despite this more sophisticated reading of labour markets and employment, our research reveals a picture in which the concerns, interests and aspirations of young people are largely disregarded as a consequence of policy effects governed by an overriding investment in young people as performance capital in the service of neoliberal interests.

As we have demonstrated, the effects of supercomplexity on young people are already profound. In the reports of young people and those with significant oversight of their educational welfare we are now able to point to a number of emerging concerns. Amongst these we have recorded the anxieties of young people with regard to their everyday encounters with risk; and while these are vivid in their lifeworlds of many adolescent young men and women, they are not always visible in the preoccupations of school organisations and teachers. Amongst the more damaging aspects of supercomplexity, performativity has undoubtedly become the most corrosive, pervading not only curriculum, teacher pedagogy and school evaluation (in which the latter is now dominated by datafication and dataveillance), but equally disturbingly, now as an encroachment into the fabric of home life. Qualification and career choices, as we have also shown, are now being imposed upon young people at an ever-earlier age and framed by only the narrowest definitions of 'employment readiness'. The consequence of this has been the reimaging of young people as commodified performance capital combined with an emerging pattern of poor mental health and deteriorating well-being amongst many young people.

So far in this chapter then we have considered supercomplexity and its effects largely in terms of macro-to-micro phemomena – from the govenmentality of supranational neoliberal imperatives, to the impact on the individual lifeworlds of young people and their educational futures. In this next section we turn to the practices, effects and responses that are situated at the mezzo level of educational intervention.

Consequences and Responses

As we have sought to demonstrate in this chapter, the conditions of supercomplexity are intrinsically a supranational phenomenon driven by neoliberal imperatives. As we have also shown, the exposure of young people to the worst excesses of this in the form of performative cultures, dataveillance and preference for positivist explanation have been particularly acute in England and the wider UK. In turn, the negative effects of supercomplexity on the lifeworld of young people, as our reportage is now beginning to affirm, are significant.

In conjunction with their commodification as performance capital and through the process of governmentality, supercomplexity as a mezzo-level phenomenon

has resulted in the treatment (literally) of young people as a condition for necessary intervention. Involving the categorisation, amongst others, of inappropriate behaviour, attachment disorders and dysfunctional family lives, for many young people they are the subject of a 'double fix' of being cast as commodified performance capital, on the one hand, and the subject of the pathologisation of their lifeworlds on the other. This pathologisation, as Griffin (1993) contends, is one in which young people are portrayed as 'troubled', 'deficient', 'disaffected', 'delinquent', 'diseased' and 'perverted'. Our own research (Trotman *et al*, 2017) has also pointed to an emerging binary in the governmentality of pathological responses to the lifeworlds of young people; one that continues to be delineated along historically entrenched lines of class and access. In the pathologisation of young people we have found this aspect of governmentality to be most acute amongst less affluent working-class families. Interventions for young people in lower-income areas commonly involves nurture groups in the early years of education, mentorship programmes for behaviour and anger management and, frequently, exclusion from mainstream school to Alternative Provision during adolescence as a means of schools alleviating themselves from individual troublesome behaviour. In contrast, our research has also revealed the existence of dedicated alternative provision in affluent middle class areas for young people who have found it difficult to cope with the effects of supercomplexity in school settings; involving support for pupils with performative-related low self-esteem, anxiety, depression and self-harm.

Reponses to increasing performative school cultures amongst middle-class households have also contributed to the rapid increase in the number of parents attracted to the possibilities of elective home education (Neuman and Guterman, 2017). The number of children and young people being educated at home in the UK has been estimated at around 80,000 (Davies, 2015; Badman, 2009) and in the United States estimates by National Center for Educational Statistics put this figures at 1.5 million (Kunzman & Gaither, 2013). Much of the reportage, however, reveals a picture of preoccupations and privilege in the pursuit of home education; a lack of faith in educational provision, a perceived deterioration in learning conditions (class size and teaching quality), a fear for children's safety and inability to help students with special needs and gifted students (Neuman and Guterman, 2017). Such concerns, however, appear to be largely the preserve of affluent middle class families, in that less affluent working class families rarely possess either the financial, social or cultural capital with which to both evaluate and enjoy the perceived freedom and merits of elective home education outside of state schooling. Among the troubling consequences of this is that the performative emphasis of schools appears to be amplified with an increasing pathologisation of young people through processes of governmentality.

In a strong alignment with neo-liberal imperatives, a further recent manifestation of governmentality in the UK has been the reconfiguration of the educational

administration and governance of schools from close regional Local Education Authority (LEA) control to that of the trans-regional Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) as a single legal entity managed by a Board of Trustees and Directors (DFE, 2016). As schools are routinely and often coercively rebadged as Academies, coalitions of academies in the form of MATs, accountable only to central Government, share much in common with Beck's social dimension of de-bounded risk, offering new and troubling possibilities in the distancing and insulation of governmental 'corrections' and accountabilities with the resultant feeling amongst school communities of being the helpless hostages that Beck describes. Early research on the impact of coercive academisation in England reveals, perhaps not surprisingly, a narrative of professional and community alienation in response to imposed regimes that are perceived by those affected as judgemental and unforgiving (Elton and Male, 2015: 420). It is perhaps little wonder then that in many working class communities schools have been reduced to the barren environments reported by Claes (2009) to the extent that the very essence of education has come to be regarded as under siege (Mortimore, 2013).

As researchers, we are necessarily duty-bound to tell things as they are from the basis of credible and trustworthy evidence; and in this regard we consider the evidence to be compelling. In this undertaking we acknowledge also that our analysis of the conditions and effects of supercomplexity is profoundly bleak. While 'bearing witness to negativity' is, as Michael Apple has persuasively argued, something in which critical researchers must necessarily engage, we are also rightly obliged to reveal the 'contradictions and spaces of possible action…where more progressive and counter-hegemonic actions can or do go on' (Apple, 2013, 207). In this regard our research has, in turn, revealed conditions of possibility enacted by proactive and dynamic school communities that we agree are vital in ameliorating the worst effects of supercomplexity in the lives of young people.

Alternative Perspectives

Amongst the counter-hegemonic responses with regard to education policy in the UK, matters of curriculum, assessment and inspection are some of the most widely reported (Wrigley *et al*, 2012), and to which we have also contributed (Trotman, 2017). In terms of progressive and proactive action, however, one of the more powerful grass-roots developments that we have been witness to has been schools' commitment to a somewhat historic and in many ways singularly British concept - that of Pastoral Weflare and Care in a specifically contemporary form. Historically, Pastoral Welfare and Care in the UK as a curriculum concern in secondary schools has tended to coalesce around priorities of care, personal and social development and civic responsibility. While these tenets are ones that many of the schools that we have encountered would recognise as important, in addressing the effects of supercomplexity school leaders have been emphatic in their prioritisation of multi-agency approaches to the support

of young people in school and the wider community. From our research we have been able to pinpoint examples of practice where multi-professional teams have been purposefully configured with a strong pastoral imperative. In these examples inter-professional engagement has been framed in the school context by a broadly conceived conception of education for the common good with a significant pastoral scope. Typically involving multi-professional groups drawn from education (teachers, targeted intervention assistants and mentors), healthcare, social work and policing, approaches to pastoral welfare are, then, intrinsically student-centred in which young people are considered in relation to their unique agency, their social and emotional concerns and in the lived context of their families and communities. Such approaches seek to re-establish and re-vision the lifeworlds of children and young people in ways that confront descriptive, instrumentalised and often pejorative imaging of children and young people as 'learners', 'disaffected' and 'disadvantaged' as we have discussed. This empathic pastoral orientation to multi-professional practice, by necessity, also involves transcending the professional allegiances, cultures and boundaries that often significantly challenge ambitions for inter-professional work in educational settings.

From the findings of our research there are clear indications that professional collaboration between different agencies in related areas of pastoral concern can be beneficial. These include the sharing of professional assessments, multi-perspectival knowledge of the circumstances of children and young people and the identification of opportunities and access to differentiated resources. Understanding and mediating the motivations for pastoral intervention, however, demands a critical reading of wider policy imperatives combined with a necessary re-imagining of the lifeworld of children, young people and their families. Hence, the relationship between effective pastoral welfare and meaningful targeted intervention is contingent upon forms of inter-agency collaboration that simultaneously confront the dominant problematizing discourses we have described while emphatically addressing the socio-educational needs of children and young people in the contemporary context of supercomplexity. In this regard the effects of supercomplexity are mediated through the counterpoint of value-centred professionality, collective judgement and care. Despite the challenges, we have seen in our research examples of the beginnings of authentic inter-professional practice in school contexts. Our examples have included multi-professional practice in secondary schools involving teachers, social workers, healthworkers and police in the development of inter-professional strategies to support young people who find themselves in challenging circumstances. Involving issues such as exposure to domestic violence and gang membership, multi-professional teams have been able to make rapid but, moreover, informed responses based upon shared local knowledge framed by a common pastoral concern.

It is approaches such as these, undertaken by committed interprofessional groups and inspired by passionate and dynamic school leaders, that offer an alternative discourse in the contemporary condition of supercomplexity. This, however, is not to underestimate the level of challenge, nor to misrepresent professional agency in all its manifestations as a simple binary of good or bad. Indeed, our research has continued to confirm the contradictions and lived complexities in better understanding and representing the realities of doing meaningful educational work with young people. In this aspect we might usefully return once again to the work of Bourdieu, specifically in this instance with regard to Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition. In their discussion of the term, Grenfell and James (1998) explain how misrecognition is best understood as how 'underlying processes and generating structures of fields are not consciously acknowledged in terms of the social differentiation they perpetuate, often in the name of democracy and equality…' (Grenfell and James, 1998, 23). This, they continue, is a process that Bourdieu has revealed where an 'arbitrary curriculum' is 'naturalised' in order that:

> ... social classifications are transformed into academic ones. The result is that instead of being experienced for what they are (i.e. partial and technical hierarchies), such social classifications become "total" hierarchies, experienced as if they were grounded in nature.
> (Grenfell & James, 1998, pp. 23–24).

Hence, Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition is helpful in explaining why even for critical professional communities working in challenging educational contexts the characteristics of supercomplexity are seemingly simultaneously embraced and resisted, advanced yet challenged. On the one hand, performative cultures, hyper-managerialism and dataveillence have come to be regarded as problematic and repressive, while, on the other, measurement, accountability and technological fetishism are deemed to offer the best attractions in justifying and explaining all manner of educational interventions and effects. The challenge of supercomplexity is, then, in its lived experience as a super-complex condition.

Conclusion

As we have shown in this chapter, young people have been subjected to a combination of forces of which the dynamics and effects are only now becoming visible in relation to their education in English state schools. As much as we are unapologetic in the bleakness of our analysis, in explaining observed practices and behaviours amongst individuals and organisations we are also unapologetic in not furnishing an easy binary of good and bad, malevolence or virtue. To offer uncomplicated solutions to answer the effects of supercomplexity would not only be disingenuous but would be to misunderstand or distort our own lines of argument. This is also not to over-claim that our conclusions are complex, but, more modestly, that they are indeterminate - and for good reason - as

interpretive work is necessarily read within the conditions of supercomplexity.

As we have evidenced, the effects of super complexity on the lives of young people can be profound. It might not be an unreasonable expectation, then, that those institutions that are primarily charged with the educational welfare of young people should serve to identify these phenomena and insulate young people from their worst excesses. Paradoxically, however, the most corrosive aspects of performative cultures - datafication and the commodification of young people as performance capital - has for all intents and purposes moved from a colonisation of English state schools to one of valorisation. In supercomplex terms, this is not an unwarranted criticism of schools, teachers and associated educational professionals, as we have underscored their positive work in this chapter, but rather a re-cognition of the powerful configurations of risk, misrecognition and governmentality that are in play; where social classifications become 'total', 'causes' of risk become difficult to attribute and where state apparatus act upon both body and social behaviour.

As Barnett has argued, supercomplexity speaks to our fragility in the way that we understand the world and our acting in the world. It is in this sense that the effects of supercomplexity in organised educational contexts leads to the inevitability of pastoral concerns; paradoxically, once again, in that supercomplex effects necessitate more incisive pastoral interventions. As we have also shown through our research, the processes of governmentality all too frequently lead to the pathologisation of young people and subsequent interventions along visible lines of class and access rather than more nuanced programmes of pastoral welfare and care. Given the features of supercomplexity and the problems of governmentality that we have outlined, the necessity for in-house multiagency interprofessional support seems at once essential and yet one that has continued to be inadequately resourced and consequently underdeveloped in English educational settings. We have also observed how the pathologisation of young people along enduring lines of class continue to be embedded in crude polarisations of ascribed academic or vocational identities.

It is from the accounts and testimony of young people, however, that we continue to draw optimism. As state education in England has continued to be subjected to the most oppressive features of supercomplexity in policy terms, other dynamics of supercomplexity appear to be more liberating. As we have noted in the introduction to this chapter, the complexities of the contemporary condition have also increased opportunities for the expression of ethnic, physical, cultural and sexual identities while opening up new possibilities for innovative creative and entrepreneurial spaces. It is in this regard that young people have asserted how their future lives might be shaped differently; in ways that should be considered neither as fanciful nor lacking legitimate practical possibility. From the standpoints of the young people in our research it has been

possible to see not only the predictable and the unintended consequences of supercomplexity, but also the unprecedented and as yet unrealised educational opportunities where young people may be able to exercise authentic agency in the conduct of their lives.

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TWENTY FIVE

Vulnerability and Risk – Complexity, Meanings and Challenges

Stan Tucker and Dave Trotman

Introduction

This chapter is the product of an extended period of empirical research lasting over 6 years (and continuing up to the time of writing at the end of 2017), during which time the authors engaged with individuals and groups of young people, living in different areas of Europe, who could be described as vulnerable and at risk. The young people featured in this chapter come from Germany, Romania and England. Their lives and experiences are different in terms of the social, political, economic, educational and health and care systems that shape their day-to-day experience. Yet what effectively binds them together are circumstances that have exposed them to vulnerability and risk by virtue of exploitation, marginalisation, alienation, failure, violence and abuse. Such circumstances are also cross-cut by issues of gender, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation and disability.

The driving force in the production of this chapter is shaped by the need to plot for the reader not only what vulnerability and risk is and how it unfolds – causes, impacts and outcomes – but also how it is possible to better understand the interconnections and common factors that increase the possibility of exposure to vulnerability and risk. Beck writing in 1992 sets out for consideration what he calls the 'abundance of risk' in society, in terms of its personal as well as social, economic, health and educational dimensions. In understanding risk in this way, it is possible to forge a clearer link between vulnerability and risk. Is the likelihood of collective risk increased if people are, for example, vulnerable to poverty, or the consequences of poor housing, educational disadvantaged or inadequately funded health care? Is risk increased when an individual's mental health is impoverished through abuse or neglect? What if educators fail to adequately stimulate and motivate learners? Can such circumstances 'impact on confidence, self-esteem, motivation and health' (Smith 2007 *et al*, 243)? We attempt to explore some of these questions in the discussion that follows.

Case studies

To assist debate and analysis we have structured the chapter in such a way that readers are invited to consider 3 different case studies. Each case study, based on data drawn from empirical research, is used to bring together causes, impacts and outcomes from different forms of experience. The case studies look at: the inability of some young people to be believed when they report abuse and neglect; the experience of human trafficking; and student exclusion from school. While space does not permit detailed exploration of the methodologies involved in undertaking the research (references are provided for those readers wishing to

look at each of the case studies in more depth) all of the case studies are derived from detailed interviews with young people, those working with them, as well as policy makers and service managers. The final part of the chapter attempts to draw together a myriad of factors that can impact on matters of vulnerability and risk. We have written in the introduction to this book how specific forms of discursive representations are used to describe the lives of particular individuals and groups (see introduction and Griffin, 1993); in examining the case studies that follow readers should look for evidence of how such representations unfold in 'real life'. Readers may also wish to explore our other contribution to this book where the concept of risk is again explored.

Case study 1 - Disbelief, abuse and neglect

In the first of the case studies presented in the chapter, we focus on an experience that can undoubtedly have a profound and enduring impact on the lives of young people – the experience of sexual abuse and violence. For the purposes of this case study, however, we focus on a particular constituency of young people; those who attempted to report abuse and neglect to someone with whom they had a professional relationship e.g. a teacher, social worker or youth worker, but were not believed (Tucker, 2011). It is also important to note as Faller (2007) points out that the act of attempted disclosure can be part of a long process through which a young person builds up their confidence to speak to someone they trust, or at least hope, will respond in a positive way.

The research process was used to capture the voices of 102 young people who volunteered to be interviewed. The young people involved were in the 18-25 age groups. All of the young people had at some time during their adolescent years attempted to report incidents of abuse and neglect to someone who was working with them.

The importance of, and difficulties involved in, capturing the voices of young people through research are discussed in the introduction to this book. For many young people the act of disclosure is extremely difficult and sometimes dangerous, especially when the abuser is known to them, or part of their family. For this particular piece of research the complexity of the task was increased through the direct engagement of a group of young people as co-researchers and advisers. The group consisted of 8 young people who not only provided a personal account of their own experiences, but also contributed to matters such as data collection and analysis, the development of key themes and issues, and the production of reports and journal articles (readers can find more out about this process in Tucker 2011 and Tucker 2013b). What is of particular relevance to the discussion is the typology of disbelief that it proved possible to construct out of the data collected from interviews with young people. In essence the typology brings together the major factors that participants thought had influenced whether they were believed or not when reporting abuse or neglect.

A crucial point to make is that failure to believe a young person can significantly

increase their feelings of vulnerability and increase the possibility of a future risk of abuse or violence. A brief exploration of each of the relevant categories drawn from the typology serves to illustrate this point. In the first of the categories background and baggage (the highest cited category at 64%), young people talked about their belief that how they were viewed by the person they confided in was significant in influencing their reactions to the disclosure. This was explained in terms of the ways some professionals used particular forms of discourse to explore the veracity of an allegation; conversations it appeared where often influenced by previously held perceptions and impressions. These unfolded through comments such as: ' are you telling the truth?', 'you're not making it up are you?', 'if it's not true you know there could be big problems', 'that's really hard to believe, you have to be sure'. The category included other important dimensions. For some young people their past history in terms of frequent school moves, truancy and exclusion, social service involvement or youth offending influenced responses. One young person powerfully summed up this particular dimension: 'Fucked up by case notes and meetings and records from other schools. Like having a criminal record and it felt like that and only 12!' Being seen as 'troubled', 'troublesome' and 'troubling' (Griffin 1993, 114-125) only added to the difficulties that young people faced. For it appears that sometimes particular representations can serve to dominate and shape conversations.

The family matters category (mentioned by 55% of participants) focuses on issues concerning family background, the presumed nature and organisation of a particular reconstituted or step-family, presumed parental intelligence and sibling relationships. Those young people involved in the research project as advisors made an important connection between a denial of human rights concerning the right to be safe, protected from abuse etc. (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child UNCRC 1989) and the kind of views expressed within this category. The essential elements of the category are captured in 2 direct quotes from young people:

> Belonging to my family gave you absolutely no rights let alone the right to be believed. Wasn't about judging what you said it was; saying what you said was worthless because of where you come from and I thought so that makes me worthless as well.
>
> It's like living in a bubble but a painful and hurtful bubble. You want someone to come along and burst it… He [a youth worker] just wouldn't connect with me. Bubbles float away don't they? I floated off from him and things just went on and on.
>
> (Tucker 2011:464)

Within this category the influence of the power of negative stereotypical views held about individual families is starkly revealed. Young people talked about how their parents were often seen to be worthless, feckless, poor when it came to exhibiting positive parenting skills and socially inadequate. Such perceptions, it can be argued, were transferred onto both a particular young person and their siblings. The important point to emphasise is that it is relatively easy for a whole family to become 'disrespected' and as a result, for a young person to see their

family as a 'painful and hurtful bubble' – a bubble that has the potential to alienate and 'dehuman [ise]', and produce adults and individuals who see themselves as a '… lower form of being' (Cohen 1995, 79). Importantly, it is not difficult to see that if such views are held about particular families the likelihood of not being believed is increased. As with the baggage and background category, it is necessary to reflect on how such factors might influence and on some occasions skew judgement.

Now we turned to the third category generated through the research process entitled reluctance and refusal (cited by 45% of the participants). Within this category the focus of disbelief takes on a different form. In the categories considered thus far, it is possible to make connections between both *background and baggage* and *family* matters. For example family history, perceived inadequacies in individual and collective behaviour, and the ways judgements are shaped and made influenced category construction activities in both cases. Yet the *reluctance and refusal* category has its roots in other factors and pressures. At the heart of this category lie considerations concerning the nature of professional judgement. Here, it is important to reflect on the ideas of Beckett (2007: 29) who introduces for consideration notions of 'defensive practice' and 'fear of blame'. In reflecting on such ideas it becomes easier to understand why some practitioners might exercise a high degree of caution in coming to a view about whether to believe a young person or not. A range of difficult questions will need to be considered around the outcomes attached to a potentially false allegation; whether a young person has made a clear enough case to support the triggering of more demanding bureaucratic investigation procedures; what damage there might be to an individual or an institution if an allegation is difficult to prove or even vexatious; the pressures that are present when it comes to weighing evidence and probability. At the same time the category also raises important issues as to other matters that might impact on professional judgement. As Tucker (2011, 466) argues, the evidence assembled supported the view that disbelief could be the product of 'a connection' being made 'between matters of personal presentation, and whether in fact particular dominant, often gender-focused, stereotyping came into play'. This manifested itself in for example what young people described as the 'brought it on yourself syndrome', presumptions about 'tarty' behaviour or wearing 'revealing stuff'. Many young people also reported activities on the part of some professionals that involved attempts to encourage young people to talk to 'someone else'. Such an outcome might occur because a professional felt 'uncomfortable' when it came to dealing with an allegation of abuse, or lack of training, or uncertainty as to how to respond appropriately.

The important point to draw from the different categories outlined above is how a variety of sometimes interconnected factors and categories can directly contribute to not only whether a young person is believed or not (serious enough in itself) but also how such factors contribute to increasing vulnerability risk. For a failure to be believed may result in an individual becoming withdrawn, alienated, aggressive or even suicidal. The next case study deepens the focus of the argument

being presented through its analysis of the outcomes of human trafficking.

Case study 2 – Human trafficking

This case study utilises data presented in a major European Commission report focusing on the experiences of young people who had been the victims of human trafficking in Germany, Romania and the England (Tucker *et al*, 2013). The most recent statistics produced by the European Union (2017) point to the fact that between 2013 and 2014 over 15,000 people were trafficked across Europe. Of this figure 76% were women and girls, with trafficking for 'sexual exploitation' representing the highest area of trafficking activity at 67%. The growth in human trafficking can be accounted for through the consideration of a variety of factors. For example, in their analysis of trafficking in Southern and Eastern European states, the NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking based in Austria (Surtees, 2008, 40) points to 'the opening of borders between East and West', women being 'deceived' as to the type of work they are offered, economic change and the outcomes of war', as being some of the key factors that may lead to the trafficking of people. It was against the backdrop of an increasingly disturbing picture, that the European Union provided funding under its Daphne 111 Programme (2007-2013), to explore the experiences and support offered to victims of violence, exploitation and trafficking. The work of Tucker *et al* (2013) used as its focus the requirements of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) to consider how effective policies and practices were in 'protecting', 'preventing' and supporting the victims of human trafficking.

It is important here to explore not only the actual experience of being trafficked for young people, but also what kind of services young people feel they need to prevent further exploitation when they have been trafficked. Using extracts from three accounts of human trafficking provided directly by young people, it is possible to capture the brutality, vulnerability and risk that young people can face.

For one young women, who was trafficked to Germany from Lithuania, the offer of work in another country turned out to be very different in terms of her expectations and the promises made to her. Here, she talks about her relationship with a bar owner:

> …. The owner said I could earn more money if I danced, so I did. Then, I was told that I had to have sex with men, if I wanted to keep my job. I didn't want to, but what could I do? I didn't know how to get out. He watched me and other girls all the time and said that if we did something stupid, we would be in trouble. One girl tried to run away. She came back with bruises. No money, no one to talk to, no chance to escape. A part of me died every night. (Tucker *et al* 2013, 100).

For another young woman it proved very difficult to disclose the fact she had been trafficked:

> ….. He made us be on the streets. Some ladies came to talk to us about if we were ok and to give us some condoms. We didn't tell the ladies we were scared because it was hard to trust anyone. It was too late now. We couldn't go home now because

> we were in too much trouble. Daniel said we couldn't tell the police because we would go to prison for the false passport and for being prostitutes. (Tucker *et al* 2013, 101).

The removal of identification papers also proved to be a common problem:

> …. They took my documents on the way to Spain because they told me told me they had to prepare my papers so I can be hired there. We were supposed to work at a pizzeria and a gas station to earn more money. We received false documents. When we arrived in Spain we all stayed in an apartment. There were three other girls. After two weeks they took us in the street and told us that's the place where we have to work to earn money. (Tucker *et al* 2013, 101).

The extracts featured above vividly capture the challenges, dangers and dilemmas faced by young people who are subjected to human trafficking. A clear connection in relation to the link between vulnerability and risk is apparent. The young women felt increasingly vulnerable because they were alone, or couldn't communicate, or had very limited options. Because of their actions, or the actions of others, they were at risk of contracting sexually transmitted deceases; the removal of their passports left them stranded and alone; and they risked an escalation of violence against their person. A toxic mixture of increasing personal vulnerability and situationally-created risks – violence, arrest, prostitution etc. left them isolated and terrified. At one level it is easy to 'blame' the individuals concerned for what some might consider to be their naivety. Yet the 'pull' factors described by NEXUS above have to be carefully considered. Vulnerability generated by fear of poverty, exploitation or unemployment is likely to be influential; the existence of forged documents e.g. a travel visa or passport may serve to trap a young person once they arrive in another country; and the threat of violence may prevent attempts to escape. There is a need to consider carefully how a range of different pressures, threats and uncertainties are likely to considerably decrease opportunity and choice, and increase both the level and kind of risk a young person may be exposed to.

Different kinds of vulnerability and risk appear to exist when it comes to obtaining appropriate forms of personal support as a victim of human trafficking. Featured below is an extract from an account of an unaccompanied young person on their arrival in the UK.

> I was in a truck with my brother when the door opened and they say England run away, and I run away from the truck… they took us to a police station and left us there. I was put in Children's home, that time I couldn't speak English, just 'hello'. Problems, I just cry. My brother is somewhere else now staying in another place. I am 16 but they challenge my age, social worker and doctor don't agree. They don't know should they put me with children or adults. I miss people my own age.
>
> I needed someone to support me. Someone to help me work out the problems of being here. They are speaking in English, you know, they say words and try to explain to me. I don't know how to ask questions. I was asked did I want a mentor. I asked what's a mentor? And they said someone to talk to. I said yes, I'll try that….

> Things happened that I didn't like. People asking questions and recording your voice, and some doctor checking my body and saying this time you are fifteen…. It is all very hard to understand. (Tucker *et al* 2013, 132)

It is only possible for the reader to gain what amounts to a limited insight into difficulties and challenges that trafficked young people face. Yet the extracts offer a unique view into the life worlds of the young people featured here. Certainly trust in adults seems to be in short supply. All of the young people appear to lack confidence, self-belief and a sense of self-worth. Vulnerability, danger and risk seem inexorably linked. The research also reveals the common difficulties faced in securing financial and legal support, advice, guidance and counselling. For example the young man trafficked to the UK clearly needed help in understanding the legal and medical processes he was required to endure. Yet above all it is difficult to ignore the sense of isolation and desperation captured in the voices of the young people featured here.

Case study 3 – school exclusion

In the final case study we focus on the experience of school exclusion. Here we draw on data from the authors published work carried out in four local authorities in England (Trotman *et al* 2012; Tucker *et al* 2014; Trotman *et al* 2015). This case study explores some of the key themes raised through direct interviews with over 200 young people as well as those with a responsibility for school management and governance, and the delivery of educational and social care support.

Fixed term and permanent exclusion of pupils from school form an important (if regrettable) element of the educational landscape in England. The most recent figures published by the Department of Education (2017) for schools in England point to the fact that the use of fixed term and permanent exclusions is increasing. For permanent exclusions the figure of 6,685 pupils for 2015/16 represents an increase of over a thousand pupils since the collation of data in 2014/15. Figures gathered for fixed term exclusions show that some 339,360 children were excluded compared with 302,975 pupils in the previous 12 months. It should also be noted that 'Black Caribbean pupils were over three times more likely to be permanently excluded than the school population as a whole' (Department for Education 2017, page un-numbered).

We focus on the issue of school exclusion here not merely to note with concern their frequency of use and level of increase, but also to foster a greater understanding of the factors that are likely to lead to higher levels of vulnerability and risk. As we might expect the reasons why a young person is either permanently or temporarily excluded from school are numerous. Our research also reveals that the reasons for excluding a child are, more often than not, multi-layered and complex. Indeed, as Brotherton and Potter (2010, 77) point out 'groups identified as being particularly vulnerable are very disparate' due to a mixture of 'structural' and 'cultural' factors. We present for

consideration below in Table 1 the key factors that appear to contribute towards a young person being excluded from school. The information contained within the table usefully summarises the major issues consistently raised both by young people and those involved in managing schools or delivering support services both inside and outside the classroom.

Home and Community Influences	Personal Challenges	School Ethos and Practices
• Peer pressure • Changing employment opportunities/traditional occupational structures • Parental influences and practices • Uncertain and shifting family structures • Role model(s) • Educational histories • Grooming • Gang culture	• Lack of self-confidence and esteem • Making the 'right' choice • Increasingly earlier career and qualification decisions • Getting lost in a large school • Exam pressure • Anger management	• Focus/drive for success – data driven • Failed transitions • Learning environment • Managed moves • Academic-vocational divide • Resourcing • Erosion of experience – a younger profession

Table 1 Issues potentially contributing to vulnerability

At one level the table is an artificial construction in the sense that it neatly divides, for the purposes of analysis, aspects of experience and organisation. Of course, the life course of any individual does not unfold neatly! For example people have their own personal histories, their unique family and community experiences, they might be disabled, poor or suffer from a chronic illness. Therefore, it might be easier to view the boxes as permeable entities with issues, experiences, structures and relationships flowing across the individual columns. So, the argument is that things that happen in one domain of a young person's life can impact on some or all of the other areas described in Table 1. Put this alongside the point made earlier about the abundance of risk (Beck, 1992) that exists within a society and we begin to gain a clearer understanding of why vulnerability and risk are increasingly likely to be multi-layered entities that are inextricably linked. If a young person feels unsafe at school for example because they are being bullied, or struggling to make friends, or find themselves unable to cope with the demands of different subjects, teaching styles or curriculum content, how much more will their level of vulnerability and risk increase if they are also involved in a street gang, or are not believed when they report abuse, or live in a family that is threatened with deportation?

What of young people's expectations as to the kind of the support they require when their actions and activities are likely to result in them being permanently or fixed term excluded from school. Research data gathered from the experiences

of young people threatened with exclusion (Tucker, 2013b, 7) point to some key characteristics and approaches that appear to make a significant difference:

> The exploring of possible 'options' when difficulties occurred was considered to be important. Understanding, tolerance and respect were perceived to be important qualities. Emphasis was also placed on the willingness of adults to listen and believe, and not jump to premature judgements, hasty actions or rapid decisions.

From the perspective of school managers and their staff:

> The early identification of need was viewed as a high priority by many school managers and behaviour co-ordinators. Young people, it was argued, often had complex and over-lapping needs…… one behaviour co-ordinator said: 'you can't deal with education alone with her [a student in the school] when she's anorexic with serious mental health problems'. Another commented that 'disruptive behaviour has its roots in much wider pastoral issues situated inside and outside school'.

In putting together the case studies featured above, the intention was to explore not only the nature of vulnerability and risk, but also to demonstrate how vulnerability and risk can both directly and indirectly impact on the lives of young people. It is also important to note that the case studies draw on the experiences of young people in different areas of Europe and focus on very different circumstances. Through the use of the case studies we have attempted to forge a clear connection between vulnerability in its various forms, and how different forms of vulnerability can both change and increase levels of risk. The case studies also expose the reader to some of the harsh, dangerous and intimidating situations that young people can find themselves in. One of the key ambitions of this book is to capture the voices of young people in ways that will deepen our collective understanding of the challenges and problems they face. It is hoped that the case studies have contributed to that ambition.

Connecting vulnerability and risk

It is important at this point to begin to pull together the key strands of debate that have emerged for consideration. A first step towards this requires some level of consolidation in terms of drawing together the factors that are likely to expose young people to vulnerability and risk. To achieve this we will, in the first instance, consolidate the discussion of vulnerability. From there we will move on to examine some different forms of risk which, it will be argued, have a direct impact on the lives of young people. Finally the inter-relationship between vulnerability and risk will be examined.

The intention is to consider the idea of vulnerability from two different perspectives - internal vulnerability and external vulnerability. Internal vulnerability covers those aspects of vulnerability that are likely to have an impact on an individual's self-confidence, resilience, self-worth and belief, ability to make decisions, ability to report or disclose problems, etc. Whereas, external vulnerability can arise out of the actions and activities of others including particular organisation and institutions, professionals, peers, parents, criminals/gang masters, etc. In Table 2 below we

present for consideration examples of the nature of the vulnerability experienced by young people in the case studies.

Internal Vulnerability	External Vulnerability
• Significant or forced change • Feeling trapped within a situation • Uncertainty and lack of choice • Exploitation • Abuse and neglect • Not being believed • Alienation	• Sustained threat of violence • Abandonment or neglect • Legal structures and processes • Lack of supportive provision • Failure to pick up signals of distress • Community, peer or parental pressure • Professional judgement/misjudgement

Table 2 Internal and External Vulnerability

Again, it is important not to see these examples of vulnerability as separate entities, but to consider within and across column connections. It seems reasonable to assert from the data presented in the case studies that vulnerability has a cumulative impact on individuals. Take as an example the case of the young woman working in a bar in Germany. Initially she had her passport taken from her by the trafficker; she found herself working without a permit in a foreign country; her actions were scrutinised by the club owner; a young woman who attempted to ran away was beaten. If you return to the other case studies, we are sure, you will be able to detect similar patterns.

Now, we turn to the idea of risk. Here, we are going to explore some of our earlier published work concerning risk and young people (see Tucker and Trotman, 2010, Trotman *et al*, 2012). Although there is a rich academic literature around the subject of risk much of it fails to address the risks that young people face and their potential outcomes. From the case studies provided and other research sources, it is possible to draw out some specific themes that will further assist analysis of the nature of risk for some young people. The intention then, is to consider risk through a range of perspectives:

- Gender –related risk
- Personal risk
- Pathological risk
- Environmental risk

It is important to remember, however, that we all experience, from time to time, elements of risk in our own lives. Indeed, we may seek out opportunities to take positive intentional risks (see Trotman and Tucker, 2010) e.g. learning a new skill, visiting a foreign country, or deciding to take up paragliding! The important point to make here is that such actions are likely to be accompanied by an element of choice and to some extent a weighing up of the probability of, for example, success, failure or enjoyment. However, we believe that the forms of vulnerability and risk the young people featured in this chapter are exposed are of a completely different order.

The idea of *gender-related risk* is starkly revealed through the stories of human trafficking used in this chapter. A recent study provided by the European Union (2016) presents a detailed analysis not only of the nature and outcomes of human trafficking but also its 'gender dimension'. The report points to the fact that women who are fleeing a particular country due to the threat of violence – through for example war – are likely to become victims of human trafficking. Indeed, it is argued that once a women enters a country with limited opportunities to settle due to legal restrictions, having initially paid to be smuggled, 'later along the way 'they 'get forced or deceived into an exploitative situation' (p.7). It is also reported that a range of new technologies are now being utilised as a common modus operandi on the part of those involved in human trafficking to:

> Advertise false jobs to attract victims, and to buy tickets online, using counterfeit credit cards, to transport them, but also to exploit and control them… using the internet to blackmail victims, threatening to post compromising pictures of them online ….. or using live cameras to monitor them remotely…. The report qualifies these practices as 'cyber slavery'.
> European Union (2016, 6)

The idea of *personal risk* can be usefully explored through an analysis of some of the outcomes of street gang membership for young women (Tucker *et al*, 2015). Before looking at a specific example, it is useful to build a more general picture of gang membership and activity. Interest in gang membership in urban communities is one that has attracted a great deal of political, public and academic interest. Young *et al* (2014) provide a substantial overview of both the nature of the street gang and its relationship to the wider context of family and community. Looking at Young *et al's* research with street gangs in the '5 per cent most deprived areas in England and Scotland', it is argued that gang membership can involve exposure to 'inter-personal violence' and the frequent use of a variety of weapons. A clear link is forged, through an examination of literature, between what are described as 'multiple marginalities' and 'harsh' social realties that are the product of deprivation, access to unsafe public spaces, and the grooming of younger children by older gang members. It is also interesting to note that some young people were 'threatened or intimidated on the school estate' (Young *et al* 2014, 178). As to young women living in impoverished communities, Popkin *et al* (2010), in focusing on the experiences of families who have left 'high-poverty' neighbourhoods in 3 cities in the USA, offer an important analysis of the challenges faced in their previous locations. These include pressure to be involved in early sexually related activities; exposure to drug and alcohol abuse; and intimidation. Perceptions voiced by young men about their female counterparts are of themselves revealing. A direct quote taken from the research sums up dominant male perceptions:

> People they treat women…. Like they was just objects, as if they owned that or whatnot… You can either mistreat a young woman or the young woman is going to mistreat you. (Popkin *et al*, 2010, 732)

Similar sentiments were expressed by one group of young women, involved in our research, who were trying to leave organised gang activity (Tucker *et al*, 2013). The girls concerned were desperate to escape from 'disrespectful street-life' and defend themselves. As with the young women in the USA sexual and physical exploitation, bullying, humiliation, 'being treated like a possession' and exclusion were common experiences. For the young women involved, an element of high and significant personal risk featured in discussions about the challenges that they faced in leaving a gang – personal risk in the sense of reaching a 'breaking point' in terms of 'their ability to withstand peer pressure and acts of brutality inflicted by both peers and adults'. To break out of the difficult and stressful situations they faced the young women realised that to 'escape from a gang required 'courage', 'strong strength' and a 'clear idea of how things could be better' (Tucker el, 2013, 303).

The idea of pathological risk is reflected in both structural and organisational responses to dominant problematic discourses used to describe the lives of some young people. To understand this point it is useful to explore the work of Christine Griffin (1993) in her seminal book *Representations of Youth*. For Griffin the lives of young people are often viewed through, what can be usefully described as, 'problematizing' lens. Accordingly, a range of dominant images inform and shape societal perceptions of young people – depicting young people as 'diseased', 'deviant' and 'perverted'. In adopting such a position it is possible to construct notions of 'blame' that can be solely attributed to the young. In turn, representations of hedonistic and deviant behaviour are also employed as a way of diverting attention away from society's wider ills and problems. It is important to note that notions of 'blame' often incorporate negative connotations of social class, gender and ethnicity – feral white working class boys, promiscuous young women, disrespectful black youth are all common representations of the lives of some young people. As Griffin argues, in categorising the lives and activities of young people in this way it becomes easier to declare that they are 'especially prone to delinquency, rebellion, disaffection and involvement in criminal activities and substance abuse' (Griffin 1993, 121-122). Furthermore, she alerts us to the fact that:

> The line of explanation… directs us towards the 'deviant', or 'diseased' individual subject, their families and/or culture, rather than towards structural factors such as poverty, unemployment or racism. (p 122).

Cohen (2002) usefully expands this argument in his book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. In a discussion of the actions and activities of particular groups of (often young) refugees, Cohen draws together the range of media and 'political elite' discourses that have served to create a:

> … single, virtually uninterrupted message of hostility and rejection. There is a constant background screen, interspersed with vivid little tableaux: Tamils at the airport, stripping in protest, Kurds clinging to the bottom of Eurostar trains; Chinese suffocating to death in a container lorry…

One of fundamental arguments outlined by Cohen is that the power and purpose

of such images plays out in the shaping of policy, legislation and services for young people.

We now come to the final form of risk i.e. environmental risk that can impact on the lives of young people. This form of risk arises out of the environmental circumstance that can shape the experiences, ambitions, outcomes and expectations of young people. Here, we concentrate on the relationships that exist between the individual and their social environment, educational and economic opportunities, community infrastructure and what might be termed as 'cycles of deprivation' that serve to prevent social mobility and reinforce economic insecurity. The roots of environmental risk are deep and complex. They are grounded in the outcomes of social exclusion (Walker and Walker, 1997, 8) where individuals and groups are effectively 'shut out' of 'social, economic, political or cultural processes' that have the potential to improve their life chances. Links between poverty and health have consistently been made by a range of researchers and authors (see for example Nazroo, 1997; Hansen and Joshi, 2007, Bradshaw, 2016). Writing in 1999 Shaw *et al* pull together the threads of an enduring problem – 'From infancy to old age, across the country and between different groups in society, life chances are unequal as people's lives progress. At the root of the differences observed are differences in the degree of poverty experienced by different people, groups of people and in different areas' (Shaw *et al*, 1999, 61). It is also important to note how specific educational practices can, by their very nature, disadvantage, alienate and discriminate against vulnerable and at risk young people. For example, Assi (2018, 143) explores the impact that assessment systems in schools can have on the life chances of pupils. In focusing on the work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) she considers the likely outcomes of assessment in relation to the acquisition or non-acquisition of 'social capital'. For Assi the way that language is constructed, defined and expressed, through what she describes as the imposition of a particular language 'in a broad sense' makes it 'more accessible for some than others'. How difficult is it then to acquire social capital in impoverished communities where language, culture, child rearing practices and lifestyles are consistently constructed and framed as inferior to those of the middle class?

It can be argued that environmental risk, in its diverse forms, has like other manifestations of risk a cumulative impact. The experience of living in impoverished communities carries with it the increased probability of multiple-deprivation, disadvantage and alienation. For our part we assert that poor housing and education, ill-health, and economic uncertainty and unemployment, have more to do with structural, investment and infrastructure inadequacies than the pathological class-based representations of young people previously discussed.

Vulnerability and risk – concluding reflections

So, are we now in a better position to understand the relationship between vulnerability and risk? What is apparent is that a level of fit exists that effectively interlocks vulnerability and risk. We have deliberately used the chapter to try and

disassemble and reassemble more than just the personal experiences of young people via both the case studies and other sources of research. On the surface the case studies appear to be different – they involve different young people, in different places and with different problems. However, when we unearth and analyse the challenges and problems they face, common issues and concerns arise. The research shines a very harsh light on the day-to-day experiences of its subjects. We witness alienation, exclusion, the outcomes of unemployment and poverty. Many of the young people live in fear of violence and retribution. Educational failure, an inability to secure the cultural capital deemed necessary for success, or even a lack of basic literacy skills produce anxiety, depression and a loss of hope.

The chapter is designed to demonstrate the relationship between vulnerability and risk. One of the key points we have tried to make is that as vulnerabilities accumulate (in terms of number and severity) so individuals and groups are exposed to increased levels of risk. We thought that the most appropriate way to negotiate the complex task of linking vulnerability and risk was to initially separate them out. Yet the way we have presented our arguments, we hope, takes us beyond a deterministically-driven approach, insofar as defining a set of vulnerabilities in terms of its likelihood of generating a particular form(s) of risk. We should not forget that even in the most dire of circumstances individuals attempt to exercise a degree of agency. That much is revealed in relation to the experiences of the young women we met as part of our research into 'guns and gangs'. They involved themselves in a group work intervention where they were encouraged to reflect on their collective situations as well as how they might remove themselves from a gang situation. They talked about the need for courage and strength; through a mutually supportive group experience they were attempting to build a sense of collective resolve as well as strategies to deal with the challenges that would inevitably follow. It is also interesting to witness the level of innovatory work that is taking place to support vulnerable and high risk young people. There appears to be a growing realisation on the part of professionals and politicians alike that complex situations required complex responses. For example in a review of the human trafficking of women and young people those running support services argued that:

> Service providers share the view that human trafficking and migration are intertwined. Historically and currently, migration is related in part, to the need to find employment. And the need to leave oppressive or discriminatory regimes. It was recommended that revisiting and revising national policies to enhance legal migration could be seen as a preventative step. Additionally, persons from source countries need better access to information about the legalities of emigration and labour laws in the countries they wish to emigrate to.
> (Tucker *et al* 2013, 137)

It would appear that interventions to reduce vulnerability and risk need global, national and local responses. Certainly, the case study research involved in the

human trafficking research pointed to the value and importance of capturing the voices of victims who are best placed to talk about the support and resources they require – advocacy, legal support, counselling, mentorship, a safe place to stay, responsive care and educational opportunities.

In writing this chapter we set out with the intention of increasing understanding of what it means to be vulnerable and at risk from the perspective of a young person. To do this we used case study materials to capture the first hand experiences of the young. In doing so an attempt has been made to capture the harsh realities of life for particular groups and individuals. One of the main arguments running through the text is that to really understand vulnerability and risk we need to come to terms with the fact that the myriad of forms it can take present a revealing glimpse into matters interconnectivity and severity. Through the chapter it has been argued there are different forms of vulnerability and risk; and many individuals will experience multiple forms of vulnerability and multiple forms of risk. What can be said with a degree of certainty, however, is that both vulnerability and risk have the potential to impact on human rights, hopes, ambitions and dreams – and for some severe risk may have catastrophic outcomes.

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TWENTY SIX

Human Rights and Human Wrongs: Responses to the challenges and issues for young people in the 21st century

Dave Trotman and Stan Tucker

The collective chapters in this text (*Youth: Global perspectives, challenges and issues of the 21st century*) have highlighted a range of challenges that now confront young people in contemporary social contexts. The histories and scope of the studies reported here reveal a picture of effects on young people that are at once disturbing, but whose origins, motives and impacts range from the subtle and diffuse to the stark, extreme, and at times, brutal. From growing up in the ravages of war, as victims of human trafficking or domestic abuse, to bullying in school, educational disadvantage or performative-induced anxiety, we contend that these all involve some level of risk and the potential for the perpetration of violence upon young people in one form or another.

The violence committed against and between young can be at once catastrophic, involving loss of life, extreme physical trauma, and in witnessing acts of violence, emotional loss, coercion and oppression, and profound trauma. In Bourdieuian terms, violence may also be understood in terms of those processes and effects that are less immediate and far less shocking, but are, nonetheless, both damaging and enduring. Ranging from the personal internalisation of a lack of self-worth to the labelling and pathologisation of young people as mad, bad and feral, the strength of violence in the Bourdieuian sense is in its symbolic form.

Bourdieu's Symbolic Violence has been widely used to explain socio-cultural processes and its application to education and adolescence is particularly pertinent here. In contrast to the impact (literally) of overt forms of violence, symbolic violence is that which remains virtually invisible; being played out through forms of labelling, marginalisation, and unequal power relations that are, in turn, presented as being somehow natural (Herr and Anderson, 2003, 416). In their analysis of the contours of symbolic violence in American schools, Herr and Anderson compare the 'moral panics' surrounding threats of physical violence in school settings with the less palpable and more ephemeral features of symbolic violence. They describe a mind-set in which American schools prepare for 'lockdowns' in the possibility of a Columbine-style shooting, students being searched for weapons and gang insignia and the installation of metal detectors in schools. In addition, this has been supplemented by the funding of violence prevention programmes, instruction on recognizing student susceptibility to gang membership, arming guards in local public schools, while diverting funds from such things as school counsellors but with additional monies allocated for youth detention centres and prisons should

all other interventions fail (Herr and Anderson, 2003, 416). Drawing on Deborah Meier's (2002) vivid accounts of what the classroom lifeword means for many disenfranchised young people, Herr and Anderson contrast the moral panics of youth violence with lived realities of Bourdieiuan symbolic violence:

> …what the most successful students had going for them was that even in kindergarten, with their hands eagerly raised, they were ready to show off their school smarts. Starting on day one, certain forms of knowledge and skill – the stuff they've eagerly brought with them from home – was confirmed and honoured, thus increasing their self-confidence to take still more risks…But many other students never found a replacement for a school and teacher who didn't recognize their genius, who responded with a shrug or a look of incomprehension as they offered their equally eager home truths. They too soon learned that in school all they could show off was their ignorance. Better to be bad, or uninterested, or to just silently withdraw. (p. 15)

Despite the intervening years between Meier's and Herr and Anderson's prescient warnings, our experience, corroborated in our own research and that of our colleagues reported in this volume, affirms that symbolic violence in schools and elsewhere is still a considerable risk in the lives of young people. One reason for this is that in educational contexts symbolic violence is not necessarily an explicitly malicious act, but rather, as Herr and Anderson observe, 'inflicted on students most often by well-meaning, capable, caring teachers' (p.418). Our point of departure from Herr and Anderson's account, however, is that in the contexts that we have reported on, rather than teachers being incapable of recognising and valuing the differentiated cultural capital that students bring to the school context, state schools are now so heavily congested with the baggage of state-imposed performativity that the authentic lifeworlds of young people have become less and less visible.

Based on the evidence that we have reported here, it is our contention that the symbolic violence we see here in formal state education in England now represents a significant potential risk which young people are now highly vulnerable too. In this regard the twin issues of risk and vulnerability are central to our thesis. As we have reported in chapter xx many young people have provided a narrative of risk that is at variance with projected adult concerns and that these risks while easily encountered can have significant and enduring effects. Particular amongst these risks are the continuing difficulties around school transition, performative pressures, early and tightly orchestrated examination choices, school exclusion and narrow vocationalism. In the course of our research we have been struck by many things, but amongst the starkest immediate observations is that despite decades of state intervention, for all intents and purposes the intrinsic form of schools remains virtually unchanged; the compartmentalisation of learning, instruction in place of pedagogy, and investment by results are entirely congruent with schooling at the turn of the last century. Even the most significant contemporary technological

additions to the architecture of school practices has served only to consolidate and amplify established positivist traditions in the form of performativity and the datafication of the educational lifeworld. Meanwhile, as we have argued in an earlier chapter and throughout our research, the lives of young people are now profoundly affected by the conditions of supercomplexity.

From our analysis, the contours and effects of supercomplexity reported in chapter xx point to a significant risk of increased vulnerability amongst young people. In this regard, vulnerability can be considered to be at the apex of a conceptual triangulation of supercomplexity and symbolic violence with each having their own constituent features of risk, performativity, governmentality, pathologisation and so on. In turn, as the chapters of this text amply illustrate, vulnerability should perhaps be better understood as 'vulnerabilities' in the plural. As the contributors to this volume have demonstrated, the risks of vulnerability in school and other contexts may be experienced in a variety of seemingly innocuous forms; private and personal matters of identity, choice of friendship groups, a preferred learning style, or emotional dispositions and attachments. Vulnerability may of course be much more overt and contextual, involving matters of class, poverty, ethnicity, gender, family circumstance and geographical location, as chapters in this book have confirmed. In addition, we can now readily include national and supranational educational policy and its effects – performativity, dataveillance, capitalisation and the commodification of education and young people.

While we are then able to understand vulnerability in terms of risks that range from modest to significant, our conclusions point more troublingly to the ways in which vulnerability can be escalated and amplified with often the most profound consequences for young people. In this regard we consider it useful to think of vulnerability not only just in a triangulation of supercomplexity and symbolic violence but as an inverted spiral with a descending trajectory in which less overt and significant vulnerabilities can be both escalated and increased in gravity.

Figure 1: A Triangulation of Vulnerabilities

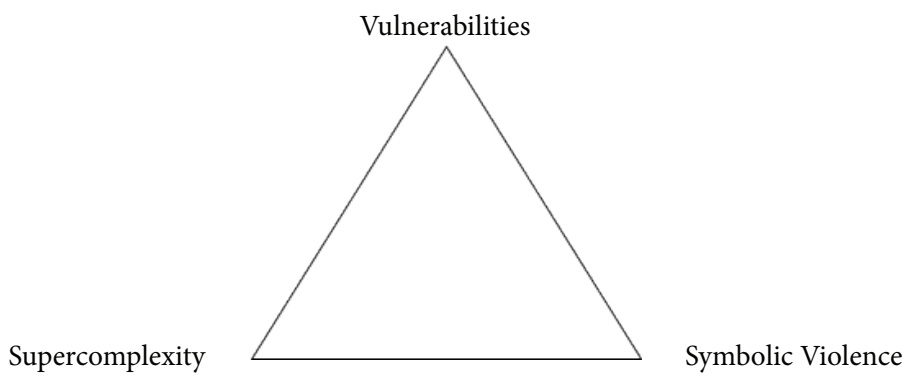


Figure 2: A Spiral of Vulnerabilities

The metaphor of a spiral we believe to be helpful in interpreting, understanding and addressing vulnerability in a number of important ways. Amongst the characteristics of the spiral, as opposed to a sliding scale or cycle, is that vulnerabilities are not simply revisited or repeated, but are expanded and compounded through each regression – hence the small/light beginning but large/heavy base. Vulnerability may then begin as an issue of relative low-risk, in small-scope, which may then be less complex to address, but left unattended or inadequately safeguarded can, with seemingly relative ease, spiral in size and velocity. For example, an inability to gain basic guidance or information on an online website, may lead to more risky forms of behaviour; the removal of a passport by a human trafficker from an individual will inevitably lead to higher levels of dependency on the trafficker, exploitation and violence.

Our research accounts have shown how pivotal incidents and moments in the lives of young people can be exacerbated if left unrecognised or compounded by unforgiving policy effects. Amongst these accounts we have seen how transition between school stages can for some young people be highly problematic, to the extent that its emotional disturbance can result in educational impediments

lasting well into adulthood. Similarly, we have on record the negative effects of datafication on the self-esteem of young people as schools are locked into ever increasing performative demands to demonstrate school quality and pupil achievement in overtly positivist terms. Taking these two examples we are able to chart the progression (more accurately regression) of young people through a downward spiral of increasing vulnerability. Hence, what may initially involve a shift from the child and family centred, small-world environment of the primary school to that of a large-scale secondary school with compartmentalised curricula and separate specialist teachers, can quickly become an alienating environment where pupils report being 'lost' and whose resultant behaviour becomes subject to particular intervention or treatment. From the accounts of young people and their teachers, the likelihood of school exclusion, with the subsequent contraction of qualification choices and career limitations is then all too apparent. In other instances, we have seen examples of school refusal (often as a consequence of bullying, including homophobic bullying or failed school transition) where for reasons of geography and socio-economic context vulnerability to post-code gang inculcation and membership is significantly increased. In this example we are able to trace the genesis of significant vulnerability risks to much smaller and in many instances much less complex problems. Sadly, our experience of studying school exclusion in the UK has revealed that it is extraordinarily difficult for young people to extract themselves from the governmentality reported in chapter xx once they have been subjected to its processes, as anyone who has attempted to reverse climb up a helter-skelter will testify to.

In other examples our research data reveals examples of how young people are made increasingly susceptible to performative pressures and the datafication of their school life. In these instances, and in a clear correspondence with the dynamics of symbolic violence, student self-worth becomes a matter of public measurement. As a consequence, it is perhaps unsurprising that our findings reveal a picture of increasing anxiety, depression and mental health issues reported by young people and educational professionals that are no longer the preserve of working class families and those in material poverty. In this example, vulnerability, while modest in origin and with a seemingly slower velocity, has, nonetheless, harmful impact with regression from performative-induced anxiety to depression and self-harm.

As the contributions to this book have amply demonstrated, in many instances entry and regression through a spiral of vulnerability risks can be prevented, arrested and often reversed. It does, however, necessarily demand new and different approaches to how we evaluate and respond to vulnerability in the lives of young people. It would also be remiss of us to not acknowledge that schools, teachers and educational professionals do much excellent work with young people who are already subject to a high risk of vulnerability. In this regard, it leads us to our major issue of contention; in that in the conditions of supercomplexity, schools

are sites of significant political struggle. On the one hand schools are places for the protection of student welfare where significant effort is often expended in supporting the care of young people, and, paradoxically, on the other hand, as sites of policy behaviour where young people are subjected to the dehumanising forces of performativity and datafication.

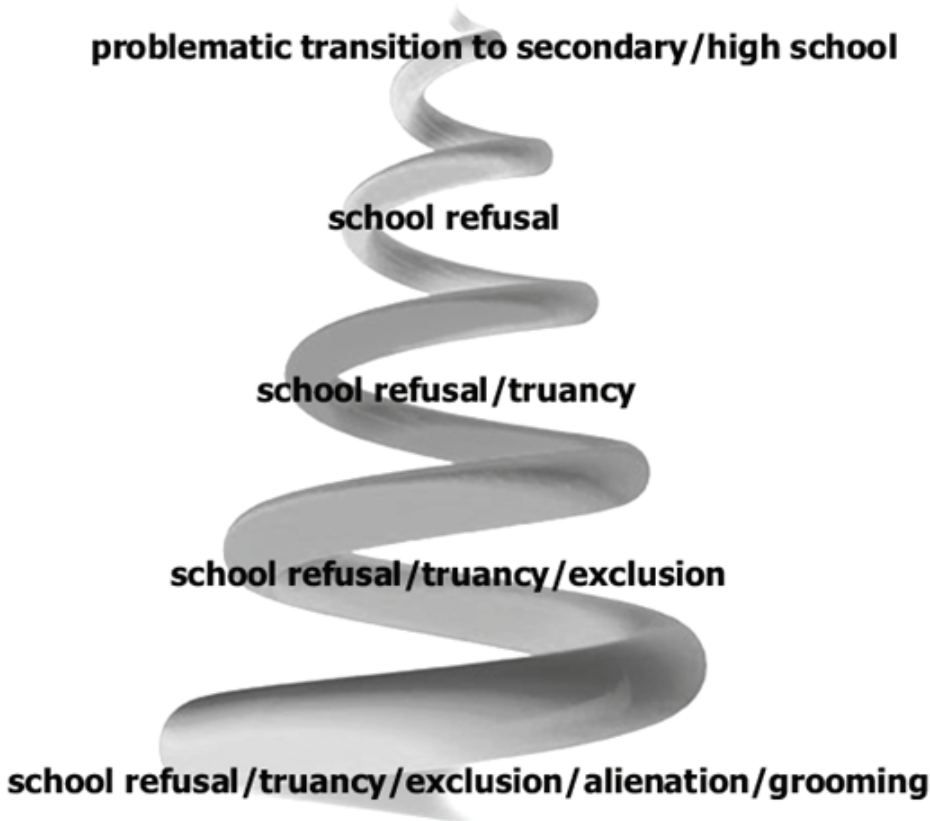
In this context, school communities now find themselves in a bizarrely contradictory position of an increasing demand for welfare support to meet escalating mental health needs of young people, while investing in the performative cultures that generate and exacerbate the spiralling of vulnerabilities.

Continuing our spiral metaphor, the increasing risk of vulnerability at each descending level of the spiral can be expressed in singular form, e.g.
the escalation of anxiety to self-harm in the diagram below:

Figure 3: A Spiral of Vulnerabilities: Anxiety – Self-Harm

It is also possible to consider the spiralled risk of vulnerability in multiple form; as a collection of stratified vulnerabilities, e.g.

Figure 4: A Spiral of Stratified Vulnerabilities



In this aspect of risk vulnerabilities, these are both amplified and added to as different levels of complexity kick in. In this example it is possible to trace minor disturbance, disruption and early deviance to grooming and inculcation into gang membership or exposure to criminality and other personal high-risk activity. In his seminal text *The Vertigo of Late Modernity* Jock Young (2007 12) offers an intriguing insight as to what it might feel like to career down such a spiral:

> Vertigo is the malaise of late modernity: a sense of insecurity of insubstantiality, and of uncertainty, a whiff of chaos and a fear of falling. .. a narrowing of borders, the decreased tolerance of deviance, a disproportionate response to rule-breaking, an easy resort to punitiveness and a point at which simple punishment becomes vindictive.

Young presents a useful assessment of the impact of vertigo and its ability to destabilise the individual or group causing, in our view, the likelihood of increased levels of vulnerability and risk. He captures elements of the process at both the level of the individual and society. Thus, it can be argued that such a sense of insecurity might grow to the extent that it has the potential to leave individual and groups of young people feeling disempowered and disengaged. At the same time those who are perhaps the most vulnerable encounter increasingly 'punitive' and pathologically driven responses and interventions

As the chapters in this text bear testimony to, young people are now faced with considerable challenges in navigating a world that has rapidly become supercomplex. In particular, the forces of neoliberalism configured with a dominant paradigm of positivism are at once supranational and hence unrestricted in terms of geographical reach regardless of socio-economic and cultural condition. From our research interviews and informal conversations with teachers both here in the UK and further afield it is difficult to overstate the reported asphyxiating effects of the performative cultures that have been imposed upon schools. As the chapters in this text also reveal, educational solutions require a more sophisticated range of responses than contemporarily systems of schooling are currently able to offer. Amongst the most obvious headlines are that the welfare of young people necessarily involves collaborative interprofessional support where professional groups, involving teaching, social work, healthcare, counselling, neighbourhood policing and other allied fields are brought into close alignment. A second and clearly emergent theme is the imperative for a more authentic positioning of the voice and ambitions of young people as agents in their own education, careers and future lifeworlds.

However, it seems that the ability of young people to assert their individual and collective voice is becoming ever-more difficult. To some extent we have used this book to try and redress what now appears to be a significant imbalance. However, it would be erroneous to suggest that 'all is lost'. As we have seen elsewhere in this volume, the use of social media provides a vital outlet not only for young people to seek advice and guidance, but also to air their views and opinions. At the same time, we have to face up to the fact that dissident voices are not always welcome especially when it comes to disturbing the voices of powerful elites. Indeed, the risks can be high for those who attempt to counter dominant discourse. The struggle for political power in Hong Kong, and the involvement of young people in those struggles, as reported here, graphically demonstrates the pitfalls and challenges that may have to be faced. Robinson and Kellett (2006) add a further dimension to the discussion in terms of the ways in which those actually involved in research can effectively blunt the voices of the young:

> … Although the importance of involving children and young people in research is acknowledged it is tempered by judgements about their social maturity and cognitive ability. Adult researchers exert the power to include and exclude…

> and choose whether to adopt methodologies to accommodate varying levels of maturity and competence (p.86).

This, necessarily, calls for the achievement of democratic principles of education in the social and political engagement of young people that in state systems of education are either untested or given only token lip-service. A corollary of this, points to the need for interprofessional groups to develop an activist approach (Sachs, 2000) where the worst excesses of performative cultures and associated governmentality can be challenged and moderated.

In this undertaking our fourth observation develops the analysis we have set out in relation to the spirals of vulnerability; specifically the development of instruments of evaluation of vulnerability that enable greater clarity of assessment and intervention. This we deem essential if professional groups are able to counter the worst effects of vulnerability amongst young people while at the same time challenging the current tendencies for the pathologisation of young people their families and their communities.

One way to achieve this might be through the active promotion of children's rights. Does a Rights of the Child discourse assist in providing an effective substructure from which to develop effective instruments of evaluation? If we take, for example, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child we see presented there what should be in reality a set of inalienable rights concerning discrimination, sexual exploitation, education, freedom of expression, 'best interest', etc. Yet such rights, it can be argued, are only useful tools insofar as individual states are willing to sign up, report on progress and act against violations. At the same time it is important to note that enforcement brings with it, its own difficulties. As Tomuschat (2008, 281) notes in matters of rights disputes between nations:

> 'more often than not, the lowest common denominator constitutes the solution eventually found. Caution dominates and rash determinations are not likely ever to occur. For this reason, the charge that can be brought against the European Union is generally rather one of timidity than excessive boldness.'

In addition, the defence of children and young people's rights is likely to be easier in affluent western European countries than say Syria where rights violations experienced by children and young people are a daily occurrence.

Yet, it would be inexcusable to totally refute the value of children's rights principles and practices as a means of supporting the evaluation of vulnerability and risk – even though national and global struggles are difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate. Working at the level of the individual project/intervention, it is possible to locate a research literature where human rights have been utilised to create a linkage between vulnerability and the development of new forms of intervention to reduce risk. For example, Ayres *et al.* (2008) advocate the importance of developing multidisciplinary teams in support of young people living with HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, they elaborate on specific 'human rights aspects' of their work

and implications for practice. In table 5 below examples of that relationship are presented for consideration.

Table 5: Research Findings, vulnerability Dimensions and Human Rights (adapted from Ayers *et al.* (2006, 1005)

Fieldwork Findings	Vulnerability Aspects	Human Rights Aspects
Conflict and limitations regarding social integration, plans for the future, family constitution, employment etc. fear of discrimination; isolation	Multisectoral connections; multidisciplinary teams; prevention and care integration; human rights awareness/sensitivity of healthcare teams	Protection against all forms of physical and mental violence, including negligent treatment (19) Education directed toward personal and social development

For many of the young people involved in this research (n=22) a spiral of vulnerability similar to the ones featured above is likely to have been familiar territory. However, it is possible to see how aspects of human rights can be used to inform research, interventions and their ultimate evaluation. The research work was carried out in Brazil at a time when the intention was not only to eradicate AIDS/HIV but also to improve the life chances and opportunities of young people who had contracted the disease.

Osler (2015) expands the debate further in terms of examining the potential for human rights education (HRE) to play a reforming role within schools. The element of her discussion relevant to this chapter is concerned with how young people can be encouraged to use 'processes of learning' that empower them to;

> …ask questions and probe texts, to develop the imagination to identify with and express solidarity with others across boundaries, and recognize themselves as fellow citizens in a cosmopolitan nation… (p.264)

In essence, it is argued, such 'processes' bring with them opportunities to begin to see matters of gender, class, race, sexuality and disability from very different and mutually respectful positions. Personal histories, family arrangements, cultures and communities are accorded value – 'power struggles and asymmetrical power relations' together with their 'histories and identities' are given 'recognition' (p.263). How far is this perspective of HRE removed from the dominant neo-liberal ideological position and supercomplexity analysis explored earlier - and currently revered in many countries throughout the world? In creating such a climate for the education of young people are we more likely to see young people acknowledging their vulnerabilities and risks from less defensive positions? Here, young people will be encouraged to find their voice and tell their own stories.

In writing this chapter we have attempted to pull together some of the key issues and themes that have been presented throughout the book. However, we wanted

to do more than merely reprise some of the points already made. We have tried to elaborate further the nature of supercomplexity theory raised in chapter xx; we have retraced and further refined matters of vulnerability and risk; we have extend the discussion on pathologisation . To challenge dominant representations of youth and some of the discourse and interventions that are constructed out of them is far from easy. Yet, we wanted to leave the reader with a sense of hope! We see human rights promotion, interprofessional work, the participation of young people in decision making, the use of social media; political activity and voice focused research are all valuable approaches that may in turn lead to different and improved outcomes for young people. For young people in their role as influential social actors there is a need to take up a position in centre stage reading their own script – not necessarily one that meets with adult approval.

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TWENTY SEVEN

Multi-Agency Working and Pastoral Care in Behavioural Management: Discourse, policy, and practice

Dave Trotman and Stan Tucker

The idea of pastoral welfare and care as a curriculum concern for schools is something of a uniquely British concept (Best 2000: 3). In the UK this has tended to coalesce around the priorities of care, personal, and social development and civic responsibility. Michael Marland is amongst those advancing the cause of pastoral care in schools; he is credited with writing the first seminal text on the need for all schools to develop policies and practices for effective pastoral welfare and care. In this undertaking, Marland considers the core of a school's work to be one of disciplinary, educational, vocational, and personal guidance in which real situations must contribute to the formulation of school policy (Marland 1974: 12).

Crucially, Marland points towards the necessity to create common forms of pastoral provision in all schools concentrating on the affective dimension of personal development through forms of counselling and guidance that foster independence, self-confidence and awareness, and decision-making opportunities. For Marland, schools should be enriching places where lifestyle choices can be explored and nurtured (see Best 2014 for a detailed analysis of Marland's work). Here, the idea is advanced that *all* children and young people should be given both the space and opportunity to engage in activities that will enhance their critical thinking as competent and capable social actors. At the same time, aspects of their social welfare need to be acknowledged and responded to through the provision of effective forms of support, that is, guidance and counselling. It is against the backdrop of such an educational and philosophical positioning of the importance of delivering universalistic pastoral care provision in schools that the chapter is written.

In order to understand the changes that have occurred in relation to the structure, organisation, and delivery of pastoral policy and practice in schools, the intention is to explore, through the prism of multi-agency working, how pastoral care has moved in many schools from being seen as a common entitlement, Marland's original intention, to one that employs more targeted forms of intervention (Tucker *et al.* 2015). In order to support such an analysis, it is necessary to examine a range of powerful and pervasive discourses that appear to be consistently employed to problematise the lives of specific groups of children and young people and their families (Griffin 1993), and which have been extensively used to justify particular approaches to pastoral care delivery including multi-agency working. Amongst these the "pathologisation" of families, children, and young people can be readily found in the literature (Crozier and Reay 2005; Vincent 2003) typically involving

the body being conceived as a "site of sinful inclinations, or in the modern scientific version, pathologies and illness" (Dussel 2010: 31). Accordingly the power to intervene, treat, and cure is given to those whose expertise is legitimated through presumed expertise, knowledge, understanding, and skill—conferred, for example, through dominant political ideologies, professional bodies, and academic activity.

Hence, we have witnessed the emergence, through the mechanisms of education and social legislation and policy, what Smith *et al.* (2007) describe as a "deficit agenda" that pathologises the lives of many young people and their families to explain manifestations of poor behaviour and class indiscipline, school exclusion, educational performance, underachievement, inadequate parenting, etc. One such example of this pathologisation can be found in England's "Pupil Premium," introduced as government policy and inspected by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Designed to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils, the use of eligibility for free school meals was to become the primary indicator in the allocation of the pupil premium resource, based on an assumed relationship between free school meals (as an indicator of social and educational disadvantage) and risk of exclusion (2012: 17). In other instances, in many schools in the UK it is possible to locate elements of safeguarding, family therapy, behaviour modification, group work, counselling, mentorship, and advice that are specifically aimed at particular "problem" children, young people, and their families and "badged" under the name of pastoral care. It should also be noted that multi-agency approaches to pastoral welfare have been increasingly prioritised at senior management level in many English Schools. Involving combined expertise drawn from complementary professional groups such as social work, healthcare, and policing, these are regarded by many leadership teams to be pivotal to fulfilling a strategic approach to effective pastoral interventions to the most vulnerable, "at risk," and socially isolated children and their families (Tucker *et al.* 2015).

Writing in *Pastoral Care in Education* in 2009, Calvert outlined a number of key questions concerning the future direction and priorities of pastoral care in terms of the role of schools:

> Will they be dominated by an increasingly risk-averse approach to safeguarding and child protection? Will they be dominated by a compliance model imposed by an expanded inspection regime? Or will they be informed by a concerted attempt to adopt a holistic approach to welfare that prioritises emotional literacy and Children's voice? (Calvert 2009: 276)

Calvert provides, in a very succinct way, an overview of the key dilemmas and challenges that face many schools in trying to develop and deliver effective pastoral care policies and practices that, for the most part, remain unresolved. What should be the priorities for pastoral care? Is it possible to respond to the performative demands of external agencies such as Ofsted and at the same time deliver effective forms of pastoral care? Can more inclusive forms of pastoral practices be developed? This chapter should be read as part of what is effectively

an ongoing audit on the direction of pastoral care in many primary and secondary schools in the UK. Using examples from multi-agency working, a framework for analysis will be created that explores the influence of problematising discourse, framing of educational and social policy, and the use of different forms of targeted intervention in schools. We conclude the chapter by addressing the question whether different approaches to pastoral care and inter-agency working might be possible to envisage and work towards within schools.

The Emergence of Targeted Pastoral Provision

It is interesting to recall the analysis of risk provided by Beck (1992) concerning the nature of individual and collective experience. Beck argues that increased levels of vulnerability, alienation, disaffection, and exclusion can be the product of personal, familial, community, as well as wider social, economic, and educational factors. Yet, despite offering a broad conceptual map through which to understand and analyse the nature of risk, it is argued here that in UK schools the dominance of pathologically orientated discourses concerning perceived deficiencies in family background, quality of parenting, lifestyles, etc. have served to shape pastoral provision and the nature of many multiagency interventions.

The roots of such forms of discourse have a significant and influential academic history. For example, Cohen (1988: 31) locates the educational "failure" of young black people in a dominant discourse that stresses a lack of appropriate social, educational, and economic "credentials" as possessed by a "superior [white] island race" Gittins (1985) points to the way various discourses have been utilised to develop social and educational interventions that effectively prop up dominant middle-class orientations of family ideology, while Hudson (1989: 209) focuses on the construction of "pathological paradigms" to illustrate how lack of "affection" and "control" is used to demonstrate the inferiority of working-class child-rearing practices. Much of this can be located in the discourses of inequality and those forces affecting educational access. Following the influential work of Bourdieu (1977, 1986), many of the inequalities inherent in economic systems involve the displacement of the worst effects of differential access to the various forms of capital onto those least able to resist. In a UK context, Dorling (2014) has further asserted the profound strategic relationship between educational inequality and social exclusion and poverty.

Griffin (1993: 114–125) for her part produces, through an examination of research into the lives of young people stretching back to nineteenth century, and carried out in the USA and UK, a detailed analysis of the impact of problematising discourses on the development of policy, service delivery, and practice. Using a variety of discursive categories such as "troubled," "deficient," "disaffected," "delinquent," "diseased," and "perverted," it is asserted that such representations have shaped:

> …. the contemporary Youth service, the education system, apprenticeship and

> training schemes, child-rearing conventions and practices, the juvenile justice system, the job market as well as priorities of contemporary youth research. (Griffin, ibid)

We maintain that the analysis produced by Griffin provides a sound base from which to understand how and why pastoral care and multi-agency provision have become more closely aligned in many primary and secondary schools in the UK. We use the next section of this chapter to explore both internal and external policy and management drivers for change, influencing the school network across the UK, in order to explain why those children and young people who might be seen to be "struggling" (however that might be defined) can easily become the subject of detailed surveillance, therapeutic interventions, referral to social and healthcare agencies, excluded, etc. Yet, in conducting research in secondary schools and settings where alternative educational approaches are offered to pupils who find mainstream schooling difficult (described in the UK as alternative provision) (see Trotman *et al.* 2015; Tucker *et al.* 2015), it has become increasingly apparent that pastoral provision is consistently targeted towards those considered to be "at risk," vulnerable, and disruptive. Here, a link can be forged between risk, vulnerability and disruption, to powerful and dominant problematising discourses. For it appears that priority is given to what can be done to "improve" the child or family (behaviour, attitudes, attendance, etc.), rather than how educational policies and practices might be differently structured and organised to improve educational outcomes and life chances for the most disadvantaged. In a sense the educational "problem" is turned on its frequently espoused child-centred head; primacy is given to fitting a "dysfunctional" child into an examination-driven and performance-based educational system (Ball 2008), rather than meeting what might be a range of complex educational and social needs. Through such an approach "individual and groups of children and young people can be effectively isolated from their peers by the levels of commentary, inspection and surveillance that are 'invited' by the state into their day-to-day existence" (Tucker 1999: 286).

In the next section, we draw together key examples of how dominant discourse and policy have served to reinforce problematising and deficit-focused educational and pastorally focused interventions. In particular, we look at the way in which neo-liberal educational intentions and performativity have been embraced and the specific impact they have had in shaping multi-agency interventions across schools.

Discourse and Policy

While practitioners and academics in the UK have struggled to meaningfully define the epistemic field of pastoral welfare in education, they have also had to resolve criticisms over its problematic historical roots in religious hierarchy and paternalism (Best 2000: 4). Pastoral welfare as a curriculum concern has as a consequence historically tended to coalesce around imperatives of care, personal and social development, and civic responsibility. The arrival in the late 1990s of

New Labour's "third way" programme of social reform was, however, to have a significant bearing on the reorientation of pastoral provision in school settings. Predicated on a rebuttal of the dual polarities of overcentralised systems on the one hand and advancing corrosive market practices on the other, third way policy was to herald a new approach to the delivery of public policy through new forms of partnership (Newman 2001). A cornerstone of third way policy was the emergence of a multi-agency commitment to the joining up of services. In school contexts, this typically related to new forms of partnership working between education, social services, and health. Writing in 1998, the arguments for multi-agency working were considered overwhelming by observers such as Payne, who, sharing the sentiments of many, asserted that: "…the case for treating social problems in a holistic fashion is overwhelming. People know, in a simple everyday fashion, that crime, poverty, low achievement, bad housing and so on are connected" (Payne 1998: 12). The imperatives for multi-agency working were given new urgency in 2003 following the death of Victoria Climbie in which the subsequent inquiry identified acute failings of communication between housing authorities, social services, child protection teams of the Metropolitan Police Service, and hospitals. The Victoria Climbie Inquiry (2003a), then, gave new impetus to the challenges around multi-agency working and the safeguarding of children and young people. The problems around multi-agency practices, however, had been highlighted in an earlier study in the UK (Atkinson *et al.* 2002), an issue that we return to later in the chapter, while multi-agency priorities were subsequently prioritised around child protection with the more diffuse aspects of pastoral care and pupil welfare either eclipsed or subject to codification and routinisation. The contemporary context for pastoral care and multi-agency effectiveness is, we argue, substantially more complex than current educational policy and practice recognises. As concerns around safeguarding remain predominant, although the concept of "Every Child Matters" (2003) has slipped out of the day-to-day language of many schools, it is evident that aspects of child well-being have not only been obscured, but compounded by ministerial preoccupations with particular forms of educational output and organisational culture in the dual forms of performativity and hyper-managerialism.

While justified attention has been given to matters of child protection, a holistic view of child well-being has only recently become visible in the rhetoric of ministerial interests in the UK. Reports by the Children's Society (Layard and Dunn 2009), the National Institute for Care Excellence (NICE 2013), the Office for National Statistics (ONS 2014), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2015), and UNICEF (2007) have all identified acute concerns over child well-being. Although definitions of child well-being are variously defined in the literature, common characteristics typically coalesce around the domains of physical, psychological, cognitive, social, and economic well-being (Pollard and Lee 2003). UNICEF, for example, in a survey of child well-

being (2007) discusses six dimensions of well-being: material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviours and risks, and subjective well-being. On the basis of these dimensions, UNICEF concludes that the UK, alongside the USA, has the worst profile of child well-being amongst the world's 21 richest countries. While some reportage has given justifiable attention to the economic factors governing child well-being, bodies such as NICE have devoted their attention to the domains of emotional well-being (being happy, confident, and not unduly anxious or depressed), psychological well-being (involving personal autonomy, problem-solving and resilience, managing emotions, and exercising empathy), and social well-being (developing positive relationships with others and not exhibiting disruptive, violent, or a bullying behaviour) (NICE 2013).

In contrast to this increasing public concern over well-being, education policy in England and the wider UK has over a period of some 30 years been subject to the combined forces of neo-liberal interests and performativity. Describing performativity as both a culture and technology, Lyotard (1984) asserts that this is characterised by the macro-societal pursuit of efficiency and outcomes governed by narrow bureaucratic forms of output and accountability. Pivotal to performative cultures is the assumption that it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance of the core activities of an organisation (Lyotard 1984). Moreover, as Wayne Ross and Gibson note (2006), in dominant neo-liberal cultures where market freedom, privatisation, and competition are valorised, such assumptions are asserted to have no credible alternative. In England, the embracing of neo-liberal interests by successive governments has seen in state education an increasingly intrusive regulation of the curriculum, punitive forms of accountability through the Office for Standard in Education (Ofsted), and the forced academisation by government of those schools deemed to have failed centrally determined standards. While terms such as "special measures" are now part of the educational lexicon and a failing school is assured media interest, less has been known about the effects of performative cultures on children and young people. Amongst the early exceptions, Cullingford (1996: 6) has reported the anxieties felt by primary- age children during school inspection. Park (2013) has noted the debilitating effects of Ofsted on children and young people as they are made to feel responsible for judgements about their school on the basis of their test performance. Burke and Grosvenor (2003: 70) also describe young people's criticism of testing in schools and its increasing separation from meaningful learning, while Trotman *et al.* (2012) have reported the concerns of adolescent pupils being pressured into making early and potentially detrimental examination choices. In a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of performativity on pupil well-being, Hutching's (2015) report for the National Union of Teachers highlights the anxieties induced amongst young people as part of the pressure to perform in English state schools. Combined with the World Health Organisation's (2012)

finding that 11–16-year-old pupils in England feel more pressured by their school work than in the majority of other European countries, and evidence from the Children's Charity Childline (2014, 2015) of a 200 percent increase in counselling sessions related to exam stress in the period 2012–2014, the effects of performative cultures have become increasingly visible. While Trotman *et al.* (2015) have noted that key transition points in statutory education also coincide with times of significant physical and emotional change for young people, the emergence of new social phenomena related to transnational terrorism and identity has resulted in a government response in which complex phenomena are reduced to "radicalisation" with inoculation by a "Prevent" (2011) intervention. For many young people, while Islamophobia receives less government attention, their pathologisation and that of their families continues to be amplified.

While the corrosive effects of performativity have received wide attention in the educational literature, new forms of education managerialism and their alienating effects are only now becoming visible, presenting further challenges for the pastoral welfare of children and young people in schools. Following the election of a Conservative Government in 2015, Conservative education policy has hastened the demise of Local Authority powers while accelerating new configurations of combined school administration and governance. In particular, the forced academisation of schools and the creation of multi-academy trusts as single legal entities, whose newly created board of directors are accountable only to central government, give renewed traction to unrestrained forms of hyper-managerialism. As a defining feature of the new public management emerging in the 1990s, hyper-managerialism has come to symbolise the movement towards simultaneous centralised and decentralised control (Skinns 2011: 14) and is now the dominant form of management and governance across a range of public services. Although the effects of renewed hyper-managerialism in schools have yet to be both fully realised and evaluated, early research on the impact of coercive academisation in England reveals, perhaps not surprisingly, a narrative of professional and community alienation in response to imposed regimes that are perceived by those affected as judgemental and unforgiving (Elton and Male 2015: 420). An immediate corollary of hyper-managerial cultures is the reorientation of organisational values away from community, child/pupil-centredness, and pastoral concerns in favour of the valorisation of institutional performance measures and their associated technologies. The consequences for effective multi-agency strategies are then stark as the combined imperatives of performativity and hypermanagerialism, by necessity, require the separation and isolation of key services that can be purchased, deployed, or discarded on the basis of efficiency and the palpable measurement of preferred outcomes. Moreover, in validating the proliferation of short-term interventions, hyper-managerial cultures both compound and magnify the "deficit agenda" outlined earlier in which children and young people can be conveniently "badged" as "at risk"— an issue we develop

in more detail in the next section.

Policy into Practice

The reality is that it is possible to identify various manifestations of "deficit agenda" policy and practice played out in many primary and secondary schools within the UK. Our research (see Trotman *et al.* 2015; Tucker *et al.* 2015) points to the use of time-limited interventions aimed specifically at "treating" (Griffin 1993) problematic and challenging behaviours, educational underachievement, exclusion, etc. At the same time, it is important to stress that for some schools inter-agency intervention is concerned with much more than merely reinforcing the kind of problematising discourses described above. Indeed, we gathered significant data to suggest that different approaches to inter-agency and inter-professional practice can produce very different outcomes (an issue explored in more detail in the next section). For example:

> In one school the need to build an inter-professional and inter agency team 'around the child' was given high priority in terms of both human and financial resources. A clearly defined philosophy as to the value of inter-professional and inter agency work was in place… inter-professional work in another school pointed to the importance of creating places/spaces where young people could find refuge or just 'sit and talk' without feeling threatened or judged. (Tucker *et al.* 2015: 305)

Yet, even in these schools it was impossible to escape the tremendous pressure that school leaders face in maintaining the necessary resources required to formulate and deliver innovative pastoral policies and practices in the face of performativity demands and expectations, as well as increased pressure to balance what are seen as "ever-shrinking" budgets.

We offer below, in Table 28.1, a range of examples that illustrate the influence of "deficit agenda" approaches to work with children and young people in both primary and secondary sectors who are routinely described as problematic, "at risk," vulnerable, and alienated. The examples are drawn together from a range of conversations held with school leaders, school behaviour and pastoral co-ordinators, and children and young people.

In examining the issues raised in Table 28.1, it is possible to read the data in a number of different ways. For example, the reader may simply come to the conclusion that the interventions and hoped for outcomes are laudable and acceptable in terms of meeting the emerging needs of *all* children and young people. Yet, such a reading would miss one of the key points of this chapter. Through our research it has become increasingly apparent that the minimal resources available for pastoral interventions are not focused on the development of common provision, but instead are aimed at specific pupils. It might be argued, for example, that all children and young people face stress in meeting the ever-increasing demands placed on schools to produce "better" public examination grades or SAT scores (and in some schools that help is provided— through, for

Table 28.1 Examples of "deficit agenda" multi-agency responses

Focus of intervention	Characteristics	Multi-agency involvement	Examples of anticipated outcomes	"Deficit agenda" targets
Group work	Small group processes aimed at sharing experiences; exploring feelings and emotions; understanding actions and outcomes	Involvement of group work facilitator from other agency, e.g. youth services or private provider	Behavioural change; increased ability to understand and where necessary resist peer pressure; share "solutions" to personal problems	Response to: "inappropriate" peer relationships; disruptive behaviours inside and outside school
Anger management	Both individual and group focused—often described as a "programme"; behaviour modification intentions	External expert or pastoral staff with specific training	Building of personal coping strategies; resilience; personal responsibility for behaviour; understanding "triggers"	Inadequacy of personal control; failure of family; temperament; socially "dysfunctional" or problematic background
Prevent strategy	Focus on "radicalisation"—government-driven prevent programme; early identification and formal notification	Police through local Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) and trained school staff	Early identification; reporting; surveillance and monitoring; deradicalisation programmes	Emphasis on particular ethnic communities, families and individuals
Social work and prevention of reoffending	Family-focused; related to youth offending; safeguarding and protection	Local social work staff, Youth Offending Team (YOT) members Police, and healthcare staff	Parenting programmes; family case work; out-of-school and after-school activity programmes; inter-agency monitoring and information sharing	Safeguarding and protection; subject of court order; at risk or vulnerable
Counselling	Individual focus or family orientated—individual and group interventions	Trained counsellor, educational psychologist	Self-analysis of problems and issues; developing confidence and self-awareness; selfproblem solving	Impaired emotional growth/development; family dysfunction
Mentorship	Individual or group focus work, aimed at disruptive and underachieving pupils	"Achievers" (adults and successful young pole) in private and public organisations	Focus on change through effort; self-organisation and improvement	Problematic pupils; impoverished family backgrounds; poor educational heritage— family, community, etc.

example, homework clubs or after-school subject groups), yet it remains the case that in others external demands and expectations are likely to drive the kind of interventions outlined in Table 28.1. These include:

- The formal inspection and grading of school behaviour and discipline;
- Outcomes of academisation and the demands of external sponsors and academy chains who require year-on-year improvements in pupil performance based on national comparative data and predicted scores—with specific emphasis placed on those pupils who are "holding a school back" by virtue of their underachievement, social disadvantage, lack of appropriate role models, disruptive behaviour, etc.;
- Nationally set levels of school attendance where the "problematisation" of specific families frequently occurs in explaining non-school attendance;
- The impact of the Prevent agenda on specific schools, communities, local authorities, as well as the formal inspection of the teaching of "British values."

To understand the targeted nature of pastoral intervention in schools, it is necessary to comprehend the ways in which the thrust of policy (largely externally driven) has impacted on the treatment of particular children, young people, and their families. Indeed, we have argued that "such agendas… are so powerful, that they restrict the ability of young people to articulate their needs, advocate for their rights and participate in decision-making processes" (Tucker *et al.* 2015: 302). In the next section, we turn our attention to what we believe is a particularly important issue—whether it is possible to envisage other forms of pastoral policy development and practice based on differently articulated concepts and forms of inter-agency and inter-professional work.

Inter-agency and Inter-professional Work: An Alternative Perspective

In the context that we have set out above, the challenges for effective pastoral welfare are manifold. From the findings of our research there are clear indications that professional collaboration between different agencies in related areas of pastoral concern can be beneficial. These include the sharing of professional assessments, the multi-perspectival knowledge of the circumstances of children and young people, and the identification of access to differentiated resources. As we have also demonstrated in this chapter, however, understanding and mediating the motivations for pastoral intervention demands a critical reading of wider policy imperatives combined with a necessary reimagining of the lifeworld of children, young people, and their families. Hence, the relationship between effective pastoral welfare and meaningful targeted intervention is contingent upon forms of inter-agency collaboration that simultaneously confront dominant problematising discourses while emphatically addressing the often complex socio-educational needs of many of the children and young people in school settings.

In this undertaking, we distinguish between multi-agency working, as it is broadly conceived in contemporary state education in England and described in this chapter, and the more complex interactions and engagements involved in inter-professional practice.

The urgency for improved communication between key services in the aftermath of the Victoria Climbie Inquiry (2003a) has seen multiple agencies of education, healthcare, social work, and other front-line services variously reconfigured with safeguarding legislation and practice, typically in the form of the Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub (MASH). At the level of mezzo-policy, configurations such as MASH, as both their title and mandate implies, are largely limited to the function of generating information exchange, risk identification, and the commissioning of early intervention without any necessary imperative to attend to the wider and potentially pernicious effects of the continuing problematisation of children and young people. Indeed, a corollary of this is that multi-agency approaches in this form of configuration can serve, wittingly and unwittingly, to both validate and amplify the problematisation of individuals, families, and their communities through a myopic adherence to the apparatus of protection and safeguarding. Meanwhile, more meaningful processes of dialogue, participation, and exchange between agencies, children, young people, and their communities remain eclipsed. In this latter form, multi-professional and inter-professional practice offers an, as yet unrealised, alternative in English state schools.

While problems of communication between different agencies and professional groups have been widely reported (Home Office 2014, Atkinson *et al.* 2002), the field of healthcare has, in contrast to education and other professional groups, a richer history of development and evaluation of inter-professional education and practice. A cursory survey of the *Journal of Interprofessional Care*, for instance, reveals a range of studies devoted to the field. Typically, many of these studies focus on the nexus of interaction between different professional groups allied to healthcare and point, in turn, to a need for a much more sophisticated approach to inter-professional practice for effective patient care. Reportage on multi-agency work following the Victoria Climbie Inquiry (2003a), however, reveals a picture of different professional groups rooted in particular cultures of practice and often anchored to their own allegiances, biases and political interests. Amongst the literature on inter-professional practices, the concept of professional socialisation has been the subject of extensive treatment particularly in the province of healthcare. Predicated on socialisation into the roles and norms of a particular discipline, Sharpe and Curran (2011) have observed that professional socialisation involves both the development of identity and the inculcation of patterns of practice. They assert that professional socialisation can be regarded as both a self-concept and professional world view and involves not only the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, roles, and attitudes associated with the practice of a particular profession but that different professions have distinct ways of thinking

and behaving as a professional culture. The internationalisation of professional values then creates what can often be profound challenges in the interface between different professional groups.

Underscoring the challenges that surround inter-professional education, much of the research, then, points to issues around reconciling different professional values and practices, conditions of service, and the need to invest in joint training and professional development (Robinson and Cottrell 2005; Reeves *et al.* 2008).

Hence, while the ambitions for multi-agency working may appear laudable at first sight, they are predicated on the assumption that different professional agencies have both the desire and ability to collaborate in the interests of a shared view of children and young people. In comparing police education to that of other professions for instance, White and Heslop (2012) highlight the different philosophical orientations each has to training and development. Teaching, they assert, is typically associated with liberal education and critical thinking, while policing is more commonly associated with matters of state control and the constraint of citizenship. Nursing, meanwhile, has focused on the interface between education and professionalism, in contrast with a police service that typically frames learning in terms of task performance and vocational competence (White and Heslop 2012).

Notwithstanding the recognised challenges surrounding multi- and inter-professional education, research conducted by the authors has pinpointed examples of practice where multi-professional teams have been purposefully configured with a strong pastoral imperative. In these examples inter-professional engagement is framed in the school context by a broadly conceived conception of education for the common good with a significant pastoral scope. Typically involving multi-professional groups drawn from education (teachers, targeted intervention assistants, and mentors), healthcare, social work, and policing, approaches to pastoral welfare are, then, intrinsically student-centred in which young people are considered in relation to their unique agency, their social and emotional concerns, and in the lived context of their families and communities. Such approaches seek to re-establish and re-vision the lifeworlds of children and young people in ways that confront descriptive, instrumentalised, and often-pejorative imaging of children and young people as "learners," "disaffected," and "disadvantaged." This empathic pastoral orientation to multi-professional practice, by necessity, also involves transcending the professional allegiances, cultures, and boundaries noted earlier in the service of pastoral welfare and care of young people. Fundamentally, matters of performance, compliance, and restraint give way to value-centred factors of professionality, collective judgement, and care. In this regard, and despite the challenges, we have seen examples of the beginnings of authentic inter-professional practice in school contexts. In research conducted with Police Community Support Officers working as School Liaison Officers

(SLOs) in Birmingham, Trotman and Thomas (2016) have reported how effective collaboration between education professionals and SLOs has enabled increased levels of trust between young people, police, and parents, particularly for groups of young people who had been previously wary of engaging with the police both within and beyond the confines of school. Similarly, the authors have witnessed examples of multi-professional practice in secondary schools and school alliances involving teachers, social workers, healthworkers, and police in the development of inter-professional strategies to support young people who find themselves in challenging circumstances. Involving issues such as exposure to domestic violence and gang membership, multi-professional teams are able to make rapid but, moreover, informed responses based upon shared local knowledge framed by a common pastoral concern.

Some Concluding Thoughts

Pastoral welfare in schools, as we have presented in this chapter, has something of a unique position in the history of British curriculum reform. While Marland's seminal arguments for the positioning of the affective realm of personal development, independence, and personal agency as a *curriculum concern* remain cherished ideals for many schools, they are nonetheless positioned in a policy context of increasingly corrosive performative interests. On the one hand, as we have demonstrated, increasing concerns over child well-being have been extensively documented, while on the other, such concerns are paralleled by contrary performative technologies of schooling and measurement shaped by pervasive neo-liberal interests. As we have sought to stress, amongst the more pernicious effects of performative technologies is not only the bifurcation of the pupil lifeworld from those aspects that underpin Marland's conception of pastoral welfare but, moreover, the perpetuation and amplification of the "deficit agenda" of problematisation and pathologisation of young people, families, and their communities.

It is in this context that we question the current framing of much of the multi-agency practice that exists in the British state school system. We argue that multi-agency activity in its current instrumental configuration, restricted to information exchange and risk identification, does little to address the complexity of pupil well-being identified in recent reportage (NICE 2013; ONS 2014; OECD 2015) and instead serves to exacerbate already-problematic and contested conceptions of behaviour, family, and community in the interests of expediency and economy. Rather, as we have sought to illustrate, a much richer and more sophisticated conception of multi-*professional* expertise is required. In this undertaking, we turn to the concept of inter-professional practice, a practice that is educationally grounded, emphatically pastorally focused, and professionally dynamic. Inter-professional practice as we have discussed in this chapter, is necessarily dialogic and by implication fluid. Where multi-professional practice has aligned well to

a meaningful conception of pastoral welfare has been in its mirroring of its core principles of care, trust, and reflection and the creative mediation of agreed action. As a dynamic form of collaborative action, inter-professional practice in pastoral care necessarily works in the service of transcending partisan occupational allegiances, biases, and political interests. It is in this capacity that inter-professional practice offers new and still largely developmental approaches for the effective pastoral support of the well-being of children and young people in schools.

Earlier in this chapter we presented an extract from the work of Calvert (2009) in which he poses a number of important questions as to the future direction of pastoral care in schools within the UK. We also pointed to the fact that this chapter could in fact be read as part of an ongoing audit of what currently constitutes the nature of pastoral provision. We have used the discussion specifically to cast light on not only how multi-agency practice unfolds, but also how dominant forms of discourse and policy have shaped, and to a significant extent prioritised and determined the aims and outcomes of targeted interventions. Frequently our conversations with school leaders, behavioural and pastoral staff, and teachers were punctuated with expressions of doubt, concern, exasperation, and despair not on how to improve pedagogical and pastoral practices or improve educational outcomes for disadvantaged young people but how to meet "floor targets," "improve SAT scores," "improve discipline and attendance," etc. Currently, it appears that where pastoral practice exists it is largely targeted towards particular individuals and groups of children, young people, and their families. Yet despite this, we have attempted to sketch some alternative approaches to inter-professional work that could produce better educational and social outcomes for all children and young people.

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TWENTY EIGHT

Education in Super-Complex Times (2018)[1]

Introduction

The title of this inaugural lecture is about a thing called 'super-complexity', related to the life world of young people, and my intention is to go through it in three parts, which I'll reveal now. The three parts of this process will start with a look at the policy drivers and levers related to education and particularly the effects of super-complexity in relation to that. The second part will deal with policy effects on young people and then the third part will deal specifically with what responses we might make as people with a whole varied range of educational interests and takes on that particular conundrum.

Okay, we live in unpredictable times, this being from John Lanchester's very prescient text, 'After the fall', which some of you may be familiar with. So that's the intention for tonight. I am going to *touch base* with some of the… and I promised myself I would never use the words touch base, ever in my life, but I've just broken my golden rule so I won't ever do it again! I'm going to pinpoint as we go through the lecture some of the historical points as well in relation to the last 50 years of education without doing any kind of historical narrative and also, clearly obviously, bring up-to-date some of the issues that confront us now, whilst acknowledging what Peter [2] has said in relation to the period of time over the last six or seven years of the research that I have been involved which I want to pinpoint. So, I should say thank you very much Peter for that very warm introduction, but I was completely phased by looking at my own face in the audience, which is kind of like 1969, kind of *The Prisoner* style surrealism.[3]

These are indeed unpredictable times. At the beginning of 2008 Gordon Brown was Prime Minister of the UK, George W. Bush was President of the United States. Nicolas Sarkozy was President of France, Hu Jintao was General Secretary of the

1 Originally titled 'Education in Super-Complex Times: Young people, policy effects and the navigation of the educational lifeworld', this was Dave Trotman's professorial inaugural lecture, which was delivered at Newman University on 10 October 2018. The present text is a slightly edited transcription from a recording of that lecture. We have, as editors, sought to preserve something of the character of the original spoken delivery in order to convey Dave's voice. Those at Newman University can get access to the Panopto film of the lecture with slides via this link: https://newman.hosted.panopto.com/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=c0278cf6-4bb7-4409-9ac8-a975008d1a8d

2 Professor Peter Childs, Acting Vice Chancellor of Newman University at the time of recording, who introduced the inaugural lecture.

3 Some members of the audience, mainly EdD students, had made paper masks of Dave's face and were wearing them some of the time during the lecture. These paper masks have remained on campus and are sometimes spotted in offices, a reminder – if one were needed – of Dave Trotman's impact on many of the university's faculty and students.

Chinese Communist Party, Ken Livingstone was Mayor of London and MySpace was the biggest social network, while the central bank interest rate in the UK was 5.5%. The odds given for Leicester City winning the Premiership were 5000 to 1. The odds on the discovery of the Loch Ness monster were 500 to 1. What odds would you have got in 2008 on a future world in which Donald Trump was president, Theresa May was Prime Minister, Britain had voted to leave the European Union, and Jeremy Corbin was leader of the Labour Party? This just serves to remind us that 10 years is a long time in the history of the world. So yeah, I see people getting their phones out and getting their bets down now.

Ours is an age of increasing uncertainty, a time when societies are confronted by unprecedented and seemingly intractable problems. Armed conflict, an increased threat of global terrorism, environmental degradation, escalating mental illness amongst young people, suicide, child abuse, corporate greed, electronic surveillance and the proliferation of fake news (which has even directly implicated the President of the United States of America), all are now part of the contemporary condition. Our best hope of survival, perhaps our only hope of ameliorating or even eliminating many of these problems, is through an urgently needed new approach to education.

I want to start with the context for this particular issue. I have been warned not to walk about too much because we are being recorded tonight. So, I'm going to try and keep the swear box down to the minimum because I don't think they will be able to edit all the words out, so this will be recorded for those people who are not here or indeed are here. So, I've just reminded myself not to walk about too much. But this is an opening context so if we just want to remind ourselves of this particular set of principles. And they are principles and statements that I set out in an article for the journal *Education Politics* which I was invited to contribute to a couple of years ago, when we started to develop a particular project around future visioning of what a curriculum for the 21st-century might look like.

And in that article I set out, right at the beginning, this particular series of concerns, and in doing so took some poetic license with it. For those of you with a long enough memory, and detailed enough knowledge, you'll know this is a paraphrasing of a particular opening chapter to a book that was written one year after Newman University opened as a College of Higher Education. It comes from Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner's (1969) brilliant text *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*. And, of course, I have taken some license with that, but all of the language there is directly drawn from Postman and Weingartner's analysis of the contemporary American condition in 1969. They don't talk about fake news they talk about misinformation, the misinformation of news and the President they are talking about is of course Richard Nixon. But how far have we travelled in 50 years, what have we learnt?

Postman and Weingartner (1969, p. 4) also set out their thesis that the American

educational system is like 'Driving a multi-million dollar sports car, screaming, faster! faster! while peering fixedly in the rear-view mirror'. Does that have any familiar resonances with people over education policy in the contemporary context in the UK? Perhaps so. So, I would recommend that book to you and I am sure that it was in the hot hands of lecturers when they started at Newman University to inform their students.

What I want to do now is to reverse backwards a stage and take us to this slide, which is a hop over the Atlantic to Ontario province and their statement in a recent curriculum reform review of their reading of the contemporary context.[4] And you'll notice I have made an intentional gesture here and an important one I think. This comes from *Principal Connections*, the magazine of the Catholic Principals' Council of Ontario, who are particularly interested in the idea of complexity; and it's going to get very complex if I keep moving slides backwards and forwards, so I'll try and stop that! Their statement reads: 'Our students are going to need to be able to thrive in a world that is more volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous than the one that their parents prepared to enter. This means that they need the interpersonal, intrapersonal and cognitive skills (National Research Council, July 2012, p.2) necessary to readily adapt, learn, unlearn and relearn over the course of their lives, to do so in a diverse society and workplace, and to successfully engage with others on a local, national and international scale'.

So I am going to move on now to 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000). Many of you may be familiar with the work of Zygmunt Bauman who sets out a thesis for the new millennium where he talks about liquid modernity as 'a condition of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities, and global economics within contemporary society'. I am not going to read all of the slides, by the way, you'll be delighted to know. Bauman says that 'Liquid modernity can most easily be seen in contemporary approaches to self-identity. In liquid modernity, constructing a durable identity that coheres over time and space', he argues, 'becomes increasingly impossible'. He goes on to state that we are 'moving from a period where we understood ourselves as "pilgrims" in search of deeper meaning to one where we act as "tourists" in search of multiple but fleeting social experiences', a concept I will return to later.

What Bauman continues to argue is that this results in 'a new remoteness and un-reachability of global systemic structure coupled with the unstructured and under-defined, fluid state of the immediate setting of life-politics and human togetherness, which call for the rethinking of the concepts and cognitive frames used to narrate human individual experience and their joint history'. There is a problem with this, because it becomes a very bleak narrative from Bauman, and

4 See: Achieving Excellence: A Renewed Vision for Education in Ontario (2014) and Principal Connections, the magazine of the Catholic Principals' Council (Ontario), Fall, 2016, Vol 20, Issue 1.

what I would just note here, for those of you who are familiar with this turf, is that the concept of Bauman's liquid modernity does offer particular spaces in which to work. And here I'll just make a nod to the research, specifically to the investigations into the psychology of creativity, particularly Arthur Cropley's (2004) work, which highlights that it is possible for people, in all sorts of domains, to have what he calls a 'tolerance of ambiguity', 'a preference for complexity' and 'a capacity to engage in forms of calculated risk-taking'. So, the picture that I would argue, as others have, in response to the critique of Bauman's world, is that it is not necessarily all bleak, although Bauman is presenting quite a troubling account, review, and analysis of the contemporary social condition.

What I want to do now is move quickly to configure this to an educational project. And the work that I want to refer to now comes from another prescient text by Ronald Barnett, who was actually writing on higher education at the time when he introduced into the lexicon the term 'super-complexity' in relation to education. And what Barnett (2000, p. 257) argues, like Bauman, is that super-complexity 'denotes a fragile world…brought on not merely by social and technological change; it is a fragility in the way that we understand the world, in the ways in which we understand ourselves and in the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world'.

What Barnett does in his concept of super-complexity is talk about 'a global age' of 'triple challenges to our understanding, our self-identity and our actions'; 'an information society characterised by a compression of time and space'; 'a post-Fordist environment of work where individuals are required to take greater responsibility'; and then thirdly (and perhaps most significantly from Barnett's positioning here) is 'a proliferation of sites of knowledge production and the multiplication of what might be constituted as legitimate knowledge' (2000, p. 257). So, the idea is that knowledge is in flux; that there are no permanent fixed positions for this. What he does in addition to that is set two very strong pillars in the building of an idea of super-complexity. On the one hand, Ulrick Beck's (1992) work on the 'risk society', which many of you may be familiar with (and I would encourage those people who are working in these domains who are not familiar with it, to have a look at Beck's work and particularly his latter work, post 9/11, on risk and what that means for people in all sorts of ways). But, for tonight, I am going to focus on one that will be familiar to a number of you in the audience and this is Jean-François Lyotard (1984) and his concept of 'performativity'.

This is what Lyotard describes as performativity (in Trotman *et al*, 2017, p. 73), and this is a drinks break by the way, whilst you're reading that: '…a culture and technology, in which regulation serves to drive performance against generalised standards', a drive for efficiency which assumes that 'it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance of so-called core activities of organisations through the use of audit technologies'.

1. Policy Drivers and Policy Levers

So that takes me to the next introductory episode. The reason that I am smiling to myself is that people [in the audience] are putting signs up now making super-complexity even more complex than it really needs to be. But we are going to go into the concept of policy drivers and policy levers and there are three areas that I want to touch on in this part and these are: performativity, datafication and output steering.

I want to again alight on some of the sociological lenses (and for those of you who are less familiar with this turf that's what I have been using so far) to explain some of this super-complexity. And I want to start by looking at it at the macro level, the big picture. In this regard, Steven Ball (2010, p124), whose work will be known to many of you, talks about the 'fragile and uneven moves in education policy, education governance and the politics of educational knowledge'; so, we have got some interesting things going on here around the politics of educational knowledge. And what Ball argues is that we have seen 'a shift from government to governance through an increasing blurring of the boundaries between tiers of government, public and private sectors and between the state and civil society'. Anybody going to a conference related to education now will see a complete proliferation of private research and curriculum organisations all selling their wares, which is an absolute typical outcome of the metaphor and analysis that Ball is offering here.

And what he argues is that this requires new ways of governing that require new forms of knowledge to make them work. Anybody working in a multi-academy trust, and I know you're out there, will know that this requires new forms of knowledge, new systems of operation, new ways of thinking about education in order for these functions to materialise and exist.

What Ball argues is that from this we see 'travelling policies' and what he calls 'policy discourses, particularly across Europe, that constitute' (I had to get this in because it's a really big word) 'a polymorphic policyscape' (Ball, 2010). What he means by that is we start to see the generation of policies that transcend national boundaries, to create all sorts of effects that are intended and unintended, and, what he argues, which helpfully for us using our lenses, back to our performativity here, 'require performative forms of quality assurance such as those advanced by the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).' I don't want to spend a lot of time on PISA tonight but I do want to touch upon it. So, in the macro scale here, using Ball and others as lenses, I think that the first thing we can say is that this is a fairly fluid state of experience, affecting the way in which we perceive ourselves, our identities, but crucially there's a form of *governance* that transcends national boundaries by which we are all affected. This doesn't operate in the abstract, although in part it does, but it has absolute practical consequence.

One of the features of that, which I promised I would touch upon, and here it is, is the concept of 'output steering', which enables the state to monitor, reform and

ultimately steer education policy and its systems of education. This comes from a fantastic book by Aaron Benavot and Heinz-Dieter Meyer, [*Pisa, power, and policy: The emergence of global educational governance*] published in 2013, in their analysis of the effects of PISA. PISA has become part of the discourse of education and we should be cautious about it in all sorts of ways that hopefully I will reveal. But it is a great book on the analysis of PISA and its effects.

Returning to Ball here, what he argues, along with other colleagues, is that this, or part of this polymorphic policyscape, has generated, 'a technology of statistics that creates the capacity' (my emphasis next) '*to relate to reality as a field of government*' (Hunter, 1996, p. 154, in Ball, 2010, p. 125). In other words, this is how it functions. This is reality. This is how it works. This is what it does. This is the form of reality, if you like.

In my own research with a colleague who I will mention in a short while, we have noted in the project that we have been working on, over the last five or six years in Transylvania, in central Romania, and in part of which we were interviewing head teachers about the effects of policy interventions in schools. The head teachers very quickly turned to 'governance without government' (Tucker, Trotman, Rusu and Mara, 2014; Dale, 1999). They would say 'We've got all these lovely ideas that we'd like to implement and are really interested in' or 'I'm really interested in what Carol Dweck is doing now about intelligence, that's really hot, I'm really into this', but very quickly they get to a position that their curriculum programs, their pedagogic development, will be framed very much by the interventions of groups like the IMF, OECD, G-7 and particularly the World Bank.

If you do read Meyer and Benavot's work you very quickly get to that picture of a supra-national policyscape, where economic function, drives much of education policy-making and its consequences. It's not as simple as that, as I'll talk through a little bit later. Quite scarily, from Meyer and Benavot's research, Heyneman and Lee (2012, in Kamens, 2013) calculate that as many as twenty-one countries have initiated education policy reforms directly in response to international test results. It doesn't just include PISA, for those of you who are familiar with the TIMSS study (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) and PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) will know that too.

In Susan Robertson's brilliant work at Cambridge (and formally at Bristol), she notes for us that the education industry as a whole is estimated to be worth something in the region of $4.4 trillion and growing (Strauss 2013; Komljenovic and Robertson, 2017). That's a lot of money. Meanwhile, as you have seen only the week before last, head teachers were marching on Downing Street because of spiralling employment costs (*Channel 4 News*, 28 September 2018). Anybody who is a head teacher in the audience here, and I know there are a few of you out there, will know this as a reality, so what's going on here? What's this stark contrast between supra-national governments and this money sloshing around the

system, and yet at a national level we seem to be restricted in all sorts of ways? So, sticking with the performativity theme for the moment, what we see in the performativity and datafication project is the shift to modes of supra-national governance that assumes educational outcomes can be routinely measured and that educational benefits equate to increased economic and social productivity as part of a broader neo-liberal imperative (Mattern, 2013; Kitchin, 2014). And the reason why I say this is because this is all really seductive stuff. You go on the PISA site, and I do encourage you to do it, it's brilliant. It's a really impressive bit of kit, but underneath it, you have to really start to wonder and hopefully raise some concerns. Rob Kitchin's excellent book (again, if you are interested in this stuff) entitled *The data revolution*, talks about two fairly, not very elegant terms: 'datafication' and 'dataveillance'. The datafication of young people and dataveillance now is becoming a big project in the States. A book that my colleague and I recently contributed to, by Joe Deakin, from Manchester University and colleagues in the States [see Deakin, Taylor and Kupchik, 2018] extensively tackles the challenges now in the States around data surveillance, or dataveillance as they call it in the States of young people in schools. Datafication here is premised on the assumption that any form of meaningful activity can be usefully measured through the use of numbers and algorithms. Why am I telling you this? It is because, as we see a little bit later, when we get to the central issue around children and young people's life worlds, this I think is problematic.

The Data Have Landed

by Michael Rosen

First they said they needed data
about the children
to find out what they're learning.
Then they said they needed data
about the children
to make sure they are learning.
Then the children only learnt
what could be turned into data.
Then the children became data.

Why is it that a poet can do all of it in a poem when you've just spent, I don't know how many slides, trying to make the thing stick. Some of you will know this. You have seen it before. The genius that is Michael Rosen.

Coming back to Ball and his supra-national policyscape stuff (the polymorphic landscape), the point of his argument is that 'various aspects of state apparatus act upon both the human body and social behaviour through its various conduits of power' (Ball, 2013, p. 60). This has direct personal, human effects, in a nutshell, again,

as Rosen said: Children become the data. The language and practices of neoliberal managerialism lay the ground for 'making the individual into an enterprise, a self-maximising productive unit operating in a market of performances – committed to the headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market' (Flak, 1999, p. 19 in Ball, 2010, p. 126). I have tried to think this presentation out and this connects directly to Postman and Weingartner's agenda of 50 years ago. We are perhaps not the multi-million pound sports car anymore, but in one which probably feels a little bit more like a second-hand Triumph. (I've got to be careful who I offend now with cars. That's why I've chosen a Triumph. I thought 'Dave, don't go there, you're going to offend somebody over cars. You know what you're like'. There are some obvious reciprocities as it were.)

2. Policy Effects

Okay, so part one was about taking out the macro landscape according to various analysts who are working in that area and for me personally it has been very helpful in foregrounding the particular challenges, problems, and the making sense of research when we go into the field. This part now is about going into the field.
This now is an unashamed book plug and this is the bit where I make sure the microphone is on. The book is Trotman and Tucker (Eds) (2018) *Youth: Global perspectives, challenges and issues of the 21st Century*. Can everyone hear at the back? Yeah, you can. Modestly priced at £119.95 and available on Amazon. Thank you Richard. I see you are ordering it now, thank you. It is an ideal stocking filler because it's hardback as well so you can prop loads of stuff up with it, as I've discovered. It can cope with spills when people come in and put the coffee mug on top of it, and I say 'Do you mind? That's my book'.

This book, which my colleague Stan Tucker and I have just published, is essentially a compendium of our research in the UK and further afield and that of international colleagues. There are quite a number of chapters here that go around the globe, from people commenting on on-line bullying in the United Arab Emirates, to working with youth groups in Trinidad, and so on and so forth. So that's just an unashamed book plug. This other book, edited by Joe Deakin, includes a chapter by Stan and I ['Multi-agency working and pastoral care in behavioural management: Discourse, policy and practice' (2018)], and is another which I highly commended to you. Then, there are two research articles which I will draw to your attention. In 2015 'Understanding problematic pupil behaviour' was published in *Educational Research*, the journal of the NFER, on pupil perceptions of their own behaviour and school exclusions.[5] The other article is where we originally started this project, which was published in 2012 in *Pastoral Care in Education*,

5 Trotman, D., Tucker, S. and Martyn, M. (2015) 'Understanding problematic pupil behaviour: perceptions of pupils and behaviour coordinators on secondary school exclusion in an English city', Educational Research, 57 (3) pp. 237-253.

and is about young people and risk.[6] I'll explain why perhaps we started there. The merciless book plugs are now over!

Unfortunately, Stan cannot be here tonight. Paula Spencer, from the Grieg Academy, who has sent her apologies tonight (we have done work with Paula over a number of years) has described Stan and I as the Ant & Dec of disaffected research. Stan, as I say can't be with us tonight, in true Ant & Dec style he is currently in Spain on vacation. But this is us, working on a project in Romania.[7] Stan is actually singing here and as you can see from my face, I wasn't very impressed with him. We have been working in our particular areas of research interest for probably the best part of 10 years now. Stan comes very much from a human rights tradition of research into young people and he has published a lot of really difficult stuff. When I say difficult, I mean studies on neglect and sexual abuse, whereas I've come from a very different research domain. But we both coincided on an area of human rights and children rights. A phrase that we refer to regularly in the literature, comes from Alan France's work (in Mary Kellett's brilliant 2004 work on children as researchers), where Alan France specifically uses the term 'children as reliable witnesses';[8] and we prefer that to 'pupil voice', a term that we got rather saturated with I may have opportunity to say why I am less comfortable with that term.

What we discovered when we initially set out, is that Steven Ball's really powerful research and other work from that ear, talked about the policy effects on schools, and the policy effects on teachers, without necessarily (and we feel it is an absolute blind spot in the research) eliciting the views of young people about their experiences in schools. There are exceptions to it, and this is the controversial bit, including Cedric Cullingford's (1999, p. 6) work, *An inspector calls: Ofsted and its effect on school standards*, in which he talks about the anxieties felt by primary age children in England during the performative processes of school inspection. Burke and Grosvenor (2003, p. 70), in a brilliant book which reprises Edward Blishen's book of the 1960s, called *The school I'd like*, talks about 'a means by which the state benefits and, through which, schooling becomes divorced from learning'. *Schooling becomes divorced from learning*. We may have time to talk about learning. You may want to learn something, who knows, but we *need* to perhaps say something about that.

Park's report for Demos, in 2013, controversially titled *Detoxifying school accountability*, talks about the debilitating effects of Ofsted on children and young people as they are made to feel responsible for judgements about their school on the basis of their test performance. I know there are inspectors out there so I am on really, really risky turf now. Then, we have Ellen Claes *et al* (2009, p. 125) who

6 Trotman, D., Martyn, M. and Tucker, S. (2012) 'Young people and risk', *Pastoral Care in Education*, 30 (4) pp. 317-329.

7 A photograph of Dave and Stan in a Romanian classroom is highlighted to the audience.

8 See A France (2004) 'Young People', in S. Fraser, V. Lewis, S. Ding, M. Kellett, & C. Robinson (Eds) *Doing research with children and young people,* London: Sage, pp.175-90.

depressingly talk about schools for many young people becoming 'unwelcome and barren environments', and I think we should be bothered about that.

So today, as it is World Mental Health Day, let us ask some questions about mental health. Well, in the research that we've been using, as a foregrounding of policy for that, various international reports look at this issue, highlighting concerns around mental health and wellbeing. These include those of The Children's Society (Layard and Dunn, 2009), NICE (2013), the ONS (2014), OECD (2015) themselves, UNICEF (2007, 2013, 2016) and crucially here, for this is the work that we have been doing for the last four and bit years, there is 'a trend of increasing referrals of young people to Alternative Provision related to matters of mental wellbeing' (Gill, Quilter-Pinnner and Swift, 2017, p. 7). So, what's going on? What's happening here?

Well, we need to start to deconstruct well-being and we need to … come back to the issue at hand in relation to the policyscape. Pollard and Lee (2003) reveal that the domains of physical, psychological, cognitive, social and economic well-being are tied into this agenda of well-being. NICE (2013), for example, talk about the three domains of emotional, psychological and social well-being. So those are just some of the dimensions of well-being that we can draw upon, in terms of foregrounding this problem.

UNICEF (2007), I want to look at them in just a moment, have six dimensions of well-being. These are:

1. Material well-being
2. Health and safety
3. Educational well-being
4. Family and peer relationships
5. Behaviours and risks
6. Subjective well-being

You'll note from my research and from what I've just described, I have a particular interest in number three, educational well-being. I'm interested in the other things too, but particularly interested in well-being. In the 2007 report, which has since been updated, UNICEF were concluding that the UK alongside the USA (surprise, surprise) has the worst profile of child wellbeing amongst the world's 21 richest countries and that's really quite scandalous. If you want to go into the detail, look at the most recent report on this from UNICEF, their *Child well-being in rich countries: A comparative overview* (2013). So far this is okay, we've got all this horrible policy stuff going on. We've got an issue now around child well-being, and you don't need to tell me about some of the stuff related to that, or I don't need to tell you, rather, about the stuff around that, as many of you live that day to day.

But let's now have a look at the first table below. So, on this most recent report we are ranked number 16th. Here are the dimensions: material well-being, health and safety, education, behaviours and risks including exposure to risky behaviour

		Overall well-being	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 3	Dimension 4	Dimension 5
		Average rank (all 5 dimensions)	Material well-being	Health and safety	Education	Behaviours and risks	Housing and environment
			(rank)	(rank)	(rank)	(rank)	(rank)
1	Netherlands	2.4	1	5	1	1	4
2	Norway	4.6	3	7	6	4	3
3	Iceland	5	4	1	10	3	7
4	Finland	5.4	2	3	4	12	6
5	Sweden	6.2	5	2	11	5	8
6	Germany	9	11	12	3	6	13
7	Luxembourg	9.2	6	4	22	9	5
8	Switzerland	9.6	9	11	16	11	1
9	Belgium	11.2	13	13	2	14	14
10	Ireland	11.6	17	15	17	7	2
11	Denmark	11.8	12	23	7	2	15
12	Slovenia	12	8	6	5	21	20
13	France	12.8	10	10	15	13	16
14	Czech Republic	15.2	16	8	12	22	18
15	Portugal	15.6	21	14	18	8	17
16	United Kingdom	15.8	14	16	24	15	10
17	Canada	16.6	15	27	14	16	11
18	Austria	17	7	26	23	17	12
19	Spain	17.6	24	9	26	20	9

Let's drill down into education (Dimension three) and how it is measured, as shown in the following figure.

Dimension 2 **Health and safety** Figure 2.0	Health at birth	Infant mortality rate	2.1a
		Low birthweight rate	2.1b
	Preventive health services	Overall immunization rate	2.2
	Childhood mortality	Child death rate, age 1 to 19	2.3
Dimension 3 **Education** Figure 3.0	Participation	Participation rate: early childhood education	3.1a
		Participation rate: further education, age 15–19	3.1b
		NEET rate (% age 15–19 not in education, employment or training)	3.1c
	Achievement	Average PISA scores in reading, maths and science	3.2
Dimension 4 **Behaviours and risks** Figure 4.0	Health behaviours	Being overweight	4.1a
		Eating breakfast	4.1b
		Eating fruit	4.1c
		Taking exercise	4.1d
	Risk behaviours	Teenage fertility rate	4.2a
		Smoking	4.2b
		Alcohol	4.2c
		Cannabis	4.2d
	Exposure to violence	Fighting	4.3a
		Being bullied	4.3b

Participation rates in early childhood education - I know we've got ECEC specialists out there - so we might have a view about whether participation in early childhood education and care is a good thing. What do we mean by it? What does it involve? My colleagues will remind me that countries that score very highly in

these areas (the cliché that's often cited is Finland of course) have a very, very low early participation rate in childhood education and care. The participation rate in further education for 15 to 19 year olds, okay, this is based on the NEET rate, as we call it, 'Not in Education, Employment or Training'. Then, there is educational achievement. It is defined by UNICEF, in their own terms, as average PISA scores in reading, maths and science. So, coming back to Kitchin on datafication, dataveillance and Rosen (the children are the data), what we see now, is this rather strange collision of data. On the one hand, we want data to know about young people's well-being, but look we have a problem with the sorts of data that are being used to describe this well-being problem. By the way, what we know, going back to Kamens and Lee, is that 21 countries are changing policy reforms as a consequence of this sort of data, so what we've got here is a complex, complex problem! It's more than a double whammy. We've got this overlaying and confluence of data in ways which make it deeply, deeply problematic.

Figure I.1.1 ▪ **Snapshot of performance in science, reading and mathematics**

Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers **above** the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers **below** the OECD average

Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers/
share of low achievers not significantly different from the OECD average

Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers **below** the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers **above** the OECD average

	Science		Reading		Mathematics		Science, reading and mathematics	
	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Share of top performers in at least one subject (Level 5 or 6)	Share of low achievers in all three subjects (below Level 2)
	Mean	Score dif.	Mean	Score dif.	Mean	Score dif.	%	%
OECD average	493	-1	493	-1	490	-1	15.3	13.0
Singapore	556	7	535	5	564	1	39.1	4.8
Japan	538	1	516	-2	532	1	25.8	5.6
Estonia	534	2	519	9	520	2	20.4	4.7
Chinese Taipei	532	0	497	1	542	0	29.9	8.3
Finland	531	-11	526	-5	511	-10	21.4	6.3
Macao (China)	529	6	509	11	544	5	23.9	3.5
Canada	528	-2	527	1	516	-4	22.7	5.9
Viet Nam	525	-4	487	-21	495	-17	12.0	4.5
Hong Kong (China)	523	-5	527	-3	548	1	29.3	4.5
B-S-J-G (China)	518	m	494	m	531	m	27.7	10.9
Korea	516	-2	517	-11	524	-1	25.6	7.7
New Zealand	513	-7	509	-6	495	-8	20.5	10.6
Slovenia	513	-2	505	11	510	2	18.1	8.2
Australia	510	-6	503	-6	494	-8	18.4	11.1
United Kingdom	509	-1	498	2	492	-1	16.9	10.1
Germany	509	-2	509	6	506	2	19.2	9.8
Netherlands	509	-5	503	-3	512	-6	20.0	10.9
Switzerland	506	-2	492	-4	521	-1	22.2	10.1
Ireland	503	0	521	13	504	0	15.5	6.8
Belgium	502	-3	499	-4	507	-5	19.7	12.7
Denmark	502	2	500	3	511	-2	14.9	7.5

For those of you who are interested in PISA, and I'll mention it only very briefly, it is largely regarded as a recent phenomenon in the testing and assessment of 15-year-olds internationally for those countries that choose to participate in it (and some chose not to). We know that it tests in first language reading and writing, maths, science, some problem-solving as well. There are some interviews with head teachers, a few questionnaires about home life, which they've introduced as a consequence of people saying the data is too blunt, etc. But what we have is a form of dataveillance now, datafication that drives education policy right into the province of well-being, of which universities will not be immune. We now regularly

talk about metrics. We know there is a deep problem now about student well-being that we need to attend to. But this is how policy reform is currently shaped and I would argue that there is a particular set of problems around the way the data is constructed, about the way it is applied and the way it is then interpreted through national policy reforms. And, of course, not all countries pay attention to PISA in a particular way, but England very much does. And you'll notice I'm being very careful with my language here. I haven't used the term UK. England is very, very particular about using it for a whole range of very useful, expedient reasons.

If you can ever have a read of that and if you are interested, this snapshot comes directly from PISA itself, and the language they use here is a snapshot of performance in science, reading, and mathematics, which will drive policy. And the language! It's always in the language. It's always, in this case, the PISA language; for example, 'countries/economies' (emphasis on 'slash') which tells us something.

So, where that takes us to in the research is that Stan Tucker and I wrote this chapter for our book, *Youth: Global perspectives*, entitled 'Performance capital and the betrayal of youth: Education in times of super-complexity', which I would encourage you to read, obviously.

We start by setting out some of the empirical data from the research we reported for *Educational Research*. Here is a young person talking about Primary-Secondary phase transition: 'In Year 7 it took me time to settle down, and I don't think they [teachers] handle it in the right way … Like they don't understand you are coming from a primary school to a secondary school, it is a big move, they are still children, they are not mature yet, they are not teenagers yet ….' (an excluded Year 9 girl). We have known about primary transition for years and years and years. You know this stuff.

But if we pick up the research of Gordon Stobart's work with Louise Stoll (2010), they helpfully remind us that, when we go into a primary-secondary transition, for example, even if it is an elementary/high school transition, to use the language that is adopted elsewhere, we see young people in three simultaneous transitions: adolescents in transition from childhood to adulthood. That's fairly obvious. They also describe the world in transition from separate societies to more complex patterns of interaction and dependence, and let's remind ourselves where the provincial review in Canada was positioning this. This is a complex world for young people to navigate. Now, what might we be doing that is more helpful to them? And then finally, schools in transition from a style that worked well for most of the twentieth century to one that will prepare students for life in the twenty-first century (Earl, 1999, quoted in Stobart and Stoll, 2010). Turning back to Postman and Weingartner, and my sense is we are still fixedly gazing in the rear view mirror while we've got our pedal to the metal.

This is from Deborah Meier's really compelling story.[9] Commenting on young

9 Deborah Meier (2002) *In schools we trust: Creating communities of learning in an era of testing and standardization*, Boston, Mass: Beacon Press.

people in the US education system: '…what the most successful students had going for them was that even in kindergarten, with their hands eagerly raised, they were ready to show off their school smarts. Starting on day one, certain forms of knowledge and skill – the stuff they've eagerly brought with them from home – was confirmed and honoured, thus increasing their self-confidence to take still more risks…But many other students never found a replacement for a school and teacher who didn't recognize their genius, who responded with a shrug or a look of incomprehension as they offered their equally eager home truths. They too soon learned that in school all they could show off was their ignorance. Better to be bad, or uninterested, or to just silently withdraw' (2002, p. 15). Our research, in its most compelling way for us, from the voices of young people, revealed that for those young children who find transition into secondary difficult, it's not just a question of finding transition hard, some of them never ever recover from it. They never recover from the transition at all. There is a term that I came across only recently in the United States. People out there will know this. It's new to me. They have a term for it; the SPPL, the School to Prison Pipe-Line. The school to prison pipeline, such is the character of that phenomenon.

This is from our own research:

Pupil 1: '…my mom had a baby and he passed away after five days and ever since then I was just really depressed and I didn't know what to do. I was insecure and things, I was always telling myself that I didn't want to live anymore'.

Pupil 7: 'Well dad having an affair was probably the main reason I stopped going but then other things… I was fighting a lot at school, doing drugs… Can't really remember now. I was just really stressed all the time'.

Pupil 10: 'It's like torment, it's not major, it's just torment… in year 6 they diagnosed me with stress migraines and then we knew it was getting a bit much, it was actually physically hurting me…it was all caused through stress, I was being sick… I'd stopped trusting everyone at school, I'd stopped trusting everyone, I got very depressed'.

DT: 'What do you think are the most significant risks that young people your age are likely to encounter?'

Alesha: 'I think education'.

Ryan: 'Yeah, education choices for the future mainly'.

Kudzei: 'Because like, like now the whole system of education, picking our options at the end of Year 9'.

Alesha: 'Yeah, so two years early, so like I mean some of us didn't know what we wanted to do when we left school … but it's a risk of having to pick those subjects because you're always thinking ahead'.

The confluence here is between starting to cast light on the complexity of the life worlds of young people, adolescents, etc., and the performative cultures in which they are required to operate. A quick health warning here. This is not a teacher-

bashing project in any way. I just need to say this, for reasons that will become clear in a moment.

Secondary school pupil: 'It started in year 7 [age 11] at this school and then, I think it was about in year 10 [age 14] that it got a bit too much; like I couldn't really cope. It was all the lessons and all the revision'.

What is changing? Well, there is one particular change and it is that you cannot avoid many of the issues related to education and class. As much as we would like to avoid them in our research, in other words to bracket them, to put them to one side, to put them in the research field as *strangers to the project*, class keeps coming back to us. The one thing we now note is that well-being is becoming of 'greater interest', because (whereas working-class marginalised communities pretty much had to get on with it) we are now finding the children of middle-class communities being referred to alternative provision – for very good reason.

If we go to the other end of the progression question (and look at the research in the domain of vocational education and training) we still have a similar problem. I just want to first deal with 'hair and bricks' (as one of our research respondents called it), or the gendered stereotypes of construction and vehicle mechanics and health and beauty or childcare. These are skills typically considered essential by employers and policy makers subject to change over time (Mournier, 2001, p. 34). There is a single 'logic' of skills based on the assumption that these can be routinely compared through time and place while neglecting the value of the social processes involved. What I think is the most significant one for me is that 'the distinction between the skills that a particular job may require and the attributes, qualities and skills that people bring to their employment' (Lowry *et al.*, 2008, p11) is mostly eclipsed in that particular domain of progression.

These are the teacher observations from our research:

Primary school headteacher: 'They're bombarded constantly with "I'm not good enough", whether it be outside socially and then in school that "I'm not meeting the national curriculum", "I'm not meeting that required attainment". We don't say that to our children but our children know which ones are in the group at the bottom'.

Head of service: 'The majority of students who have behavioural difficulties are from […] The students that come out of schools in […] are often girls who are highly anxious and self-harm and that might be to do with the pressures that some schools put on them in terms of academic [attainment]'.

What we argue in the chapter on young people and performance capital is what we describe, in this pretty straightforward, uncomplicated diagram, but the emphasis is for us very powerful, because what we are detecting, is that this is happening more frequently. It is happening early and it's happening very quickly in that spiral of moving from anxiety to low self-esteem, low self-worth, alienation, and isolation. *Let's get them into alternative provision*. The recent House of Commons Education

Figure 4: A spiral of vulnerabilities: anxiety – self-harm

Parliamentary Select Committee's view of alternative provision was damning. Well, its view of schools was damning: These kids get dumped in alternative provision and they are out of school; that will do. So, is it any wonder that we end up into a cycle of depression and self-harm?

So, this morning (on World Health Day) when listening to the news, we hear there has been a new appointment made of a dedicated minister, Jackie Doyle Price, specifically designated for suicide prevention. What kind of a world are we in where we now have to have a dedicated minister for suicide prevention? And we know what that really means. It means we can bolt on, we can paper over the cracks, we can put a bit of glue here and there, without addressing the fundamental character of the problem.

When we reported the research last year at the British Education Research Association conference, with colleagues from education, this was picked up very quickly by the *TES*.[10] They were after a particular story, clearly, about pupil's mental health and that the constant reminders they are not good enough in terms of exam results, etc. It was interesting that we were asked to do a broadcast for BBC Southeast, which we declined because they were after the story on teachers being harmful to kids. We said that isn't the narrative. We are not interested. Leave us alone. So, our moment of fame very quickly went.

Only last week we get a survey by BBC Radio Four, which many of you may have

10 www.tes.com/news/drive-better-results-schools-damaging-pupils-mental-health

heard, with the data being analysed by colleagues at Manchester University, 'Young people are the loneliest age group according to a new survey'.[11] Now the detail of that is a bit more specific about loneliness, because that's quite a complicated phenomenological term. But this is not great!

3. Policy Responses

So, what might be the policy responses? I said this wasn't about teacher-bashing so we have got to do a little bit of theoretical work. So, the French sociologist Bourdieu uses a term, misrecognition, which means that the 'underlying processes and generating structures of fields are not consciously acknowledged in terms of the social differentiation they perpetuate, often in the name of democracy and equality…' (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 23). What is that all about? What he argues is that we end up with an 'arbitrary curriculum' which is 'naturalised' in order that 'social classifications are transformed into academic ones. The result is that instead of being experienced for what they are (i.e. partial and technical hierarchies)' - e.g. PISA - 'such social classifications become "total" hierarchies, experienced as if they were grounded in nature (Grenfell and James, 1998, pp23-24).' This is normal. This is normal to evaluate education in this way through the datafication, numbers of pupils, *et cetera*, *et cetera*, *et cetera*. It is normal now to evaluate mental well-being using numbers, *et cetera*, *et cetera*, and, of course, those who know the neo-liberal mantra -TINA (There Is No Alternative), that is the TINA mantra. What else you gonna offer? '*Oh Trotman, you're going to paint pictures and stuff and make clay, dance and stuff. You've got to do numbers, we've got to have hard numbers. We've got to have hard data and stuff. You're gonna start telling stories next*'.

Why are we talking about Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition? I said this wasn't a teacher- bashing project, because we are all implicated in that project. And as Bourdieu argues, as we write in this chapter (Trotman and Tucker, 2018): 'Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition explains why even for critical professional communities working in challenging educational contexts the characteristics of super-complexity are seemingly simultaneously embraced and resisted, advanced yet challenged', at one and the same time. On the one hand, performative cultures, hyper-managerialism and dataveillance have come to be regarded as problematic and repressive, while, on the other, measurement, accountability and technological fetishism are deemed to offer the best attractions in justifying and explaining all manner of educational interventions and effects.

The challenge of super-complexity then, for all of us I will argue, is in its lived experience as a super-complex condition and that is what we now have to deal with. We have to try to hold two competing ideas at the same time, whilst still retaining the ability to function. There are other ways of doing this stuff. Terry Wrigley's brilliant 2006 book *Another school is possible* is one. Terry goes on a tour

11 www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/loneliest-age-group/

of northern Europe as a researcher and tells some brilliant accounts of people finding spaces in education and the curriculum to do powerful, connected work with young people, under the most difficult of circumstances. And I will explain a little bit perhaps about why that happens. Terry Wrigley, by the way, is a former Senior Lecturer and Professor at Edinburgh University. The reason why I say that is related to the recent 2018 book by Lucy Crehan, *Cleverlands*, which some of you I know are familiar with. She is a south London Secondary Science teacher, who – intrigued by these ideas – decides to jack her job in and approach people in the top performing countries, to go and live in with their families and teach. She just approaches people via email and they are crazy enough to say 'Yeah, come and spend, you know, six weeks with us or whatever'. By the way, there are some problems with the research, a lot of problems, because it is not a research text, but she tells some very interesting narratives, about the way in which those PISA countries see their world and, as we know, this is not a perfect world. But both of those books make a very interesting account.

The middle picture that you can see on the slide is there because I'm in it. And I'm there on your right hand side looking like I'm asleep. You can't see it quite well. And that is, as Peter mentioned at the beginning, my contribution to the Public Policy Institute of Wales and that was an Expert Panel Review. Isn't this weird? I mean the guy with the white shirt, braces and tie; that is Hugh Lewis who is the former Welsh Assembly Minister for Education listening to a review panel, comprised of teachers, primary and secondary and some early years people as well; charitable groups, academics, people with a vested interest in the welfare of young people, but specifically in secondary education. We all had to provide the research evidence base for it, in order to inform policy for a thing called the Donaldson Review which was a countrywide reform of education and the Furlong Review of teacher education. So, there are some really powerful messages. It is possible that you don't have to go round the world to do it. You can hop over the border. So, there are other systems and other ways.

I've got to mention John Henry Newman, staying with a philosophical view here. So, we have an educational mission here that broadly coincides with Newman's view (1873, in Ker, 2011). I like the notion that we might be moving towards an education system in order to develop articulate expression and *imagination*, which I'm particularly interested in, fostered by liberal education. Where does that figure now from 1873 to where we are now?

One point of contact may be in the Nordic term *Bildung* (Trotman *et al*, 2017). Bildung, a term that is used in philosophy in Northern Europe, is 'the promotion of liberty and human dignity' (Prange, 2004, p. 502). You can see why this corresponds with the liberal education view of John Henry Newman; 'the inner life of the human soul, mind and humanity' (Biesta, 2002b, p. 378), the formation of the self (Beck et al, 2015, p445), self-cultivation (Sorkin, 1983) and edification

(Masschelein and Ricken, 2003, p. 139). These things are all very important things to me over the well-being project, or 'the spiritual aesthetic aspects of our lives, the formation of self' (Prange, 2004, p. 503). The critics come back and say 'Yes, this is lovely Dave. It's all very middle class, isn't it? People knocking around, pontificating. It's all lovely, lovely, lovely'.

A lot of criticisms have been made of these philosophical orientations to thinking of education in a different way. The contemporary response to that from those people is interesting, where, for example, they will put greater emphasis on a contemporary reading of bildung, on 'emphasising self-determination, freedom and emancipation' (Klafki, 1986, p. 458), which will chime very much with the critical theorists out there. The idea of moving from 'a personal adaptation to a singular reality to a more objective engagement with cultural histories, social contexts and multiple realities' (Biesta, 2002b, p. 379). Then, as you can see in this final point, bildung as a strong political and community imperative that is both lifelong and broadly conceived, to the extent that schools and the traditions of schooling are regarded as problematic. In other words, they become ready for scrutiny.

Conclusion

Okay, time folks! Time is marching on, so I've got to bring things back. What do we know from the research? Now, I'm going to take you back. There are no massive, blinding revelations from the research, but I am reminded to go back to opening statements from Zygmund Bauman about moving from 'tourists' to 'pilgrims' (Bauman, 2000), moving from tourism to pilgrimage. Aiming at being deliberately resource-limited (not neutral, that's not possible), I want to suggest that there are six critical factors:

1) Number one, we need to, seriously, very seriously, start to think about children as reliable witnesses of their own experience (France, 2004; Tucker, 2011). Not pupil voice, though I know there is some terrific work going on in that domain. But this is about them being *critical reliable witnesses to their own experience* and the one thing we've always been shocked by, even in the simplicity of our own research in many ways, is when teachers say to us 'I never knew they thought that. I never knew they talked like that'. We don't have any seriously magic wands and magic formulas when we do research. Those people who work on some of the programmes with me, know of our commitment to the concept of Lawrence Stenhouse's of *teachers as researchers*, for example. This has to be in the domain of our work. We need to position children and young people as reliable witnesses. Talking to children and young people as critical, reliable witnesses is not hard in my view.

2) Nell Noddings' brilliant work (Noddings, 2005, 2006, 2013); the Yale/Stamford care theorist talks about an *ethic of care* and for those of you who know that work,

like these other slippery concepts that we deal with all the time, such as creativity, problem-solving, so on and so forth, care is another one of those terms that trips easily off the tongue, but what does it really mean and what does it require of us, if we are to care about children and young people? And literally as she identified here 'when we confirm someone, we identify a better self and encourage its development but we do not posit a single ideal for all'. This is the concept of confirming for somebody a better self.

3) The Dialogic, is writ large in the Cambridge Primary Review for the primary specialists out there. Robin Alexander's (2010) work, Ivor Goodson's (2005) work is well known to many of you in the audience on the importance of those dialogic relationships between teachers and young people.

4) Interprofessional education, a concept that is very well embedded in clinical and medical practice, is still largely untested in educational contexts. Parsons (2018) in commenting on multi-agency working – a stalled project in England of course, although there are still some schools still retaining the possibilities of multi-agency working in very palpable ways – talks about joining up the dots. For sure, multi-agency working in my view is absolutely critical. But two terms here that we don't see very often, in terms of interprofessional education, are 'professional socialisation', which Curran and Sharpe (2011) and White and Heslop (2012) talk about, and 'professional collaboration' (Hargreaves and O'Connor, 2017). The idea of interprofessional groups developing their languages in terms of the wrap around, if you like, to use the shorthand phrase that people use in care for young people – and we have seen some fabulous stuff in schools where we've watched the inter relationships between social workers, police community support officers, teachers, classroom assistants and so on and so forth, in 45 minutes doing unbelievable work to restore a person and to see a better self in them. And the reason why I have referred you to White and Hesslop's work is they write on police education (not training), but police *education*. And they set a really interesting set of stories, set of principles and set of positions about the different traditions in which police *education* takes place, nursing *education* takes place, teaching *education* takes place and that presents a very powerful set of challenges for how you start to deal with professional socialisation; which I would argue is really imperative and that is not necessarily hard although there is some cost involved in doing that, of course there is.

All the research on change management and leadership consistently points to professional collaboration and yet we seem to practise it very badly. As Alma Harris says, you know it assumes that educators in the broadest sense have the welfare, the interest, the capacity and the ability to make it like a team; and in most cases they don't because they are not given the opportunity to enter into the domain of professional socialisation. So, professional collaboration, as in the very recent book by eminent writers on school leadership and change management -

Andy Hargreaves and Tim O'Connor who look at that over longitudinal studies – emphasises the importance of collaboration amongst professional communities.

5) We then have Lyn Becks' (1999; Trotman, 2009) work on the concept of community. This is another word which, like creativity, problem-solving, and teaching, trips off the tongue. We think we know what it means but we don't, arguably, and we argue. Lyn Beck does a fantastic bit of work in looking at six metaphors of community, of what school and educational communities might look like, both as the caring village – it takes a whole village to raise the child – to sites of political contest. Of course, that is significant when you are looking at professional socialisation.

6) As Leslie Saunders (2004) argued in her own inaugural lecture 'Grounding the Democratic Imagination', in which I'm sure she read the slides much better than I've done, I would argue as a sixth point here that part of our job is *reclaiming and renewing the education imagination*, and it is possible for us to do that. It is possible, because Ivor Goodson (although I've referred to him on narrative theory and the dialogic) also talks about a thing called *policy refraction*; Finding the spaces, policy does not work in straight lines, PISA doesn't happen here; it doesn't get implemented over here, it doesn't work in straight lines, it gets very messy. He uses that metaphor of refraction in a way that light bends and has intended and unintended consequences. We know something of the unintended consequences, or the intended consequences, rather. Some of the unintended consequences provide a space in which we can do that imaginative, creative, and potentially subversive, dare I say, work. This comes from the policy memorandum, again for Ontario State (2016):

> Collaborative Professionalism in Ontario is defined as professionals – at all levels of the education system – working together, sharing knowledge, skills and experience to improve student achievement, and the well-being of both students and staff. Collaborative Professionalism values the voices of all and reflects an approach in support of our shared responsibility to provide equitable access to learning for all. All staff are valued and have a shared responsibility as they contribute to collaborative learning cultures'. [12]

It's easy to say of course. These things in policy statements are easily said.

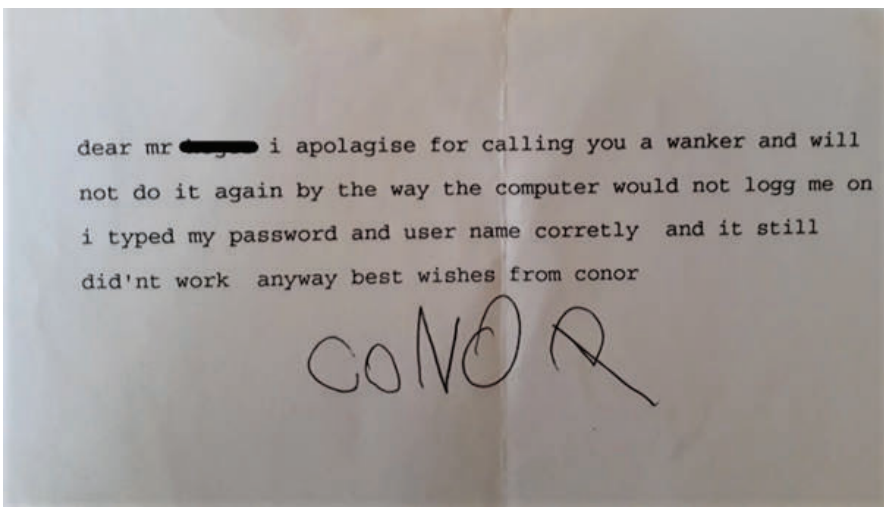
But when Sharratt and Planche (2016) talk about 'leading collaborative learning and empowering excellence' (it's an interesting choice of term – 'empowering excellence'), 'an approach in which system and school leaders build collective capacity; create new, energizing knowledge together; and move schools from being places of "plans and good intentions" to centres of "purposeful practice" on the part of all teachers who then empower students to do the same' in order to do that,

12 Policy/Program Memorandum No. 159 entitled Collaborative Professionalism (Ontario Ministry of Education, May, 2016)

you've got to have young people as reliable witnesses.

Here Martin Buber's (1947, p. 132) very well-known phrase 'education worthy of its name' may help: He observed that 'All education which is worth the name involves a relationship of mutuality, a dialectic' (Buber quoted in E. P. Thompson, 1968, p. 166). Here we have tried to do our own bit with this, in launching the Newman Postgraduate Certificate in Pastoral Welfare, which attempts to unpack Nell Noddings work around care, to start to explain it as a method and pedagogy. We have created this in collaboration with the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE), whose chair, Phil, unfortunately could not be here tonight because he is also a school governor and has got an inspection. So that's okay, no problem, but those of you who are interested in that, we can sell you that course very cheaply at a knockdown price having attended tonight's lecture. Another effort in this area is the Newman Doctorate of Education (EdD), running in conjunction with Liverpool Hope. We have got students here from that tonight. And currently we are in the process of assembling a special edition on *Pastoral Care in Education* on the topic of creativity. We received lots of interest in this from charitable groups working with marginalised young people doing the narrative storytelling, dance, music production, performances, artwork, etc. They are piling in really quickly and that tells its own story, about how we see creativity in terms of well-being as an educational project.

In *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, Hannah Arendt (1968, p. 196), said that: 'Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it and by the same token save it from that ruin which, except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and young, would be inevitable.' We can see something of this in this next jewel, that just coalesces the whole thing, a bit like Michael Rosen's 'The Data have Landed'. It comes from a genius interaction between an anonymous teacher and Conor.


dear mr [redacted] i apolagise for calling you a wanker and will not do it again by the way the computer would not logg me on i typed my password and user name corretly and it still did'nt work anyway best wishes from conor

CONOR

The genius of Conor in being able to get a very offensive word into a letter that ends with 'anyway best wishes', takes you into (for me it does anyway) the total conundrum, challenge, excitement, all of the stuff of the imaginative project of working with young people for whom education doesn't always work.

So, I have to close now, I'm over time, and in doing so I want to quote an American, black, feminist, observer of education, the genius that is bell hooks (1994, p. 207): 'The academy is not paradise, but learning is a place where paradise can be created. The Classroom with all its limitations remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility, we have the opportunity to labour for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom'. Time up and thanks for listening!

With very special thanks to:

- Sue Trotman - for all her care, support and tolerance of my incoherent blathering
- Emeritus Prof Stan Tucker (Ant) - for sharing and critiquing the incoherent blathering
- Team EMPP/EPS - whose quality, commitment and friendship cannot be over-stated
- All the students of NU past and present who continue to amaze, enlighten and inform everything we do
- All the research participants who have given freely of their time, insights and contributions over the many years
- All the Newman colleagues I have enjoyed working with over the past 23 years in their various capacities
- Friends and family for all your support and patience in wondering exactly what I do for a living
- Former and current teaching colleagues, pupils and friends - without them none of this would have been possible
- Local Authority Advisers and officers who have generously given their time and shared their wisdom
- The legends that are Emeritus Prof Kieran Egan and Prof Lesley Saunders - for all their encouragement, support and imaginative thinking
- International colleagues and co-researchers at Simon Fraser University Vancouver and LBSU Romania for their hospitality and insights
- Prof Julian McDougall at Bournemouth University for his media futurology, collaborations and beer as praxis
- Drs Malcolm Ross, Mike Golby, Christine Bennetts and Professors Martin Bloomer and Gert Biesta at the School of Education Exeter University – I will always be in awe and in your debt

- Dr Martin Merson at the Policy Analysis Unit, School of Education Warwick University for his counsel, humour and patience in the formative years
- Dr Dave Webster for Harmony of the Spheres, Zen and enabling my first teaching break
- The Motor Cycle Diarists (Birmingham and Dudley Chapters) - for the journey
- The Red Pandas - for summits, sanity and mostly insanity combined…

You can't do this stuff without the people. So, with very special thanks to all these, who over the years, have put up, contributed and encouraged me in their various ways. Thanks!

TWENTY NINE

Creativity as a Pastoral Concern

Pastoral care and creativity – what exactly do we mean?

Many readers of this journal will already be aware of the histories and debates that surround the field of Pastoral Care. Its uniquely British place in school education alongside the controversies of its problematic roots in religious hierarchy and paternalism have been well rehearsed (Best, 2000). So too has much of is travel in the mid-1990s through the realm of spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) education; and as I write this paper, the current shift in emphasis in pastoral care has been away from universal provision to the allocation of targeted provision for those deemed as needy, 'at risk' and vulnerable (Tucker, 2013; Tucker, 2018, p. 193). The original underpinnings of pastoral care – educational, vocational and personal guidance anchored around imperatives of care, personal and social development and civic responsibility – are widely credited to the seminal work of Michael Marland, who was amongst the first to attempt to define both the concept of care and the importance of it as a central function of school activity. Of particular importance in this paper, however, is Marland's emphasis on the affective dimension of development, with opportunities to develop an individual 'lifestyle' and 'individual enrichment' (Best, 2014; Marland, 1974). In this regard, these dimensions of pastoral care, as I will aim to show, have new and important resonance in a contemporary reading of creativity for pastoral care.

As much as it is difficult to pin down an absolute and agreed contemporary definition of pastoral care in education, the task is similarly tricky when we attempt to do the same for the term 'creativity'. Amongst the numerous problems with the use of the term 'creativity' is not only its elusiveness but the prevalence in education for it to be applied as a 'catch-all' to describe all manner of aspects of the curriculum. Typically, this has encompassed the arts (art, creative writing, dance, drama, media, music), aspects of culture, play, thinking skills, problem-solving, philosophy or simply anything that can be regarded as unconventional. When it comes to creativity in teaching and pedagogy, the term is equally slippery. Frequently, 'creativity' is no more than an analogue for approaches or methods that give children and young people greater autonomy and responsibility for their own learning while paralleling the pursuit of progressive ideals (Trotman, 2018, p. 35). This then warrants a modest review of the field.

Despite becoming a topic of research interest only relatively recently, the origins of creativity can be traced to early Eastern and Western philosophies (Albert & Runco, 1999, p. 18). In the early Greek tradition, creativity was regarded as little more than simple imitation (see Plato's The Republic, Book X) while in contrast Confucian and Hindu philosophies long considered creativity as an aspect of individual cultivation and spiritual expression (Leong, 2011, p. 54; Lubart,

1999, p. 340). By the eighteenth century, creativity in continental Europe was to become widely associated with the idea of the artistic genius and by the mid twentieth century, it was of increasing interest to researchers working in the field of psychology, particularly in North America where much of the early research on creativity has evolved (Trotman, 2018, p. 35).

One of the most enduring insights into the process of creativity, however, comes from the early twentieth century in the work of British academic Graham Wallas. In his book *The Art of Thought* (1926), Wallas proposes a fivestage model of creativity involving: preparation, incubation, intimation, illumination and verification. Each stage of Wallas's model marks a particular phase in the creative process – from the stimulus of initial ideas to the completion and reflection on the creative outcome.

More recently, attempts to understand this process can be found in the work of the American psychologist Csikszentmihalyi. In his work on creativity, Csikszentmihalyi (1996) reports the positive qualities of the state of 'flow' experienced by participants when immersed in a range of creative projects. While flow is a largely positive quality, creativity, particularly at the stage of incubation, can also be a restless, frustrating and nerve-wracking process as John Tusa's (2003) interviews with professional artists vividly demonstrate.

Meanwhile, other scholars working in the field argue that creativity can be categorised into four specific stages of a 'four-c' model (Kaufman & Beghetto, 2009). This view of creativity starts with the 'min-c' of personal interpretation of experience in the formative years of childhood and progresses to the 'little c' of every day creative experimentation and exploration. So-called 'Pro-C' creativity is that of the expert, as in the work of the professional composer, film-maker or artist etc., which in exceptional circumstances can lead to the 'Big C' of the creative genius.

Such accounts of creativity can, however, lead to twomisassumptions. The first, as noted earlier in the origins of the term, is that this creativity is contingent upon the socio-cultural perspective or 'lenses' throughwhich phenomena and practices are deemed to be creative. Matsunobu (2011), for example, cautions that what might be considered legitimate creative acts in some cultures could be unacceptable or inappropriate in others. Broad distinctions between Western and Eastern standpoints have also been reported in the work of Lubart (1999), who notes how Eastern traditions have much less preoccupation with innovative problem-solving than in the West while placing much greater emphasis on spiritual expression and self-realisation. A second misassumption inferred in Matsunobu's analysis is that not all creativity can be considered to be good. For instance, Cropley, Cropley, Kaufman, and Runco (2010) caution that there is also a dark side to creativity, with instruments of torture, weapons of war and criminal activity all involving degrees of imagination, experimentation and ingenuity – key characteristics of creativity in malevolent form.

Finally in this summary, the rapid growth of digital technologies has also created new challenges for thinking about creativity. Employing the term 'vernacular creativity', those researching the use of participative digital media consider creativity primarily in terms of innovative reconfigurations of aspects of culture that are non-elitist, social and collaborative (Buckingham, 2009 p. 37).

What might creativity have to offer pastoral care?

This then leads us to consider the place of creativity in pastoral care, and in doing so we should perhaps remind ourselves of Marland's own commitment to the essential role of the creative and artistic experience in the educational lifeworld of young people (Marland & Rogers, 2002; The Guardian, 2008). While Marland was a passionate advocate for the educative power of the arts, the contemporary landscape makes this advocacy not only more pressing but necessarily requires a renewed assessment of this in light of the creative dimensions described above. In recent work on the challenges confronting young people in a global society, my colleague Stan Tucker and I have turned to the concept of supercomplexity advanced originally in the work of Ronald Barnett (Barnett, 2000; Trotman & Tucker, 2018). Paralleling Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) ideas of 'Liquid Modernity' – a condition of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities, and global economics within contemporary society – for Barnett, supercomplexity 'denotes a fragile world':

> . . .brought on not merely by social and technological change; it is a fragility in the way that we understand the world, in the way in which we understand ourselves and in the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world.
>
> (Barnett, 2000, p. 257)

While the limitations of space prevent detailed discussion of both liquid modernity and supercomplexity, the conditions of supercomplexity present something of a profound binary in tension for pastoral educators. On the one hand, there is the increasing demand placed upon children and young people in contexts of intensive performativity and the now established consequential negative effects of this on their mental well-being (Gill, Quilter-Pinnner, & Swift, 2017, p. 7; Trotman, Enow, & Tucker, 2018), and, on the other hand, the potential in the conditions of supercomplexity and liquid modernity for the opening up of new possibilities for creative expression and innovation. Indeed, studies of creativity from a psychological perspective have highlighted creative traits such as tolerance of ambiguity, risk taking and preferences for complexity (Cropley, 2004); traits one might consider to be essential in successfully living in the contemporary context. Supercomplex environments illuminate, then, both the problem and the potential possibilities in terms of creativity. For pastoral educators, creativity as an experience and approach offers new possibilities in engaging in the affective dimension of development, lifestyle and individual enrichment that was so important to Marland.

Doing creative work: key characteristics for curriculum and pedagogy

From the scholarship of creativity, it is then possible to extrapolate a number of key characteristics that have special significance for creative practice in pastoral care. Amongst these are:

- Affect and emotion
- Imagination
- Problem solving
- Originality and innovation
- Entrepreneurialism

In the first of these, the necessity for affective and emotional work will be all too apparent to pastoral educators. Originating from the '*Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*' advanced by psychologists Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (1973), the 'Affective Domain' of feeling, sentience and emotion has been of primary interest to educators. While the importance of this in artistic creative self-expression and personal enrichment has been persuasively argued as an essential general feature of a broad and balanced education (Abbs, 1987; Ross, 1978), emphasis has also been placed on the affective domain as a form of therapeutic self-knowledge and quality of intelligence (Goleman, 1996). Hence, the histories of creative pastoral work have aimed to not only nourish the interior lifeworld through creative artistic means, but have increasingly acquired a necessary therapeutic function.

In the second of these characteristics, the role of imagination in creativity is widely recognised as a means of possibility thinking and invention (Craft, 2005; Egan, 1992; Eisner, 2005). Receiving less attention though is imagination as a powerful empathic quality that enables exploration and reciprocation of the 'other'. In this regard, empathic imagination offers a means of making vivid the lives, identities, experiences and feelings of others (Trotman, 2005). Here again, we see the imaginative feature of creativity as conduit to the affective realm with obvious connections for pastoral educators. In contrast to this affective emphasis, however, is creativity as a problem-solving activity. In this form, the creative emphasis is on cognitive activity in which solutions and alternatives are developed and tested. Creativity in this regard is less about nurture and interior emotional nourishment and more about personal resilience, determination and mental mapping of the problem at hand. Closely aligned to this is one of the defining features of creativity – that of originality and innovation. In this aspect, observers of creativity such as Csikszentmihalyi (1996) have argued that the impact of originality and its innovative quality within a given social system is the defining feature of creativity. This bringing into existence of something new is one of the hotly contested areas of assessment in creativity in that this necessarily requires a public assessment of the originality of its product or artefact. In the province of pastoral education, the bringing into existence of novelty is something that may only need to be original to the creator in order to for it to have creative value in personal terms.

In the last of these selected key characteristics, an entrepreneurial orientation sees creativity aligned with innovation and calculated risk-taking as an important means of generating new commodities and the identification of new commercial markets. As already noted in this paper, this can span a multitude of sins – ranging from new and improved technological developments, such as the latest smartphone, or an app for ordering takeaway food, or a new and improved cyclonic vacuum cleaner. It's association with capitalist and neoliberal interests are also evident, however, in the relentless pursuit of 'bigger and better' and the rejection of 'make-do and mend' (Craft, 2005).

Innovation and entrepreneurialism can also easily be configured with the sorts of malevolent creative intent noted previously. In his observations of gang culture in central London, Jones (2018) emphasises how entrepreneurial creative flair is used for recruitment and operation. Gangs involved in 'county lines' drug dealing are seen offering all manner of attractions to young people through sophisticated marketing and recruitment strategies, which in one London gang involves the appropriation of the Warner Bothers film logo in their gang iconography and jewellery: 'if you see the police, warn a brother'. Creativity in this realm has a number of key characteristics, chiefly amongst them is both the malevolent creativity discussed by Cropley *et al.* (2010) and the vernacular creativity argued by Buckingham (2009). Consequentially, effective responses for those vulnerable to gang inculcation and violence and those wishing to extricate themselves from gangs necessarily requires equivalent positive creative approaches – many of which are now used by projects that work with young people related to gangs.

The absence of creative alternative entrepreneurial possibilities for vulnerable young people has also been noted in recent research conducted by the author and colleagues concerning young people in Alternative Provision (Trotman *et al.*, 2018). In this study, we report that one of the significant problems for young people is the distinct lack of opportunity for them to realise their own creative entrepreneurial interests in real employment and vocational terms. Typically, opportunities for entrepreneurial development are truncated on leaving compulsory education, or worse still reduced to stereotypical binary options of 'hair and bricks'. It is perhaps not surprising then that the initial allure of gang culture creativities and trappings are so attractive for some marginalised young people.

Conclusion

I write the conclusion to this article in late November following an invitation to a musical production at a local secondary school. This was not the usual pre-Christmas festive offering, but a production co-written by school pupils with members of the local football club and community. '*1978: The Ultimate Goal*' is based on the story of three West Midland footballing legends the 'Three Degrees' – Laurie Cunningham, Cyrille Regis and Brendon Batson, who all also happened to be black. In the production, music, song, narrative, drama, choreography, social

history and video newsreel were all powerfully combined to offer a vivid analysis of racism, violence and the social mores of the time and ultimately triumph through sporting excellence. Like many other collaborative projects taking place across the country, 'The Ultimate Goal' offers but one example of how vibrant creative projects can be realised in the hands of skilled teachers and educators supported through courageous pastoral leadership.

As I have sought to show in this article, creativity is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that necessarily requires educators to think beyond the received shorthand of alternative approaches that are by default a 'good thing'. The scholarship of the field calls for us to understand creativity as a much more complex concept that, in turn, offers a range of ways in which this can be engaged as an educational force for good on its own terms. In the spirit of Marland's premise for pastoral care in schools, creativity has an obviously vital role in terms of personal expression and style, the development of empathy and the understanding of self. As I have also sought to show, it has a powerful role to play in the domain of vocational and personal education originally set out by Marland, but with a new impetrative to realise this in a contemporary context of supercomplexity. It is perhaps to the kind of creative pastoral care that Marland was such a passionate advocate for that we should return to with a renewed sense of urgency and vision.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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THIRTY

Young People and Alternative Provision: Perspectives from participatory– collaborative evaluations in three UK local authorities

Dave Trotman, Linda Enow and Stan Tucker

Introduction

The provision of alternative forms of education, where mainstream school-based education is considered unsuitable for a child or young person, is an established feature of state education in England and the wider UK. The factors governing why and how children and young people find themselves in need of an alternative to mainstream schooling are, however, as extensive as they are complex. In two reports for the Department for Education and its predecessor, the Department for Children, Schools and Families, the range of needs identified for referral to alternative provision include the following: those with a special educational need or disability; young people who have been, or are at risk of being, permanently excluded from school; school refusal, school phobia and those with poor attendance and a record of truancy; young people who have struggled to cope with mainstream settings; young people requiring therapeutic interventions, such as those diagnosed with an autism spectrum disorder (ASD), anxiety and depression or attachment disorder; victims of bullying or crime; those coping with bereavement; children and young people who have long gaps in their education and looked-after children (Kendall *et al.*, 2007; Taylor, 2012). As a consequence, the field of alternative provision (AP) is both wide-ranging and disparate. Typically, AP will encompass public, private and third-sector organisations, which can include therapeutic independent schools for children with severe behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD); training and vocational programmes in further education colleges; support and training offered by charities, businesses, independent providers and the public sector. In turn, AP programmes may involve a body of students with common needs or 'bespoke' provision for children and young people through such things as online platforms, activities focusing on technical skills—such as vehicle maintenance for individuals or small groups of pupils —or work-based learning and vocational education and training (Gutherson *et al.*, 2011; Harper *et al.*, 2011).

While the range of independent provision can be traced not only to the continuing dispersal of local authority services in England, it is also indicative of many of the needs described above and in particular, a trend of increasing referrals of young people to AP related to matters of mental well-being (Gill *et al.*, 2017, p. 7). In turn, the past decade has seen the publication of a number of international reports highlighting concerns around the mental health and well-being of children and young people in particular: The Children's Society (Layard

& Dunn, 2009), the National Institute for Care Excellence (NICE, 2013), the Office for National Statistics (Office for National Statistics, 2014), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2015) and UNICEF (2007, 2013, 2016). Despite the varying definitions of child well-being in the literature, there are a number of common characteristics and these typically coalesce around the domains of physical, psychological, cognitive, social and economic well-being (Pollard & Lee, 2003). In its influential survey of child well-being, UNICEF (2007) discusses six dimensions of well-being: material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviours and risks, and subjective well-being. On the basis of these dimensions, UNICEF concludes that the UK, alongside the USA, has the worst profile of child well-being amongst the world's 21 richest countries.

The NICE, in turn, identifies domains of emotional well-being (being happy, confident and not unduly anxious or depressed); psychological well-being (involving personal autonomy, problem-solving and resilience, managing emotions and exercising empathy) and social well-being (developing positive relationships with others and not exhibiting disruptive, violent or bullying behaviour) (NICE, 2013). While a small number of studies and government reports have provided a foreground for the variety of available AP and the range of individual needs AP aims to address (Gutherson *et al.*, 2011; Harper *et al.*, 2011; Taylor, 2012), much of this has concerned strategy and approach without a more detailed examination of the antecedent causes, subsequent experiences for young people and responsibilities of schools. Few enquires have then been undertaken in order to better understand how young people arrive in AP and how this is experienced. Amongst the exceptions, McCluskey *et al.* (2015) and Pennacchia and Thomson (2016) offer examples where the research on AP in England has been approached explicitly from the perspective of human rights and social justice, in which young people are positioned as the principal informants of the enquiry. The evaluations reported in this article are predicated on similar critical requirements, principally that children and young people are necessarily considered as 'reliable witnesses' to their own experiences (France, 2004, p. 177). It is in this context of national and international concerns that this article reports the findings from the evaluations of AP in three UK local authorities.

Methodology

The research reported in this article draws on data from separate evaluative case studies of AP conducted over a 6-year period from 2011 to 2017. The case studies are based on four commissioned evaluations conducted in three local authorities in the UK. The first of these involved a 6-month evaluation of pupil behaviour and behaviour referrals for a large school partnership in a West Midlands local authority (Trotman *et al.*, 2015), followed by a 3-year evaluation of a newly created free school AP academy in the same local authority. Two local authority-commissioned

evaluations of AP were then undertaken, one in a London borough and one in another local authority in the West Midlands, with each of these conducted over a 6-month period and completed in April 2017. Each evaluative case study, although designed and conducted specifically for the intended commissioning body and its participants, contributes to a systematic epistemic analysis of AP in a contemporary English context.

Each of the evaluation designs was predicated on the principles of participatory–collaborative evaluation (Scriven, 2003, p. 23), with the intention of maximising the participation of those most affected by the existing practices and potential outcomes of the evaluation findings. Hence, eliciting the perspectives and viewpoints of children and young people was of primary importance. In this regard, account was taken of a number of intersecting rights given to children through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Article 12 of the UNCRC asserts the right of the child to participate in discussions on issues that may have an impact on their lives. As Jones (2004, p. 125) points out, by drawing on young people's 'understandings of the phenomena they observe, measure or are part of, new possibilities are opened up' in relation to extending existing knowledge and understanding and improving educational policies and practices. Issues concerned with 'best interest' (article 3) in terms of participation in the project and the potential for personal 'harm' in relation to 'welfare and development' (article 36) were also considered. It was recognised that exploring experiences and feelings about AP can be difficult for some young people and that this would require particular sensitivity from the research team in the conduct of the research project. Amongst the adult participants, each evaluation elicited the viewpoints of key stakeholders, including managers, governors, those with leadership responsibilities and a range of contributory professional roles. Furthermore, in collecting the research data, those involved with a level of 'critical voice' (James & Prout, 1997) would be provided with an assurance that their views would be received confidentially and in a spirit of openness, mutual respect and tolerance. In this sense, the evaluations align with the principles of 'fourth generation evaluation', involving methods and approaches that include those that have been 'previously dismissed as excessively subjective e.g. empathy, participant observation' with clear political and ethical imperatives (Scriven, 2003, p. 23).

Criterion sampling (Patton, 2002, p. 243) was adopted, where schools with known categories of challenging behaviour had been reported and random and purposive sampling (Given, 2008, p. 799; Merriam, 2009) was used in consultation with the commissioning bodies. The research team then negotiated the process of informed pupil/parental consent with each individual school or via the senior local authority officer. Issues of access, consent and confidentiality were confirmed with each institution and at the start of each pupil's interview. Interview schedules were designed and subsequently refined, following an initial pilot in sample schools, with interviews designed to enable the progressive

focusing on key emerging topics and the probing of significant supplementary themes. The young people interviewed were predominantly in the 14–15 age group and were currently attending AP. The samples of young people typically comprised a gender balance of both girls and boys.

Prior to commissioned evaluations, two members of the research group undertook a 12-month study of pupil perceptions of risk. Designed to elicit perceptions of risk from the perspective of children and young people in primary and secondary school settings in two West Midland authorities in the UK, the research design employed focus groups to explore the perceptions of children and young people as they approached the end of primary-phase and secondary-phase schooling. Using purposive sampling, seven primary schools, six secondary schools and a community-based centre enabled 14 separate focus groups to be conducted with a total of 97 participants. At the request of the researchers, each participating institution was able to provide a focus group of broadly balanced gender that was representative of the socio-economic background ethnicities and ability ranges within the school (Trotman *et al.*, 2012). Following the reporting of this study, four separate evaluations were undertaken using multi-stage data collection with a range of participants, including pupils, teachers, teaching assistants, headteachers, AP centre heads, parents and a local authority adviser for AP. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews.

The first of the evaluations was commissioned by a schools partnership in a large UK metropolitan borough for the purpose of establishing reasons for increasing incidents of negative pupil behaviour and behaviour referrals in Years 8 and 9 (ages 13– 14) in the partnership's secondary schools. The evaluation comprised the purposive sampling of potential contributing schools identified by the partnership's management team. Eight contributing schools were identified and then asked to select students who had been subject to temporary or permanent exclusion from school, with the remainder of the interviews comprising pupils from the designated year groups. From the sample schools, 49 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 girls and 26 boys over a 6-month period. From the sample schools, 15 boys and 6 girls had either been temporarily or permanently excluded from school. The interviews with young people were further complemented by interviews with eight members of staff with responsibility for behaviour management in each of the schools.

The second evaluation was commissioned by a newly established free school AP academy in the same metropolitan borough. The aim of the evaluation was to report the development of the free school from the perspective of its pupils and key participants during the school's first 3 years of operation. Conducted in two 18-month phases, the first phase of the evaluation involved semi-structured interviews with 18 pupils in two stages, with 36 interviews in total. Students were selected on the basis of a random sample of the representative female and male

population in Years 9 and 10 (ages 14–15) of the participating school. The sample students comprised: 8 boys—5 Asian British, 2 Black British and 1 Black Other and 10 girls—5 Asian British, 4 White British and 1 White Polish. A purposive sample of governors (n = 2), school managers (n = 2) and teaching staff (n = 8) was also interviewed and reinterviewed as part of the first-phase interviews, totalling 28 in number. Phase two of the evaluation involved 17 semi-structured interviews, with a purposive sample of 7 girls—1 Asian British, 1 Black Other, 4 White British and 1 Polish and 10 boys—4 Asian British, 2 Black British, 2 Black Other, 1 White British and 1 White Polish. Six telephone interviews were conducted with non-attending pupils identified by the school, three telephone interviews with parents of non-attending pupils, five telephone interviews from 10 parents identified by the school and three face-to-face on-site interviews with the headteacher and representative members of the senior management team (SMT).

Two further evaluations were commissioned by two local authorities to advise on the development of AP as part of their strategic review of educational provision. Of the two local authority evaluations, the first of these was conducted in close collaboration with the senior education adviser for alternative provision. Conducted in two phases, the first phase involved an online survey of 44 local authority staff with senior leadership responsibilities in primary and secondary schools, headteachers and heads of pupil referral units (PRUs). The second phase of the evaluation involved the analysis of contextual policy documentation and semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of heads of alternative provision and out-of-school provision (n = 11), secondary and primary headteachers (n = 6), young people in AP aged between 12 and 16 (n = 15) and three chairs of governors of AP. The second local authority evaluation also comprised the analysis of contextual policy documentation with a purposive sample of telephone interviews with heads of AP.

Interviews were recorded on digital dictaphones and transcribed to hard copy, and these were then coded by each member of the research team and cross-referenced to their field notes. All transcripts were made anonymous and pseudonyms allocated to participants to ensure that any quotations used in the final evaluative reports, or subsequent articles, could not be traced to their original source (Alderson & Morrow, 2004).

Data analysis then followed the principles outlined by Stake (1995); an iterative and reflexive process that begins at the outset of the initial interviews and continues throughout all phases of the data collection. The research team then met at regular points throughout the fieldwork to undertake progressive focusing (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976) and subsequent categorisation and moderation of the data. Progressive focusing was employed to enable a systematic reduction of broad categories of data and to ensure that 'unique and unpredicted phenomena' were made visible in the analysis (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976, p. 20). Categories were

then further refined through a collective critical reading of researcher coding and justification of data interpretation.

This article reports four evaluative case studies, preceded by an exploratory study of perceptions of risk from the perspective of children and young people in primary and secondary-school settings. A 12-month study of pupil perceptions of risk was carried out. Designed to elicit perceptions of risk from the perspective of children and young people in primary and secondary-school settings in two West Midland authorities in the UK, the research design employed focus groups to explore the perceptions of children and young people as they approached the end of primary-phase and secondary-phase schooling. Involving seven primary schools, six secondary schools and a community-based centre, a total of 97 participants were involved in 14 separate focus group interviews. After the exploratory study, four interrelated evaluation case studies were undertaken with multi-stage data collection, involving pupils, teachers, teaching assistants, headteachers, AP centre heads, parents and a local authority adviser for AP. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews face-to-face with the young people, behaviour coordinators, governors, headteachers, SMTs, representatives of SMTs, teaching staff and teaching assistants and telephone interviews with non-attending pupils and some parents. Survey methods, including online questionnaires, were also employed, generating data from headteachers, AP managers and centre heads.

The significant time period of the evaluations, combined with the different orientation of the first of these, presented a number of challenges for the evaluators in summarising the data. While each study was subject to the data processes described above, the compilation of evaluation data aligned with the principles of an 'inclusive framework' described by Onwuegbuzie and Combs (2010). This they consider to be a means of both guidance and structure for researchers in analysing data (typologies, models, paths, etc.) but, moreover, necessary for establishing a common language for 'labelling and describing analysis strategies for the field' while also enabling 'directions for future development of analytical strategies' (Onwuegbuzie & Combs, 2010, p. 398). The outcomes of each evaluation, while freestanding, also contributed significantly to the design of the subsequent commissions and their configuration as collective case studies (Goddard, 2010).

Discussion and findings

From the combined data analysis, three significant categories of evaluation were present. The first of these concerns the increasing complexity of needs amongst children and young people as they attempt to navigate their way through school systems, the lifeworld and its bearing on personal well-being; the second concerns the often profound consequences of unsuccessful transitions between key phases/stages of education and progression to employment; and the third concerns assumptions around mainstream reintegration, the so-called 'managed move' and the problematisation of the advocacy for 'restore and return'. In the first category,

we turn to the issue of complexity.

Complexity of needs

In conducting fieldwork evaluations over a period of 6 years, we are left with little doubt that the lifeworld for children and young people has become increasingly complex to navigate. In attempting to make sense of these contemporary conditions, we have been assisted by what has become a prescient account of the concept of 'supercomplexity' advanced by Ronald Barnett (2000). In his reading of complexity, Barnett asserts that there are a number of interrelated phenomena that have arisen out of the confluence of contexts that epitomise a so-called 'global age' and which confront the 'triple challenges' of our understanding, self-identity and actions. Amongst these phenomena, Barnett points to the arrival of an information society, characterised by a compression of time and space; a proliferation of sites of knowledge production and the multiplication of what might be constituted as legitimate knowledge (Barnett, 2000, p. 257). Amongst these conditions, Barnett identifies two further dimensions that have been the subject of significant interest to educational researchers—the effects of performativity and the effects of risk, the former drawing on the work of Jean-Francoise Lyotard (1984) involving the macro-societal pursuit of efficiency and outcomes governed by narrow bureaucratic forms of output and accountability and the latter on Ulrich Beck's thesis of 'de-bounded' uncontrollable risk (Beck, 2002, p. 41) with consequential feelings of vulnerability. In conditions of supercomplexity, however, the very frameworks in which we orientate ourselves not only become unstable but, moreover, are in themselves fundamentally contested. For Barnett, supercomplexity 'denotes a fragile world'. . .

> . . .brought on not merely by social and technological change; it is a fragility in the way that we understand the world, in the way in which we understand ourselves and in the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world.
> (Barnett, 2000, p. 257)

Supercomplexity then offers a useful framework for beginning to both explain and understand some of the antecedent causes of particular behaviours and the significant effects of this on the lives of young people in educational settings. All four evaluations revealed an increase in concerns amongst stakeholders over the range of complex needs amongst children and young people that schools and APs are now obliged to address, as the following accounts from headteachers, governors and pupils bear testimony to:

> *We see fight and flight anxiety, we've got bereavement, neglect, lack of parent interaction. It's huge.* (Primary Headteacher 1)

Governor 1	*The impression I get that there's an overwhelming demand out there for services for kids with mental health problems.*
Interviewer	*So for three of you then, the mental health issues are significant?*
Governor 2	*Huge.*
Governor 1	*In this broadest sense, if you include drugs and alcohol. . .*

The following examples from a secondary and a primary headteacher, a head of service and head of centre were indicative of the same concerns:

> *A lot of these young people have mental health problems. . . every week there is a new. . . a new scenario that has come out with a pupil, a different pupil, a group of students who are worried about their friends so you speak to them and suddenly they disclose that 'ah yeah I've felt like this for 2 or 3 years' and you're like crikey, you're now in Year 10, what were the signs, what were the symptoms? And these young people mask them really well.*
>
> *. . .depression* [seems] *to be the norm.*

This also highlights the contemporary scope and complexity of AP. Transcending an often common perception of AP as shorthand for PRUs for excluded pupils, as the following pupil accounts vividly demonstrate, the reasons for entering AP are varied and frequently have powerful underlying histories:

> *. . .when my mom had a baby and he passed away after 5 days and ever since then I was just really depressed and I didn't know what to do. I was insecure and things, I was always telling myself that I didn't want to live anymore.* (Pupil 1)
>
> [on being bullied]
>
> *. . .it's like torment, it's not major, it's just torment. . . in Year 6 they diagnosed me with stress migraines and then we knew it was getting a bit much, it was actually physically hurting me. . . it was all caused through stress, I was being sick. . . I'd stopped trusting everyone at school, I'd stopped trusting everyone, I got very depressed.* (Pupil 10)
>
> *Well Dad having an affair was probably the main reason I stopped going but then other things. . . I was fighting a lot at school, doing drugs. . . can't really remember now. I was just really stressed all the time.* (Pupil 7)

While the examples cited above are indicative of a range of socio-cultural factors that affect young people, it is also important to note in the penultimate example the spiral of effects that lead to poor mental health amongst young people and their consequential referral to AP. In our evaluation findings we have found it helpful to express this in the form of a descending and expanding spiral (Figure 1).

It is in this spiral form that we have been concerned to note both the velocity and amplification of potential mental health concerns for young people from an early onset of anxiety to one of depression and self-harm. It may then be a reasonable assumption that schools are well positioned to offer appropriate pastoral support for children and young people who find themselves in such circumstances. Our evaluation evidence, however, corroborates a picture of somewhat disturbing policy effects framed by the conditions of supercomplexity, specifically in the domain of performativity, as the following accounts bear testimony to:

> *It started in Year 7* [age 11] a*t this school and then, I think it was about in Year 10* [age 14] *that it got a bit too much; like I couldn't really cope. It was all the lessons and all the revision.* (Secondary School Pupil)
>
> *They're bombarded constantly with 'I'm not good enough', whether it be outside*

Figure 1. A spiral of vulnerabilities — anxiety to self-harm

> *socially and then in school that 'I'm not meeting the national curriculum', 'I'm not meeting that required attainment'. We don't say that to our children but our children know which ones are in the group at the bottom.* (Primary School Headteacher)

> *The majority of students who have behavioural difficulties are from* [. . .] *The students that come out of schools in* [. . .] *are often girls who are highly anxious and self-harm and that might be to do with the pressures that some schools put on them in terms of academic* [attainment]. (Head of Service)

Hence, from the evaluation data, no matter how well-intentioned schools might be in wishing to safeguard children and young people against detrimental mental health, in the perpetuation of performative cultures they find themselves complicit in the generation of conditions that effectively exacerbate this. From the most recent evaluation case study, the comments from the head of service reflect an emerging category of the effects of performative cultures on the well-being of young people and the differences in perception and consequent intervention. In region X, an area of high socio-economic deprivation, referrals to AP are typically categorised in the domain of behaviour and attachment disorders, while in region Y, an area of affluent middle-class households, referrals predominantly relate to either a diagnosed special educational need or as a consequence of performative-related anxiety. From the standpoint of this evaluation, it reveals not only the spiralling effects of performative cultures in various forms of anxiety, low self-esteem, depression and self-harm as a reason for referral amongst children and young people from middle-class households, but also that children and young people from less affluent areas are less likely to be exposed to such. Hence, our data in this evaluation corroborates a pathologisation of particular children and young people from working-class communities that, in turn, leads to forms of differentiated intervention.

Key stage transitions

The evaluations revealed common concerns between young people and those responsible for their welfare regarding the processes and quality associated with transitions from primary to secondary school, between key stages and from secondary school to post-compulsory and employment contexts. In the first of these reported concerns, the disconnect between teacher–pupil relationships previously enjoyed at primary school and feelings of being 'lost', physically and emotionally, within secondary schools was recurrent for a number of pupils. Representing this perspective, one young person reported:

> *. . .in Year 7 it took me time to settle down and I don't think they [teachers] handle it in the right way. . . Like they don't understand you are coming from a primary school to a secondary school, it is a big move, they are still children, they are not mature yet, they are not teenagers yet. . .*

Some young people described their experiences in ways that we have interpreted as significant affective disturbance. Feelings of being 'lost', both in geographical space and in terms of cognitive and affective orientation, were common themes in the interviews:

> *Well it was just really 'cause I couldn't cope with mainstream school cause of how big it was, it smelt really weird and it was just like everyone was being really loud and there were tons of people there so it was really busy.* (Pupil 8)

> *Transition is a huge negative for them, I just think it is the whole. . . the primary school, the nurturing, small environment, you don't move around the school going to classrooms and then suddenly you're put in this big secondary school and it is a case of, you know, you've got a lesson there, a lesson there, a lesson there, the noise, the volume, it's just a very different experience for them.* (Head of Centre 2)

> *. . .this young lad was just in the wrong school. He was in a mainstream school and that poor lad just couldn't cope with everything that a mainstream school was. He couldn't cope with being in a classroom with 30 pupils, he couldn't cope with the level of noise in a school of this size, he couldn't cope with the movement around school, there were so many things that he genuinely couldn't cope with.* (Primary Headteacher 2)

> *Even for me now, when I visit all the schools and I go round all the schools, I walk in to some schools and I think 'whoa, this really is an assault on the senses'. So for a child, who has any of those issues it's a big no no.* (Head of Service)

As some respondents observed, problems around transition are not restricted to Key Stage 2/3 (primary/secondary). As one respondent noted, the challenges for young people in accommodating increasingly performative challenges are now emerging in relation to Key Stage 1/2 (infant/junior) transition:

> *We think that, potentially, those years are getting more difficult because the children move from the key stage 1 into key stage 2. In the key stage 1 they're in a more nurturing environment and then they go into key stage 2 and that's where it doesn't suit them. So they either react straight away or they react the following year. . .* (Head of Centre 3)

Chiming with other studies of primary/secondary school transition, it seems that when transition is managed badly the effects can negatively impact upon the academic performance, personal well-being and mental health of young people (Zeedyk *et al.*, 2003; McGee *et al.*, 2004). The Key Stage 3 phase of education appears not only to signify entry into the different environment of the secondary school, but for some pupils these years also represent a period in which the initial traumas of primary/ secondary phase transition are amplified or incrementally condensed. In other words, it is a transition from childhood to adulthood that occurs whilst also dealing with complex patterns of interaction and dependence. Earl (1999), for example, views the middle years of schooling from the perspective of three simultaneous transitions: adolescents in transition from childhood to adulthood; the world in transition from separate societies to more complex patterns of interaction and dependence; and schools in transition from a style that worked well for most of the twentieth century to one that will prepare students for life in the twenty-first century.

It is evident from our evaluations that for some pupils, behavioural problems triggered by school transition are sustained and exacerbated across the transition from primary to secondary schooling and into their later school careers. Echoing the previously noted findings of earlier studies of transition (Galton & Hargreaves, 2002; Stobart & Stoll, 2010), this comment links with the observations in Jindal-Snape and Foggie's (2008, p. 5) study of transition in Scotland. In that study, profound anxieties were often experienced by pupils in relation to secondary-school timetables and the perceived dangers of simply getting lost in large and unfamiliar school buildings were noted. Data analysis from our evaluations suggests that negative behaviour is magnified when the emotional effects of transition are inadequately managed. Furthermore, pupil accounts demonstrate that, when left unaddressed, negative effects of transition are carried and amplified across the phase of education to the extent that the negative legacies of failed school transitions have emerged as a recurrent theme in the accounts of young offenders and prisoners (see Graham, 2014).

Year 10 (the start of Key Stage 4 for 14-year-olds) was widely regarded by young people as the year in which past misdemeanours and behaviour histories were to be set aside, in favour of an imagined future, where educational achievements and behaviour would be transformed. Amongst the pupil perspectives in AP PRUs, 'knuckling down' and 'stepping up' were cited by a significant number of pupils as their opportunity to 'make good'. For many pupils, Year 10 was seen as a vital entree into the arena of qualification acquisition and the job market. Ryan's perception of Year 10 was typical of many of the pupil respondents.

> *. . .I know I mess around in Year 9, but like as soon as I hit Year 10 I am going to knuckle down and like concentrate and like, because it is me and what I have picked is what I have chosen, so like I know what I have picked I can't dislike or like. I can't dislike because it is my choice, so I should be fine because I am going to like subjects*

I picked on my own.

Key Stage 4 was then seen as a departure from the formal and mandated curriculum offered at Key Stage 3. The Key Stage 4 General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), which is the public examination system in England, offers some pupil choice of curriculum subject and therefore can represent the promise of a new beginning for improved pupil behaviour, based on a perception that these choices provide an authentic opportunity for pupil autonomy and independence. The considered introduction of choice, opportunity and independence has significant implications for the perceived absence of these characteristics in the Key Stage 3 programme.

Interviews with behaviour coordinators reinforced a lack of realism displayed by some young people with long histories of poor behaviour. They argued that major blockages to learning were embedded and that these effectively prevented change. The young people were seen as being 'saddled with a record', that they had 'learnt the rhetoric of bad behaviour' and 'played to the peer gallery for too long'. For one coordinator, the opportunity for reform was challenged by '13 different subjects, 13 different rooms, 13 different faces'. The point was consistently made that Key Stage 4 requirements would prove overwhelming for some young people and they would return to previous forms of poor behaviour.

Behaviour coordinators identified the Key Stage 3 to 4 transition as complex and a particular challenge for managing pupil behaviour in relation to academic, emotional, pastoral and biological factors. One behaviour coordinator summarised his perception of 'biological' transitional factors:

> *We have also got the sort of biological hormonal factors in terms of Year 9. Again, as I said, it sort of tends to dip into the second half of Year 8 now but it is also thinking about it in terms of their life's span in educational settings. It is almost a midpoint in their life in a secondary school.*

While the challenges around primary/secondary phase transition are widely reported and corroborate our findings, the problematic nature of post-16 progression is also reported in the evaluation data. Specifically, the binary of vocational and academic education would appear to endure from the perspective of both staff and young people in our evaluations. In particular, the issue of narrow academic/vocational pathways was a repeated concern. This was in part the product of a belief amongst some teachers about the inability of young people to cope with the challenges of a socalled 'academic education' and also a predetermination of what was considered to be an 'appropriate' career path. While the narrowing of the so-called 'academic' curriculum and associated performance measures at Key Stage 4 can be attributed to recent government shifts in policy, opportunities for a richer vocational education appear to still be somewhat distant.

Throughout the evaluation data we repeatedly encountered the polarisation of academic and vocational pathways with the latter predominantly, although

not exclusively, reserved for young people entering from AP. More troubling for those students orientated towards so-called practical or non-academic routes, the options are typically restricted to enduring gendered stereotyped options of construction and vehicle mechanics for boys and health and beauty or childcare for girls—as one of the respondents succinctly put it, 'hair and bricks':

> *You've got places like [. . .] who offer more practical based. . . you know, car mechanics, engineering and your typical bricklaying, plastering, hairdressing, etc. and it is a more vocational route instead of an academic route. And two or three students really liked the idea of that 'cause it gives them a chance to be more hands on, more practical.* (Secondary Headteacher 1)

Taken as a whole, however, responses from young people often illustrate a progressively subtler reading of vocational aspirations, as the responses from these young men and one young woman illustrate:

> *I want to join the army or I want to go into construction—brick laying—for a very big company that my dad works for.* (Pupil 3)

> *I'd have to like work with my hands. Like do something physical cause I don't want to sit behind a desk or anything. Electrics course, like fitting electrics in houses, installations and all that.* (Pupil 5)

> *I tried to apply to Land Rover for an apprenticeship but it was too late so I'm going to do a year of engineering in college, 'cause that's what you're meant to do in Land Rover—and then get an apprenticeship in Land Rover but obviously I'd have a bit of experience of what to do. . . in Land Rover they've got a young women's apprenticeship which they take young women on cause it's mainly men that work there.* (Female Pupil 6)

Interviewer	*Where do you see yourself in the future after leaving this? If the engineering college doesn't work what else are you going to do?*
Female Pupil 6	*Hair and beauty.*

This last exchange between the interviewer and the young person distils both the opportunity and despair within the current and continuing polarisation of vocational– academic education in England. While not intending to denigrate those occupations and those students for whom this will provide aspirational and fulfilling work, it does, however, continue to affirm a long-standing and on-going poverty of occupational and career scope for many young people leaving AP. In this regard, initiatives such as that reported by the female pupil respondent may provide an important illumination of future possibilities for those students whose preference is for active (as opposed to sedentary) and kinaesthetic (as opposed to abstract) work.

Contrasting responses: Managed moves and multi-agency approaches

The findings from the evaluations further reveal two contrasting approaches to the framing and response to the behaviours of young people. In one authority the alignment between young people, their behavioural histories and the suitability

of their institutional setting was orchestrated through the use of the 'managed moved', in which schools operated a collaborative assessment and decision-making panel to 'share' pupils within the school network, including AP. While findings from the local authority evaluation have pointed to the value of some short-term placements in AP for some young people, in contrast the evaluation data also reveals concerns regarding the efficacy of 'managed moves'. For many of the pupil respondents in the evaluations, details concerning the arrangements for their placement in AP, PRUs or alternative secondary schools were poorly communicated. As a consequence, young people were often either absent from or left unclear about the discussions concerning their immediate future and the duration of attendance in AP. As the following indicative accounts illustrate, the strategy of managed moves is problematic:

Interviewer *Have you had any discussions with staff members here about going back to mainstream school?*

Pupil *About going back to mainstream, nope, never. . . that's not even in my head anymore. I'm not even bothered about mainstream school. I would like to go back innit like if I had the chance to I would innit, but I'm not gonna have the chance and I'm. . .. and even when I do have the chance and I get back into a mainstream school I end up getting kicked out again. Even as much as I try, I just think mainstream is not for me.*

As the heads of centre and one secondary headteacher expressed the problem:

. . .bouncing them around other institutions will make them feel as if they're a real. . . an oddball, someone who can't settle, they've lost their identity, they want to misbehave because that's the way they're getting treated, they're getting treated with no respect. (Secondary Headteacher 1)

. . .we know from the data we've looked at that managed moves in the main are failing—and I think we haven't got that process right. So I think where it's worked is where I've been able to say to the schools: 'I'll keep them on dual registration' cause at the end of the day they are worried about registration, about results and things and rightly so in a way. . . Now, I have presented students in the past and there's just been tumbleweed. Nobody wants to take them. . . I've found that I get a better response if I make a phone call and use relationships. Now it shouldn't be about that. (Head of Centre 1)

From the parental perspective:

. . .this is his third managed move now. At his first school he just didn't seem to settle and once his name was known it was like he was in trouble for absolutely everything. There was a few times where I had to challenge things that they'd accused him of and it was found that he wasn't actually responsible; it was just cause he was there. But because he had made a name for himself that sort of went against him. So he left that school, went to another school—again that didn't work out. I don't know what it is with x. . . in my personal opinion, he's not academic. He's very capable— and all the teachers will say that he's very capable of doing what he needs to do, he just doesn't do it. He's not the academic type. In subjects such as cooking and science he excels; he's

brilliant in those. If you ask him to write anything down, he doesn't like doing that.

And from a governor perspective:

> *The secondary school—you might as well be a million miles away; they have a perception of what happens in x [in] the way some of our schools have a perception of what goes on in the PRU. Until you're actually part of the whole system you're not going to understand it and you're not going to be able to support the children effectively.*

Hence, from our evaluation data, aspirations for pupil reintegration into mainstream school and the strategy of the managed moved do not adequately address the complexities of experience and competing interests that surround AP and short-term placements. Criticisms of the 'repair and return' model of AP usage in England have also been reported in Pennacchia and Thomson's (2016) case studies of AP and in this regard our evaluations corroborate their findings that some young people continue to have profound and unnecessary difficulty in navigating their way through the practices of the managed moves and AP.

In contrast to the managed move and 'repair and return', a more positive recurrent theme in the evaluation data from the perspective of the key stakeholders, leaders, managers and governors was the emphasis on multi-agency working. Involving a range of professional and para-professional roles—including counsellors, educational psychologists, family support workers, health workers, police community support officers (PCSOs) and social workers—was regarded as essential in the work of AP. The following responses were indicative of the views expressed concerning the need for multi-agency approaches:

> *. . .there are some cases where really the family are so dysfunctional that it needs to be multi-agency and we don't necessarily have the support from social services to have the behind-school supporting the family to enable the young people to be successful. So, again, we've tried to do that ourselves, we've actually employed a social worker and that social worker works with some of the families, but then we can't reach all the families.* (Secondary Head 2)

The respondent observations and comments are also indicative of the challenges around engaging and sustaining multi-professional work. Indeed, the challenges that surround the development of effective multi-professional practice are well documented, both in terms of interprofessional interaction and resource demands (Robinson & Cottrell, 2005; Reeves *et al.*, 2008; Home Office, 2014). Responses from across the range of providers, however, presented an unequivocal desire and demand for relatively modest forms of multi-professional support and care to support some of the vulnerable children and young people. This, in turn, has further ramifications with regard to the paucity of systematic continuing professional development for teachers and educational professionals and effective interprofessional collaboration in the context of AP.

Conclusion

The reasons why young people find themselves in AP are, as our evaluation data demonstrates, both varied and complex. The testimonies of young people have, in particular, shown how the fragility of understanding the world, understanding self and security about acting in the world are vivid in the lifeworld of young people as they attempt to navigate the supercomplexities of the contemporary social context. In turn, the evaluation data has shown how the early onset of manageable mental health and well-being concerns—if left unchecked—can spiral into more profound issues of negative self-worth and potential for significant self-harm. While the palpable effects and conditions of 'supercomplexity' are evidentially a more recent phenomenon in the lifeworld of young people, as our findings show, the origins of this often begin early in the educational lifecourse, at the end of primary- phase education and with long-term consequences, which for some young people extend into their adult lives. In this regard, our evaluation findings corroborate an already existing research literature that identifies significant concerns about stage-related discontinuities in school systems and the holistic development of young people.

As the evaluation data has located continuing weaknesses in the school transition processes between primary and secondary phases, for many young people the transition into work and employment is another problematic area where vocational scope and personal agency have been shown to be significantly restricted. In attempting to address student well-being and the challenges of lifecourse transitions, we encountered examples of schools and alternative providers that committed both wider professional imagination and financial resources to interprofessional approaches to pupil support. In these instances, schools and providers have articulated their concerns over the significant shortcomings of 'managed moves' practices, while 'repair and return' strategies run significant risks of the medicalisation and pathologisation of young people as the perceived objects of necessary treatment. In contrast to 'managed moves' and 'repair and return', a minority of schools and providers have been quick to recognise the strength and efficacy of interprofessional approaches that draw on a range of professional expertise predicated on a fluency of collaborative shared imperatives of care and well-being. It is in this latter domain that there is much work to do not only in the training and professional accreditation of those working with vulnerable young people in AP, but also in the area of interprofessional culture and practice.

The commitment of financial resources for AP by senior key stakeholders in the evaluation case studies is then predominantly based on the pursuit of these two approaches to the management of student welfare; either through the movement and placement of young people within school networks or the rationalisation/ creation of centralised AP provision, particularly through the English education policy apparatus of the free school. While this offers some explanation for the

absence of resourcing as a key concern amongst individual stakeholders and staff in the interview data, it is also illustrative of the predominant binary in AP of 'repair and return' and 'fresh start' approaches. Although concerns over the negative relationship between school exclusion and AP have only recently become a matter of cross-party ministerial concern (House of Commons Education Committee, 2018), a number of schools in the evaluation case studies had committed their own modest resources to the development of the sorts of inter-agency strategies described above as an effective means of pre-empting referral to AP. Whether such approaches can be sustained under the current funding regime, however, is highly uncertain. The commitment to funding each of the evaluations by the separate commissioning bodies is nonetheless indicative of the current equivocation surrounding strategy and resourcing of AP. In addition, the attraction of participatory–collaborative evaluation, with its alignment to stakeholders' expressed values concerning AP—was in preference to a framework of inspection that was perceived by many to have significant shortcomings with regard to the often unique characteristics of AP.

Amongst the starkest aspects of the evaluations and the most recent of our evaluation findings have been the reported effects of performative school cultures on young people. Much has been said in the research literature about Lyotardian performativity and its corrosive effects on professional and school effectiveness, but until recently the claimed effects of performativity on young people has tended to be speculative rather than grounded in empirical studies conducted from the standpoint of human rights and social justice, where young people are considered as critical informants and reliable witnesses. In this regard, the interviews with young people and adult informants have shown how performative school cultures are now having direct consequential effects on the well-being of young people. Significantly, the evaluation findings show that these effects are not restricted to young people who struggle with mainstream school contexts or have significant mitigating factors, but now extend to young people for whom the relentless pursuit of performance outcomes has resulted in them being cast as performance capital (Trotman & Tucker, 2018), with consequential negative impacts on their mental well-being. There is then a manifold range of challenges for alternative providers in meeting the complex individual needs of children and young people in an educational policy context that has contributed directly to consequential negative effects. While English ministerial focus remains firmly on free school AP as part of a wider policy preoccupation with free schools, our evaluation findings point in a different direction. This requires recognition of the damaging effects of unmediated dimensions of supercomplexity for young people; recognition and resourcing of interprofessional strategies in schools and AP; and a tempering of the worst performative aspects of education policy by policy-makers.

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THIRTY ONE

Canonisation in a Corporate Culture – John Henry Newman and the University reimagined

In any debate about the purpose of University education it usually isn't long before the name of John Henry Newman is invoked. As a Catholic theologian, Cardinal, scholar and philosopher, Newman's thinking about the role of the University, the nature of knowledge and his belief in the value of liberal education still has, an albeit marginal, presence in the discourse of Higher Education. Much has changed of course since Newman published the Idea of a University in the middle of the 19th Century. The advent of mass higher education in the UK at the end of the 20th century combined with an increasingly aggressive marketization of the system has seen the University variously reconfigured. Most notably this has taken the form of what some observers have called the Multi-versity. In an era of massification and diversification of Higher Education, the concept of the University of Newman's time has now largely been consumed by what John Furlong has described as 'the cacophony of difference'. As an academic working in a small University that bears Newman's name in a city with strong local links to his ministry, his canonisation in October provides an important moment for reflection on the condition of education in the contemporary University context and to consider what Newman might make of it.

Newman's concept of the University was premised on his commitment to liberal education in an institution that would function as a moral centre within the cultural conditions of the time. For Newman, the pursuit of knowledge was an end in itself; a state or condition of the mind worthy of cultivation for its own sake. Conjuring images of literary immersion, reflection, meditation and discourse, for many the tenets of personal formation through liberal education continues to be a powerfully appealing aspiration; a vision of a university that, above all else, is fundamentally educative. Newman's idea of a University was also one that was essentially elite and in many ways highly conservative. His thinking was, of course, of its time and the arrival in the University system of what has been termed 'new public management' would I think have been deeply troubling for him.

The realities of new public management and its neoliberal drivers has seen the University significantly reframed; not as a coherent site for the cultivation of common educational pursuit, but one now dominated by discrete and competitive cost centres where collaborative cultures have been displaced in favour of more hierarchical and insulated management structures. In turn, much of the work of the contemporary University is now driven by an often shallow preoccupation with performance outcomes and a concomitant prosaic bureaucratisation of teaching and research.

The advance of neoliberalism and its effects on organisational cultures has of course been widely reported. Commenting on the language of hyper-mangerialism

in the 1980s, Australian Academic Jane Kenway famously described this as a 'discourse of derision'; one which British academic Stephen Ball has argued aims to re-cast education as a major impediment to resolving macro social and economic problems. The arrival of new public management in the English University sector has then seen the explicit configuration of degree qualification with imperatives for simple economic return, curriculum and programme development solely for instrumental purpose, and the assessment of teaching and studentship reduced to metrics and external benchmarking. What then ensues is a predictable adoption of 'magic bullets' in an unbridled pursuit of improved performance and distinctive market position. In turn, a significant proportion of University investment is now re-directed to the management of its own impression.

Writing in the THES in May this year Denis Hayes points to how the inculcation of corporate values in the University system has led to the ritual generation of meaningless institutional mission statements (Vacuous value statements miss the point of higher education, THES 9th May). Mirroring the experiences of the 'big conversation' that are prevalent in the sector, Hayes observes how the production of mission statements now commonly involve a banal use of tick-box surveys, working parties, brain-storming activities and the ubiquitous post-it-note session. In uncompromising style, he argues that the outcomes of these exercises, when imposed on a compliant staff, embody only the 'values' of cowardice and disingenuousness. In contrast to an advocacy for authentic values of freedom of speech, he asserts that such approaches ensure that the espoused values of the institution are 'owned' by no-one.

The more pernicious effects of new public management in University education has meant that the substance of meaningful educational work has become increasingly fragmented, balkanised and ultimately stripped of its fundamental connection between forms of knowledge, educational practice and studentship of the sort that I think Newman would have been passionate to defend. For Newman, clarity and judgment were not the only fruits of a liberal education. It was one he argues that 'gives a man [sic] a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them.'

Perhaps a small cause for hope in support of Newman's ideals can be found then in the public interest governance principles of the Office for Students. Here academics are afforded freedom within the law to question and test received wisdom and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions; something that is pretty much essential in the cultivation of the mind one might argue. Disturbingly though, a number of publically reported cases have revealed an emerging and worrying pattern of disciplinary procedures being used by University senior managers for the express purpose of silencing and neutralising dissenting voices amongst the academic community. In parallel with Kenway's

discourse of derision, academic dissent has evidentially, and more troublingly, become a discourse of sedition. As John Furlong has persuasively argued in his book *Education – An Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project*, 'the modern university is characterised by an increasing loss of epistemological confidence'. In this sense, the principles of an academic discourse involving contested ideas and unpalatable truths becomes increasingly exposed to the risks of managerial hostility in the absence of epistemological confidence. Expressions of view that are deemed to be controversial or in any way alternative are then pathologised as destabilising and threatening. Given Newman's line of thinking he may well have found himself distinctively at odds and perhaps even in trouble in a culture of new public management.

As a man of religious order, Newman would recognise the parallels between the contemporary conditions of new public management and the practices of religious sects. In his book *Teaching in the Knowledge Society: Education in an age of insecurity*, Andy Hargreaves draws on Bryan Wilson's characteristics of the religious sect to distinguish between totalitarian regimes of educational management and those premised on a commitment to democratic participatory change. According to Wilson, the sect is one that commits itself to exclusivity, holds a monopoly on truth, subscribes to high standardisation, demands absolute allegiance, and has a fundamentalist orientation for a return to a pristine message of the faith. In this regard, the characteristics of both sect and new public management seem starkly at odds with Newman's ideals of University education. Driven by the circumstances of the time, much of Newman's The Idea of a University was written in response to the prevailing conditions of Utilitarianism. While liberal education was Newman's counterpoint to this, as Furlong points out, a Socratic tradition of education involving a more critical, questioning and challenging approach is not entirely visible in Newman's account.

In a contemporary world of greater multi-complexity, the cultivation of mind requires a new orientation that Newman would likely to have been sympathetic to. Cultivation of the mind has new resonance in an age where disquiet about the mental welfare of students has become a matter of significant public concern. In one aspect of this, increasing interest has now been given to what Ronald Barnet has called supercomplexity. Brought on by a configuration of social and technological change, Barnet describes supercomplexity as a fragility in our ways of understanding the world, including how we understand ourselves and the ways in which we feel secure about acting in the world. Similarly, in his account of 'liquid modernity' Zygmunt Bauman sees this as a state of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities, and global economics. As a consequence, he considers the construction of a durable identity that coheres over time and space as increasingly impossible. It is in these conditions of the loss of epistemological confidence that new public management finds its own truth of order; disconnecting itself from the day-to-day lifeworld complexities of teaching and studentship, while valorising the

bureaucratic paraphernalia in which it has invested. The managerial advantages of this lie both in the dispersal and insulation of perceived risk and the distancing of responsibility and accountability. Meanwhile, much of the research in educational practice, learning and studentship points in an entirely opposite direction; encouraging qualities of enquiry, collaboration, contested ideas, indeterminacy and risk. This is one in which experience, learning and knowledge are powerfully configured through processes of the dialogic, the reflective and co-participatory community – principles that would still find a natural place in Newman's thinking.

While totalitarian behaviour appears to be entering something of a disturbing renaissance on the international stage, there is also a visible yearning amongst a younger generation of people for alternative responses, whether this is the courage of young women to assert their rights and freedoms in a stand against oppression in the face of extreme violence, or to protest against seeming political indifference to the crisis of climate change. As these young people have shown, to be heard in the face of a relentless denial of alternatives requires the courage and leadership to transgress. For future students entering University, as American academic bell hooks reminds us, although not paradise, the classroom remains a location of possibility where we have the opportunity to labour for freedom and collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries to transgress.

The canonisation of John Henry Newman takes place at a time not only of considerable global social flux and vulnerability, but in a context where liberal values of personal cultivation are now, at best, obscured and, at worst, immaterial to the hollow and increasingly introspective organisational cultures of the corporatized University. Rescuing and re-imagining The Idea of a University for contemporary times is, nonetheless, still within the grasp of the academic community and the students we serve. In a powerful democratic and participatory sense, John Henry Newman's commitment to the idea of a University is surely still a worthy and realisable ambition.

Thoughts on a Punctuation Point

This sections deliberately steps away from the tone of a traditional academic volume of collected papers to reproduce some of the thoughts and messages from his subject area colleagues to Dave on his retirement from Newman University. Just as in the preceding chapters, and especially his professorial lecture, Dave's voice rings through, so here do the voices of his colleagues in their unity and diversity.

Dear Dave,

I will miss your inspirational leadership and the encouragement you have given me at all times. Thank you also for the many, many laughs which have made work such an enjoyable experience, even if I didn't always understand some of the jokes! It certainly has been a privilege to work with you over these past 25 + years, and even before then, (if we count the West Bromwich 'OOLU Department' school experience!). I hope you have a really enjoyable time exploring the world and the few cultures you have yet to visit. Do find some time to revisit India, I look forward to seeing you in Punjab in the very near future.

Parminder

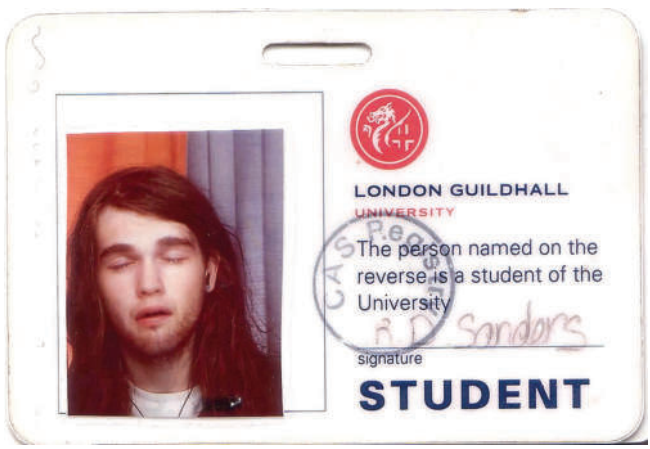
Thank you for having faith in me back in June 2008 and for encouraging, mentoring and supporting me since then. Your leadership has been a daily reminder that at its best work can be and should be principled – and fun. Thanks for creating the conditions in which we flourished – at our best – and for protecting us when we need it. Thanks for listening and believing. Shine on in all you do.

Very best wishes, Iain

As with many other staff and students, I am indebted to you and the education studies team in terms of my own personal development and critical understanding of the world we live in. There is not much I can say or do that would be an adequate repayment of this.

When thinking about the key moments in my journey, I will always return to your role as my caseworker when my professional life was turned upside down with the closure of Media Studies @ Newman. If it wasn't for your involvement and support in this, my journey would have been very different. Big hugs and respect to you - and go drink some more Whiskey!

Richard



Dave,

I really can't thank you enough for giving me the opportunity to work at Newman back in 2007 and for your continued support and encouragement since then. You have always had more belief in my abilities than I ever have and because of your genuine desire to develop the best in people I have achieved more than I thought possible. You have built a team of amazingly talented people and created an environment in which we have all been able to flourish under your guidance and more recently, your protection. You will be missed very much but we know the time is right for you to go on, to achieve more great things and to do more of the things you enjoy. Thank you for everything.

Clare

In July 2006 I hired a car and drove to a soon to be abandoned hotel on the Welsh coast. Dave suggested I, having just accepted a post in the department, might come along to the Education Studies planning weekend there. It proved a very convivial and at times bizarre weekend, with work interspersed with meals, some lovely and others challenged with industrial quantities of mayonnaise, swimming in a grassed over outdoor pool, my dyspraxic fielding in beach cricket, and late-night drinking. Oh, and a large steel beer barrel rolling downhill straight into that unfortunate hire car!

Over the ensuing years a lot of work was done both by and with Dave and those new-found friends and colleagues. Research happened. Papers were written. Some earned doctorates. Conferences were attended and papers given. New modules and courses devised. A book in 2017. Battle's fought. Some won. Others lost. A host of students 'taught' – that's not quite (or perhaps always) the right word, what is the word? Perhaps without a 'were' before it it's good-enough for the moment, creating as it does a certain reflexivity. Dave facilitated this co-creativity, doing so without shepherding us into programmatic neo-liberal coherence. I sometimes thought Dave wished I could have caught that cricket ball. It's not a thought I have so much now. What is the word? Thank you Dave.

Roger

Dave, you are the most inspirational leader that I have ever worked with. I never envisaged that I would be capable of working at a university, but with your support and guidance I found a role that I love. You even forgave my incompetence with filming our presentations! You know that leadership is about encouragement, as well as knowing the right time to allocate responsibilities to your team, showing your belief in us, and always remembering to acknowledge a job well done. I know that your clear, ethical principles will continue to inform everything that you do in your future work.

With grateful thanks and very best wishes,

John

Thanks Dave for giving me the golden opportunity to work on the EdD with a great team and may you have a lovely time on your onward journey.

Karima

Thank you

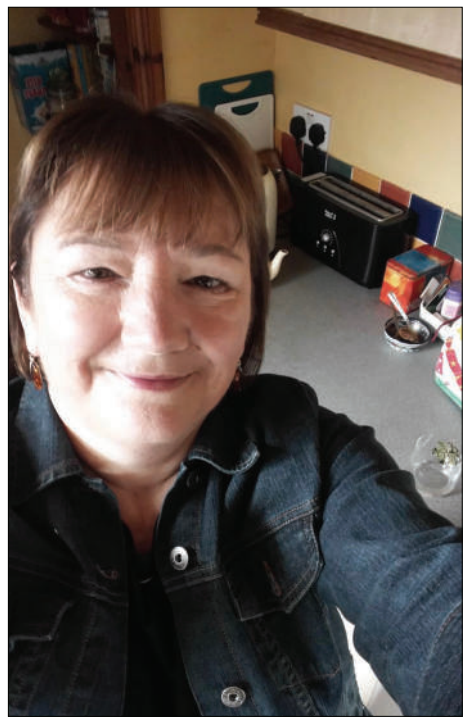
Steve D

Wishing you all the best in your retirement. Thank you so much for the support and encouragement you have given me over the last 17 years since I joined the Education Studies Department. I remember all the awaydays and jollies we have had over the years which were filled with fun and opportunities to develop. You have been an inspiration and you will be greatly missed. Love

Helen

I think that there are three situations in which I encountered Dave that serve to illustrate his commitment to social justice, kindness, intellectual abilities and his inspirational determination to bring people on, to enable them to aspire, and to be the best versions of themselves.

Firstly, his warm smile in an interview when he asked me what I thought the future of education was. My answer was gloomy and depressing if I am honest: that of a fragmented system of competing providers which far from raising standards would drive them down. His smile inferred an agreement with my assessment which no words could have done.



Secondly, it was my EdD studies that really brought me to work closely with Dave. His encouragement, warm reflection and inspiration were all there in the feedback, as was his biting criticism of my poor proof reading and grammar. Dave immediately recognised my sociological curiosity; his supervision has enabled me to become more focused on my research; and, though my wider butterfly reading is recognised, he always, gently, brings me back to what I am really about in my research. For this, and his belief in my abilities, I thank him and will be ever in his debt for recognising that I could do it.

Finally, there are many in Higher Education who glibly state that they speak truth to power, but Dave actually did and does and was severely punished for this. He recognised that the managerialism of the institution was harming intellects, souls and dreams. He challenged attempts to contain, control and coerce. His protection, support and championing of our team both professionally and personally will always inspire me to stand up for others.

Cheryl

Dave, very best wishes for your well-deserved retirement. I still remember ringing you to enquire about the position of senior lecturer at a time when I knew I needed a change of direction. Even though I was yet to meet you, your attentiveness, genuine interest in my experiences to date and overall humanity shone through in the space of a short phone call. I knew then that I really wanted the job and was flattered and humbled that you took a punt on a running (and standing whilst at work) obsessed chancer. I will always be grateful for your encouragement throughout my career and your patience and wisdom without which I wouldn't have achieved my doctorate. You have been, and always will be, the best person I ever worked for! Here's to lots of great experiences to come. Best wishes,
Steve G

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Dave Trotman's writings on education over the past 25 years have been remarkable. His papers, most of which are collected here for the first time, range through topics as diverse as creativity and imagination, education policy, and studies of the profession and educational evaluation. Some of these areas were reflected in his successive appointments as Reader in Creative Education and then Professor of Education Policy at Newman University, yet neither title encompassed the often rich, challenging and interdisciplinary perspectives on education that he has so ably articulated. His writing shows a depth of understanding of the functioning of the education system, of why it needs to change, and of how children, young people and those working with them make sense of their day-to-day experiences. An advocate of educational 'risk taking', Dave Trotman's work also underscores the importance of children's rights, social justice and equality in education, which contribute – as Professor Stan Tucker notes in his preface – to helping us towards a realisation that 'another school is possible'.

This selection of his papers, encompassing all his major journal articles as well as key book chapters, has been compiled to mark Dave Trotman's work at Newman University between 1995 and 2020. Edited by his colleagues, this volume is a homage to Dave and a celebration of his many outstanding contributions to education. It is, without doubt, a collection that will be of wide and enduring interest to all involved in the study and practice of education.

Education Studies Press
Birmingham

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