

VOLUME 66, NUMBER 3. AUTUMN 2016







FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE

The power of conversation and dialogue between professionals

Antony Luby recalls a recent experience of working with teachers serving in deprived areas

A story of school improvement

Sonia Blandford discusses how, with the right approach, schools can turn themselves round

A new culture for behaviour and learning

Rowena Passy and Tanya Ovenden-Hope look at how leaders tackled the problem of student underachievement in national challenge schools

Changing the mindset

Tanya Ovenden-Hope and Mark Delf on the role of Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise in Initial Teacher Education

Diversity and differences

Carol Vincent and colleagues consider the role of primary schools in supporting children's friendships across cultural and social boundaries

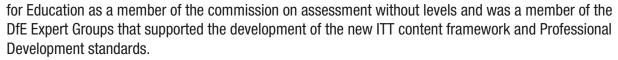
THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE COLLEGE OF TEACHERS

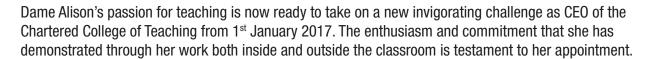
PROFESSOR DAME ALISON PEACOCK CEO DESIGNATE OF THE CHARTERED COLLEGE OF TEACHING

The Chartered College of Teaching is excited to announce the appointment of Professor Dame Alison Peacock as its new CEO.

Dame Alison Peacock is Executive Headteacher of The Wroxham School in Hertfordshire and author of *Assessment for Learning without Limits* (2016); her career to date has spanned primary, secondary and advisory roles. Dame Alison is a member of the Royal Society Education Committee, a peer member of the Teaching Schools Council and a trustee of both the Chartered Institute of Educational Assessors and of Teach First, and previously a member of a Regional Schools Commissioner Headteacher Board.

As a consultant headteacher, Dame Alison advised on the design and development of the new University of Cambridge Primary School. In March 2015, Alison was appointed by the Department





Currently working as CEO designate until the end of year, Dame Alison is clear about her vision for the Chartered College of Teaching and has begun work shaping that vision.

As the first CEO, Dame Alison will lead the College through a dynamic period of change with the key objective of recognising the status of the teaching profession and teachers and sharing excellence through engagement supported by evidence-informed practices at all levels – from early years to FE.

On her new appointment Dame Alison said:

"What is so exciting about my role as part of this brilliant profession is that we have the opportunity to share with each other the excellent work that goes on and to recognise the knowledge and expertise of those who teach".



CONTENTS

Editorial 1

Articles

Stars and saints: professional conversations for enhancing classroom practices

Antony Luby 2

Good to great: a story of school improvement in disadvantaged neighbourhoods

*Professor Sonia Blandford** 7

Changing student behaviour in schools located in areas of socioeconomic deprivation: findings from the 'coastal academies' project Dr Rowena Passy and Dr Tanya Ovenden-Hope 12

The ICE house project: a case study of innovation, creativity and enterprise as transferable skills in post-16 initial teacher education

Dr Tanya Ovenden-Hope and

Mark Delf

19

Friendship and diversity: social relationships across class and ethnic difference Professor Carol Vincent, Professor Sarah Neal and Humera Iqbal 25

EDITORIAL

The Autumn edition of *Education Today* is significant in that it is the penultimate print edition of an international publication that has recorded the journey of teaching since 1950; it is also the first commissioned by the interim College of Teaching team. In June (Volume 66.2), Professor Angela McFarlane, Chief Executive and Registrar of the College of Teachers, provided an insight into the new College, with its ambition to lead a knowledge-sharing community with shared professional principles. The papers in this edition of Education Today focus on applied learning, providing evidence-informed research and practice that contribute to the development of the foundation of professional knowledge and principles for all teachers - teachers, who will be major contributors, sharing what it means to be an excellent teacher.

Applied learning, through high quality teaching, enables teachers, leaders and other educationalists to inform and improve the progress and attainment of all pupils. It is founded on teachers and pupils (and increasingly their parents and carers) knowing where children and young people are in their learning, where they are aiming to get and how to get there. It is based on collaborative working and active learning. For teachers this will include; knowing your pupils and how they learn, having high aspirations for their learning, giving pupils a sense of ownership of learning, taking a more personalised approach to pupil learning and keeping good records. This is supported by schools and colleges, which have strong assessment systems in place, have good policies for marking and feedback, have good monitoring and evaluation approaches to processes and practices focused on high expectations for all pupils, and encourage distributed leadership. For young people it means; being able to access the curriculum, having teachers who raise their aspirations and increase their achievements, having confidence in their own capabilities,

high self-esteem and self-mastery skills. Evidence shows that learning outcomes are enhanced when parents and carers are involved in the process. For parents and carers it means; knowing where their child is in their learning, knowing how to support them in their learning, having high aspirations for their learning and achievement. In practice, applied learning is borne out differently in classrooms and schools or colleges across the world. We know that quality teaching can help pupils surmount generation-long barriers to learning, but the particular approaches and strategies need to be well embedded into the regular practice and culture of the school or college. The synergy between leaders, teachers, parents and carers and children and young people is a key consideration.

The College of Teaching has not been established to tell teachers how to teach: the sharing of practice will facilitate teachers to develop their knowledge and understanding of their profession. Fundamentally, teacher values and beliefs – the reasons why you adopt particular practices and theories about learning - will be a central area for reflection. The College of Teaching will be encouraging teachers to develop themselves, deepening their subject and pedagogical knowledge and learning to use it as effectively as possible. Evidence-informed evaluations have shown that what can be lacking is a focus on the synergy between the elements of applied learning and the extent to which models of distributed leadership are effectively developed across the school; the latter enabling teachers to 'take ownership' of developing and applying their professional practice. As we transition into the new College of Teaching we invite all teachers to share their practice.

Professor Sonia Blandford Interim Director College of Teaching, CEO Achievement for All, Professor of Education and Social Enterprise, UCL Institute of Education

Editorial 1

STARS AND SAINTS: PROFESSIONAL CONVERSATIONS FOR ENHANCING CLASSROOM PRACTICES

ANTONY LUBY

Senior Lecturer Teacher Development, Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln, UK

Teaching is a complex and nuanced activity, constantly influenced by context and content, moderated through the thousands of interactions of teacher and taught. Against this demanding backdrop, can there be a meaningful professional (chartered) status that carries weight and recognises true expertise ...or is it inevitable that it becomes an unwelcome administrative burden adding to an already overly demanding workload? (McFarlane 2016: 1)

This paper explores a reflective activity – *professional conversation* – that may help to address the problem outlined above that was stated in the last issue of *Education Today*. In so doing, it recalls the recent experience of working alongside 'starring' teachers who are dedicated to serving the poor in areas of deprivation. And this recollection is framed around the advice of saints – secular, religious and philosophical.

In the world of education we are familiar with the advice of secular saints Lawrence Stenhouse and Donald Schon who have told us about the importance of combining reflection with practice in the art of teaching. Perhaps we are less familiar that centuries earlier, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Doctor of the Universal Church, and patron saint of universities, told us a similar tale:

Teaching, says Thomas, is one of the highest manifestations of the life of the mind, for the reason that in teaching the *vita contempliva* and the *vita activa* are ... united in a natural and necessary union. (Pieper 1966).

However, as McFarlane (2016) rightly states above, whilst all teachers will agree that contemplation and action — or reflection and practice — are necessary for teaching, who finds time for contemplation? How might it be possible to secure time for reflection in the everyday busyness of modern day teaching?

Well, the beginnings of a possible answer lie in the past ... not the dim, distant past of Saint Thomas Aquinas, but the relatively recent past of autumn 2003. Sitting in the staffroom of Montrose Academy, a not untypical Scottish comprehensive secondary school, I had the privilege of being

regaled by a teacher of English – in his mid-50s – who was enthusing about the pilot Chartered Teacher course he was undertaking with the University of West Scotland. I was enthralled by the evidence he cited of changes in his classroom practices and the new knowledge he was gaining. I remember thinking that, "I don't really need to go in to your class for evidence about this; it is written all over your face, and the way in which you speak."

This experience was brought back to mind in spring 2015 when I was participating in a follow-up seminar to the University of Edinburgh conference Into the Light: Practitioner Enquiry. An officer from the General Teaching Council Scotland caught my attention when she spoke of the "profound impact" made upon her by the (recently disbanded) Chartered Teacher scheme. It was evident to her that the scholarship and research undertaken by Chartered Teachers had wrought great change in their classroom practices. Indeed, she was so moved that, in response, she undertook self-same scholarship and research. The power of conversation/dialogue between professionals was being manifested before my eyes; but it had yet to fully register.

This 'registration process' came to completion in summer 2015 when I undertook a research consultancy

project for the Adastra Primary
Partnership. 'Ad Astra' (To the Stars) is
a partnership of seven Nottinghamshire
schools united by common bonds of
addressing poverty and being situated
in, primarily, former mining villages
and towns. The Adastra Primary
Partnership has identified five areas of
child poverty, i.e.

- material;
- emotional;
- language;
- experience; and
- aspiration.

Each of the schools is tackling these issues of poverty in its own way; and the aim of the research consultancy project is to give the schools a 'snapshot' of progress being made. At the outset, the main research instruments were to be school documentation and interviews with staff.

But all was not well. To begin with, I was impressed by the 'star quality' of the teachers whom I interviewed about their current classroom practices. Their creativity, honesty and desire to help their children shone through. Notably, though, some teachers voluntarily and informally disclosed their apprehension about being 'interviewed'. The very word 'interview' has negative connotations. This negativity was corroborated by a deputy head teacher

of one of the schools who pointed out that when a list of interviews (for a different research project) was 'published' on the staffroom noticeboard, several members of staff expressed disquiet at the prospect of being 'interviewed.' This led me to re-think both the terminology and the research approach being adopted: might there be a better way?

What counts as research?

My first line of thought was regarding terminology - that the term 'interview' might express a power imbalance. The person conducting the interview seems to be in charge, with the corollary being that the interviewee/ teacher is, to some extent, power-less. This may be true with a structured or semi-structured interview as the interviewer determines the questions: but not with an unstructured interview, surely? The second line of thought was more to do with the approach itself. This led me to peruse a draft paper by Lawrence Stenhouse (December 1980) that is available from University of East Anglia Centre for Applied Research in Education. Stenhouse concludes that

... two points seem to me clear: first, teachers must inevitably be intimately involved in the research process; and second, researchers must justify themselves to practitioners, not practitioners to researchers (emphasis added).

This emphasis on practice over and above research brought to mind three of my friends and their antipathy towards research. Like me, they are recently retired teachers (or close to retirement). They have had long, successful careers in teaching, i.e. secondary school acting head teacher; primary school head teacher; secondary school head of department. Their interest in research can be summed up in one word: "Zilch." My interest in research is treated with a bemused tolerance. And yet, and yet ... if one is to gauge their interest in talking about teaching, then it is "High." Sometimes in the changing room before Friday evening football,

the conversation will turn to events in a classroom that day, or to happenings in school earlier in the week. And, sometimes, such chat takes place after the football — in the pub. Be it the changing room or the pub: the conversations are characterised by honesty. Each and all are aware that the other has dedicated his life to teaching — it truly has been a vocation. Their passion for teaching has been well spent and rewarded. And for this each person's view commands respect.

The conversations are characterised by empathy - we all know what it is like to have a rough day - a rough week indeed - when many of our good intentions and plans go awry. And although this empathy is expressed in a rough-handed manner - it is nonetheless, genuine and heartfelt. We have fellowship with one another. And because we have fellowship, we are open to - and receive - constructive criticism from our friends. Empathy, respect, critique: if 'researchers must justify themselves to practitioners' then their research should embrace empathy, respect and critique.

And my friends are in good company. A philosophical saint, Aristotle, knows a thing or two about education – having written about *phronesis*, *techne*, *poiesis*, *praxis*. In the *Nichomachaean Ethics* he writes:

The person with understanding does not know and judge as one who stands apart and unaffected; but rather, as one united by a specific bond with the other, thinks with the other and undergoes the situation with the other. (Bernstein 1983:147).

To gain genuine understanding then, researchers need to establish a bond with teachers. In some sense, they need to accompany the teachers on their journeys. This seems to be the antithesis of the disinterested objective researcher who prizes neutrality. Rather, there needs to be a bond, empathy, and fellowship between researcher and teacher. This raises important points.

The disinterested, objective researcher is in pursuit of knowledge — and this is exemplified through the writing of journal papers and academic books. But in the busyness of modern-day teaching, which teachers have the time to read such papers and books? Indeed, the first recommendation made to the Adastra Primary Partnership was:

Each school to set aside time from staff meetings for a Book Review Club in which staff quite simply discuss and share their thoughts regarding a book review. There is no expectation that any work should arise from these readings. (Luby 2016:23)

This recommendation was made in the realisation that it is more realistic to allow staff the time to read two-page book reviews than it is to believe they can find the time to read journal papers. But herein lies a deeper message.

Research as transformation

In May 2010 at a committee meeting of the Association of Chartered Teachers Scotland.

... a senior manager from one of the Scottish universities pointed out that the dissertations and reports produced by chartered teachers remain in a locked cupboard and are not even available in the university library. Further discussion revealed that this experience is not unique although the most common practice appears to be that dissertations are placed in the reference section of the university library. (Luby 2010:12)

Even when teachers make the time to undertake research, their subsequent reports appear to have little impact: glaringly so in the above example. But this appearance may be an illusion. The tasks of undertaking research and writing up the findings have profound impacts upon the teachers themselves. The GTCS officer attests to this – and from many conversations

with fellow Chartered Teachers, so do I. From the perspective of teachers, the relationship between research and teaching is not merely acquisition and application of knowledge – rather it is transformation. As expressed by Richard Pring (2000:14),

... education refers to that learning which in some way *transforms* (emphasis added) how people see and value things, how they understand and make sense of experience, how they can identify and solve key problems ... people become, in an important sense, different persons.

The Chartered Teachers with whom the GTCS officer spoke, and the Chartered Teacher colleagues with whom I conversed, they had all become different persons.

This view of research as transformation is also found outside of the discipline of education. Angela Brew undertook a study with senior researchers in Australia who had been conducting research for a number of years, and who were distinguished by their achievements in attaining large research grants and producing high numbers of publications. These senior researchers were drawn from the disciplines of 'humanities,' 'science and technology' and 'social sciences.' From her study with these senior researchers in Australia, Brew (2001:25) identified four modes of researchers' thinking with regard to research - of which the last is "research is interpreted as a personal journey of discovery, possibly leading to transformation."

Dialogue capturing the process of transformation

At first glance, capturing such a process of transformation may not appear straightforward. This transformative process involves much tacit, implicit and experiential knowledge and, as Sharples (2013), points out:

It is important to remember that there is a huge amount of experiential knowledge that is not captured by research....

Indeed. Just thinking again of my three teacher friends – they have 100 years of experiential knowledge and, to the best of my knowledge, none of it has been captured by research. But they can certainly talk about their processes of transformation from beginning teachers to experienced, successful teachers. And talk – conversation, dialogue – provides a key to unlocking and capturing this process of transformation.

Referring to the work of Gilroy (1993), Lieberman & Miller (2001) and Richardson (1997); Tillema and Orland-Barak (2006:594) discuss a reflective view on the nature of professional knowledge and knowing which

... regards professionals' construction of shared knowledge as an exchange of individual personal, implicit knowledge that becomes explicit (less tacit) through social exchange and dialogue thus distributed as professional knowledge.

And, certainly, this is the case with my teacher friends. Albeit the distribution of professional knowledge is interspersed with ribald comments emanating from the changing room – nonetheless, professional knowledge is exchanged. For 25 years we have supped Friday night ale in the pub; kicked a football – and sometimes each other! When we speak with each other of teaching, there is no attempt at pretence – it doesn't work. We are honest with each other. And through honest dialogue, we grow ... we are transformed.

And this honest dialogue may provide a solution to a problem identified in the previous issue of *Education Today*. In this issue McFarlane (2016:1) rightly acclaims that:

On 8 June 2016 the Privy Council granted a supplemental charter

to the College of Teachers. This marked a major milestone in the professionalisation of teaching as it grants the power to create a true Chartered Status for teachers.

Undoubtedly, attaining Chartered Teacher status will be a worthwhile and challenging endeavour. Indeed, like the Scottish experience, it should be transformative (Luby, 2010). However, according to both Campbell (2016) and Cordingley & Goodwyn (2016), a workable accreditation system for assessing the award of chartered teacher status will need to be devised. Given high levels of teacher workload and lack of time for reflection, then teachers' preference for dialogue may provide a means for determining professional knowledge concomitant with such an award. Such dialogue may take the form of a professional conversation.

Models of professional conversation

Professional conversations are "discussions among those who share a complex task or profession in order to improve their understanding ... and efficacy in what they do" (Britt et al., 2001: 31). In terms of the actual form that they take, Leonard (2012) reports on the Australian model of using professional conversations with mentor teachers and beginning teachers. These professional conversations comprise semi-structured interviews using 'prompts' that are provided in the form of questions for both mentor teachers and beginning teachers; the questions are based on the Australian National Standards for Teachers. There is some appeal with this model of professional conversation given that there is a mentor-mentee relationship and reference to national standards. Both this relationship and national standards (Scottish Government, 2009) were important features of the Scottish system of awarding chartered teacher status. Presumably, these will feature too in any system devised by the Chartered College of Teaching. However, one needs to take cognisance of the disquiet expressed above by teachers, voluntarily, with regard to

participating in an 'interview'. Also, the teachers in the Australian model are early career whilst Chartered Teacher status, most likely, will be awarded to experienced teachers.

A different, more promising route to an appropriate model of professional conversation is suggested by Beavan (2013). Drawing upon the work of Schuck et al. (2008), Beavan contends that, "In professional conversations, the interlocutor attempts to move the conversation beyond merely providing a rationalisation of the current practice by asking provocative questions or seeking clarification...". This calls to mind the work of Mercer with regard to developing dialogic skills. Mercer (1995:104) identifies both *cumulative* talk that "... build[s] positively but uncritically on what the other has said"; and exploratory talk in which the participants "... engage critically but constructively with each other's ideas." Not only does the consensus required for cumulative talk resonate with the respect and empathy spoken of above, but also it helps to build a mentormentee relationship. Furthermore, through this consensual approach of cumulative talk, both mentor and mentee can address implicit, tacit and experiential knowledge. According to Mercer (1995:104), such discourse is "... characterized by repetitions, confirmations and elaborations." Figure 1 below demonstrates an example

Figure 1 Cumulative talk (consensus)

Researcher: "Oh, really, lesson study then" [repeats]; "so you're working in threes..."

Teacher: "Yeah, right" [confirms]; "what we did was..." [elaborates]

Researcher: "That's interesting; great. Back in the late Eighties we called it Enterprise Learning and when we worked in threes what we did was..." [elaborates]

Teacher: "Really? That's more like action research then; isn't it?" [confirms]

from the recent research consultancy project with the Adastra Primary Partnership (Luby 2016).

Exploratory talk is characterised by statements and suggestions being offered for joint consideration and these may be challenged and counterchallenged, but challenges are justified and alternative hypotheses are offered (Mercer, 1995) – an example is outlined below in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Exploratory talk (constructive criticism)

Teacher: "Don't you think, though, that our form of lesson study is better because it is less threatening?" [joint consideration]

Researcher: "I have to disagree.
I reckon that it (Enterprise
Learning) gave us a more
systematic approach, more
rigorous understanding about our
teaching and learning" [challenge
and justification] "Might it not be
better if you adopted this approach
in your school?" [alternative
hypothesis]

Teacher: "I can see where you're coming from; but I don't think that this would work in our school context because..." [elaborates; counter-challenges]

It is possible to envisage a model of professional conversation - whereby a mentor and mentee engaged with the transformative process of attaining Chartered Teacher status – employ the dialogic skills of cumulative talk and exploratory talk. Figure 3 below depicts a fictional example.

Figure 3 CTeach status

Mentor: "And, so, tell me again; where did that idea come from?" [repetition – consensus]

CTeach candidate: "Well, remember when you recommended that I read Alex Moore's Teaching and Learning: Pedagogy, Curriculum and Culture?" [joint consideration – exploratory]

Mentor: "Uh huh." [confirmation – consensus]

CTeach candidate: "I found his discussion of Bruner's work to be really helpful".

Mentor: "In what way?" [challenge – exploratory]

CTeach candidate: "Well, it was the bit where he talked about spiralling."

Mentor: "What do you mean by that?" [challenge – exploratory]

CTeach candidate: "Well, it's this idea of continually going back to previous learning following on from new learning and new experience. This new stuff makes you re-think old concepts and understandings..." [elaboration – consensus]

Mentor: "So, the old ideas and concepts are no longer valuable." [challenge – exploratory]

CTeach candidate: "Oh no; I disagree." [counter-challenge – exploratory] "It was the old concepts about behaviourism and curriculum design – you know, Skinner – that helped me better understand Bruner." [justification – exploratory] "And, I mean, that tribute thing to Vic Kelly. What was it? 'Curriculum arguments from 35 years ago are still relevant today.' That's so true."

There is some richness with this conversation and suggestions of growth in the mentee's professional knowledge. Of course, it is difficult to avoid the criticism of "Schon's... distinction between 'espoused theory' [what teachers say they do] and 'theory in action' [what they actually and observably do]..." (Cordingley & Goodwyn, 2016: 26). Nonetheless,

heeding the advice of Hill (2008: 92) to "... develop the transcript as a negotiated, annotated document ... [should] ensure the researcher's interpretations are grounded in the actual lived experience."

When contemplating accreditation for the award of Chartered Teacher status, the Chartered College of Teaching may wish to consider the use of professional conversations that are directed towards the dialogic skills of cumulative talk and exploratory talk. Teachers welcome an opportunity to talk about their craft, but these opportunities are, sadly, too rare. But an empathetic, honest conversation can reveal much of the tacit, implicit beliefs and practices that underpin classroom teaching in today's busy world. And through recording, transcription and negotiated annotation, such dialogue may merit consideration as a means to attain the professional award of Chartered Teacher status.

References

Beaven, T. (2013). Use and Reuse of OER: professional conversations with language teachers. *Journal of e-Learning and Knowledge Society.* 9(1) 59–71.

Bernstein, R.J. (1983). *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis.* Philadelphia:
University of Pennsylvania Press.

Britt M.S., Irwin K.C., Ritchie G. (2001). Professional Conversations and Professional Growth. *Journal of Mathematics Teacher Education*. 4(1) 29-53.

Brew, A. (2001). *The Nature of Research: Inquiry in Academic Contexts.* London: Routledge/Falmer.

Campbell, C. (2016). Supporting Teachers as a Profession of Knowledge Developers and Mobilisers. *Education Today* 66.2, Summer 2016, 5-20. Cordingley, C. and Goodwyn, A. (2016). The Future Status of Teaching at The College of Teaching: the Potential of Chartered Teacher Status. *Education Today* 66.2, Summer 2016, 21-45.

Gilroy, P. (1993). Reflections on Schon, an epistemological critique. In P. Gilroy, & M. Smith (Eds.) *International analysis of teacher education*. London: Carfax.

Hill, Y. (2008). *Doing, Undoing and Redoing: a feminist study of teachers' professional identities.* Unpublished EdD thesis. Keele University.

Leonard, S.N. (2012). Professional Conversations: Mentor Teachers' Theories-in-Use Using the Australian National Professional Standards for Teachers. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 37(12) 46-62.

Lieberman, A. & Miller, L. (2001).

Teachers caught in the action:

Professional development that matters.

New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Luby, A. (2010). Scottish chartered teachers as researchers: collegiality and transformation. *Education Today* 60.4, Winter 2010, 12-16.

Luby, A. (2016). *Poverty and Closing the Gap:* Adastra Research Consultancy Projects. Lincoln: Bishop Grosseteste University.

McFarlane, A. (2016). Editorial. *Education Today* 66.2, Summer 2016.

Mercer, N. (1995). The Guided Construction of Knowledge: Talk Amongst Teachers and Learners. Cleveden, Avon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Pieper, J. (1966). *The Four Cardinal Virtues*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Pring R. (2000). *Philosophy of Educational Research*. London: Continuum.

Richardson, V. (1997). Constructivist teacher education: Building a world of new understandings. London: The Falmer Press.

Schuck, S., Aubusson, P., Buchanan, J. (2008). Enhancing teacher education practice through professional learning conversations. *European Journal of Teacher Education*. 31 (2) 215-227.

Scottish Government (2009). Standard for Chartered Teacher. Edinburgh: GTCS.

Sharples, J. (2013). Evidence for the Frontline. London: Alliance for Useful Evidence [online]. Available from: http://www.alliance4usefulevidence. org/assets/EVIDENCE-FOR-THE-FRONTLINE-FINAL-5-June-2013.pdf [Accessed 27 June 2016].

Stenhouse, L. (1980). What counts as research? Draft paper. Centre for Applied Research in Education: University of East Anglia.

Tillema, H. and Orland-Barak, L. (2006). Constructing knowledge in professional conversations: The role of beliefs on knowledge and knowing. *Learning and Instruction.* 16 (2006) 592-608.

ANTONY LUBY is a Chartered Teacher and Fellow of the College of Teachers. A highly experienced teacher-researcher for thirty years, he served as a research impact assessor with the Research Excellence Framework 2014. Since then he has been establishing research-based networks and partnerships across the East Midlands in his role as Senior Lecturer Teacher Development with Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln.

GOOD TO GREAT: A STORY OF SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT IN DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS

PROFESSOR SONIA BLANDFORD Founder and CEO, Achievement for All

The challenges faced by school leaders in disadvantaged communities are well documented (Day, 2014). Leaders in poor communities face persistent challenges, apply multi-strategies with greater intensity to address the challenges and employ a wider range of personal skills than their colleagues in more advantaged areas. In essence, the particular skills of effective school leaders in disadvantaged communities can be different and more complex than those used by effective leaders in more advantaged areas (Day *et al.*, 2011). The article explores, through case studies of two primary schools, how with the right approach schools in poor communities can turn themselves around to achieve beyond national expectations for their pupils. Findings show the importance of strong leadership, a shared vision, staff training and development, a focus on high quality teaching, parent engagement and partnerships with other schools and within the wider community.

Greatness is not a function of circumstance. Greatness, it turns out, is largely a matter of conscious choice and discipline. (Source: Collins, 2001)

The challenges faced by school leaders in disadvantaged communities are well documented (Day, 2014). More recent research, exploring the impact of school leadership on pupil outcomes, showed that leaders in poor communities face persistent challenges, apply multi-strategies with greater intensity to address the challenges and employ a wider range of personal skills than their colleagues in more advantaged areas. In addition, they are more likely to have pupil behaviour, motivation and attendance issues. In essence, the particular skills of effective school leaders in disadvantaged communities can be different and more complex than those used by effective leaders in more advantaged areas (Day et al., 2011). The Teacher Standards underline the importance of professional development and the need for this to be prioritised by school leaders (DfE, 2016). High quality staff training, including mechanisms for staff self-improvement, is certainly a key element of change and is reflected in the approach of the schools considered in this article. Through case studies of two primary schools, the article explores how, with the right approach, schools in poor communities can turn

themselves around to achieve beyond national expectations for their pupils. Both schools are situated in one of the 10% of most deprived neighbourhoods in England.

Hollymount Primary School, Worcester

Hollymount Primary School in Worcester achieves well above the national average in reading, writing and maths for its pupils. A larger than average school with 308 pupils on roll, 56% of pupils are eligible for free school meals (FSM), with 20% identified as having Special Educational Needs (SEN) (at School Action Plus or with a Statement). Hollymount was rated 'good' by Ofsted in 2012 and converted to an academy in June 2014. In the same year, pupils from disadvantaged families performed better in maths than their more advantaged peers and almost as well in reading and writing. In 2010, Ofsted had rated the school 'satisfactory'. So how did it turn itself around?

Leading improvement

Hollymount is characterised by strong leadership through the head teacher and senior leadership team. High expectations are communicated well across the school, ownership of which is shared by all staff. Through performance management, linked to the School Development Plan, teachers have a specific focus on the progress of

learners within each class. They have termly meetings with their manager to measure progress towards their targets and discuss any additional support they need to promote learning within the class. Teaching assistants also have performance management and continuing professional development in order to provide outstanding support. The special educational needs coordinator (SENCO) works alongside class teachers to track any vulnerability to underachievement for all pupils which means that barriers are quickly identified and the school can act swiftly to put provision in place. Children from socio-economically disadvantaged families make outstanding progress.

Weekly phase (Early Years Foundation Stage, Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2) meetings are used to monitor all progress across the curriculum. Teachers set an agenda which requires precision in tracking success and carefully planning provision for all children. In addition, formal pupil progress meetings take place each half term between class teachers and the senior leadership team with a focus on each child to identify and work to remove barriers to learning. Teachers feel confident in their professional roles and in supporting the moderation in other schools on a termly basis. The school has moved away from more traditional lesson observations and instead views progress over time. This involves book looks (English,

Good to great 7

Maths, Science and curriculum topics); planning moderation; learning walks and pupil voice activities.

Improved pupil outcomes through high quality teaching and learning

The school encourages sharing of good teaching and learning both between teachers and with other schools. This process has been enhanced through effective use of technology. Teachers use Iris (a video-based professional learning platform), iPads and other recording devices to capture their own classroom practice. They study parts of their lessons during their weekly phase meetings (EYFS, KS1 and KS2) with a specific focus on how it impacts on a child or a group of children. This enables teachers to choose how much of their lesson is seen and gives them the confidence to analyse their own teaching style. It has resulted in an increase in staff trying new teaching techniques, without the fear of 'failing' a formal lesson observation.

The school has just introduced a 'matched learning' initiative (matching teaching styles to pupil learning), which is showing positive results. To enhance this, a system of 'flipped learning' is used where teachers record a sequence of teaching on an iPad giving access to other teachers within the school. The development of 'matched learning,' at its best, is supporting all children to make strong progress and have a clear understanding of what they are doing well and what their next steps are. Teachers set their expectations high and scaffold support for pupils in different ways to enable them to meet those expectations. When moderating with other local cluster schools, staff from Hollymount have been able to talk about how they have successfully facilitated progress within a lesson for all learners and have given advice on the teachers' role, timings, learner independence and feedback; all of which are aspects of 'matched learning'.

The use of interventions is not common at Hollymount. The school has a policy of supporting and encouraging whole class teaching, only using interventions when it is considered necessary for a child. Consequently, interventions are kept short (maximum of ten weeks) and children are monitored throughout by diagnostic testing (as part of the intervention) and also on how the intervention is affecting them on their immediate return to class. The aim of 'matched learning' is to immediately target misconceptions and barriers as they happen, reducing the need for interventions unless there is a specific, underlying special educational needs and disability (SEND).

All children put forward for an intervention are discussed with the class teacher, the parent, the SENCO and the senior leadership team; numerical data is considered. Information is also shared with governors as part of the SEND termly report to governors. As with all wave two or three support, any child receiving an intervention will be given an Individual Provision Map (IPM) which clearly demonstrates the effectiveness of the support by a RAG (red-amber-green) rating system. This has also meant that is it easy to see which interventions a child has already received when considering next steps. This particular approach has resulted in accelerated progress for children receiving an intervention.

Focus sheets are used to inform teacher planning as well as assessment and have also worked well to make communications between teacher and teaching assistants clearer. Completed focus sheets are used as part of moderation to show how learning is taking place. Through the focus sheets, teachers plan for and work with teaching assistants effectively; teaching assistants effectively assess children's progress within the lesson and provide accurate and detailed feedback to teachers. Time is allocated for class teams to meet and discuss learning. Teachers feel well supported in the classroom and are given time to plan strategically with teaching assistants each week.

The changes in the primary curriculum meant that staff had the opportunity to develop new long-term plans,

policies and also adapt the way that these transfer into units and shortterm plans. The senior leadership team (SLT) and middle leaders monitor all plans to ensure they deliver the agerelated objectives and that what is being planned for, is being learned. Consequently, a planning scrutiny includes a sample of work from across the class, teaching assistant (TA) focus sheets and pupil voice activities as well as the plans for the particular unit of work. Matched learning feeds into this well as it provides instant feedback with assessment opportunities within each lesson and teachers can alter their daily planning accordingly. One effect of matched learning is that set groupings of children are used less frequently; this allows for a more fluid movement of challenge across the classroom as children reach understanding at different points. This has resulted in greater independent learning in children.

88% of children in the school are affected by multiple deprivation factors which has led to low aspirations within the wider community and has also meant that a large proportion of parents do not have positive memories of being at school. As a response to this, the school holds an 'aspiration' week each year where the key driver is 'achieve success'; this theme underpins all educational and wider endeavour at Hollymount. A few years ago, the overall resilience of children at the school was very low, making aspirational target setting unachievable for some of them. Teachers and the senior leadership team identified a number of reasons for this, including socio-demographic factors that led to low self-esteem. In response the school introduced 'mistake' assemblies on a regular basis where all children could learn to see errors and mistakes as opportunities to improve. At the same time Hollymount started 'class gardening' where each class had a patch of land and a season to grow something in; this was shared with other classes in the school. Language was changed from 'wrong' to 'improvement needed.' House and class competitions were introduced, where resilience was sometimes valued over product. As children's resilience began to build, they

became more independent and as they began to challenge themselves, teachers could extend their targets.

Pupil voice activities - including learning discussions with the senior leadership team on learning walks, pupil questionnaires, pupil interviews and feedback within work - form a big part of the school's approach. Recent pupil voice activities demonstrate that at least 95% of pupils enjoy their lessons. The school focuses on enabling children to take responsibility in their learning. Subsequently, all topics begin with finding out what the children want to learn. This is recorded and visible to the children. The class then works together to find the answers to their questions. At the end of a unit, children refer back to their questions to see that they have learned what they wanted to. This has been successful in engaging pupils and has led to significantly improved outcomes. Children in each class create their own learning journey as a record of their achievements.

Parent engagement in their children's learning

Hollymount had been keen for a number of years to involve parents in their children's learning; formal meetings had not worked. The school then introduced barbeques, football matches (staff vs parents), bingo nights, raffles, massage times, coffee mornings and other evening events aimed at parents. As parents began to attend these events, they started to relax in the school setting. This provided the foundation for further development, with parents being invited to talent shows, plays and whole-school trips. This approach led to the development of workshops. family learning, Year 2 and Year 6 SATs preparation meetings, reading at home workshops, speech and language therapy (SALT) workshops and SEND coffee mornings for parents to meet professionals.

It was at this point that the school was able to address issues and begin to form an effective partnership. Parents now identify the school as a place of safety, not only for their children but for also for themselves. Many of the parents give credit to the school for enabling them to gain education and experience, leading to employment.

Increased parental engagement has enthused and motivated the children within our school; simply seeing that their parents value education is enough for many children to engage more fully in school life.

An additional challenge for the school was the lack of literacy skills amongst many parents, along with limited life experiences. To help address this, children and parents were invited to come into the school library; the four words: 'aspiration,' 'success' and 'pride' were displayed. Parents and children were invited to add examples of what they meant using post-itnotes (with a scribe for those parents who could not write). At the end of the evening, three of the four words had examples or meanings attached to them but 'aspirations' was left completely blank. The activity reflected what the school already thought; that for many children and parents, aspirations were not only low but in some cases, non-existent. Workshops were developed to support parents in supporting their children in academic progress as well as in aspirational life choices.

Hollymount's success in engaging parents is largely attributed to the approach developed through the Achievement for All framework. The structured conversation model employed within the *Achievement* for All framework enables teachers to better engage with parents and parents to better engage with the school. The structured conversation between the teachers, parent and, if appropriate, the child - provides the time and space for parents to discuss their aspirations for their child, their interests and their learning. Employed by schools for identified children initially (those with SEND, Pupil Premium children and others vulnerable to underachievement), many schools roll out this model for all pupils and parents.

Through the structured approach, parents are involved in setting targets for their children's learning and teachers get to know the children better, adapting classroom teaching to meet their needs. The structured conversation, for which teachers are trained, enables them to take greater responsibility for pupil learning (Humphrey and Squires, 2011).

Supporting participation, enjoyment and achievement of pupils

Attendance of pupils is closely monitored not only within the school day but also for extra-curricular activities: clubs, plays and trips. If there is a recurring absence in any of these areas, the senior leadership team looks into why this happening. For example, one child was not given parental permission to attend school trips. A member of the senior leadership team had a discussion with the parent about this. It was realised that her financial situation had changed; but rather than inform the school, the mother had simply denied permission for her child to attend. The school explained how it would support the family financially and have since used Pupil Premium money to pay for the child to attend all extra school events. Another commonly found pattern was that of children with typically poor attendance failing to attend after-school clubs or events such as discos, talent shows etc. This has been overcome by providing care for these children at school until the event starts. The school is currently over-subscribed for all clubs and has a continually rising attendance percentage both within the normal school day as well as at events, trips and clubs.

Low self-esteem in children has been a challenge in schools which reflected the children's aspirations of themselves and those around them. By working closely with the Educational Psychologist (EP) a variety of strategies to boost self-esteem throughout the school were developed, the aim being to give children enough confidence to be proud of themselves. That is one of the reasons behind the key themes of the school: 'Proud to be Me' and 'Achieve Success.' The school, however, made it clear to the children what success looks and feels like, taking

every opportunity to praise children and celebrate their work publicly.

In order to measure changes in selfesteem termly, pupil questionnaires are conducted, along with school council pupil interviews and spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) interviews. Hollymount also holds a 'friendship' or 'anti-bullying' week each year and both the children and parents feel very secure in knowing what to do in this scenario. The anti-bullying policy is shared with all stakeholders and incidents of bullying are extremely rare. 95% of children surveyed know what to do if they are being bullied and the school maintains a high profile of anti-bullying through various initiatives including information about cyber-bullying.

Enterprise Week is an initiative run towards the end of each term to give children the life experiences they need to produce and market a product. It always takes place before a fete or sale and children are required to research what they think will sell well. Involved in this aspect is gathering and analysing data, and includes thinking of questions they need to ask. Next they are encouraged to estimate the cost of their product as well as predict a selling price which will encourage many sales but also yield a profit (there is a prize for the class which raises the most profit). When they have made the product, they look at advertising, including packaging, posters, filmed adverts and promotional propaganda (visiting classes to demonstrate what they have made). This has been very effective in teaching further life skills which many have then used later in life. It teaches them that effective methods are well-planned and effort goes into a sale. Most classes choose to invite parents to be a part of one of the stages and parents have reported that they enjoy making things their children have planned.

Our school is a happy place with a warm and purposeful atmosphere. Pupils enjoy school a great deal and feel safe. 95% of pupils agree strongly that they are safe in school and that behaviour in school is good. Staff are sensitive to the

personal characteristics of individual pupils and modify their approach accordingly. This results in good behaviour management and more focused learning. (Hollymount SEF, 2016)

Aldermoor Farm School, Coventry

Aldermoor Farm School is a 450-pupil primary located within the city centre providing education and family support for the local community. Ann Stacey and her team have achieved outstanding, transformational results by adopting a common sense approach to the social and educational issues that the school community faces on a daily basis. This is 'Success Against the Odds' on a truly humbling scale. Aldermoor Farm School really cares about every child and their family; staff are united in their commitment to change lives.

Throughout the school there are 46 languages spoken, with the overall percentage of children with English as an additional language at 54%. The school incorporates an Enhanced Resource Provision for eight children with autism, with an additional 137 children with Special Educational Needs. Pupil Premium allocation is high with over 54% of the pupils eligible for this funding. The local community is predominantly social housing and as a result transience within the school is high; this academic year the percentage has been 27%.

The following details seven steps that have been taken that have had a profound impact on social and educational outcomes:

- Creation of a permanent appointment of a dedicated senior leadership teacher for inclusion (a non-teaching role that supports children and their families.
- A focus on governance that has been strengthened with the appointment of two new governors. Governors have been heavily and practically involved with subject leaders throughout the year and are widening their understanding and

information about subject areas, as well as enabling subject leaders to present information to governors. The Chair of Governors has been given the role of monitoring more closely the progress of children with SEND.

- 3. Continuing Professional

 Development for all staff subject
 leaders attend regular subject
 meetings across the network to
 ensure the aspiration, access and
 achievement of all pupils. Senior,
 subject and other middle leaders
 make regular visits to classrooms to
 observe lessons and check pupils'
 work; there are a significant number
 of relevant courses for all staff.
- 4. Frequent visits and collaboration with other schools Assertive Mentoring, Tracking Pupil Progress, Outdoor Learning and Forest Schools, Achievement for All, Supporting Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) (Quality Assured by CASS), hosting half-termly Primary Head teacher inclusion meetings.
- Concentrated effort on reading, writing and maths for all children, improving writing and maths beyond national expectations.
- Partnership with families, providing food, clothing and shelter when needed.
- 7. Pupil engagement in a huge range of activities swimming, skating, farming, camping, singing, dancing, writing, leadership and more!

The impact on the school and the neighbouring community has been profound.

Aldermoor Farm Primary School is at the heart of the community and is proud to support the families within the area during challenging times. Within the last two years the school has built up a wealth of experience in supporting families. This has been achieved by assisting families to flee domestic violence; offering money, housing and immigration advice through their trained Citizens Advice pastoral team. The pastoral team is also able to issue food bank vouchers to eligible families

known to the school and the wider community.

The children at the school are supported with their non-educational needs with the assistance of intervention groups that focus on counselling, art therapy, mental health and Speech and Language Therapy. Many of the staff are trained in these areas and are able to carry out these sessions on a one-to-one basis. Members of staff have recently been trained in the Thrive approach which helps adults understand children's behaviour as communication. This approach has been used across the school.

Aldermoor Farm Primary School actively encourages children to partake in visits to theatres, museums and art galleries. Each year there is an Aspirations Week within school when professions are invited in to inspire the children when choosing their career path. The school believes that it is important that children at Aldermoor Farm have the same opportunities and experiences as children living within a more affluent area.

When school leaders follow the seven steps, invest time, resources and energy in each element - and put the children and their families first - success against the odds is possible for all children.

Conclusion

These case studies show that school leaders, teachers and support staff can have a profound impact on all children by raising their aspirations and achievements and improving their access to learning. The particular approach developed in both schools highlights the importance of effective leadership: a vision, shared and 'owned' by all staff and communicated across the school. Effective learning communities are founded on good and positive working relationships between those involved in the child's learning, development and well-being. Most notably, these relationships include the child, their parent(s) or carer(s), their teacher and support staff. School

leaders contribute to building a culture and ethos within their school that utilises the richness of the resources that exist within and beyond the educational setting, and ensure that all learning experiences are integrated into, and support, the wider community. An open culture also contributes to the development of a system that fosters and supports innovation in all areas through the sharing and dissemination of good practice.

The sustainability of partnerships (which include children, parents and carers, practitioners, other professionals and the wider community) will be dependent on the innovative practices of those involved in the learning, development and well-being of children. In summary, key factors contributing to the success of these schools include:

- leaders communicating vision to all staff often (to make change occur);
- involving staff in developing and implementing change;
- distributed leadership;
- high quality staff training, including mechanism for staff selfimprovement;
- leaders and senior leaders driving vision;
- knowing the school and wider community;
- having high expectations for children's learning;
- closely tracking pupil progress;
- analysing pupil data; and
- changing processes, practices and interventions if they are not working;
- giving staff time to discuss teaching, learning and pupil outcomes;
- leaders demonstrating a belief in changes;
- evaluating and celebrating success.

This article has demonstrated the importance of school leaders in developing the climate for change and leading improvement and the relevance of staff professional development. All pupils have the potential to make progress in school. As leaders and teachers we should ask: "If we were to shine a light on every pupil, how many

would not be able to make progress?" The answer of course is "None".

References

Blandford, S. (2016). *Take the Lead.* Woodbridge: John Catt.

Blandford, S. and Knowles, C. (2013). *Achievement for All: Raising Aspirations, access and achievement.* London: Bloomsbury.

Collins, J. (2001). *Good to Great: why some companies make the leap ... and other do not.* London: Random House.

Day, C. (2014). Resilient principals in challenging schools: the courage and costs of conviction, Teachers and Teaching. 20:5, 638-654

Day, C., Sammons, P., Leithwood, K., Hopkins, D., Gu, Q., Brown, E., & Ahtaridou, E. (2011). *School leadership and student outcomes: Building and sustaining success.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Department for Education (2016). Standard for Teachers' Professional Development. London: DfE.

Humphrey, N. and Squires, G. (2011). *Achievement for All: National Evaluation Final Report*. Nottingham: DfE.

PROFESSOR SONIA BLANDFORD is the founder and CEO of Achievement for All. In addition to this, Sonia is a leading practitioner of education within the voluntary, community, charity and public sectors with over 30 years' experience. She has founded, co-founded and led eight educational charities. Sonia was director of research and leadership at Teach First. She is a former pro-vice chancellor and dean in education and is currently professor of education and social enterprise at the London Centre for Leadership in Learning at the Institute of Education London and Honorary Professor of Education at the University of Warwick.

CHANGING STUDENT BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOLS LOCATED IN AREAS OF SOCIOECONOMIC DEPRIVATION: FINDINGS FROM THE 'COASTAL ACADEMIES' PROJECT

Dr ROWENA PASSY, Plymouth Institute of Education, Plymouth University DR TANYA OVENDEN-HOPE, Director of Education, The Cornwall College, UK

Ofsted (Ofsted, 2013; see also Weale, 2014), the government regulator of standards in education for England, identified a link between student performance and 'deprived coastal towns', with a realisation that these areas have "felt little impact from national initiatives designed to drive up the standards for the poorest children" (Ofsted, 2013). Having recognised locality as a factor in school performance in research undertaken on coastal academies in 2010 (a longitudinal study of one coastal secondary (school age 11-18) academy), extensions to the research resulted in a comparative analysis of six underperforming coastal secondary schools that had converted to academy status by 2010 under the Labour Government's academies agenda (realised through the Education Act of 2002) to support 'nationally challenged' schools in tackling educational inequality.

In our research we qualitatively examined the ways in which our coastal academies approached the task of changing their predecessor schools' culture of under-performance. All six schools were located in coastal regions of high socio-economic disadvantage, including high levels of unemployment, limited parental involvement in their children's education and low parental and young people's aspirations. This paper identifies that behaviour is managed on three levels in the coastal academies – school, classroom and individual (Swinson, 2010) – through diverse and locally appropriate strategies. By putting student needs foremost these 'first wave' coastal academies managed and improved young people's behaviour in the classroom.

Introduction

Managing and improving young people's behaviour in the classroom is an ongoing issue that has serious implications for children's and young people's learning and educational performance. It arouses passionate debate, and has prompted the last three governments to appoint 'behaviour gurus' (Mason, 2015), is frequently reported in the media as a serious problem in schools (e.g. Adams, 2015; Paton, 2014), and has spawned a vast range of literature from a variety of perspectives (e.g. Cowley, 2010; Unison, 2015; Grundy and Blandford, 1999), with much of the latter aimed at supporting teachers in their daily classroom practice. Reasons behind poor learning behaviour, however, are complex, and there is no easy 'quick fix' that transforms a class of perhaps disengaged and/or apathetic students into model learners. In this paper, we draw on our research in six 'first wave' secondary academies to show how school leaders in highly deprived coastal areas around England have tackled the issue of motivating their young people to learn, thereby reducing the levels and impact of

challenging behaviour that interrupt learning.

Research context

Introduced in the Education Act of 2002 by the Labour government, 'first wave' academies were intended to bring private-sector entrepreneurial approaches to education together with the public sector aims of tackling educational inequalities and contributing to community regeneration. An important feature emphasised by the government was that academies were independent from the local authority (LA - local administrative bodies); they were managed by a team of independent co-sponsors, and theoretically had greater freedom to introduce innovative ideas and practices. Groups of academies have subsequently been able to become 'multi-academy trusts' (MATs), in which one trust - or organisation - has become responsible for the management and performance of a number of academies; most MATs include between one and three academies, although 51 MATs are responsible for more than ten schools (Andrews, 2016). By 1 January

2016, 5,096 schools in England had academy status. The belief was that these structural changes would lead to substantial improvement in student outcomes as measured by examination scores.

In practice, however, academies' autonomy has limitations; although they can educate students in the way that they believe is most appropriate. they still have to comply with national policy demands in terms of student attainment and inspection requirements. Academies are also highly controversial; for those on the political right, academies are seen as a means to increase choice within the education system by promoting innovation and injecting new freedoms, energy and ideas (Chapman, 2013), while for those on the left, academies are regarded as a form of privatisation of the education service that will lead to greater social segregation (Machin and Vernoit, 2011). In addition, and despite some 'impressive results' in turning round the examination performance of some academies in particularly challenging circumstances (Chapman, 2013, p.336), academies have had mixed results: recent

12 Education Today Vol 66 No 3

research reports by the Education Policy Institute (Andrews, 2016) and the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER; Worth, 2016) found high levels of variability in performance in both multi-academy trusts and LA schools, with NFER's research stating that "Academy status explains very little of the between-school variation in student progress" (Worth, 2016, p.vii).

Nonetheless the key objectives of the first-wave academies were to:

- challenge the culture of educational under-attainment;
- produce improvements in standards, thereby helping to break the cycle of underachievement in areas of social and economic deprivation;
- play a key part in the regeneration of communities by sharing their expertise and facilities with other schools and the wider community (Woods et al., 2007: 239).

Our research began as a longitudinal study of one school in a coastal area that was one of the last to convert to academy status during the Labour administration. The aims of the study were to follow the journey of staff and students in the school as they responded to the far-reaching policy demands of conversion, and to explore the impact of the policy as leaders inevitably faced new and exacting challenges in a fast-moving educational environment. Studying the experiences of a coastal academy was particularly important, as schools in coastal areas (i.e. located in seaside towns/cities) have a range of issues similar to those of inner-city schools but have been relatively neglected in terms of policy strategy and research (Weale, 2014). We were able to access additional funding in 2012 to extend the research to two further coastal academies, and again in 2014 to a total of six. This article reports on findings from data collected from these wider 'coastal academies' projects involving a total of six schools. All six academies were failing schools at the time of conversion, and all appointed new, experienced Principals at the time of conversion to turn the failing school around.

Research design

The methods used for the wider research were, first, to study each academy's publicly-available data to provide context for the research, and then to visit each of the three academies in 2012 and six academies in 2014 for one day, in which we:

- interviewed the principal and/ or a senior leader to understand strategic priorities, challenges and successes:
- interviewed a sample of four teachers to gain a range of different views on the impact of the measures undertaken each year;
- requested relevant documentation such as the academy improvement plan and organisational structure.

All six academies were located in coastal regions with high levels of poverty and deprivation, with students' employment prospects on leaving school generally seasonal and/or lowwage; there were few professional or manufacturing opportunities, largely because of the long-term decline in labour-intensive jobs such as fishing, shipyards and docks. Local communities were reported as having multi-generational low or unemployment, and poor experiences of education had in some cases developed into a 'low-trust' culture towards the educational process; education was seen by some to have had little positive impact upon their own life chances and/or to have been a difficult experience at the time. It was partly for these reasons that four of the six academies reported significant challenges with student behaviour, and we report on the measures taken by these academies below. At the time of their interviews, staff from the remaining two academies had relatively little to report on this issue; their interviews were generally concerned with the more immediate challenges of school amalgamation together with the structural

reorganisation and staff redundancies that they were experiencing at the time.

The complexity of challenging behaviour

Interviewees recognised ways in which levels of poverty and deprivation affected student behaviour, and several commented on the difficulty of young people's lives in these areas. The impact of poverty on children's education and life chances is well known: poverty is associated with higher rates of chronic illness and disability, partly through the effects of living in poor or insecure housing (CPAG, 2016); evidence from England shows that around one in ten children and young people aged between five and 16 suffer from a diagnosable mental health disorder, and that around 80,000 children and young people suffer from severe depression (Young Minds, 2016). Young people growing up in poverty have fewer opportunities to go on trips, and may not be able to afford the necessary books or materials for their studies, all of which can affect their ability to concentrate and their performance at school (NUT, 2015). Research has also shown that nourishing school food can help improve children's behaviour and attainment (e.g. Orme et al., 2011; Teeman et al., 2011), suggesting that poor diet can also be a contributory factor to challenging behaviour.

The link between poverty, learning and challenging behaviour, however, is not necessarily straightforward; there is also research that provides evidence that the current school accountability measures of highstakes testing and the more academic curriculum, introduced from 2014. have contributed to "disaffection and poor behaviour among some students" (Hutchings, 2015, p.5). At the same time, we know that behaviour varies between schools, and that this depends on factors within the school such as the quality of school leadership, quality of teaching and a framework of clear and fair rules (Swinson, 2010). As we have seen, two of the academies

visited reported few difficulties with their students' behaviour and, in others, some interviewees commented that students in their previous schools exhibited less challenging behaviour despite the schools' location in poorer areas.

The influence of school catchment area/locality on behaviour

As a first step in understanding and addressing behaviour-related issues, teachers and school leaders interviewed commented that it was important to know the catchment area or locality that the school served. One described the extent to which location and community culture influenced the measures that were taken within the school:

There are similarities [between schools] ... you know, the demographics and that, but every one, they're always different. They're always based in a community ... The local community, the local culture has a big say in how you run things. Your response to that. (Senior leader)

Teachers and leaders from different academies offered different analyses of their local situation:

... as redundancies kicked in, there's more and more and more families that haven't worked for years and years, and we're getting them kids [in the academy] ... [We have] this second generation, in some instances third generation, of parents that get by ... with not working, with not getting an education and not seeing the benefit of getting an education. (Teacher)

Another reported that:

So there's a lot of child protection and safeguarding issues ... Big, often groups of, self-harming so it's a big issue, bullying ... [Students] just can't get along with each other for very long and create positive relationships, so we spend a lot of time on that ... They really, really

struggle with social relationships. *(Senior leader)*

A third described how local primary schools managed, rather than 'dealt with' poor behaviour:

I think primary schools will ... manage behaviour but they don't deal with it ... We know that with behaviour issues that have been managed but not dealt with. In a small school environment they can manage that quite well but once it gets to this level, and you get all of those behaviours from five different primary schools, all in one year group, that's quite a challenge. (Senior leader)

The point here is that this type of knowledge allowed leaders and teachers to address educational and behavioural issues within the context of their students' lives and the type of education they experienced in primary school. Teachers and leaders from all six academies reported that engaging their students with learning was a challenge - not all students saw the 'point' in education, for whatever reason - but, as we can see from the teachers' and leaders' comments above, this lack of engagement took different forms and needed different approaches to encourage students to learn, participate in school life and behave appropriately in the school environment.

A three-level approach to managing behaviour

All leaders reported a diverse approach to behaviour management strategies, but all worked at three levels - school, classroom and individual (Swinson, 2010). All saw the issues of engaging students with learning and their behaviour as closely linked; all aimed to raise the quality of teaching and learning to engage students more effectively and to support teachers and support staff with behaviour management techniques in the classroom. An important, connected aim was to widen students' horizons by providing them with new experiences;

to excite them about learning new things and to show them other potential careers and opportunities. The long-term aim for all these academies was effecting a culture change towards one in which students not only wanted to learn but took responsibility for their learning, knowing that it would enable them to make informed choices in the future.

School level strategies

The learning environment in the predecessor schools was reported in two ways; some spoke of an ethos of 'apathy and failure', while others reported that 'the kids ruled the school', either by missing lessons, being physically destructive through activities such as breaking windows and lighting fires, or by intimidating staff:

My first week, I was called on call down to the Science department. Three Year 11 classes all refusing to go into their classroom. So 80 students all stood on a corridor, big lads ... [and] three teachers just not having any idea what to do. (Senior leader)

In the latter academies, the immediate priority was to create a sense of order within the school which was achieved in a variety of different and often complementary ways, although all academies employed some of the following whole-school strategies:

 Ensuring parents were aware of how the new academy was to be run:

The local context of the community [was] very, very challenging, and [parents] can be quite aggressive in their "This is our need, this is what we want and who are you to....". And so ... [the Principal] took people head on and explained, always very politely, that "No, this is what we're doing and this is why we're doing it. And yes, you might think that, but this is still what we're doing and why we're doing it". (Senior leader).

- Ensuring parents knew about their children's difficult behaviour, and challenging them to 'take responsibility' and 'at least help us' was an important aspect of this approach in one academy.
- Having clear expectations of student behaviour and a clear sanction system. These included:
 - Set procedures for all aspects of the school day, with careful regard to the 'flow' of students around the school and noting (then changing) potential flash points for challenging behaviour such as the lunchtime queue.
 - One school incorporated a behaviour PowerPoint presentation at the start of every lesson for at least the first year following conversion to academy status. This included information on matters such as jewellery, hair styles, uniform and shoes, together with the sanctions for non-compliance and the reasons behind the rules.
 - Ensuring students stayed on campus at lunch-time, and shortening the lunch break to 30 minutes.
 - Banning social media from the campus; delivering lessons and assemblies on e-safety.
 - Introducing a new uniform so that students 'believed that they were smart'.

 Three academies had strict rules regarding uniform to encourage this kind of ethos although one reported that, in rural and isolated schools, insisting on uniform details could be counter-productive:

'The only thing about uniform is that it can lead to conflict and if you're a school in a position where you have other schools they [students] can move to easily, you can do that. We're not in that position. It's either this school or a long bus ride. So unless you want to be driving

- people out every day, it's difficult being that strict with uniform. But I think it works in cities'. (Teacher)
- Framing detention as 'study support' for those who have not completed their work to encourage a positive approach to the extra time spent in school.
- Regular appraisal and reappraisal of all strategies to ensure that they were having the desired effect; changing the system if not.
- Discipline with dignity. This approach meant that teachers and support staff did not shout because students were likely to shout louder and swear more creatively than staff. In addition, shouting was seen to have a limited effect:

'Some of our young people are not equipped emotionally to be able to deal with conflict, to manage conflict; the way they see conflict managed at home is through violence, aggression, and shouting, and that's the model that they use. There's no point shouting at some of our kids ... it just doesn't work'. (Senior leader)

Negative feedback from staff and sanctions were delivered as far as possible in less public spaces to avoid developing a visible group of students who were 'always in detention'; positive referrals supported students who were behaving and/or learning well.

- Reward systems. These generally took two forms:
- Achievement merits that led to different levels of reward, such as going straight to the front of the lunch queue or a reduction in cost for a trip.
- An end of term attendance reward trip for students with a record of attendance that reached a certain percentage, and a formal appeals

- procedure for those who believed their absence was justified. In some cases, the students selected the trip destinations.
- Widening students' horizons. The aim here was to expose students to new experiences so that they would be curious about the world, understand some of the choices they could make in the future and learn in a variety of different approaches to life. One senior leader commented that "We'll just grab anything that makes a difference and kind of excites the kids" as a route to engaging them with learning behaviours. Opportunities included:
- School trips to places such as the Globe Theatre, the London Dungeon, Hampton Court, universities and residential outdoor learning centres; international trips to places such as Auschwitz and Disneyland. In one academy it 'took a while' before the trips became popular, but by the time of the 2014 research visit, staff reported that they were always fully booked.
- International school partnerships that enabled exchange trips in both directions.
- One academy employed students from a local independent (feepaying) school in the year between finishing their examinations and entering university. One group of these students swam the British channel during their placement, which was seen to provide 'inspiration' to academy students.
- Running successful sports clubs with teams that competed up to county level; improving sports facilities through, for example, a full-sized 3G pitch and encouraging local community groups to use it.
- Introducing a wide range of extracurricular clubs focusing on areas such as dance, hairdressing,
 Japanese and Manga.
- Offering regular career information, advice and guidance, so that students were aware of what they

needed to achieve academically if they wanted to pursue a particular career.

 Ensuring all data systems, such as SISRA analytics, functioned effectively to give teachers the information they need to support student behaviour. This was complemented by ensuring a consistent approach to behaviour across the school and by regular continuing professional development to support inclusive, high-quality teaching to engage students with their learning.

Participating academies reported that these measures enabled an atmosphere that was calmer and more purposeful than in the early days of the new academy and that, as these measures took effect, they could encourage students to develop their soft skills, make positive contributions to the school routine and feel increasingly valued both as individuals and members of school community. As one senior leader commented:

You've got to have order in a school like this because if you don't have order, you've got nothing. The staff can't teach. So [to start with] it was about order, discipline, care. (Senior leader)

Classroom and individual level strategies

There was a similar approach at classroom and individual levels, with the aim of ensuring a coherent approach across the school that gave students stability and a sense of safety. As behaviour improved, so students were encouraged to become more responsible in their attitudes to learning and 'to learn for them, rather than [teachers] forcing them to learn' (Senior leader); in turn, this helped to improve general levels of behaviour although, as senior leaders regularly commented, high-quality teaching was of the utmost importance:

The quality of what you provide in the classroom [is linked]

16

to the behaviour outcomes of the students; there's a clear relationship there. (Senior leader)

Measures at these levels were sometimes of the 'poacher turned gamekeeper' variety, in which previously challenging young people were given positions of responsibility which they then took seriously. Importantly, this type of measure was underpinned by a change in culture towards one in which learning and behaving well were seen as increasingly acceptable to a greater number of students. Actions included:

 Appointing prefects, a head boy and a head girl:

> You couldn't have introduced prefects and head boy and head girl three years ago; they would have been pilloried. It wasn't the culture of the school to want to aspire to do anything else than sit at the back of the classroom and be, you know, a little bit the clown or, you know, rude, etc. So that's quite a big step forward that we felt we were able to do that ... In fact, our current head boy, he's a particularly adept poacher that's become game-keeper but a fantastic role model for the rest of the school because he's turned, he's changed. (Senior leader)

- Encouraging student voice through conduits such as a Young Leaders Group. In one academy students designed a new curriculum around spiritual, moral, social and cultural development that, as a senior leader commented, has really benefited the academy because the students feel it's their subject ... so they will go with it. (Senior leader)
- Introducing 'behaviour for learning' champions who were trained to help within the classroom, for example in familiarising supply teachers with academy processes and procedures. Staff reported that these were often students who

have had behaviour problems in the past.

 Introducing lead students/ ambassadors to undertake break time duties and/or to meet and greet visitors; expanding this scheme to include peer mentoring for all ages.

All positions had a formal application process.

These positions and initiatives were complemented by schemes tailored to individual students in the following ways:

- University academy sponsors encouraged English and maths undergraduate students to mentor academy students.
- Business sponsor employees mentored academy students.
- A business sponsor organised work experience in local businesses for students experiencing difficulty at school. A senior leader provided an example of how this could work:

[Two students] did a ten-week block in the call centre and they were very difficult in lessons, we had to take them out of lessons in here and they went in there, they did that block. And it just was a wake-up call. They went into the call centre and realised you couldn't shout across, it was all quiet and they didn't like it ... When they came back, they just said ... "We'll behave, we'll go back in!" And they both went back in, absolutely no problem, and they'll probably get five A-Cs with English and Maths. (Senior leader)

Other local businesses ran joint projects with this academy to offer more students a taste of the world of work.

 One academy worked with the Ministry of Defence to establish a combined Cadet Force on the school site, which "we think will be good for order, discipline, routines, careers ... it's a hook in for a different kind of child". (Senior leader)

Finally, all these academies recognised that other, more intensive, provision was needed for a minority of students who needed further support during their time at secondary school. Systems included assigning a key adult to each student in the academy; a behaviour for learning zone for students with significant difficulties; a Specialist Leader of Education for behaviour; the appointment of non-teaching welfare officers; employing an anti-bullying counsellor for one day a week; and training support staff in behaviour management strategies. Once again, all academies emphasised the importance of consistency in their approach to learning and behaviour management across the school so that students felt secure, valued and cared for.

Conclusion

The coastal schools in our research were 'first wave' academies, located in areas of high socio-economic deprivation, inter-generational unemployment and low parental engagement. They were 'national challenge' schools that converted to academy status and engaged new school leaders to help them tackle student underachievement. These schools faced significant student behaviour challenges on becoming academies and implemented a range of strategies at three levels – school, classroom and individual - to manage and improve the student behaviour. Each coastal academy effected a change in student culture towards one in which behaviour for learning and achieving became increasingly acceptable.

All of the school leaders demonstrated a determination to show students that they were valued and that their efforts to change things were related to improving future life chances. The underpinning moral purpose behind the new culture for behaviour and learning within these coastal academies was summed up by one school leader, who

clearly articulated that education is all about what students need to transform their lives:

I think a good head teacher needs a very clear moral purpose. They need to be convinced that what they do changes the lives of people, and I think that if people have that moral purpose the job becomes an exciting challenge ... [Staff] can see it's about children, it's about individual fortunes. It's not about them, the teachers. It's about what the students need. (Senior leader)

References

Adams, R. (2015) Schools 'ignore bad behaviour' to fool Ofsted inspectors, says classroom tsar. Guardian, 16 June, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jun/16/schools-ignore-bad-behaviour-fool-ofsted-tombennett.

Andrews, J. (2016) School performance in multi-academy trusts and local authorities – 2015. Education Policy Institute, http://epi.org.uk/report/school-performance-multi-academy-trusts-local-authorities/.

Chapman, C. (2013) Academy Federations, Chains, and Teaching Schools in England: Reflections on Leadership, Policy, and Practice. Journal of School Choice: International Research and Reform, 7(3), pp.334-352.

Child Poverty Action Group (2016) *The Impact of Poverty.* http://cpag.org.uk/content/impact-poverty.

Cowley, S. (2010) *Getting the Buggers to Behave.* 4th edition, London: Continuum.

Grundy, W. & Blandford, S. (1999) Developing a Culture for Positive Behaviour Management. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 4 (3) pp. 5-9

Hutchings, M. (2015) Exam factories? *The impact of accountability measures*

on children and young people. National Union of Teachers, https://www.teachers.org.uk/files/exam-factories.pdf.

Machin, S. & Vernoit, J. (2011) Changing School Autonomy: Academy Schools and their Introduction to England's Education. http://cee.lse. ac.uk/ceedps/ceedp123.pdf.

Mason, R. (2015) School behaviour tsar appointed to tackle classroom disruption. Guardian, 16 June, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jun/16/school-behaviour-tsar-classroom-disruption.

National Union of Teachers (2015) EduFacts – Child Poverty. https://www.teachers.org.uk/edufacts/child-poverty.

Orme, J., Jones, M., Kimberlee, R., Weitkamp, E., Salmon, D., Dailami, N., Adrian, M. & Kevin, M. (2011) Food for life partnership evaluation: full report. *Project Report*, University of the West of England, Bristol.

Ofsted (2013) Ofsted (2013) Inspections of Schools, Colleges and Children's Services. London, Ofsted.

Paton, G. (2014) Ofsted: an hour of teaching each day lost to bad behaviour. Telegraph, 25 September, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/11119373/Ofsted-anhour-of-teaching-each-day-lost-to-bad-behaviour.html.

Swinson, J. (2010) Working with a secondary school to improve social relationships, student behaviour, motivation and learning. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 28:3, 181-194, DOI: 10.1080/02643944.2010.504221.

Teeman, D., Featherstone, G., Sims, D. & Sharp, C. (2011) *Qualitative Impact Evaluation of the Food for Life Partnership programme*. https://www.nfer.ac.uk/publications/BINT01/BINT01_home.cfm.

Unison (2015) *Managing Difficult Behaviour in Schools: A Practical Guide*by Tom Bennett, https://www.unison.

Changing student behaviour in schools

org.uk/content/uploads/2015/04/0n-line-Catalogue22970.pdf.

Weale, S. (2014) *Out in the cold:* the coastal schools neglected by national initiatives. Guardian, 15 October, http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/oct/15/coastal-schools-neglected-by-national-initiatives.

Woods, P., Woods, G. & Gunter, H. (2007) Academy schools and entrepreneurialism in education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(2), pp. 237-259.

Worth, J. (2016) *Analysis of Academy School Performance in 2015* (LGA Research Report). Slough: NFER.

YoungMinds (2016) *Mental Health Statistics*. YoungMinds information sheet, http://www.youngminds.org.uk/training_services/policy/mental_health_statistics.

DR ROWENA PASSY is a Research Fellow at the Plymouth Institute of Education, Plymouth University, where she moved in 2010 from employment as a Senior Research Officer at the National Foundation for Education Research. Her PhD research focused on family values in education, and since then her academic interests have broadened to include issues such as school leadership, widening participation and teacher training, all of which link to the ongoing 'coastal academies' project described in the current paper. She also has a longstanding interest in learning outdoors, and was evaluation manager of the DEFRA, Natural England and English Heritage-funded Natural Connections project that encouraged teachers to take their lessons outside.

DR TANYA OVENDEN-HOPE is Director of Education at The Cornwall College Group, UK; Visiting Research Fellow at Plymouth University, UK and Adjunct Professor with Cape Breton University, Canada. A Principal Fellow of the Higher Education Academy with over 25 years' experience in education, Tanya has innovative and scholarly engagement with learning and teaching at a national and international level and is an author of academic reports, research and books on this topic. She has taught and led in secondary, further and higher education and won the National Enterprise Educator Award in 2014 for embedding Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise (ICE) in Teacher Education. She is currently leading the Education Endowment Foundation funded pilot project RETAIN, which aims to support early career teacher retention in the teaching profession.

18 Education Today Vol 66 No 3

THE ICE HOUSE PROJECT: A CASE STUDY OF INNOVATION, CREATIVITY AND ENTERPRISE AS TRANSFERABLE SKILLS IN POST-16 INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION

DR TANYA OVENDEN-HOPE, Director of Education, The Cornwall College, UK MARK DELF, The Cornwall College, UK

A case study of post-16 ITE relevant to school-led Initial Teacher Training and to schools looking to promote transferable skills learning for students.

This paper provides a case study of the 'ICE' (Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise) House Project, which integrated ICE into an Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programme for post-16 teachers to develop the use of transferable skills in teaching with the aim of promoting ICE thinking in their learners. Following government policy moving to a school-led Initial Teacher Education system (DfE 2010, DfE 2011, DfE 2015, DfE 2016), it is important to share the findings of this post-16 ITE project with all sectors engaging in ITE, as there are suggested benefits to the learning experience of students taught by teachers trained in this way.

Findings suggest that incorporating ICE into ITE curriculum through a range of evidence-based strategies, such as Problem-Based Learning and Creative Problem-Solving, had an impact on trainee teacher attitudes to being creative with learning and teaching and had a measurable improvement on the teaching practice observation grades (indicating a better learning experience for their students) for part-time trainee teachers. It was also identified that the attitudes of teacher educators (those training the teachers) toward innovative learning and teaching improved after being supported in developing their teaching for the ICE modules. Key themes to emerge from the research include an increased participation by teachers in 'risk-taking' i.e. non-traditional teaching strategies, in the classroom and changes in mindset of trainee teachers and teacher educators towards ways of teaching and learning that improve their students' transferable skills.

Introduction

Developing a practice that is different from what teachers themselves experienced as students requires learning opportunities for teachers. (Darling-Hammond, 1998:2)

A Further Education College and University in the South West of England won a European Social Fund (ESF) grant to establish the 'ICE' House Project in 2009-2011, the findings of which are still being used today for CPD with FE lecturers and primary and secondary school teachers in the region. The project put Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise (ICE) at the core of an Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programme for the Post-16 sector, with the aim of examining and embedding effective evidence-based teaching and learning methods to develop and support trainee teachers' use of transferable skills in their teaching and thereby promote the use of ICE by their students. This ITE programme developed had a large cohort of trainee teachers (approximately 800) and was delivered across the South West of England by a range of colleges.

The ICE House Project explored, defined, introduced (taught) and examined practical strategies for embedding ICE into the ITE curriculum. The aim of this initial research was to ensure that all the learning and teaching strategies adopted would engage and challenge trainee teachers to think more creatively about their teaching and to be innovative with the way in which their own professional practice could support the enhancement of their students' transferable skills. The strategies for teaching and learning identified included problem-based learning, creative problem-solving, innovation education, enterprising behaviour, mindset and also links to employability. The hypothesis was that if trainee teachers were supported and facilitated during their teacher education in learning through ICE strategies, then they would engage these strategies in their own teaching (perpetuating a cycle of learning embeddede ICE skills). If supported, this idea would suggest that embedding ICE into an ITE programme, in whatever education sector and in any country, would enhance the teachers' ability to facilitate innovative, creative and enterprising behaviour in their future learners. Since the project was completed, England has moved

predominantly to a school-led ITE system, which makes the ICE House Project findings important reading for those in schools interested in both initial and continuing teacher development and the impact of training on students beyond the curriculum.

Context

Research establishing the link between a successful knowledge-based economy and skills that support employability. such as innovation, creativity, risktaking etc., has been evident for the last decade and this project is placed in the context of the Seltzer and Bentlev (1999) report for DEMOS, a British crosspolitical party think-tank, and the main outcome of the European Commission Conference *Entrepreneurship Education* in Europe - Fostering Entrepreneurial Mindsets through Education and Learning (European Commission, 2006), the Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe (Oslo, 2006). Calling on member states to accelerate progress in promoting entrepreneurial mindsets in society, the Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe (Oslo, 2006) identified an 'entrepreneurial mindset', the same

The ICE House Project 19

skillset suggested by Seltzer and Bentley (1999). This mindset was seen as essential for everyone living and working in a modern economy.

The importance of the link between employment skills and the future of education was confirmed in the Browne Report (2010), when it was argued that "courses that deliver improved employability will prosper; those that make false promises will disappear". However, current educational policy in England for school curriculum has moved towards a more knowledgebased curriculum (Morgan, 2015), despite transferable skills becoming more valued in the workforce (Price, 2013). This disparity in direction from the government can create an issue for schools, who have external quality assurance regulators, such as Ofsted, focussing on student progress in knowledge. It is worth also considering individual teacher perceptions of what constitutes effective teaching of knowledge (Darling-Hammond, 1998 and identified in this research) and changes in mindset (Dweck, 2008) required to take 'risks' with students' learning.

ICE-based ITE and teacher continuing professional development (CPD) is argued to be essential for future economic prosperity in England (globally), as it has the ability to change the way that teachers learn to teach and how they think about the way that students learn. To establish entrepreneurial mindsets, ITE and CPD needs to embed high quality innovative, creative and enterprising strategies for educating their trainee teachers, strategies that enable and promote transferable skills to teacher and learner.

The ICE House Project identified innovation, creativity and enterprise, in their broadest senses, as the key areas for promoting engagement with work and life in the 21st century, as these were the recurrent themes in recognised reports, including Seltzer and Bentley (1999) suggesting that enterprising behaviour stimulates entrepreneurship by creating a climate from which future entrepreneurs can emerge. Robinson (2009) also emphasised the role of

creativity in transforming education, business and communities. Gilbert, writing in 2020 Vision: Report of the Teaching and Learning in 2020 Review Group (2006) commissioned by the Secretary of State for England, identified innovation, creativity and enterprise as key abilities for transforming mindsets.

(Schools) need to ensure that young people develop the skills and attitudes that employers value, many of which are becoming even greater priorities in knowledge-based economies. These are sometimes misleadingly called 'soft skills' and include ... being creative, inventive, enterprising and entrepreneurial. (Gilbert, 2006:10).

The emphasis on innovation, creativity and enterprise as fundamental skills for a successful a 21st century economy is persuasive in championing the need to embed ICE in education. Employers want employees who can 'solve a problem', who can function in the real world, who can be relied upon to get on with a job and do it well (Deloitte, 2009 Price, 2013). However, in order to develop resilience and sustainability of such skills, the facilitation of this mindset in students is best served modelled through teaching and developed in ITE or through CPD.

The ICE House Project aimed to support teacher educators and trainee teachers in engaging with ICE strategies for learning and teaching. Problem-Based Learning (PBL) (Allen et al., 2001) and Creative Problem-Solving (CPS) (Boomstrom, 2005) were established as key teaching and learning strategies for developing an ICE mindset, firstly in the teacher educators who would then support the trainee teachers (and consequently their practice with their future learners). PBL learners typically work through problems to discover specific solutions whilst acquiring and applying subject knowledge, skills and values. Through this problem-solving process, learners also discover and apply skills that should enhance their entrepreneurial qualities (Allen et al., 2001). However, PBL skills can be extended using CPS, which is a particular approach to PBL.

CPS is based on identifying situations, or concerns, that present an authentic problem to those involved. Establishing ICE strategies for facilitating ITE included developing questions around possibilities (rather than a focus on correct answers); wrestling with concepts; dealing with uncertainty; close association with real life/world experiences and solving open-ended problems that are of special concern to those involved. These strategies are all fundamental to CPS and it was believed that by embedding these transferable skills into teacher educators' and then trainee teachers' approaches to teaching and learning, the cycle of ICE would be established in education.

The ICE House Project recognised the important of 'mindset' and attitudinal change (Dweck, 2008) for the success of embedding new strategies for learning and teaching. Dweck (2008), through extensive research on achievement and success, stressed the importance of teaching a 'growth mindset' to create motivation and productivity in the worlds of business, sports and education. This growth mindset necessitated an explicit, active and honest focus on mindset, our own and that of others, and a consideration of how mindset impacted on the teaching and learning space.

In the re-design of the ITE programme, it was also recognised that the teacher educators needed to be of an 'appropriate mindset' to support the facilitation of ICE strategies with their trainee teachers To support this transition for the teacher educators, a checklist was established to support them. Changing attitudes and mindsets was a key challenge for the project and required extensive support and facilitation of both the experienced teacher educators and the trainee teachers.

Method

The Professional Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and Certificate in Education (CertEd) are ITE programmes for teachers in the post-16 sector. The CertEd provides training for teachers who may not have a degree (although they can), but have instead vocationally

Fixed and Growth Mindsets (Dweck, 2008)

Fixed mindset: basic qualities, like intelligence or talent, are seen as fixed traits. Talent or intelligence may be believed to be the only necessary things to create success. No other effort is needed. Dweck (2008) identifies that students who have adopted a fixed mindset (trainee teachers and teachers can be included in this) believe that there is no way to change their success or ability — you are talented or clever, or you are not. Failure is inevitable.

Growth mindset: most basic abilities can be developed through dedication and hard work, talent and intelligence are the basis for this. Dweck (2008) identifies that students who believe that they can develop their abilities establish skills, such as resilience, that result in great success. Failures are typically seen as opportunities to improve and learn more.

Teacher Educator Checklist

- 1. Teacher educators must always provide opportunities to learn and teach in different ways.
- Teacher educators must always provide opportunities for 'talk' or 'experience' around concepts and context. Always pose questions; facilitate the trainee teacher answers.
- Model best practice. This means teacher educators being 'ICE' in practice (PBL, CPS, growth mindset).
- Continuous formative observation of trainee teachers by teacher educators of ICE skills in module.
- Teacher educators ask trainee teachers to consider and establish the key ICE question (see below for 'the ICE question').
- Teacher educators must always be aware that we as teachers are all a 'work in progress'.

equivalent qualifications and skills. Trainee teachers for both qualifications are typically taught together, but assessed at different levels. Each programme can be taken full-time (preservice) at the university or in a partner Further Education College, or part-time (in-service) at a Further Education College while teaching/employed in the Lifelong Learning Sector (LLS). The latter at CertEd level is similar to the non-degree holder apprentice route currently being proposed to the government for school teachers (Schools Week, 2016).

The learning outcomes of each module on the ITE programmes were re-written

to include ICE. An ICE module was also developed that included facilitation through (and explanation of) PBL, CPS and growth mindset, with observation of ICE applied to teaching practice. The module was supported by teacher educator staff development to enable active and appropriate engagement with facilitation of the module. The module was also supported through a virtual learning environment (VLE) for both teacher educator and student teacher. While ICE was embedded into the complete ITE provision, the focus for the research was on the full- and part-time students taking the ICE module, as this explicit ICE enhancement for teaching and learning would act as the variable for comparison in trainee teachers' outcomes against those not taking the module.

The ICE module was delivered as an option module to full- and part-time PGCE and CertEd trainee teachers in 2010/11 on different college sites across Cornwall, with a total of 119 students participating and 111 completing. The ICE module was team taught by experienced teacher educators from Cornwall College and Plymouth University. The teacher educators for the ICE module also attended ICE House Project team meetings and undertook staff development to share PBL. CPS and mindset teaching materials and strategies to facilitate their own ability to facilitate teaching and learning for ICE.

In order to support a valid approach to the impact of the ICE module on teaching outcomes for the trainee teachers, a qualitative approach was utilised. Module reviews, completed at the end of each ICE module session by students; end of module evaluations

completed by students; personal reflective journals completed by students and personal summary evaluations completed by the teacher educators delivering the ICE module were collected and analysed. Unstructured interviews were also undertaken with a stratified random sample of trainee teachers and teacher educators (full-time and parttime trainee teachers on both the PGCE and CertEd courses) from the ICE module within six months of module completion. Teaching observation grades linked to the ICE modules were also used to make tentative suggestions about the impact of the module on teaching and learning through a comparison of grades to previous assessed teaching observations. Theme analysis was used to examine the range of qualitative data in an attempt to make suggestions about the impact of the ICE module on attitudes and practice for teaching and learning in ITE for the LLS.

Findings of the ICE House Project

Analyses of the data suggest that engaging with innovation, creativity and enterprise as a teacher educator and student teacher was an interesting and challenging experience. Participation in the ICE module for both teacher educators and trainee teachers stimulated in-depth reflection on the process of learning and teaching and in many cases inspired practice change and a realignment of mindset. There appears to be some evidence of impact for the ICE module enhancing teaching, based on comments within module evaluations of the trainee teachers and in the personal module summaries of the teacher educators. This was supported by a rise in the number of grade 1 (outstanding) and grade 2 (good) observations of

The ICE House Project 21

teaching practice for the part-time (inservice) trainees. However, interestingly this increase in observed teaching practice grades was not reflected in the achievements of full-time (pre-service) trainees. This suggests that, in order to fully engage with ICE in teaching and learning, it may be advantageous to apply the strategies while teaching as a job (keeping it authentic), rather than as a student 'borrowing' a class. This finding supports a recommendation that continuing professional development (CPD) activity in this area could be successful in enhancing all practising teachers ICE skills.

Creating a profession of teaching in which teachers have the opportunity for continual learning is the likeliest way to inspire greater achievement for children, especially those for whom education is the only pathway to survival and success." (Darling-Hammond, 1998:6)

The key themes emerging from the project that are of wider interest for teacher development were identified as the context for solving problems, engaging with resources, the key ICE question, resistance and change.

The context of solving problems

The use of problem-based learning (PBL) and creative problem-solving (CPS) principles (Isaksen et al., 2011); Treffinger et al., 2006) were seen as essential for developing teacher education, as these strategies for learning established the core ICE principles for the trainee teachers and the basis on which innovation, creativity and enterprise could be facilitated in their own students. The first session of the ICE module was designed to promote curiosity and inquisitiveness: "what is this module about?" (Brandes and Phillips, 1990). Though initially frustrating to trainee teachers, the approach of facilitating ways to their own answers resulted in them feeling empowered as they developed the confidence, resilience and personal growth needed to engage in the process that supported the development of their own ICE skills (Claxton and Lucas, 2008).

Engaging with resources

Trainee teachers and teacher educators were encouraged to create and bring a new resource or artefact to share with the group to each session. This not only proved very effective in providing a bank of concrete artefacts and ideas but, more importantly, stimulated the process of innovation and creativity within the group, enabling an environment of mutual support to stretch boundaries and giving permission to be different through development of relationships (Churches & Terry, 2009). The value of this process is represented in the high number of student teachers identifying this as a key strength in the evaluation of their practice. Trainee teachers used concepts and mediums never attempted before, which in this context freed them to consider anything and everything as a potential resource for teaching and learning, to use their environment and dress it, use music, use the outside open air, tools techniques, try things out, share, co-create and offer to selves and others via Moodle.

The Key ICE Question

The ICE question was a significant moment within the research that was formulated by the trainee teachers whilst trying to get to grips with ICE in the early stages of the ICE module. In the struggle to refocus their mindset the following question emerged:

How can you work with your students to provide opportunities to ask useful and/helpful questions, thereby enabling them to become more resilient; to persevere; be curious problem solvers who are self-reliant, self-aware, observant, proactive and able to deal with failure and uncertainty?

In identifying this question the trainee teachers demonstrated that they had used the skills that the ICE process was seeking to develop, with the question acting as a tool to deepen and strengthen learning. The ICE question became a frequent refrain, both visually and aurally, to bring the trainee teachers back to what they

were fundamentally trying to achieve from engaging with ICE and creating a sense of 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997). From this question and the subsequent engagement of the trainee teachers a shorthand soon developed across the ICE Module groups for the ICE question of "What if?".

"What if ... I planned this lesson to give autonomy to my students to choose the task?" "What if ... this resource was more authentic and creative?"

ICE teachers used "What if?" throughout the teaching, learning and assessment process to see if things could be done differently to promote the best outcomes for their students. With this simple technique, the trainee teachers' proactivity developed beyond their expectations (typically based on their own educational experiences) and through any potential resistance to teaching differently (Gardner, 2007). ICE teachers demonstrated clear development of more innovative practice. a trait that interview findings showed continued into their classroom practice on employment.

Resistance and change

Barriers were identified in developing the application of ICE in teacher education/ teaching. The first was transitioning teacher educators and trainee teachers to a new mindset of what a good or outstanding lesson should look like. Both teacher educators and trainee teachers referenced the difficulty of thinking creatively at the beginning of the ICE module. The experiential environment created was referred to by many as 'shocking', stimulating strong emotions such as anger, frustration, disengagement and disempowerment, which initially inhibited learning. This response was interesting, but not unexpected (Cowley, 2007), even though all involved understood that the module was about 'Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise' in education.

It was interesting to identify that resistance to engaging fully with CPS, PBL and new mindsets for learning was linked to some teacher educators and trainee teachers' belief that ICE was already embedded in their teaching. These teachers were the hardest to engage fully, as they believed they already had a creative mindset and did not need to think differently about learning and teaching. It is important to encourage and support teachers and learners to develop, as it is not an automatic process (Handy, 1990), but this barrier presented a clear challenge.

ICE was also challenged as being less relevant to some subject areas e.g. maths, with trainee teachers in these areas resisting the appropriateness of new concepts and techniques for learning more creatively. The mindset was very much the acceptance of a more didactic teaching strategy to support perceived 'scientific' and 'absolute' subjects. The barriers and resistance of established mindset was clearly evidenced and were typically formed by prior learning and teaching experiences and consolidated by a fear of potential institutional disapproval, including failure in employer- or inspectionbased teaching observations. It could be suggested that this fear instilling resistance to new more innovative learning and teaching strategies identifies the need for a societal mindset shift to accept and acknowledge new ways of learning.

Trainee teachers identified a change of mindset in themselves and their learners, based on developing ICE principles in their practice. This shift in mindset was seen to involve a refocusing of the learner (be it themselves and/or the student) from passive recipient of teaching to active learner, fully engaged in creating, focusing and driving their learning (Dweck, 2008). This change was not easily achieved, with much resistance evidenced in all sources of data, however the expectation of being taught about ICE to an agreement of 'learning together' to be innovative, creative and enterprising occurred. This resulted in high levels of risk-taking in the way both teacher educators and trainee teachers facilitated teaching and learning. Dweck (2008) identified that increased levels of motivation and

personal awareness stimulate change, something evidenced clearly in the ICE House Project. The qualitative approach taken by the project does not support an assumption that teacher educator modelling of ICE learning and teaching or the immersion in CPS or PBL of trainee teachers supported an increase in 'risk-taking' in teaching practice. However, it could be suggested that a new way of thinking about teaching and learning was developed in trainee teachers and teacher educators through participation in the ICE module.

Part-time trainee teachers on both the CertEd and the PGCE who participated in the ICE module achieved an increased grade profile in teaching observations when compared to part-time trainee teachers on the CertEd and PGCE from the previous year who had not taken the ICE module. This suggests that participation in the ICE module as an in-service student teacher improved teaching. Trainee teacher comments in module reviews and personal journals support this suggestion, identifying positively an increase in risk-taking, growth in confidence and use of learnerled practice leading to positive results with learners. The trainee teacher and teacher educator post-ICE module interviews also identified a change in behaviour, with both teacher educators and trainee teachers spending more time with learners in order to understand their learning needs and barriers to learning.

The ICE House Project highlights how resistance to ICE learning and teaching strategies can be overcome and may result in a positive change of mindset that increases opportunities for learning. Embedding innovation, creativity and enterprise in teacher education enables and promotes, through resources, environments and people, at the very least increased opportunities for thinking about learning and teaching.

Recommendations for implementing ICE into school-led ITE and Conclusion

The ICE House Project identified that teacher educators and trainee teachers had fears and concerns about the application of ICE learning and teaching

strategies in educational settings outside of the teacher education programme. These concerns are genuine and need to be acknowledged. There is a perceived lack of understanding in external and internal quality review/inspection systems of how ICE learning and teaching strategies can enhance the transferable skills of both teachers and students. This concern may inhibit the use of ICE for learning and teaching, based on a fear that it may not be valued or understood as a legitimate approach. It is recommended that further investigation be undertaken in this area.

The ICE module was recognised by trainee teachers as positively impacting on their practice; however, it is recommended that reconsideration be given to the 'first contact' experienced in the ICE module. Trainee teachers and teacher educators identified feeling confused by the absence of a frame of reference at the beginning of the ICE module. This was deliberate, the module being designed to disorientate and 'jump start' an alternative way of thinking. It is argued that this approach to a new way of teaching and learning was too distant from previously experienced practice and caused anxiety and anger, rather than an openness to learn something new. It is recommended that future practice in this area should enable the trainee teachers' 'first contact' with new ways of thinking about teaching and learning, be more controlled and thereby reduce the risk of complete disengagement.

The ICE House Project established a new type of ITE that developed innovation, creativity and enterprise as expected transferable skills for teaching practice. Teachers using ICE in the classroom recognised the value to their students of embedding these transferable skills as preparation for lifelong learning in education, employment or otherwise. It is suggested that engaging teachers in ICE through CPD, as well as ITE, can stimulate a mindset in teachers of promoting reflexive internal dialogue that is associated with professional action. The findings of the project have been used successfully to establish a CPD programme in the region for school

The ICE House Project 23

and college teachers that supports a change in mindset that empowers teachers to create learning experiences that meet subject needs *and* develop students' ICE skills.

Essentially the ICE House Project has established, regardless of its origin being in Post-16 ITE, the need to consider a self-sustaining cultural shift in the way we think about and acknowledge effective teaching and learning. At an organisational level, schools' leaders should consider how strategies for developing teachers' understanding and embedding of transferable skills can be supported. On an individual level, teachers can look to alternative teaching strategies, some of which are identified in this paper, that support both knowledge and ICE skills. However, any change in mindset will take time and persuasion and should ideally be located in the infrastructure of education to support teacher/school engagement. Until this happens, ideas from the ICE House Project allow teachers to consider evidence-based alternatives for their classroom practice and acknowledge personal responsibility for stimulating change in learning and teaching practice.

Most of us cannot do a great deal about the macro environment We can however gain control over the immediate environment and transform it so that it enhances personal creativity. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997:140)

References

Allen, E., Duch, B. and Groh, S. (2001) *The Power of Problem-Based Learning.* Sterling: Stylus Publishing LLC.

Boomstrom, R. (2005) *Thinking*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Brandes, D. & Phillips, H. (1990) *Gamesters' Handbook Two.* Cheltenham: Thornes.

Browne Report (2010) Securing a Sustainable Future for Higher Education. London: BIS.

Churches, R. & Terry, R. (2009) NLP *Toolkit* for *Teachers, Educators and School Leaders*. Camarthen: Crown House.

Claxton, G. (1999) Wise Up, the Challenge of Lifelong Learning. New York: Bloomsbury.

Claxton, G. L. and Lucas, B. (2008) *The Creative Thinking Plan*. London: BBC Books.

Cowley, S. (2007). *Getting the Buggers to Think*. London: Continuum International.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1997) *Creativity:* Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention. New York: Harper Perennial.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1998) 'Teacher Learning That Supports Student Learning'. *Educational Leadership*, Volume 55 Number 5, February 1998.

DfE (2010) *The Importance of Teaching.* London: DfE.

DfE (2011) *Training our Next Generation* of Outstanding Teachers: An improvement strategy for discussion. London: DfE.

DfE (2015) *Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training (ITT)*. London, DfE.

DfE (2016) *Educational Excellence Everywhere*. London, DfE.

Deloitte (2009) *Employability Skills - About the employability initiative*. London: Deloitte.

Dweck, C. S. (2008) *Mindset: The New Psychology of Success – How we can learn to fulfil our Potential.* New York: Ballantine Books.

European Commission (2006) *The Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe.* Oslo: Enterprise Directorate General.

Gardner, H. (2007) *Five Minds for the Future.* Boston: Harvard Business School. Gilbert, C. (2006) *2020 Vision - Report of the Teaching and Learning in 2020*

Handy, C. (1990) *The Age of Unreason.* London: Arrow.

Review Group. Nottingham: DFES.

Isaacson, W. (2008) *Einstein: His Life and Universe.* London: Simon & Schuster UK

Isaksen, S. Dorval, K. and Treffinger, D. (2011) *Creative approaches to problem-solving: a framework for innovation and change.* London: Sage.

Morgan, N. (2015) Why knowledge matters. First accessed online on 27 January 2015 at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/nicky-morgan-why-knowledge-matters. London, DfE.

Price, D. (2013) OPEN: *How we'll work, live and learn in the future.* London, Crux Publishing.

Robinson, K. (2001) *Out of our minds, learning to be creative.* Chichester: Capstone Publishing Ltd.

Robinson, K. (2009) *The element: how finding your passion changes everything.* London: Penguin.

Schools Week (2016) Schools' plan for no-degree teaching apprenticeship route sent to government. First accessed online on 28 January 2016 at http://schoolsweek.co.uk/schools-plan-for-no-degree-teaching-apprenticeship-route-sent-to-government/

Seltzer, K. and Bentley, B. (1999) *The Creative Age.* London: Demos.

Treffinger, D. J., Isaksen, S. G. and Stead-Dorval, K. B. (2006). *Creative Problem Solving: An Introduction* (4th edn.). Waco, TX: Prufrock Press Inc.

DR TANYA OVENDEN-HOPE is Director of Education at The Cornwall College Group, UK; Visiting Research Fellow at Plymouth University, UK and Adjunct Professor with Cape Breton University, Canada. A Principal Fellow of the Higher Education Academy with over 25 years' experience in education, Tanya has innovative and scholarly engagement with learning and teaching at a national and international level and is an author of academic reports, research and books on this topic. She has taught and led in secondary, further and higher education and won the National Enterprise Educator Award in 2014 for embedding Innovation, Creativity and Enterprise (ICE) in Teacher Education. She is currently leading the Education Endowment Foundation funded pilot project RETAIN, which aims to support early career teacher retention in the teaching profession.

MARK DELF is Head of the School of Education and Professional Development at The Cornwall College Group, UK and has undertaken research on a range of educational issues. Mark is a teacher educator and has recently completed his doctoral thesis for submission for viva (while working full time), demonstrating his commitment to evidence-based and research-informed practice.

FRIENDSHIP AND DIVERSITY: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS ACROSS CLASS AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCE

PROFESSOR CAROL VINCENT, Professor of Sociology of Education, University College London Institute of Education PROFESSOR SARAH NEAL, Professor of Sociology, University of Sheffield HUMERA IQBAL, Researcher, University College London Institute of Education

This paper offers a brief account of a research project exploring the friendships that children and adults, living in highly diverse urban areas, make or do not make with those different from themselves. We describe some of the key findings and their relevance to schools and teachers.

Introduction

Friendship for both adults and children has long been recognised as an important indicator of wellbeing (Randall, 2015) and, for children of course, school is a key site of friendship-making. In our research, we wanted to explore issues and questions around difference, diversity and friendship. For example, in schools with diverse populations in terms of ethnicity and social class, do pupils make, maintain or avoid friendships with those who are different from themselves? How can and do schools help to support children in their friendship-making? In primary schools, where parents meet in the playground up to twice a day for seven years, how do adults negotiate getting to know other parents, and what sort of relationships develop from these encounters? How easily do adults and children mix across social class and ethnic difference? Can schools help positive relationships to develop through organising school events which bring together the different communities that live around the schools? What does this research around friendships tell us about the nature and extent of social mixing and social divisions in cities with diverse populations?

Living in cities: processes of 'superdiversity' and gentrification

London, the site of our research, in common with other European and North American cities is experiencing a changing demography. These changes are caused by two phenomena. One is 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007). This term describes the diversity of the current worldwide migrant population, made up of people of different ages, educational levels and occupational status, who have been resident in receiving countries for varying lengths of time and come from a variety of national, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p.542). Our case study schools contained children born in, or with parental origins in, a wide variety of countries, especially those in Eastern and Southern Europe, North and West Africa, South East Asia, the Middle East and South America. Their first generation parents had occupations here that ranged from professional to manual work, and parental levels of education received in home countries varied considerably, from degree level to primary schooling. The other phenomenon is gentrification experienced to different degrees in our three London research localities - as middle class families, driven by a desire to find affordable properties to buy, move into areas that have traditionally been working class parts of the city. Shops and services then begin to change to meet the requirements of a more affluent population. In some cities, these two population flows – gentrifiers and migrants - may not share the same spaces; however, in all three of our London localities, private housing sat side by side with social housing, creating areas of social and ethnic 'super-diversity'. Middle class gentrifiers lived close to recent migrant populations, and also to established white and Black and Minority Ethnic

(BME) working class populations, and their children attend the same primary schools. (We were also told by research participants, of middle class 'incomers' who avoided the local, diverse schools by using private schooling, or attempted to access apparently more desirable state schools than the local ones).

Encounters

Life in the city, especially a large, fastpaced city, is sometimes presented as alienating and individualistic, with high levels of difference and mobility causing social relations to be fragile and fleeting. Multiculturalism has been portrayed as having failed, or been at risk of failing, most recently by former Prime Minister David Cameron (Cameron, 2015). However, researchers in sociology and geography have conducted detailed studies of interactions and encounters in super-diverse neighbourhoods. These show people engaging with those different from themselves in everyday, casual encounters - in shops, on public transport, or in shared public spaces (such as parks) - easily and with confidence (e.g. Blokland & Nast, 2014, Neal et al., 2013 and 2015). Randall (2015) notes from a recent nationwide survey that,

In England in 2013–14, 85% of people aged 16 and over agreed that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.

This focus on people's ability and willingness not only to negotiate

Friendship and diversity 25

with each other, but to understand difference as ordinary, an everyday part of life, serves to challenge the stereotype of dystopian city living. The question remains, however, as to whether such encounters reveal a pleasure, an enjoyment in living in conditions of diversity, or whether they suggest a general politeness, an urban etiquette, which provides superficial cover for a more deeply rooted dislike of, indifference about or anxiety towards those who are different in terms of behaviour and social and cultural mores.

The answer of course is not necessarily either/or. People's opinions and beliefs may vary in their reaction to, say, an individual from one ethnic group and their abstract conception of that group as a whole. We were particularly interested in how people manage high levels of ethnic and economic difference when they are sharing a social resource, such as a primary school.

Research design

We chose primary schools as the site for our research, as we felt that these offered a location which brought together families living in the same neighbourhood but who may not otherwise have met. Primary schools offer opportunities for regular and sustained contact over a number of years. The schools were chosen as having super-diverse populations, with reference to data from the Office for National Statistics, Ofsted reports and local knowledge. We focused on one Year 4 class (8/9 years old), choosing this age as peer relations become particularly important to the children as they move into the top years of primary school, yet they were still young enough for their parents to manage their social lives outside school. We obtained parental permission to talk to the children, and emphasised to the children themselves that participation was voluntary, although all 78 children across the three classes chose to join in. We interviewed the children in pairs, with a few individual interviews, avoiding existing close friendship pairs, and with the help of the class teacher identifying pairs who had a neutral relationship. Whilst discussing their friendships, the positives and tensions of the relationships, the games they played in school, and how they spent their out of school time, we also asked the children to draw 'maps' (sociograms) of their friendships, with themselves in the middle and their friends around them, the distance between the portraits signaling their closeness. We used these drawings to trace the friendship networks and reciprocities within the three classrooms.

We approached the parents of all the children in the three classes for interviews, and spoke with 46 of them, re-interviewing a small proportion between six months and a year later. We asked them about their children's friendships, their own friendships, especially any made through school, and social events held at the school. The second interviews allowed us to follow up on themes that emerged from the initial analysis. We also interviewed 12 school staff and governors across the three schools.

The three schools – Leewood, Junction and Fernhill (all names are pseudonyms) - were all within a sixmile radius of each other, within largely residential settings in London's inner suburbs. Leewood was transitioning from one- to two-form entry, and the other schools were both two-form entry. The schools were all, as noted above, in areas characterised by varying degrees of gentrification, with the area around Leewood being the most established area of gentrification. The percentage of children on Free School Meals (a proxy indicator of relative poverty) differed across the schools, being lowest in Leewood (19.7%), reflecting the surrounding affluence of the neighbourhood. Percentages were higher for Junction (32.8%) and Fernhill (38.7%). All three schools were inspected by Ofsted during 2013 and all three were graded 'good' (Leewood had had a previous 'outstanding' rating and Fernhill and Junction had been rated as 'satisfactory').

Findings: friendship, class and ethnic difference

In summary, our data show that for children, but particularly for their parents, class often appeared to be a more impenetrable barrier to friendships than ethnic difference.

Nearly all of the children in the research had close friendships with others in their classroom who were from a different ethnic group to themselves (we defined 'close' as meaning amongst their 'top five' friends). There were also close crossclass friendships, but fewer in number than cross-ethnic friendships. However, a majority had close friends - in their top five - who had a different social background from themselves. When we looked at who the children said their closest friend was, there were still a significant number of friendships across ethnic difference (nearly three quarters). There were far fewer 'best friend' friendships across class difference (just over a quarter of the children).

The vast majority of the parents to whom we spoke felt positively about the diversity of the areas in which they lived, and some had made a point of choosing the school because of its cultural diversity. However, in their own friendships, the parent participants tended to mix less than the children with those socially and ethnically different from themselves. There was a tendency in adult friendships towards homophily - gravitating towards 'people like me'. This meant that, where there were friendships and friendship networks made through the school, these were often composed of those who had similar class backgrounds, and often shared ethnicity. However, adult friendships, like those of the children, were more likely to cross ethnic difference than to cross class difference. Adult friendships made through school took different forms – some were thought of as very close and important, and other friendships involved high levels of contact, but were felt to be emotionally 'thinner' and less significant over

time. Adult research participants often identified their close friendships as being from their childhood/young adulthood.

In all three playgrounds, parents observed that groups of adults sharing ethnicity clustered together. Many spoke of the difficulty of 'taking the first step' to meet others. Here some parents blamed themselves for not doing this (time, awkwardness), others blamed other parents ('cliques', other languages being spoken). However, despite these tendencies for encounters with those different from oneself to be slight or even avoided. we found the schools operated as an important point of contact. In addition, we point to the importance for adults and children of being part of a diverse school community. Sharing a playground induced a specific playground etiquette amongst adults where smiles, greetings and small talk among the diverse parent population were important, and research participants complained of any who breached these conventions. We have referred to this as a form of 'civil attention', suggesting an extension of Goffman's (1963) well-known concept of civil inattention (the process of unobtrusively acknowledging unknown others in public spaces, thereby reassuring them that their presence has been recognised, but no interaction is expected or necessary). The playground etiquette, the sense of sharing the resource of the school with others, and the growing familiarity of the school playground and the others in it, combine to create conditions of attention to others, a mutual recognition which requires some social interaction. For these reasons, we argue that schools offer a valuable space for creating and encouraging encounters across difference for adults as well as children. That is, being part of a primary school community requires acknowledgement of others. a process that involves negotiating complex differences and diversities. Friendship practices contribute to

this process. The relatively small and constant populations of primary schools mean that interactions in the playground have more potential to develop into friendships than fleeting interactions in public spaces. Our case study schools and many others like them with super-diverse populations offer more immediate encounters with diverse others than many of the more hierarchical workspaces in which people are employed.

We recognise, however, that primary school playgrounds are not an entirely egalitarian space. Different parents possess different forms and volumes of economic, social and cultural capitals (to use Bourdieu's 1986 terms), and some of these are more or less valued within the field of schooling. We found that across all three schools, middle class parents, often - but not always - white British, were organising the Parent Teacher Associations, were sitting on the school governing bodies, and were in dialogue with teachers and the headteacher. However in the schools we studied, teachers and parents were aware of this issue, and there had been some attempts made to develop more inclusive governing bodies and ensure PTA events were accessible and appealing to a wide range of parents (see below for examples).

Relevance for teachers

1. Social and emotional learning

Staff across the three schools took children's friendships very seriously and were very knowledgeable about the children's friendship networks. Their descriptions of who was friends with who largely matched those of the children themselves. Staff also spent lots of time and effort in resolving arguments. They had a good knowledge of their school's localities and communities, and of the high levels of diversity within the schools. Teachers used circle time, drama, talks in assembly, rewards for

positive friendship behaviour and adult mentors in the playground organising games and activities to help support the children's friendships. Leewood operated a system of 'restorative justice' which involved children talking through their arguments, and reaching a resolution; Junction had 'action boxes' which allowed children to post confidential messages to the teacher; and Fernhill had a school policy on social and emotional learning. All the schools worked out individual strategies – such as buddy schemes - for children who were experiencing difficulties.

Children's friendships are included in policies around Social and Emotional Learning (SEL), the latter being part of the curriculum area Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). Teaching PSHE topics is frequently understood as a means for schools to respond to their duty – a criterion of Ofsted's inspections - to promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development. PSHE has had periods of fluctuating prominence in recent years, and has recently been seen as a potential vehicle through which to prevent the dissemination of 'extremist' religious and political views in schools", and to promote 'fundamental British values'¹, the latter a requirement placed upon schools in November 2014 (DfE, 2014b). SEL is also seeing something of a revival through former Secretary of State Nicky Morgan's enthusiasm for 'character education', a concern to develop particular characteristics such as resilience and perseverance in children. In May 2015, for instance, the Department for Education announced 14 projects, including rugby coaching and first aid, that will receive funding through the Department for Education's £3.5 million character grants scheme.

For most primary teachers, SEL is an area in which they have a degree of freedom over deciding the content and pedagogical approach. We have written elsewhere and in more detail

Friendship and diversity 27

¹ 'Fundamental British values' are defined by the Department for Education (2014b) as "democracy, rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance for those with different faiths and beliefs".

about school policy and teacher practices around friendship in the three schools (Vincent et al., 2016). A key point to reiterate here is the pressurised context in which primary school teachers currently work, which is fundamental to understanding their practices. The 2013 Department for **Education Workload Survey reported** an average working week of 59 hours for primary school teachers. Additionally, proactive work on friendships is particularly vulnerable to the constraints on teacher time and effort imposed by a national climate that emphasises attainment outcomes in core subjects (also Peterson et al., 2014). In the case study schools we noticed, and teachers described, how SEL was in danger of 'falling off the timetable', marginalised by the priority task of attaining the children's targets in English and maths. The SATs at the end of Year 6, although two years away from the children in the research, dominated their primary education. The performance in these tests affected the schools' positions in local league tables and their Ofsted ratings, and these in turn affected the school's intakes, with both Junction and Fernhill seeing increased enrolments since both their results and Ofsted rankings had improved. However, longestablished staff members at two of the schools in particular, Junction and Fernhill, worked hard to keep social and emotional learning as a key part of the school's activities. The focus on SEL in schools has been the subject of an academic critique which argues that social and emotional learning in general is part of a therapeutic culture which seeks to regulate and direct an individual's feelings, emotion and social relationships (e.g. Lemke, 2010). These attempts are, we suggest, focused on making the child emotionally and behaviourally responsible in terms of his/her relationships with others. SEL has been criticised as a "new form of governance that shapes desirable citizens" (Ecclestone & Lewis, 2014, p.203). Children who are already able to appear as "emotionally competent, literate and confident ... gain new advantages" (ibid, p.203) in the moral

economy of schools, whilst others are positioned as in need of adult intervention.

Indeed, we did identify in the case study schools a further consequence of the crowded timetable noted above: that the pupils who were in receipt of most interventions around social and emotional learning tended to be those who were understood to be disruptive in some way, and SEL formed part of the school's attempts to modify their behaviour. Additionally, there were a few quieter cases of loneliness and exclusion which got missed, despite the teachers' best efforts.

Children of course may keep information about their friendships under adult radar (that of teachers, parents and researchers) and so, to a large extent, their friendships remain spaces of their own, ones in which adults cannot easily intervene without invitation. Despite this, we argue for the continued role of SEL. Its potential, we suggest, is strongest if teachers can create the space and time to focus on the subject of friendship as an important topic for all children. This would mean that topics for discussion would not be guided primarily by teachers' concern with behaviour management, but would be chosen by the children themselves, in order to reach the concerns that they hold. Fluid, open debate and discussion with children may have the potential to diminish peer group exclusion, and offer safe spaces for them to explore the nature of friendship, and friendmaking and maintaining (Watson et al., 2012).

2. School events

In our conversations with parents, they often identified the school as a unique site for building social relationships – one that many parents attend regularly, and where they have a shared set of interests with other parents. Regular encounters in the playground however are often fleeting. However, the schools provided opportunities for more prolonged contact – for example Junction had a parents' room, and

had regular class assemblies with refreshments afterwards for parent attendees; all the schools/PTAs had held International Evenings (regular at Fernhill) and other fundraising socialising events such as Summer and Winter Fairs. The PTA chair at Fernhill specifically made the point that the school's ability to fundraise was relatively limited in comparison to other more affluent neighbouring schools, but that the PTA saw a key part of its role as providing community events, and its annual and extensive summer fair was indeed a lively event, attracting strong attendance from the diverse local communities. Of course. schools still retain a duty to promote community cohesion (DfE, 2014a, para 4.8), although school inspectors, Ofsted, are no longer required to report on this aspect. By carefully thinking about the nature of their fundraising events and their appeal to diverse local communities, schools and PTAs can have an important role in organising occasions which are accessible, welcoming and which contribute to families' sense of belonging to the school and their neighbourhood.

Conclusion

We would like to conclude by pointing to the key role of primary schools, not only in supporting children in their friendship-making and their understanding of and openness to diversity and difference, but also by providing an important site in which families can mix with those who are different from themselves. Whilst mindful of the extremely heavy workload pressures upon primary school teachers, we argue that, in the current period where community cohesion is being redefined in terms of schools' duty to safeguard pupils from being drawn into extremism (e.g. DfE, 2015), schools have a wider brief in providing spaces and opportunities where parents and children can forge social relationships across social and ethnic difference, thereby helping to create a sense of belonging and attachment to the school, and the wider neighbourhood as a collective and shared resource.

References

Blokland, T. & Nast, J. (2014). From Public Familiarity to Comfort Zone: The Relevance of Absent Ties for Belonging in Berlin's Mixed Neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38: 1142–11 59.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In Szeman, I. & Kaposy, T. (2011, eds) *Cultural theory: An anthology*, Wiley-Blackwell: 81-93.

Cameron, D. (2015). Speech on extremism, July 20 2015, https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech

Department for Education (2014). *Teachers' Workload Diary Survey 2013.* London, DfE.

Department for Education (2015). *The Prevent duty: Departmental advice for schools and childcare providers.* London, DfE.

Department of Education (2014a). *Governors' Handbook*, London, DfE.

Department for Education (2014b). Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools. DFE-00679-2014. London, DfE.

Ecclestone, K. & Lewis, L. (2014). Interventions for resilience in educational settings: challenging policy discourses of risk and vulnerability. *Journal of Education Policy*, 29, 2: 195-216.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behaviour in Public Places*. New York. Simon & Schuster.

Lemke, T. (2010). From state biology to the government of life: Historical dimensions and contemporary perspectives of 'biopolitics', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 10(4) 421–438.

Meissner, F. & Vertovec, S. (2015). Comparing super-diversity, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, 4: 541-555.

Neal S., Bennett K., Cochrane, A. & Mohan, G. (2013). Living multiculture: understanding the new spatial and social relations of ethnicity and multiculture in England. *Environment and Planning C*, 31, 2: 308-323.

Neal, S., Bennett, K., Jones, H., Cochrane, A. & Mohan G. (2015). Multiculture and public parks: researching super-diversity and attachment in public green space, *Population, Space and Place,* 21, 5: 463-475.

Peterson, A., Lexmond, J., Hallgarten, J. & Kerr, D. (2014). *Schools with Soul: A new approach to Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Education (SMSC)*. London, RSA.

Randall, C. (2015). *Measuring National Well-being: Our Relationships.* London, Office of National Statistics (ONS).

Vincent, C., Neal, S. & Iqbal, H. (2016). Children's friendships in diverse primary schools: teachers and the processes of policy enactment. Paper under review.

Watson, D., Emery, C. & Bayliss, P. with Boushel, M. & McInnes, K., (2012). *Children's Social and Emotional Well* being in Schools. Bristol, Policy Press. CAROL VINCENT is a Professor of Sociology of Education at University College London, Institute of Education. Her research interests include parenting and family life, relationship between parents and educational institutions, and how these relationships are mediated by social class and ethnicity, and education policy.

c.vincent@ioe.ac.uk

SARAH NEAL is Professor of Sociology, at the University of Sheffield. Her research interests lie in the following areas and their inter-relationships: ethnicity, race, multiculture; community, belonging and place, rurality and the countryside; social policymaking, inequalities and inclusion. A recently-completed related research project is Living Multiculture: the new geographies of ethnicity and the changing formations of multiculture in England (ES/J007676/1).

HUMERA IQBAL is a researcher at University College London, Institute of Education. Her research interests include the diversity of Muslim communities in the UK, and parenting and family life in multicultural settings, in particular how ethnicity and race influence parenting practices.

EDUCATION TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DETAILS AND ENQUIRIES

Published quarterly. Annual subscription for Volume 66 (2016) £150 (UK); £164 (Europe); £170 (Rest of World)

2016 The College of Teachers. All right reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

UK registered charity number 313608

ISSN 0013-1547

Printed by Matthews the Printers Limited

EDITORIAL POLICY

Education Today is a forum for independent debate. The views expressed by contributors are their own and do not necessarily represent the policies or editorial opinion of The College of Teachers. The editorial staff reserve the right to edit submitted material as appropriate.

The College of Teachers at UCL Institute of Education 20 Bedford Way London WC1H 0AL

Telephone: 020 7911 5536

Email: admin@collegeofteachers.ac.uk



