'Great expectations' in the UK education system

Kaz Stuart and Steve Walker
University of Cumbria, UK

Abstract

Throughout 2017 and 2018 the MaCE project team co-created an Equalities Literacy Framework (henceforth EQL) (Stuart et al., 2019). This paper focusses in on one element of the EQL framework – that of technologies of oppression and liberation in order to more fully develop an understanding of what does and does not work for young people, from a youth perspective, in the UK education system. One aspect of this work is discussed, the expectations of young people from the education system. The paper draws on data collected by two academics in the Marginalisation and Co-Created Education (MaCE) project. The data were collected using an Indirect Approach with individuals and small groups of young people. The participants included five young people in a housing scheme for homeless youth (The Foyer) and five from a Church funded secondary school. The data corpus was abductively analysed which revealed a theme of 'expectations' as a significant technology of oppression. The range of expectations placed upon young people in schools is presented in this paper.

Keywords

Inequality, education, expectations, oppression, attainment.

Methodology

This is the second action research cycle in the development of a model of practice for schools and youth work within the MaCE project. The first action research cycle co-created the EQL framework (Stuart et al., 2019) and this action research cycle tests it out and improves it to improve an appropriate use of informal and formal educational approaches.

The MaCE project established aims to consider in detail the narrative provided by young people and participants to ascertain a process driven knowledge base around education and marginalisation. The principles of co-creation in the methodology, is influenced by a range of synthesised mixed methods approaches upon which the level of equality of experience is valued over academic and practice laden values and assumptions. In order to re-address the power in the relationship, the process of interviewing determines no exactive line of enquiry and enables the participants to explore their own thinking on their own terms without direction or influence from the researcher. An influence of 'learner as teacher and teacher as learner' through the process stems to an extent from a Freireian perspective of transforming a critical consciousness. (Freire 1970)

In terms of a clear methodological approach, gaining data from participants using the 'indirect approach' (Moshuus and Eide, 2016) through ethnographic qualitative dialogue will assert an ability to determine young people perspectives on the experience of education. The facilitated methodological approach has been developed through enquiry relating to praxis (Kemmis, 2009). The potential to affect social change through iterative action research cycles to develop a secure knowledge base from a participatory 'world view' (Stuart et al., 2019).

The research on a broader scale is being undertaken across three countries; Norway, Denmark and the United Kingdom and a later phase will be to consider and evaluate the methodology across

Citation

geographical areas and relay data sets to examine the experience of marginalised youth against the structure of political influence on the purpose of education and young people as passive actors and consumers of their education. This specific element of the research project will request input from participants in the North West of the United Kingdom.

The sampling process made no attempt to offer clarity to the intent to sustain a contribution from 'real' voices and was open to a range of young people through information passed through agencies to young people to consider. Agencies promoted the study to young people and voluntary participants emerged to participate in the project. The principle of reducing a determination of bias to ascertain a level of marginalisation within the sample group was removed by retaining an open offer to participants. The ethical consideration of identifying or interpreting sample group would further affect the positionality the research team would begin from (Crenshaw, 1989). Parental consent as an ethical consideration was established alongside the discussion with young people around the intentions of the research with a natural right to withdraw at any stage. Ethical approval determined the need for the provision of information for participants that signposted to support organisations (BERA 2019).

The 'indirect approach' to participant interviews (Moshuus and Eide, 2016) has been developed through the synthesis of an action research approach and a clear notion of inside/outside researcher role. Millgan (2016) considers the variance of 'inside', 'outside' and 'inbetweener' as researcher roles in relation to participative methodologies and validates the benefit of authentic participant knowledge. The valuable perspective through participant knowledge creates opportunity for co-construction is fundamentally developed through an equitable relationship between participant and researcher (Groundwater-Smith et al. 2014).

The nature of co-inquiry with participants, students and academics places the framework of an equalities' literacy as a practice tool to facilitate an open dialogue within which young people take ownership and lead the conversation. With roots emergent in informal education approaches and in the developing arena of establishing qualitative data through a process of active listener role enables participants to represent their expert knowledge and experience as Jeffs and Smith (2005) raise in relation to young people's participation.

As a methodology, we aim to determine 'what' young people consider and perhaps from their individual stories 'why' they view their experience in a specific way.

Young people from a formal education setting alongside focus groups with young people in a supported housing organisation were engaged with to create varied data collection and sets. The variance in settings create a diverse range of responses based upon the location that young people were familiar with and secure in relation to self. The indirect approach establishes the ethnographic biographies with a connection to the unstructured interview technique (Tanggaard and Brinkman, 2015). The choice to facilitate the discussions in a place in which young people were familiar was offered as an element of overall consideration of young people's involvement in the process.

Another main ethical consideration required throughout this research and its dissemination process, is the idea of power. Participants have engaged in a participative process which should not aim to gather data in isolation and therefore be presented and as an outcome be merely tokenistic (Pascal and Bertram, 2014). In line with the 'indirect approach' (Moshuus and Eide, 2016) this means the study and overall research philosophy must clearly and honestly demonstrate the important views and opinions of young people as participants rather than interpreting or misrepresenting. This also leads to questions around the responsibilities of researchers to ensure these voices are then heard by and effectively presented to relevant individuals or groups (Costley et al. 2010).

The ongoing process will determine a revision to the existing 'equalities literacy' that has been employed to establish codes and review and adapt the approach.

The Equalities Literacy Framework
The EQL (Stuart et al., 2019) was developed throughout 2018-19 as a conceptual framework for the project. The model accounts for the privilege and deprivation that occurs in educational settings, and the structures and agency that interplay to create outcomes for individuals and groups of young people. It is not possible to review this entire framework within the scope of this paper, however, figure one is provided to illustrate the whole EQL framework. This paper focusses on element four – the technologies of oppression or liberation, and within that hones in on one area of oppression / liberation, namely expectations placed on young people in schools.
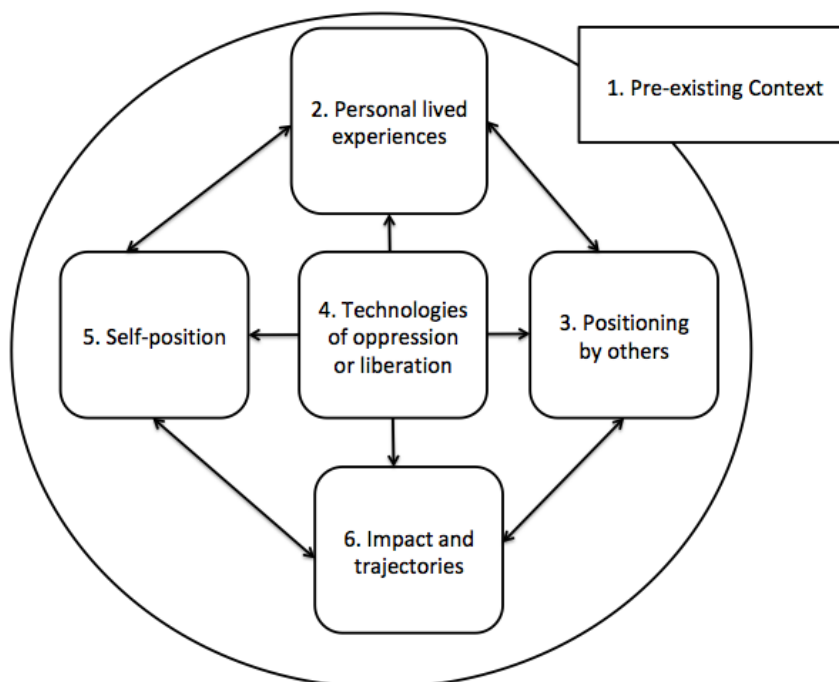
Figure 1. The Equalities Literacy Framework.

Literature Review
In the EQL, the technologies of oppression or liberation are the forces that come to bear on a young person. These do not compel the young person to be or behave in a certain way as they continue to have the agency (Maynard and Stuart, 2019) to act how they wish. These technologies are structural and social forces that do, however, exert a considerable influence on the young people. Figure one above shows that these are the ways in which people unconsciously and consciously position the individual (and groups). The self-position an individual (or group) then takes is in response to these technologies.

Within this paper we explore the oppression or liberation manifested in the expectations on young people in schools. We took this focus as it was a prime theme in the narratives of the ten young people interviewed. This is, however, only one element of the technologies, which itself is only one element of the entire EQL.

The existence of expectations creates a benchmark or an ideal to which young people have to live up to. If they do not do so, they may be stereotyped and labelled as 'successful' or 'failures' (Dorling, 2010). Such labels may be carried with us throughout our lives.

This process of labelling begins to erode individual characteristics from a person. Whether they are a school 'failure' or 'high achiever', those labels reduce the person to that single object in a process known as 'objectification' (Bourdieu, 2003). In addition, the expectation young people need to live up in in schools are impersonal ideals, cardboard cut-outs to which the young person must fit themselves. Once objectified (e.g. as a school failure) and stripped of human characteristics (Nussbaum, 2004, Brown, 2010) it is possible for the education system to become wilfully blind to individual circumstance and need (Heffernan, 2011). This is one reason why the EQL is a potent tool for use within schools as it renders context and individual lived experiences visible.

In the extreme, these 'school failures' can be treated as distasteful, as 'socially abject' (Tyler, 2013). The media coverage of youth portrays them as; 'lazy', 'hoodied', 'rioters', 'promiscuous', 'gang members' and so on (Tyler, 2013; Dorling, 2010, Blackman and Rogers, 2017). Once viewed in this way, society can soon believe that the misfortunes and disadvantages of youth (such as school failure) is their own fault. This paves the way for a meritocratic society that sees successful young people as deserving of their success and disadvantaged young people as deserving of their failure McNamee and Miller (2014). Such strong discourses can lead to the creation of a hegemonic view of families who 'fail' and accordingly they may adopt a habitus as a 'failing family' in cycles of intergenerational failure (Bourdieu, 2003).

Analysis, Findings and Discussion
This introductory quote sets the scene for the rest of this section illustrating expectations of doing well, conforming, and being an adult:

> Participant D: I'll start with this, as a young person, I am being put under pressure by school, by my parents, by people around me, to do well and focus on my future and go above and beyond in whatever I do but I am not told a lot about what's going on, so like I'm told that you have to do well, you have to do well, but I don't know how to do well a lot of the time, and also there's this whole thing of; oh yeah, you are going to be an adult soon, that's the thing and I don't know how to be adult or anything like that, so that is very scary for me and stuff like that; yeah.

We will now turn to each of three key expectations: to achieve, to live within a meritocracy and to behave like a child from an empirical and theoretical perspective.

Expectations of Achievement
The young people spoke about the expectations placed on them by teachers to achieve highly:

> Participant E: There's a lot of pressure especially around this time and next year at this time about exams, especially for year 10's and 11's, which we are, it's all about these exams, to predict your grades for your GCSE's and what you get on your GCSE's, tells you what colleges will accept you, what you should take in college, and it's all, it's a lot to deal with as well as everything else that goes on with school and the closer we get to our GCSE's, the more pressure that is put on us and the more that is expected of us and it's really hard to deal with.

This is an example of objectification, as young people are reduced to mere exam results and institutions become wilfully blind to individuality. The attainment discourse becomes hegemonic when also validated by OFSTED (Sellgren, 2018), limiting the freedom of teachers and schools to act otherwise. The habitus of schools is data driven (Boyle, 2001).

This focus on results and outcomes led to the young people feeling as if they were in a 'sausage factory':

> YP2: School is all about learning and they don't get time or attention in school. It's like well done, congratulations, bye, next person comes in.

The expectation to achieve highly stands in contrast to the expectation from peers to be 'cool' which involved low levels of studying:

> Participant F: I have been through some stuff at school, like labelled as a weird kid because I help out in school, I do stuff with like R.E. and chaplaincy and I read, I am not on the sports teams I am bad at sports but I am good at academics so I will represent academically and stuff because I put a lot of work into my tests and stuff, they labelled me as this weird kid who, oh my god you actually studied for that kind of thing.

The three quotes highlight some of the important developmental tasks to complete in the adolescence (Coleman, 2006), reconciling different demands and configuring who you will be in response. Arguably young people need an unconditional space in which to go about this work (Lawler, 2008), and schools are not necessarily those spaces.

Meritocratic Expectations
The young people were acutely aware of the inequalities that played out in their schools. Rewards such as attention and help of the withdrawal of those privileges were in response to student labels, image and behaviour.

> Participant F: going back to the drama department, they put pupils in a position where they, the good ones who get the good grades bring up their face, like, hey look at us we're amazing, but then there are other students that may be struggling more, they are not put as much pressure or influence, they might get more attention, like start acting out a bit more to try and get that sort of stuff but they are not listened to, they're just come down, brought down on and it's not how things should be run.

> YP3: Yes I think it's nice when teachers pay attention to what the students want, if they don't, then that's how the students feel uncared for. One said 'if you don't turn up to class and put the effort in then I won't bother to turn up to results day to congratulate you. You do you, I'll do me, if you can't be bothered then I can't be bothered'. And I think that is what got me, the attitude of not being bothered.

This inequitable response to different students reproduces social structures and reduces the opportunities for social mobility (Bourdieu, 2003).

Some adults seem to have adopted the dominant meritocratic view that a good job can be gained by working hard as shown in this young person's narrative:

> Participant F: And the fact like that it is an education so that seems like a big deal to me because I have grown up in the influence that because I have to do well in school because I have to get this job, and I can do this!, and that's how I will get a sustainable future, I have grown up under pressure from that from an adult who has told me exactly how I have to live and planned out my future for me and he's tried to get me into loads of stuff from a young age which I really didn't want to do so education is and will be a major thing that puts a lot of worries in my mind when I am trying to do other stuff.

This adds expectations that endure beyond school life and add pressure to attaining results. Arguably, the certainty of securing a job at all, let alone a good one, is questionable in our current society (Jones, 2015).

The young people's understanding of school was so sophisticated they could identify the pedagogical and curriculum tools that reinforced inequality:

> Participant B: Yes, because not everyone, like XXXX said about sets, that is not giving everyone the same chance as everyone else is getting, like they are learning different things to get higher grades but people in lower sets are learning different things that won't get the very high grades and stuff like that, but not everyone has been given the same chances, it's like even in primary school, at our school we were split up into different like, if you were better at something you do higher bit and if you are not as good you do something else, but we should all get taught the same thing so we have something to build on.

This is indicative of the wider ailments of the educational system in the UK with rising class sizes, reduced school budgets, and a highly pressurised exam led curriculum. Further, education is increasingly addressing issues that were addressed by wider services which have also been cut such as mental health and youth work provision (Skidelsky, 2018). In this context 'setting' is used to make teaching efficient, although evidence shows it impacts negatively on learning for all (Taylor, 2017). In this respect the meritocracy is operationalised through neoliberalism – teachers each held accountable for the results of their classes regardless of who is in them (Davies, 2017). Neoliberalism, as another hegemonic discourse, confines what teachers can and cannot do, their agency is resource limited and rule bound.

Expectation of Conformity
Many quotes from the young people referred to the frequent expectations that they conform to changing demands. At one moment listening passively to the adults, and at others taking on responsibility for the world. This is another difficult tension for young people to reconcile in adolescence – when to be a child, when to be an adult, and how to respond to these expectations. Despite the need for this developmental task, the message from schools is clear:

> Participant F: But the school can treat the students however they want, and there is nothing in place to protect students apart from what the school goes on about, and a lot of this is to save face, the school cares about the exam results not the pupils.

From this young person's perspective the school had total power.

Some young people found the classroom environment challenging as it also constrained actions:

> Participant C: Is it heck, well the overall concept of school is a struggle for me, like coming to school sometimes is a struggle, being in school is a struggle, learning is a struggle and going home is a struggle, just the whole idea around school makes me feel rubbish and you do not have much choice but to get through it because you have to go to school and it is just something that adults don't necessarily understand, adults don't understand the way school makes some people feel, the way, it is not necessarily the school fault, but some people will find that school makes it hard academically because personally I know that I am capable of doing quite well, but the other aspects of communicating with people, socialising with people and asking for help if you need it and the whole environment in the classroom doesn't work, because when you are in the classroom you are sat in a certain place sometimes for the whole year so you are limited to the three people that are around you and you don't get to know people in the whole class and that puts you on edge and feel uncomfortable to put your hand up and volunteering answers and teachers get a bad image of you for not contributing but you have the ideas in your head and you want to say them but the people in the class make you feel, not intentionally, they make it more difficult because you are limited to who you can talk to, when you can talk to them and what you talk to them about.

This young person clearly found the formulaic learning environment, present in many classrooms, stifled his/her potential. A more experiential and democratic approach to learning may have enabled the young person to realise their potential more fully (Giroux, 2005).

Schools clearly expect young people to 'behave' in subservient, passive modes akin to the 'banking' model of education (Freire, 1972):

> Participant F: I feel like a lot of people that end up dropping out of school, is because the school system doesn't work for them, it's like you have to be disciplined and have to be good, but that doesn't work like sitting still for like an hour and whispering to someone, and the most boring things, so you end up doodling and then put on a, and it just doesn't work for everyone and stuff….. I think she left, but the way that school tried to deal with her issues and problems just didn't help any, forcing her to be in lessons didn't work for her, sending her to learning support to do her lessons didn't work, there just wasn't a correct option for her.

> Participant E: There are teacher that are really understanding and really nice and then you've got teachers who have mood swings consistently, and give you absolute whiplash, but then we have got teachers that are constantly strict, and there are people in my year, in our year even, that are terrified to go into a lesson, if they haven't got their book, or haven't done their homework, because this teacher is so scary.

As these narratives reveals, this inflexible and dehumanised (Nussbaum, 2004) approach can lead to schools failing young people rather than young people failing schools.

Within these hierarchies are tight definitions of what is acceptable, many of which are outdated. Here, expectations around appearance reveal school rules that lag behind contemporary thinking and that confine the students individuality:

> YP3: Yeah, and we had an art teacher and she used to have tattoos and really vibrant hair colour and that and the new person said girls can't wear make-up and that and the art teachers said she wouldn't tell the students to not dye their hair and the new assistant head said it would distract the other students, I mean it's just a colour, like blue and that and how will that distract other students, it's just stupid. I mean if it was something like I dyed my hair pink and spiked and students couldn't see over it, then I get it, but if it's just bright… and the art teacher said that students should be able to express themselves. The new assistant head didn't like that even though she has a face caked in make-up. I think the teachers should set an example for the students and she was hypocritical.

Ultimately the lack of understanding that school's have of contemporary youth, the inflexibility of rules and the power hierarchies lead to young people questioning whether school life is a life worth living:

> Participant C: No, 'cause although it's free, I think everyone has to have an education, they have gone about having an education in the wrong way, to making school the centre of everything in young people's lives, if you come to school for 6 hours a day and get home for four o clock and then you do homework, for goodness knows how long and then you have an hour to do what you want before it is time to go to bed, so your time is limited, to what you can do and you do not have enough time to live, because you are too busy wrapped up about school…. if you are wasting it [life] by sitting back behind a desk for six and a half hours every day and then going home and sitting at your own desk or the kitchen table and you are not being involved in chaos, you are not really living a life at all.

These multiple expectations create stress for young people:

> Participant C: Because there are loads of different people that have expectations and you feel like you have to live up to the expectations and it puts pressure on you and could get stressed about it, and then it's just a cycle of annoyance.

As a result mental health concerns were also a prevalent these in this data corpus.

Despite how the infantalising approach of schools the young people felt they were able to handle responsibility and to be adults:

> Participant D: I think those are examples of being treated like a really young person, I know we are but like as a child, instead of someone who is mature and can handle things like this.

The power of 'the school' is also enacted through a selectivity of response – some young people are deemed 'capable' and given responsibility, whereas others are ignored, silenced and treated as 'incapable' (Butler, 2006). Young people therefore have very different experiences of being in school illustrating privilege and deprivation working in tandem.

Young People's Recommendations
The young people made the following recommendations.

Teachers and wider practitioners need to invest in good relationships with young people:

> Participant E: Yeah, she scared the life out of me, if a teacher makes a student cry then they are fundamentally not a good teacher, teaching isn't just about being smart and knowing the subject, it is about being able to communicate with young people.

> YP2: Yeah, sometimes people have moved here it's obviously because of tough backgrounds or experiences, I mean whether it's abusive or something and if people start to ask questions. But you do get a sense that you are cared about too. And that can be a bit of a shock. I don't really know how to describe it…..and all the staff here, they do like generally care and take an interest in you. And you get 'how was your day?', and 'what are you up to?', and 'you did that really well', and 'that was awesome', you don't get that at home and it's weird and intimidating.

Teachers and wider practitioners need to be reflective and reflexive about their assumptions of the world:

> YP3: that's what we need, someone who can understand that their situation is so totally different to our situation and that everything doesn't work like it does in their world.

Schools need relevant curriculum:

> YP2: I wouldn't say it's the schools fault as the ways schools are fun are out dated there are no life skills, you know an example could be learning something like kinds and queens, no one knows how to do tax returns – you need living skills like in home economics, there is no real stuff anymore.

Schools need equitable pedagogical practices:

> Participant C: so rather than being setted for stuff like that, their focus should be on what they are good at rather than what they are not so that they can progress and make something out of their skills rather than being forced to do specifically well in something that they know they are not good at.

Society needs to support young people's mental health better, whether that is in schools or other wider provision:

> YP5: Hmm, well if I was prime minister I would change a few things, I'd make schools a better place, I'd say have a more of a counseling section in each school for the sake of kids who are like me who might have problems, who might be in care. It would help them focus more, support for anyone who needed it.

Young people are and want to be involved in global politics:

> Participant D: …. We could hear the protest outside and it was really loud and you could hear the drums and everything and it was all the adults just kind of laughing at them and like thinking it's like Government and it's not going to do anything and I think that's not really fair on people because we want to make a change because we are the next people you know and as I said before and it's not fair that we are just passed off and being done like for skipping school but you are trying to do it for your future you know, you know about that Girl Greta Thunberg at the UN I don't' know if you saw it, she was the one who started it all and she is like our age now and she is passed off as a child, you know.

These recommendations create a challenging manifesto for change. One of the major challenges is that these issues and recommendations need to be made at a systemic level – they are not just the fault of teachers and practitioners – but representative of dominant discourses. Young people want different relationships with teachers and practitioners but this is only possible if time and resources are freed up. Young people want a more meaningful curriculum and equitable pedagogy, but these are not currently in the gift of teachers to change. As such, multi-level recommendations are needed.

	Micro – classrooms and schools	*Meso - government*	*Macro - society*
Relationships	Person-centred Asset-balanced	Change school measurement to give space for relationships	Value everyone equally in context
Curriculum	Relevant Meaningful Balance of knowledge and skills	Increase professional autonomy and reduce curricular restrictions	Co-create curriculum that work equitably for all
Pedagogy	Experiential Personalised Relational Equitable	Increase professional autonomy and support with professional supervision	Adopt equitable expectations and value a diversity of learning experiences
Politics	Run democratic classrooms and schools	Consult and deliver on policy with young people	Value young people's solutions for the future view

Conclusions

This paper has examined data in the light of one aspect of EQL – technologies of oppression, and within that expectations. Theory led us to understand the application of labelling, stereotyping, othering, social abjection, hegemonic meritocracy and habitus in schools from young people's lived experiences. The data showed that young people perceive a meritocracy, they feel highly pressurised to achieve, and yet are simultaneously controlled and treated as children. Unsurprisingly, this diversity of expectations creates stress for them. It is not a stress they can avoid as societal hegemonic

discourses shape schools and in turn young people. Whilst these discourses might be affected, the journey through them is also inevitable as a key part of their adolescent development.

The youth recommended teachers relate to them as individuals, offer them a meaningful curriculum and pedagogy and involve them in politics. In addition to these recommendations, we also recommend ensuring there is the space and due attention given to the important task of maturation and identity development during adolescence, whether that is in school or wider services. We have broadened the young people's perspectives from a classroom and school level to a meso and macro level, which raises the challenge of affecting change. The onus is now on us to make that change happen with young people as a result of this new information from young people. This may involve a reconceptualization of the purpose of young people's education and their involvement in it at a societal level. Schools may have great expectations of young people, but we also have great expectations of practitioners, schools, the government and wider society.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1999). *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyle, D. (2001). *The Tyranny of Numbers.* London: Flamingo.

Bourdieu, P. (2003). *Participant Objectification*. Lecture at Colege du France.

Butler, J. (2006). *Precarious Life.* London: Verso.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist and Anti-Racial Politics", *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140: 139-167

Davies, W. (2017). *The Limits of Neoliberalism.* London: Sage Publishing.

Dorling, D. (2010). *Injustice – why social inequality persists.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Fine, M. (2018). *Just Research in Contentious Times. Widening the Methodological Imagination*. New York: Teachers University Press.

Foyer Federation (2019). *What is a Foyer?* Accessed 1/5/19 at https://foyer.net/about-foyers/what-is-a-foyer/

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London. Penguin Books.

Giroux, H.A. (2005). *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life*, 2nd Edition. Boulder CO.: Paradigm Publishers.

Heffernan, M. (2012). *Wilful Blindness and Why we Ignore the Obvious at our Peril.* London: Simon and Schuster.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (2005). *Informal Education: Conversation, Democracy and Learning*. Nottingham: Educational Heretics Press.

Jones, O. (2015). *The Establishment And how they get away with it.* London: Penguin.

Kemmis, S. (2009) "Action Research as a Practice Based Practice", *Educational Action Research*, 17 (3): 463-474. DOI: 10.1080/09650790903093284

Lawler, S. (2008). *Identity, Sociological Perspectives.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Maynard, L., Stuart, K., (2018). *Promoting the Wellbeing of Young People through Empowerment and Agency: A Critical Perspective.* London: Routledge.

McNamee, S., Miller, R. (2014) *The meritocracy myth.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Moshuus, G. and Eide, K. (2016) "The Indirect Approach: How to Discover Context When Studying Marginal Youth", *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, January-December, 1-10. Doi:10.1177/609406916656193.

Nussbaum, M. (2004). *Hiding from Humanity: disgust, Shame and the Law.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Pascal, C. and Bertram, T. (2014). 'Transforming Dialogues' in Clark, A., Flewitt, R., Hammersley, M. and Robb, M. (eds.) *Understanding Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage in association with The Open University.

Sellgren, K. (2018). "Ofsted Admits to Adding to 'Teach to the Test' Mentality'", *BBC News*. Accessed 11/6/19 at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-45560165

Skidelsky, R. (2018). "How austerity broke Britain", *New Statesman,* 12-18th October, 2018.

Stuart, K. et al., (2019). "Developing an Equalities Literacy for Practitioners Working with Children, Young People and Families through Action Research", *Educational Action Research*, March 2019. DOI: 10.1080/09650792.2019.1593870

Tanggaard, L. and Brinkman, S. (2015). "Interviewet Samtalen Som Forskningsmetode", *Kvaliative Metoder: En Grundbog*, pp.29-53, edited by S. Brinkman and L. Tanggaard. Kopenhavn; Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Taylor, B. (2017). "Factors deterring schools from mixed attainment grouping practice", *British Educational Research Association Conference*, 5th September 2017, Manchester.

Tyler, I. (2013). *Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain: Revolting Subjects.* London: Zed Books.