

WHAT'S NOT TO LIKE?

A Case Study Exploring the Extended School for Disadvantaged Primary School Children

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Karen Coulthard, July 2019

Abstract

Extended Schools formed part of a range of initiatives introduced by the New Labour government to address disadvantage and contribute to reducing the achievement gap. After-school activities were introduced as part of this policy offering additional learning opportunities for pupils and affordable child-care for parents. This research examines the impact made by the experience of after-school activities on the attitudes and engagement in learning of disadvantaged children within an inner city primary school. Examining the current effect on pedagogy in schools by the external pressures of standards in core areas and statutory assessment it argues that aspects of learning no longer feasible in the school day may be realised in clubs. Whilst not arguing against the need for children to attain good standards in core subjects it examines the limitations of this policy.

Explored through a single case study, this research gathered the perceptions of the value attributed to this provision from a range of stakeholders. Fifteen children, 12 parents and three Extended School staff contributed to this qualitative research through semi-structured interviews, reflecting on the impact of their experience and participation over time. Additional policy and organisational data was provided by the headteacher, setting the context for this provision within the aims and aspirations of the school.

Contributing to this area of research, I would propose that these activities offer children a contrasting approach to learning and time to develop additional skills, develop expertise and boost confidence through a range of activities, within mixed-aged groupings, unavailable due to time constraints during the school day. This is of particular value to disadvantaged children as my findings concur with research in this area that suggests the Extended School is the sole opportunity for these children to engage with formalised activities beyond the school day.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. Word Count 44,861.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

1-1 Introduction

Innovative schemes introduced as part of the New Labour Government's 2001 White Paper, *Schools Achieving Success*, included the proposal to create formalised Extended School services, incorporating the provision of after-school clubs in areas experiencing disadvantage, set geographically within locations recording high levels of deprivation. Lead researchers of the development of the Extended School, Cummings et al (2011), analysed the political context in which this provision arose identifying New Labour's commitment to education was based on the belief that in order to compete within the context of economic globalisation the UK would only become competitive if its 'workers were able to sell high levels skills and knowledge' (p.11). Low achievement in any sector of society was perceived as a major hurdle to national economic prosperity and future global competitiveness. Cunningham (2012, p.16) would therefore see the implication for education in this light 'as a form of economic investment... aimed at producing a supply of labour...that will secure national prosperity'. Central to the concern regarding standards was the achievement gap defined by Clark as 'the observed parity in a number of measures in academic performance between different groups' (2014, p.3). Currently the focus of the achievement gap highlights those pupils in receipt of Free School Meals (FSM) who do not meet national standards in statutory assessments compared to those not in receipt of this allowance. Increasingly, policy has addressed those pupils in receipt of FSM leading to a range of measures aiming to ensure children from disadvantaged backgrounds achieve in line with national expectations.

Whitty and Anders (2014) proposed that it was the failure of initial policy aimed at driving up standards that resulted in the plethora of initiatives that were proposed in the 2001 White Paper and whilst regarding most as ineffective acknowledged the positive contribution Extended Schools made to poorer families 'providing stability and improving children's enjoyment with learning' (p.126). Ball would argue that the economics of globalisation continue to gain increased importance in education policy, played out within an international field, resulting in 'other purposes or outcomes from education [being] threatened with subordination to economic necessities' (2017, p.46).

Although data suggests a reduction in the achievement gap over time (DfE, 2015) addressing the disparity in outcomes for these distinct groups remains core to raising standards within education and policy has continued to prioritise this inequality. Significantly, it is generally understood that poor academic achievement equates with lower wages and higher unemployment in adulthood; therefore the achievement gap is 'a key mechanism for transmitting poverty from one generation

to the next' (National Audit Office [NAO], 2015a, p.5). Highlighting the issue of generational poverty New Labour's successors, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition Government (referred to as the Coalition, 2010- 2015), focused policy and introduced an advisory committee to address Social Mobility and Child Poverty, currently still operating (re-named the Social Mobility Commission, 2016), to challenge this perceived deep-rooted status quo. However, Reay (2017) would stress the impact of continued policy that focuses on standards has little to do with the needs of pupils. She concurs with Ball that it is 'primarily a political project for education in relation to national competitiveness and the demands of globalisation' (p.62); therefore, scrutiny of policies to determine effectiveness becomes crucial if the life chances of disadvantaged pupils are to improve.

The following is an exploration of the impact the Extended School provision may have on primary aged pupils, highlighting those deemed disadvantaged, focusing specifically on non-statutory activities that take place outside of the school day for those children who elect to participate. This research has gathered qualitative feedback from a diverse group of children, parents and Extended School staff concerning their perceived value of learning experienced in a range of after-school activities within one primary school.

As part of a major review, the governors of the focus school, Canthorpe Primary (name changed ensuring anonymity), wished to evaluate the contribution the current Extended School made to pupils' development with the aim of improving the programme. The school is situated within an inner London borough, an area associated over time with significant poverty and the challenge of raising standards in schools. A new headteacher and high turn-over of staff led to a strategic audit of the school, aiming to ensure a period of low achievement was reversed and pupil progress aligned with national standards. This research aimed to provide insights into the experiences and views of stakeholders in the Extended School provision, thus contributing to its future development by:

- providing an analysis of current policy and rationale for Extended School activities;
- exploring ways the Extended School can contribute to children's learning particularly those children facing disadvantage;
- supporting the headteacher to make future strategic decisions regarding the structure and development of the provision;
- contributing to a wider debate with other school leaders on the desirability and format of the Extended School from this case study;

- including the voice of parents and children in the debate thus enabling this to be shared with all stakeholders to identify the value participants gave to the provision.

1-2 Research Question

Present government policy would indicate a shift in focus from New Labour's concept of the Extended School to support disadvantaged pupils through the introduction of the Coalition Government's more prescriptive funding stream the Pupil Premium (Ball, 2017; Allen, 2018). The significant shift in focus and funding risks a reduction of the school specific extended provision, reducing opportunities for disadvantaged pupils. Although research supports the view that extended activities contribute to pupils' development (Diss & Jamie, 2016; Chanfreau et al, 2016), further evidence may be necessary to guarantee the retention of this service within a climate of significant budgetary constraints. My research aimed to contribute to the body of evidence that explored the opportunities and the quality of learning possible within this service collated from one case study primary school. This was realised through the exploration of learning opportunities offered through the Extended School activities as perceived by pupils, including those experiencing disadvantage, their parents and staff involved in the delivery of the service. It was not within its jurisdiction to prove causality on standards of attainment connected to test results but aimed to explore the range of learning that was perceived within the activities including links to academic subjects, knowledge, skills and emotional and social development. Interview data collected from children, parents and teachers focused on the value of Extended School experiences and how they believed this contributed to individual learning and development.

The following research question aimed to appraise the perceived value of the Extended School by determining where stakeholders identified its qualities and strengths:

1. What impact does the Extended School have on the attitudes to and engagement with learning of disadvantaged children in an inner city primary school?

The experiences of children in receipt of FSM and non-FSM were compared to identify the significant features of each groups' belief in how learning was supported to highlight any difference in perceptions between the groups of interviewees. Furthermore, an analysis of the perceived impact the provision made facilitated an exploration into whether it may be claimed it can influence pupil development and act as a spur to enhance learning. The outcomes of the research aimed to support the development of a set of priorities for the Extended School, ensuring a good match to the activities pupils and parents value.

1-3 Background

My experience in schools has been within an inner London borough, within an area recognised for considerable transformation within the last two decades. I worked through this change which was considerably influenced by the introduction of an innovative management structure to replace local authority control introduced in 2002. This period launched a transformation in schools coinciding with the introduction of significant policies as part of New Labour's aim of greater equality of opportunity for all students. The focus of my thesis examines practice related to policies introduced during this period of innovation and development both locally and nationally.

In the extensive period I worked in the borough, including 26 years as head teacher of a large primary school, I experienced how innovative practice contributed to supporting disadvantaged pupils' access experiences otherwise not available to them. My school was situated within the boundaries set by five local authority housing estates, the catchment area the school served. This area presented challenges as local facilities were inadequate to meet the needs of many vulnerable families from the estates who required intervention and support in many areas. The school developed as a major centre for ensuring children and families had access to opportunities and agencies that both supported and enhanced their options. Developing policy to enhance learning opportunities for pupils remained the focus which included facilitating collaborative projects to introduce families, anchored on the estates, to much wider and advantageous social networks. As a result of this work our school was one of two in the borough recognised in research by Karsna, Laws and Hayre (2010) as employing provision, such as the Extended School, 'to promote inspiring models of schools contribution to community cohesion' (p.3).

Raising standards, a constant challenge as children arrived in school far below national levels of attainment, dominated school action planning, ensuring all pupils received maximum support to achieve. Accommodating this within a rich, broad and balanced curriculum was paramount as pupils needed to encounter a variety of experiences if they were to broaden their horizons and raise their expectations and awareness of opportunities open to them beyond their schooling; a significant focus for this was the development of the Extended School. Consistent liaison with parents and the community ensured we were not only informed about what was needed but also gave parents a voice in developing the provision, not something given the highest priority within the stream of government initiatives. This research gave me the opportunity to broaden my understanding gained from my own experience by exploring the Extended School provision within a school not dissimilar to my own.

1-4 Rationale for Research

Interviews with parents, central to my Institution Focus Study (IFS) research carried out in the same borough, although in a different primary school, recognised the value attributed to the Extended School (Coulthard, 2014). Carried out whilst headteacher within the school this case study explored the qualities in parent partnerships linked to the effective enhancement of children's learning. Semi-structured interviews with KS1 and KS2 children, their parents and teachers explored the current strengths of the partnership between home and school and the contribution parental involvement makes towards learning whilst identifying strategies to improve practice. Significantly, the value of Extended School's programme was highlighted by parents as they believed it offered their children opportunities to improve their learning and develop skills beyond the school day. Importantly, parents stressed this was something they felt ill-equipped to provide themselves as their children progressed through KS2, suggesting a reliance on the after-school provision to broaden experience and support learning.

Dependency on schools is not unique as it reflects data gathered by Siraj & Mayo's in 2014 (p.112) where parents voiced their expectations of schools to provide the type of learning support they did not feel able to facilitate from home. Furthermore, it emphasises the reliance on schools to act as 'community anchors for families' (Power et al, 2011, p.53), often compensating for a paucity of accessible and economically viable local facilities in those communities categorised as disadvantaged. The IFS research parents were similarly vocal in requesting an extension of the provision, stressing the lack of affordable opportunities for children within the neighbourhood, particularly in the areas of basic skills development, sports and the arts. The strengths of the parents' arguments within the IFS research and a lack of viable evidence available to support further expansion of the Extended School, led directly to this research informing its methodology and format.

Specific evidence quantifying successful outcomes of Extended Schools is inconclusive although recent research has contributed to an argument supporting its effectiveness (Diss & Jamie, 2016, Chanfreau et al, 2016). Increasingly, literature in the field reflects a general consensus that after-school provision for pupils has the potential to both support and extend learning and may contribute to the improvement in standards across subjects. Early research concluded there was 'much enthusiastic descriptions of 'extended' activities and many claims about the potential, but very little evidence as to their longer-term impact which might support these claims' (Dyson & Robson, 1999, p.6); it may be argued that this position persists. Quantitative data collected by the Education Endowment Fund (EEF) (2015) in core learning areas offered as part of the after-school

service would indicate overall only low improvement results for the moderate funding required. Significantly, this included the important caveat that achievement of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds is more than twice that of other pupils, a view further supported in research by Kadar, (2014) and Chanfreau et al (2016). Nevertheless, feedback on the provision of broad and balanced learning opportunities is limited and specific examples of the contribution a wide variety of after-school activities make to pupils' development is similarly lacking, highlighting a gap in current data. Equally limited is direct feedback from stakeholders on their perceptions of the provision's advantages and their preferences for activities, data that may prove valuable when reviewing the success of current provision and designing future programmes ensuring pupils remain engaged and motivated.

As headteacher, introducing a range of Extended School activities from the policy's inception, I gained valuable experience and insight into the development of this provision and the opportunities it could afford pupils; particularly in the case for the participation in the after-school programme. Specific LA coordinated structures within the borough ensured maximum support for schools within locally managed networks. As the headteacher representative on my local Extended School Cluster Board I accessed data regarding the programme's roll-out across 14 settings within my locality which gave valuable insight into how local schools developed this provision. Additionally, as a non-executive director on the board of the LA I reviewed specific, quantitative data concerning the provision in all settings across the borough. However, limited time and capacity to fully explore the perception of children and parents regarding the impact they believed it made to their overall learning has left me with unanswered questions; this research was a valuable opportunity to address this gap in my understanding whilst exploring further potential outcomes of this facility. Furthermore, it stands as a contribution to the support of current school leadership who wish to develop their own extended provision.

Increasing demands on the school day and the continued focus on 'high-stakes assessment' (Wrigley, 2010, p.12) may restrict opportunities in schools to develop innovative approaches to learning and the curriculum. Although the Extended School was intended to provide additional opportunities to children and not compensate for the school day the current constraints on the development of a broad and balanced curriculum due to time pressures and the dominance of the standards agenda focuses attention on the opportunities after-school provision may provide. However, discussions supporting this provision need to consider the repercussions of children spending more time in activities, such as breakfast and after-school clubs, away from the home. Ridge (2002), considering the focus on increased employment for parents, highlights this concern, questioning childcare facilities for working parents and stressing the need to ensure quality

provision especially for low income families. The Extended School, introduced as part of the system to support working parents, was the singular provision where schools could introduce originality and flexibility, accommodating individual speciality or local interest to dictate provision and design. Martin (2016) identifies the specific flexibility of the policy, without the constraints of pre-set requirements regarding outcomes, as its strength in making a significant contribution to the debate on what schools could offer to address disadvantage. Offering families the opportunity to contribute to operational decisions to meet their current learning needs and interests the Extended School could provide complimentary programmes to neighbourhood facilities, extending choice and valuable learning and leisure opportunities for pupils. Retaining the opportunity to gather the specific views and experiences of stakeholders of this provision ensuring valuable insights are not lost is expedient as policy is eroded and practice reduced as a response to current priorities and financial constraints.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

2-1 Introduction

Literature was explored to determine the scope of this chapter, creating a context for the development of the Extended School. This was approached initially by reflecting on major decisions I made as a headteacher designing my school's provision, considering issues such as content, staffing and ultimate aims. This was further embedded within a review of related government policies which shaped practice and priorities. The chapter was further informed through the use of web resources including BEI, ERIC and EThos with additional information gathered through research produced by a range of agencies. Key words relevant to the perusal of search engines included Extended School, after-school clubs, disadvantaged pupils and Social Mobility. However, I retained an iterative approach throughout, maintaining a constant overview of recent developments and policy changes.

The chapter considers four aspects related to the development of Extended Schools. Firstly, a breakdown of initial policy outlines the introduction of this provision charting its development from the initial full service to its national roll-out considering this in the light of research over time. Secondly, the chapter outlines the current National Curriculum (NC) with its significant focus on core subjects highlighting the constraints this may generate in broad and balanced delivery. Furthermore, this is reviewed within the changes in education policy relative to the Extended School from its inception under New Labour, in the light of Barber's drive for 'deliverology' (2007), to the influence of Hirsch on the Coalition's redesigned 'knowledge curriculum' (2007). It considers how this pattern of change both influences and hinders development in schools. Thirdly, the contribution of the Extended School makes is reviewed alongside the constraints of current delivery within schools and considers current reflections on the theory promoted by Vygotsky (Kozulin et al, 2003) on practice with particular reference to outcomes highlighted by research from after-school clubs. Cunningham (2012) regards the curriculum as 'a site of competing influences' (p.27) and this section addresses a range of considerations schools need to balance to meet the needs of all pupils against a backdrop of current issues including poor mental health, gangs culture and the rise in obesity.

Finally, the focus on schools and the influences of current policy, which aims to address social mobility and greater equality of opportunity for those facing disadvantage, is considered in the light of the continued government policy on raising standards. This includes the profiling of those pupils in receipt of Free School Meals linked to the allocation of the Pupil Premium Grant as additional funding to support the reduction in the achievement gap.

2-2 Extended Schools and Related Research

Extra-curricular activities (ECA) have been traditionally embedded across many schools but the introduction of the Extended School, included in New Labour's 2001 White Paper, focused specifically on offering disadvantaged children enrichment opportunities previously inaccessible to them both 'within and beyond the school day' (DFES, 2001, p.28). This type of out-of-school learning was highlighted by Hirsch, a former adviser to the JRF (2007), as more associated with advantaged children who are more likely to participate in as a matter of course from home. Addressing disadvantage by extending the school day, whilst broadening and enriching provision, demonstrated the school's responsibility and contribution to ameliorating the consequences of poverty and social inequality. Guaranteeing affordable and easily accessible child care to support return-to-work programmes for parents was central to this facility, thus supporting other government economic policies to address 'worklessness' associated with 'lower educational attainment and reduced aspiration to gain employment' (DFE, 2011, p14). The project heralded a transformative role for schools 'to use their unique position within the community to extend services' (Diss & Jamie, 2016). Researching the development of four Full Extended School provisions Martin (2016) explored the potential for this policy to radically change the nature of schooling proposing it attempted to expand the function for schools relocating provision within a context of learning that engaged 'with broader understandings of pupils and their lives outside the classroom'(p.4). Supporting this argument Cummings et al (2011) recognised this as part of an international movement where growing awareness of 'equity issues in educational achievements, well-being and life chances' (p.2) have generated substantial initiatives including the USA, Australia and the Netherlands placing this policy within a global movement regarding the potential changing direction of schooling.

Two tiers of provision were originally sponsored within the Extended Schools programme. Initially, the Full Extended Schools project (FES) funded at least one school per Local Authority (LA) to provide wide ranging child and community services (Macbeath et al, 2007). Although reduced in numbers (currently 550 schools are recorded, DFE 2015-2016 profile) this model continues to deliver services between 8am and 6pm, 48 weeks a year; it is this specific initiative which led initial research on the Extended Schools Service (DfES, 2005, 2007). Following this research, all schools were encouraged to develop similar services matched to the needs of their pupils and local community, deemed mandatory by 2010. This provision included after-school classes, booster sessions, breakfast and homework clubs and holiday activities prioritising affordable child-care for working parents. An extensive 2012 report citing data collated from 1,500 schools, including interviews with parents and children, by Carpenter et al appraised the national development

confirming the extensive commitment schools made to the provision, recording specific programmes developed by the vast majority of schools, including 85% delivering after-school clubs. Although identifying barriers related to finance and, in a minority of cases, parental commitment, this research confirmed successful policy implementation. However, as a substantial report on the nationwide roll-out it identified the need to maintain a follow up of selected case-study schools to ascertain the long-term impact of the provision. A subsequent longitudinal study was designed to produce a more fully informed model of good practice but was cancelled by the newly elected Coalition Government in 2012, advocating instead that headteachers 'make their own judgement about what they would offer, given local circumstances' and resulting in a change in 'the scope of the evaluation' (correspondence through Freedom Of Information/ DFE, 2016 see Appendix 1 for full feedback). The service was subsequently deregulated, ring-fenced funding discontinued and authority-wide networks delegated to school level management eroding LA responsibility for the provision.

A further study published in 2012 (Carpenter et al, 2012a) identified the positive impact of the Pathfinder Project. This research specifically targeted LAs in receipt of additional funding to improve participation of disadvantaged pupils and to identify reasons where a lack of engagement was apparent. The report highlights the popularity of after-school activities within the extended provision citing two thirds of pupils wished to attend and also recognising that many activities were provided by external providers to increase options available to pupils. Similarly, the follow up research outlined within the report was cancelled resulting in only tentative data published which lacked an understanding of long-term outcomes of this specific funding for disadvantaged children. Changes in policy and the cancellation of ongoing research resulted in a lack of conclusive evidence as to the contribution the Extended School made to learning and achievement and was never addressed through the formalised structure of government review; subsequently, the provision has received marginal public scrutiny. Earlier research in the USA considered barriers to disadvantaged children participating in after-school programmes (Gardner et al, 2009) and concurred that cost was a significant barrier as was transportation to venues, conflicting obligations of children and the negative attitude towards school. Of particular significance was the difference in participation between older and younger pupils which saw 21% of secondary aged pupils stating a lack of interest compared to 8% of younger children. This would suggest that patterns of attendance are best secured before children move into secondary school.

The discontinuation of ring-fenced funding in 2011 created the challenge of locating financial support for the Extended School at a time when budgets were decreasing, leaving the impression that extended provision 'fell off the agenda' (Diss & Jamie. 2016, p.27). The problem in accounting

was exacerbated as Central Government argued that current services could be maintained as money was still allocated within the schools' block grant (ibid) although, in reality, this was hard to reconcile as increased cuts in real terms forced schools to make decisions regarding which services were sustainable. An indication of a re-evaluation of the value added by the Extended School provision by Central Government arose in 2016 with the allocation of £1.5 billion to 25% of selected secondary schools (Education White Paper); primary schools were not included in this proposal. This raised the opportunity to re-engage with the debate regarding the facility's contribution to raising standards following this injection of financial support re-introducing the policy of ring-fenced funding for ECA. However, following the significant change in government in July 2016, funding allocation was withdrawn, suggesting the apparent resurgence of interest was short-lived.

Maintaining flexibility in the early stages directly related to the freedom to innovate and a policy that did not require specific outcomes resulted in a range of aims and rationales. However, evidence from early research suggests that the service is generally characterized in two dimensions:

- a focus on students or the community;
- [with] aims to enrich a functional situation of intervention in identified problems (Dyson, Millward & Todd, 2002, p.v).

As schools created bespoke services, matched to the needs of their own pupils and community, like-for-like comparison of subsequent outcomes are difficult to ascertain. However, during gathering data for this thesis two recent, substantial research projects have restated the case for the Extended School by highlighting the specific contribution the provision makes to disadvantaged pupils. Research by Diss & Jamie (2016), sponsored by Child Poverty Action Group and the Family and Childcare Trust, based on an extensive nationwide survey of 1088 schools, mapped current Extended School provision and funding mechanisms. This research identified the extent to which the majority of schools subscribed to a range of services within this project whilst also questioning how far the provision had matched parental demands particularly concerning childcare provision. It concluded that the Extended School played a positive role in the promotion of social and emotional skills specifically for disadvantaged pupils, citing this as a tentative link to support Social Mobility and improved life chances. Stressing the cultural and social qualities the Extended School promote, it sees this creating a positive influence within the neighbourhood. The report finally questions the direction Extended Schools should take in the current climate and highlights the risk to the provision due to current financial constraints.

Secondly, Chanfreau et al (2016) focused specifically on out-of-school activities and involvement of disadvantaged pupils throughout KS1 and KS2 with data gathered through the Millennium Cohort

Study. The research investigated participation in out-of-school activities linked to attainment at end of KS tests and the possible links to social, emotional and behavioural outcomes. The research identified low take-up of organised activities for pupils outside of school recording barriers to involvement such as cost, transport and kit, supporting Gardner et al's (2009) conclusions, viewing Extended School activities as 'logistically manageable' (P.21) for parents. Results from this study showed participation positively associated with improved attainment tests at 11 with strong links to improved outcomes in social and emotional development. The report highlighted the need for further research to understand the content of after-school clubs and the features of the experience that results in improved outcomes.

This research aims to contribute to this discussion by further analysis of what aspects of the experience are perceived by stakeholders as contributing to learning and the development of skills. As the Extended School was not intended to supplement the school day it further explores the opportunities the provision offers that compliments statutory lessons and considers how additional activities impact on learning. Diss and Jamie (2016) and Chanfreau et al's (2016) research give a broad sweep of outcomes but does not identify the engagement that promotes this. This research intends to contribute to the debate by adding specific examples offered by stakeholders. Additionally, the above research confirms that disadvantaged pupils, unlikely to access activities beyond the school, especially benefit from this provision. In the light of the focus to ensure they are given opportunities to match those of their more advantaged peers, determining how this provision may support development is important. This research aims to contribute to the body of knowledge about this aspect of the Extended School and to highlight the benefit to those pupils who participate.

2-3 National Agenda for Education

2-3-1 National Curriculum

Research recognises the flexibility presented by the Extended School creating programmes that offer children opportunities not readily available to them elsewhere, citing this as central to its organisation and delivery (Cummings et al, 2011). Its intention was to compliment the experiences of the school day but was never intended to supplement the NC. However, a review of the extent of current framework highlights the dilemma schools are facing in providing a fully comprehensive curriculum covering all subjects effectively. The current version (2013) of 10 and 11 subjects for KS1 and KS2 respectively prescribes an aspirational curriculum for pupils presenting a paradox in a document heavily weighted towards content in English, maths and science (approximately 85% of the document is devoted to these subjects), leaving summary descriptions of expectations for the

Foundation Subjects (Religious Education is specified by local SACRE policy). Cunningham (2012), discussing the politicised nature of the primary school, describes the distinction between subjects as 'contentious' (p.35) highlighting the weakness of the NC that has created an inferior status for a range of skills and knowledge from its inception. He further highlights that increased focus on literacy and numeracy had a detrimental effect on the delivery of such subjects as PE as time constraints within the school day significantly hindered in-depth development of all subjects. This constriction of curriculum may be further exacerbated by the current low priority given at the initial teacher training stage to Foundation Subjects, resulting in inadequate teaching and the marginalization of their delivery. For example, PE is given as little as three hours taught input on training courses (House of Commons Education Select Committee, 2016) which may impair consistent development and weak implementation across all Foundation Subjects.

A continuous focus by central government on core subjects is further reinforced by assessments in English and maths. Currently undertaken by pupils at the end of each Key Stage testing is embedded within a system, regarded by Hoskins and Barker (2014, p.50) as 'employed to rank students rather than assessing their progress'. Hargreaves (2009) also contributes to this debate regarding the focus on data to drive reform as counter-productive seeing teachers 'constrained to concentrate on tested literacy and mathematics' (p.39). As no formal assessment is given to the alternative strengths children may develop in other subjects or in personal qualities, such as emotional maturity or creativity, they lack the high profile status accorded government priorities. Therefore, 'political ideologies underlie a continuous adjustment of education policy to the prevailing social, economic and cultural climate' (Cunningham, 2012, p. 2).

A high-profile focus on standards may prove costly. Robinson and Aronica (2015), as continual advocates of creativity as a process in learning, believe the risk is narrowing the curriculum for many children as schools strive to ensure all pupils meet national expectations in core subjects. They further believe restricted time allocated to the broader range of creative and physical activities is likely to result in poor outcomes in these enrichment activities and a lack of basic knowledge and skills, decreasing children's interest, successful engagement and future participation. This dilemma is even more pronounced in schools where many children enter well below national levels of attainment and require constant support in core subjects to ensure progress comparable to nationally agreed standards arguably, those who have most to gain from a broad and balanced delivery. This context may therefore be seen as generating a move over time towards a 'hierarchy of subjects' (NACCCE, 1999, p.74) where only basic skills prevail.

Commentators on the constant revisions of the NC resulting in continuous change perceive a hindrance to the development of a comprehensive curriculum based on sound theory. 'Reviews tend to be ad hoc, unplanned, dependent on the political cycle, and a response to a particular problem as it is conceived by government ministers' (Scott, 2016, p.140). Further highlighting the disadvantages of change over time, Lake would argue the result of continuous change leading to a predominately subject based curriculum has created for many schools areas are taught as fragmented and 'isolated disciplines' (2012, p.20) with little attempt to link subject specific programmes of learning. Identified by Young (2008, p.36) as both 'traditional' and 'institutionalized', this approach not only separates subjects from each other but also from 'everyday knowledge that people use in employment and more generally in their adult lives'. This may be seen to contribute to the marginalisation of certain disciplines and the assessment of personal qualities as core subjects dominate the daily timetable and teachers and pupils are given little voice in the debate about appropriate curriculum. Arguing in 2003, Wrigley advocated a cessation of extensive political intervention, which he considered would reverse the alienation of staff, proposing the introduction of an alternative framework which 'highlights deeper aims and a smaller number of key concepts [with] less concern with detailed objectives and more with broader aims and values' (p100). The current NC may be seen to address aspects of these concerns as summary descriptions of Foundation Subjects now give schools greater freedom to construct their own frameworks, leading to greater autonomy and choice. However, time constraints still present a huge obstacle to address all curriculum areas in depth.

2-3-2 New Labour and the Development of the Extended School

Extended Schools developed as part of a new package of initiatives introduced within the 2001 Education White Paper. Whitty and Anders (2014) highlight this signalled a broadening of direction for the New Labour government seeing, the development of a wider array of additional projects designed to support families in challenging circumstances. Hargreaves perceives this period of government as dominated by Barber, a senior adviser on policy delivery, who promoted 'micromanaged literacy and numeracy strateg[ies]' alongside 'endless rounds of targets and testing' (2009, p.26), the outcome of his drive towards 'deliverology' (Barber, 2007, p.70). Although the priorities around core subjects remained, the policy review addressing key issues around well-being, Every Child Matters (2003), introduced a radical shift in focus, developing a curriculum recognising core standards were essential but not enough. Waters, the director of curriculum at the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority during this period, states its aims were to integrate the 'physical, intellectual, social and emotional aspects' (2013, p.274) of pupil development. Perceived as an innovative policy it anticipated the future demands on children growing up in an increasingly

digitalised and globalised world. It aimed to create a balance between 'attitudes and attributes, skills, and knowledge and understanding' (ibid) and heralded a move away from more restrictive, subject- based practices in curriculum design. Delegating far more responsibility to teachers to decide methods and approach to curriculum delivery it pared down content whilst promoting a greater integration of subjects. Every Child Matters promoted a broad and balanced learning programme that alongside standards in core subjects included a less tangible set of outcomes, reinforcing a view of curriculum that returned to the promotion of 'well-adjusted functioning individuals able to participate in society as responsible citizens of democracy' (Natriello et al, 1990, p.159). However, identifying the limitations of this policy Waters (2013) stresses that continued intervention of government ministers at this time critically reduced its overall influence to embed an enriched curriculum. The Extended School policy was formulated within this climate of innovation introducing structures to support pupils and their families to engage with experiences as a supplement to the school day. Importantly it recognised and facilitated a localised approach to aspects of school delivery, significantly prioritising a more personalised approach matching provision to both individual and community needs.

2-3-3 Coalition Government and the Influence of Hirsch

Reviewing New Labour policy, the newly elected 2010 Coalition government introduced the present NC framework (2013). The revised NC promoted the unequivocal return to a primarily knowledge based curriculum broadly in line with the policies of Hirsch, acknowledged at the time by Gibbs the Minister of State at the DfE. He acknowledged Hirsch's arguments had influenced the development of the new NC as it provided 'a compelling social justice case' (Policy Exchange, 2015, p.14). Hirsch, who as a founder in the United States of the Core Knowledge Sequence (2000), advocated a structured approach to curriculum design promoting reading and language skills set specifically within a structured knowledge base. His arguments, devised to address current practice within his own country, which generally lacked curriculum guidance, is highly critical of 'curriculum-narrowing' (Hirsch, 2017, p.61) which he defines as the replacement of subject-specific knowledge by skills promoted to foster the demands of 20th Century globalisation such as critical-thinking, problem-solving, teamwork and communication. He believes the promotion of these qualities has not served the interests of pupils particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Recognising the entrenched achievement gap, Hirsch sees that the lack of progress of disadvantaged pupils hinges on a curriculum lacking academic knowledge as a core driver. He emphasises the enriched opportunities advantaged pupils experience before entering school comparing this to disadvantaged pupils who are not exposed to 'plenty of words, facts and abstractions at home' (ibid. p. 67). This reflects research in the USA by Hart and Risley (2003) which highlights the

significant difference in the acquisition of words by children aged three from different socio-economic backgrounds. They suggest children in low income families hear up to 1,500 fewer words per hour than those from more advantaged backgrounds, significantly inhibiting development. A knowledge curriculum, Hirsch expounds, enables the latter group to progress more quickly within a structured timetable of content specific and whole class taught lessons. This approach has distinct influence on teachers' role within the class that sees them imparting knowledge irrespective of individual needs or what pupils bring to the classroom

Hirsch's curriculum sees the acquisition of knowledge as a crucial baseline separated from emotional and social development. He perceives these areas of development arising from the acquisition of language so a knowledge based curriculum constructs a linear view of development. Ball (2017) highlights the criticism of what he terms the 'knowledge economy,' asserting this approach 'constructs a narrow, instrumental approach to the economics of knowledge and to intellectual culture in general' at the cost of developing relationships, 'in effect erasing the social' (p.27).

Mortimore (2013) argued the revised NC introduced a greater restriction of coverage. Written as a critical overview of current government policy and delivery, this work examined the effectiveness of current practice in schools and reflected Waters' (2013) highly critical view of the role central government plays in determining priorities. His argument views current curriculum content acting in direct conflict with the needs of pupils. He sees the lack of inclusion of such aspects of study as democracy, aligned with the development of a 'moral compass' and the promotion of character building and life skills, important aspects of development that appear at risk in the present climate of assessment led outcomes (p.14). It furthermore risks alienating pupils from understanding how the world is changing and the influence a global economy will have on their future participation within that international context (Osler, 2006).

Argued as an approach to develop a more competitive workforce qualified to support a future global market economy, the Coalition maintained a focus on the raising of standards in core subjects in schools maintaining a focus on 'high stakes assessment' (NACCCE, 1999, p.108; Wrigley, 2010, p.19). Aligning assessment directly with pedagogy, Cunningham (2012) suggests this results in 'teaching to the tests' (p.66) and subsequently a narrowing of curriculum. With achievement based solely on KS2 outcomes it appears only those areas of learning that are measurable by prescribed assessment tasks are prioritised. The difficulties posed by such areas as creativity or the development of personal qualities are marginalised within this regime of mainly summative assessment. Too often this becomes ambiguous as individual pupil achievement merges with

accountability and the school's external profile (Macbeath, 2007). 'The danger is that individual, creative responses will be lost in a sea of conformity' (Williams, 2003, p.64). Critically, current policy may do no more than create contradictions to the wider aims of education to promote global competitiveness. The promotion of a 'basic skills' (Cunningham, 2012, p.16) approach to the curriculum may be viewed as incompatible with the overall requirement to fully equip pupils with future skills 'to deal with the economy, and not to the needs of the economy itself' (Brighouse, 2006, p.28) and to face the demands of the future which we cannot currently foresee. As restrictive government policy persists the opportunity to introduce innovative and localised practice within the Extended School appears the sole avenue available to redress the balance to the more formalised structure of the school day.

As an additional strand to the focus on standards, the Coalition government reviewed procedures on behaviour management, appointing Tom Bennett behaviour tsar. The concern around the 2010-2011 exclusions figures (DfE, 2012) highlighted the need to oversee how behaviour was effecting school delivery and Bennett produced research to guide schools. With the recommendation for highly structured approaches to behaviour management, it acted as a further strand of government intervention linked to Ofsted controlled outcomes that further regulated school performance and accountability. The promotion of referral units within the recommendations reinforced the rigidity of proposed model behaviour management systems, but significantly, in its construction, promoted behaviour management as a separate strand from teaching and learning.

2- 4 Schools and Services

Within the context of a NC focused on standards in core areas research confirmed the continuation of after-school activities as part of the Extended School, suggesting school leaders still determined there was value for pupils participating in this provision. Both Diss & Jamie, (2016) and Chanfreau et al, (2016) recorded the Extended School promoted learning in specific skills whilst encouraging positive growth in emotional and social learning. Located within a less formalised organisation allowing children to select their activities with interaction across mixed-aged groups, this acts as a distinctive contrast to the school day. Activities appear to promote observable integration between aspects of learning that transcend acquiring specific skills and knowledge. This approach to learning may be embedded in theory proposed by Vygotsky, a Soviet psychologist of the 1930s, whose theories gained international influence in 1970s when he became recognised as the leading educationalist in Social Constructivism.

2 -4-1 Vygotsky's Theory of Learning

Vygotsky proposed 'knowledge is not simply constructed, it is co-constructed', understanding 'human cognition and learning [is] a social and cultural rather than an individual phenomena' (Kozulin et al, 2003, p.1). Stressing the importance of the social nature of learning underpinning all aspects of development, it identifies:

Socialization results in attitudes, values, and cognitive and linguistic skills that children use as they grow and ultimately become means or tools for development. Children develop competencies through various patterns of adult-child and other social interactions (Portes & Vadeboncoeur, 2003, p.371).

This theory recognises the interconnectedness of all aspects of development including social and emotional well-being, believing 'emotions develop in concert with the whole of a person's cognitive and social life' (DiPardo & Potter, 2003, p.318). Vygotsky's primary focus was on human development 'or the development of the mind, not knowledge' (Young, 2008, p.72), and in this respect he focused on learning as an active and interactive process of change. Learning, it is argued, is a special kind of activity as its focus is on 'change produced in the learner' (Kozulin, 2003, p.33/34) therefore classrooms could not be viewed as 'a vehicle for simply conveying information'. Placing a specific emphasis on the role of adults or supportive others within the learning setting it envisioned teachers creating the environment for children to learn through exploration, interaction and guided support specifically identified as scaffolding. Highlighting the role supportive others play in constructing this learning, it enables children to:

solve a problem, carry out a task or achieve a goal which would be beyond his unassisted efforts... The adult control[s] those elements of the task that are initially beyond the learner's capacity, thus allowing the learner to complete those that are within existing capabilities (Daniels, 2001, p.107).

Scaffolding recognises adults' support to guide and improve children's performance and is rooted in Vygotsky's concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Daniels, 2001; Lake, 2012). ZPD recognises how children move developmentally through a process interacting and subsequently learning both with and from those with greater expertise. It is constructed around the principle of *imitation* which presupposes that the child has established a basic understanding of the concepts explored although lacking the ability to perform independently (Chaiklin, 2003). The adult or alternative expert interacts and guides with specific knowledge of the child's developmental level. Importantly, as the child gains understanding the adult withdraws to accommodate transferring control to the child. Noting the model of ZPD was under-developed by Vygotsky and therefore lacking clarity, Daniels (2001) highlights the need to recognise that within the ZPD collaboration facilitates the child achieving more but not 'infinitely more' (p.63) and that individuals are still

restricted by their stage of development and intellect. Furthermore, he clarifies that the supportive other or others may not even be physically present within the context of the learning. Within the learning context of the 21st Century this could allude to the digital world where children may access a range of virtual assistance that could support learning not conceived of in the 1930s

Vygotsky's theory promotes learning primarily within a social context with language as the essential element to develop thinking processes:

There is a fundamental correspondence between thought and speech in terms of one providing resource to the other; language becoming essential in forming thought, determining personality features and exerting influence on cognition (Schutz, 2016).

Constructing a meaningful curriculum for learning in this way promotes a significantly more personalised approach, recognising the needs of individuals who require support through a well-constructed path linking their present stage of development to the next. Maximising the opportunities for interaction within the learning situation is core to this theory, ensuring pupils' development and enhancing social skills which further promote learning possibilities. It further supports the integration of learning between school and home, suggesting the need to 'create a sense of continuity and help to dissipate what can sometimes appear as a gulf between school and real life' (Young, 2008, p.37).

Hattie and Yates's model, *Visible Learning* (2014), crucially focus on teaching and learning from the pupils' standpoint. Developed from concern about current political emphasis on the standard's agenda and assessment, they construe this lacks positive models of learning linked to theory whilst marginalising pupils' needs at the expense of national testing. One major task is to construct learning activities that move children from the known into the unknown, closing 'worthwhile gaps, not chasms' (2014, pp.6-7), where children can become curious as they recognise 'a) a knowledge gap relevant to us, together with b) the means by which it can be closed.' This approach echoes ZPD as children need to be operating within the zone of understanding but still require a structure to help them fully internalise a concept. Central to this process is a link between the application and development of language, closely connected to the learning activity. Language acquisition is likely to thrive in situations where children have the opportunity to work cooperatively with adults and peers, following their own line of investigation. Opportunities for decision-making, as individuals take responsibility for their own learning, is a core principle in this process facilitating 'engagement with ideas and activities and serve to allow for intellectual growth' (Prichard & Woollard, 2010, p.34).

2-4-2 Alternative Approach to Learning

Although government policy prioritises the education of a workforce adept at competing within a future global market this appears solely to focus on core skills with little recognition of other attributes. Directly challenging the knowledge curriculum and based on the collation of international research across 12 countries, Fullan and Langworthy devised the framework Deep Learning Tasks (2016), which advocates for learning 'in more challenging and engaging ways', ensuring even the youngest pupils gain 'real experience in creating and using new knowledge in the world beyond the classroom' (p.22). This approach emphasises digital mastery blended within a curriculum that promotes personal skills and attributes with competences to work and collaborate with others comprising of:

- Character education
- Citizenship
- Communication
- Critical thinking and problem solving
- Collaboration
- Creativity and imagination

Directly opposing Hirsch's subject-based knowledge curriculum, it is critical of what it terms the 'high pressure focus on surface content knowledge' which it emphasises does not equip students for the future world of work. Little emphasis is placed on content mastery as greater prominence is given to 'explicit development of students' capacities to learn, create and proactively implement their learning' (ibid), anticipating the skills necessary for a future likely to include rapid changes in employment and living conditions. Stressing the need for a new pedagogy that promotes a curriculum appropriate for the 21st Century, Barber, apparently moving away from the rigidity he advocated as the instigator of government enforced target-setting (2007), endorsed the above framework emphasising its connection to established theories of learning, such as Vygotsky. This is demonstrated with an emphasis on the relationship between students and effective partnering with teachers, peers and others who act as mentors in their learning. Assessment is applied to understand the students' stage in learning, generating appropriate feedback that will 'push the student one step further' (Fullan & Langworthy, 2016, p.16). The focus on 'effective partnering' (ibid. p.12) echoes ZPD where the more informed mentor supports the scaffolding process to facilitate the discovery of 'knowledge that is new to them rather than reproducing or applying existing knowledge' (ibid, p.23). Furthermore, they regard this relationship building students' confidence as it generates constructive feedback with supportive encouragement.

Whilst crucially focusing on technology developed by practising teachers, this process aims to bridge learning both within and outside of school, creating authentic connections between the two settings. Regarded as a process that encourages peers to collaborate to 'pursue learning connected to personal interests and aspiration' (ibid. p.34), it engages students with learning in multiple settings. Without this strong focus in schools the risk is that technology remains supplementary to teaching and learning 'rather than for collaboration and knowledge creation' (ibid, p.32), reducing the potential to permeate the whole curriculum. Somekh (2006) believes that used effectively, IT enables children to make strategic decisions regarding avenues of learning empowering them to 'access a very wide range of information without it being preselected or controlled by parents or teachers' (p.123). Placing the child firmly in the driving seat of learning systems underpinning engagement both in school and at home it promotes a personalised approach supporting the view that:

learners must be understood as being active individuals who select and process information independently in a self-determining fashion, needing only to be encouraged to ask questions and to discover new information (Hasebrink et al, 2009, p.224).

Promoting this application of IT could be advantageous to ensure all children have the necessary stimulus and guidance to pursue studies beyond the school day. However, guaranteeing this for all pupils may prove problematic as research from the OECD (2015) would indicate that a digital divide still persists in internet use. Whilst children from less advantaged backgrounds have equal access to technology within the home, they are far less likely to engage in more instructive aspects of its implementation, choosing either chat lines or video games instead. Addressing this imbalance by extending the use of the school's systems within a structured programme beyond the school day appears a positive way forward whilst supporting children's expanded use of devices within the home. IT as part of an enrichment programme within the Extended School could begin to address this issue.

2-4-3 Culture and Creativity

Hirsch's knowledge curriculum rejects many aspects of learning as it sees the focus in classrooms placed firmly on the teacher leading whole-class teaching scenarios. Although this framework does not advocate specific pedagogy Hirsch's rejection of such strategies as problem-solving or critical thinking suggests little reference to creativity within the curriculum, a major transmitter of cultural development within schools. Defining culture as 'The shared values and patterns of behaviour that characterise different social groups and communities' (p. 42) the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education launched a major government review in 1999 aimed to establish a

national strategy for the inclusion of culture and creativity within the curriculum. Chaired by Robinson, this review has been acknowledged as 'one of the most significant contributions to the debate about creativity' (Desailly, 2015) as it aimed to re-position culture and the creative process as central to pupil development. Robinson stated schools are often the single place where diverse groups interact, therefore offering a unique opportunity for pupils to understand more fully their own cultural perspective whilst respecting the views of others, thus promoting a 'cultural tolerance and coexistence' (2015, p.50). Although this may be an implicit underpinning ethos within schools there is also a need for the development of an explicit cultural curriculum if children are to learn about diverse communities within society. Traditionally a creative curriculum fundamentally links creativity and culture for two reasons:

1. Creative processes draw directly from the cultural contexts in which they take place.
2. Human culture is complex and diverse as it is because of the richness, complexity and diversity of human creativity. Culture is shaped by, and is the product of, human creativity (NACCE, 1999, p.52).

Robinson and Aronica (2015) believe that developing a stimulating, creative curriculum is a fundamental principle in promoting cultural engagement and understanding for all pupils. However, they argue that opportunities to fully realise the potential creativity offers may be seriously restricted due to the dominance of the standards agenda. Building on his body of work which promotes creativity underpinning curriculum design, Robinson promotes the belief that creativity is a dynamic process and 'is possible in whatever you do, requiring great discipline and many different skills' (2013a). Responding to the Coalition Government's reviewed NC focusing on core areas alongside a greater emphasis on testing he argued that 'the real driver of creativity is an appetite for discovery and a passion for the work' (2013a), qualities that should underpin curriculum delivery. Joubert (2001, p.30) elaborates on creativity in schools stating it should be 'rigorous...grounded in knowledge and skills and ... a balance between freedom and control'. Her work emphasises that this view challenges a common misunderstanding that sees creativity lacking formal structures and specific outcomes.

Directly challenging Robinson's understanding of creativity, and indirectly Joubert's, Leunig, the former Chief Scientific Advisor at the DFE stresses the belief that 'real creative thinking is based on knowledge' and central to this is a secure standard of literacy which is 'the foundation of knowledge' (2018). He interprets Robinson's theories as rejecting the need for standards in core areas and a focus on competencies emphasising instead the process not the outcomes in lessons. For Leunig a structured approach to curriculum delivery is crucial if children are to gain sufficient knowledge to harness creativity. This definition echoes Hirsch's approach to curriculum delivery where he

observes creativity occurring as a result of previously developed knowledge-based education reinforcing the more linear model of learning. Arguing the dangers of politicised viewpoints demonstrated above leading to a misunderstanding and marginalization of creativity, Desailly (2015) promotes the degree of rigour and skills at the core of creative processes. She believes that the creative process promotes many aspects of learning that link cognitive development to social and emotional skills whilst promoting the abilities necessary 'to work well in group situations, listening, debating, working in a community of enquiry' (p.5).

The Cultural White Paper (DfCMS, 2016), promoted by the Conservative Government, endorsed experiencing and understanding culture as integral to education linked to positive health and well-being. It acknowledged the contribution arts organisations and institutions, such as art galleries and museums, make but failed to acknowledge the specific role schools play in promoting cultural enrichment for children, potentially weakening its impact. Highlighting concern about the lack of participation in cultural activities by families from lower socio-economic backgrounds, it aimed to reverse this trend. Heath's studies in non-school environments with impoverished families highlighted how arts support the opportunities for those living in poverty (2015), but elaborated why disadvantaged children lack engagement in such pursuits. She identified barriers such as parents prioritising the basics to live, the demands of working several jobs and a lack of transport which restricts participation in anything beyond the locality. She highlighted that caregivers living 'in under resourced circumstances must go to extraordinary lengths' (p.180) to provide creative opportunities and the associated dialogue that more advantaged families engage with as a matter of course.

The Cultural White Paper lacked strategies to address the problems identified by Heath associated with the root cause of differing participation of disparate groups. Although schools have traditionally promoted a cultural programme for children the challenge remains sustaining engagement. Ensuring children continue to access activities entails raising awareness of the benefits of creative pastimes whilst ensuring families in poverty are supported to access wide-ranging opportunities. Maintaining creativity across the curriculum may have significant implications for children's engagement both within school and in the future but requires time and resources to enable it to thrive. As already stressed, the current curriculum may not have the flexibility to facilitate wide-ranging opportunities within the cultural spectrum. However, research highlights the opportunities after-school clubs offer within the realm of creative subjects (Carpenter et al, 2012; Diss & Jamie, 2016), giving children the opportunity for greater participation in activities the school day may not offer in depth.

2-4-4 Developing Expertise

Focusing on NC core areas significantly affects time allocated to Foundation Subjects, risking a lack of sustained and consistent engagement to nurture interest or talent in specific fields. Regardless of the degree of skill or talent individuals bring to areas of interest, necessary support and guidance is critical if children are to develop their ability, expertise and motivation. The Acquisition of Expertise, a theory proposed by Simon & Chase (1973), outlines four stages of development facilitating expertise in areas where individuals show ability and interest. They are:

Stage 1: introduction to a given activity in a fairly relaxed manner such as play;

Stage 2: parents, teacher or coach help establish regular practise increasing over time;

Stage 3: major commitment is made, investment by parent is huge;

Stage 4: expertise established and a move is made into the wider community.

Opportunity for regular practise with guidance and emotional support to maintain interest and motivation is central to this model. Hattie and Yates (2014) concur, proposing:

Development requires time devoted to practising lower order skills under conditions of relative ease, enjoyment and strong motivation. Whatever a child spends a great deal of time doing, then skilfulness and automaticity will follow to support the fundamental cognitive demands of that very same activity (p.61).

Simply engaging in an activity does not guarantee improvement but requires other critical factors such as 'guidance, instruction, goal-setting and feedback' (ibid, p.40). Crucially, children need time to practise within safe environments with adults who can support their development. This reinforces the principle of 'deliberate practise' cited by Sternberg et al (2002, p.71), who regards systematic and guided practise as essential for improving performance. Recognising the lack of support for some children out of school he sees opportunity for practise and expert guidance offered by teachers as desirable. Crucially, it is direct participation within a supportive structure that leads to the development of expertise. Heath (2015) argues that in under-resourced communities families are not in a position to provide either the 'intensity or professional guidance' demanded by these activities. Her work, again highlighting the barriers to engagement of disadvantaged children, cites time restrictions, finance and the opportunity to play a supportive role proving an inhibiting factor for some families.

Participating in after-schools clubs may be an effective substitute for parental support, particularly in the early stages of engagement, where children initially select activities they wish to pursue. For children from impoverished backgrounds who show 'motivation, concentration and willingness to

work hard on improving performance' (Ericsson, 2002, p.25) this may develop into a significant strength and access to a more fulfilling future. The school day is unlikely to facilitate the opportunity needed to develop expertise in many fields, therefore alternative support networks are crucial. Significantly, it is areas of the curriculum within the Foundation Subjects that present the opportunity for children to develop a range of expertise. The arts, Physical Education and the humanities in particular promote specialisation areas currently under-represented due to time constraints in school. However, the significant promotion of these areas within the Extended School offers disadvantaged children the alternative support that enables them to develop levels of expertise otherwise unavailable to them (Chanfreau et al, 2016). It further recognises the need for a personalised approach to learning ensuring a match to current performance and the next stage of development.

2-4-5 Personalised Learning

New Labour Government's 2005 strategy of personalised learning aimed to improve standards by guaranteeing pupils' learning needs as central to curriculum 'by creating an educational path that takes account of their needs, interests and aspirations (Hopkins, 2007, p.54). Recognising the need for 'motivation to learn and pedagogical experiences that hit the mark particularly for the individual' (Fullan et al, 2006, p.16), it acknowledged different strengths, rates of learning and a variety of styles all requiring greater differentiation. Its aim was to ensure every child made good progress regardless of their starting point. Systems to identify individual vulnerability linked to poor attainment or lack of progress were central to this strategy stressing a 'formative approach to assessment' defined by Hopkins (2007) as 'assessment for learning (p.100). However, due to the increased focus on the standards agenda, personalisation has resulted in an emphasis on attainment in core areas to the exclusion of diversification across subjects. As a result, this innovative approach to learning, devised to simultaneously develop individual strengths alongside raising achievement in core areas, has been increasingly reduced to a 'standardised' as opposed to a 'personalised' approach to development (MacBeath et al, 2007, p.33). The policy has been subsumed by the standards agenda, emerging as a tool to identify those pupils requiring additional support for core areas only. The opportunity within the Extended School for children to choose activities suited to their interests and talents may reignite this process for disadvantaged pupils who have little opportunity beyond school for this level of personalised choice.

2-4-6 Emotional Well-Being

Although standards in core subjects remain a priority for schools, aspects of personal development continue to permeate the curriculum. The escalation in the prevalence of poor mental health in

increasingly younger children (Killick, 2006) has increased pressure on schools to identify the early signs indicative of future emotional difficulties to facilitate early remedial intervention. With recent statistics published by the NHS (2016) indicating that approximately 10% of pupils experience the early signs of poor mental health this issue is now considered in urgent need of attention by both schools and health services. Of a further critical nature the recent report on the prevalence of gangs states data suggests that 95% of pupils involved in or operating at the periphery of gangs are experiencing social, emotional or mental health issues. This report, led by Longfield (2019), the Children's Commissioner, estimates that 27,000 children are engaged in some aspect of gang culture, indicating the severity of the problem facing authorities. Creating sound structures within school to support the development of social and emotional skills appear fundamental to challenge these issues effecting many pupils. Although acknowledging the problems facing schools and dealing with issues of emotional competencies alongside more formal aspect of schooling, Mortimore believes schools remain the one place for reaching all young people and therefore the benefits of helping 'to make friends, defuse aggression and generally cope with life' (2013, p.27) remain essential.

Recognition of positive self-esteem as the key to a healthy emotional attitude (Sherwood, 2013) is core to promoting the traits necessary for children to develop good mental health. Life enhancing qualities such as 'courage, resilience and self-motivation' are proposed by Corrie (2009, p.127) as necessary attributes that grow out of positive self-esteem. Thornton has extensive experience in the discipline and practice of developmental psychology in childhood, a practice which stresses the need to understand human nature as a whole. She believes that, whilst self-esteem focuses on the value individuals place on themselves, its foundations 'are socially constructed' (2008, p. 152), linked directly with how people believe they are being judged by those around them. She further identifies how contemporary life-styles, that include academic pressures and the over-reaching power of social networking, has exacerbated feelings of vulnerability, anxiety and frustration (2015) thus leading to a greater need to support positive emotional health. Saarni supports this view and, whilst identifying that emotion-eliciting encounters are embedded within the *social context* in which individuals grow and are therefore rooted in social experience, says the two processes are 'reciprocally influential' (1999, p.3). This would support the notion that both influence outcomes, suggesting that within the learning context children should have the opportunity to explore their emotions within activities that enhance their social competences. She embeds this development within the concept of self-efficacy, 'meaning that the individual has the capacity and skills to achieve a desired outcome' (ibid).

Bandura promotes the theory of self-efficacy believing it holds the key to children's growing confidence and self-awareness whilst supporting their learning and social development:

Perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one's capabilities to organise and execute the course of action required to manage positive situations. Efficacy beliefs influence how people think, feel, motivate themselves, and act (Bandura, 1995, p.2).

His theory promotes the view that pupils' emotional development, twinned with the perception of themselves as successful learners is central to enhanced engagement and commitment to learning in school. Reinforcing the view held by DiPardo and Potter (2003), cited earlier, the promotion of self-efficacy recognises the interdependence of the development of cognitive, emotional and social skills. This demands the learning environment fosters 'students' personal development of self-beliefs and self-regulatory capabilities' (Zimmerman, 1995, p.202) through activities and relationships that promote a sense of well-being and success. This raises specific issues for those children struggling to attain basic standards in literacy and numeracy as promoting alternative interests may offer them the opportunity to develop the confidence to progress in core skills. Oettingen proposes that a 'strong sense of efficacy in one area of functioning may transfer to other areas, thus creating a general sense of personal efficacy' (1995, p.49). This suggests children who thrive in certain areas of the curriculum whilst challenged by core subjects, benefit from a choice of activities as time spent on the former enhances performance in the latter.

Social Learning Theory highlights the role that enhanced motivation plays in ensuring children develop the skills that enable them to succeed. Self-efficacy supports motivation by enabling individuals to establish their own goals, increasing effort and endurance. Bandura (1977) believes even when experiencing a lack of success, motivation is more likely to be sustained by those with high efficacies as they tend to see failure as problem that can be overcome with more effort or by altering external conditions that can effect performance. Those with a poorly developed sense of self-efficacy have more of a tendency to internalise failure and see themselves as lacking qualities to succeed. Fullan et al (2006, p.32) emphasise that without motivation students are unlikely to 'put in the necessary effort to learn'.

Cherry (2016), distinguishing between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, highlights the importance of fostering both strands within schools. Intrinsic motivation 'involves engaging in a behaviour because it is personally rewarding ...for its own sake', lacking any external reward (Bandura, 1977). Extrinsic motivation occurs when individuals perform a behaviour linked to the expectation of a reward or to avoid punishment. Nurturing both aspects of motivation are important in schools as the former encourages children to persist in tasks, enjoying both the challenge and the excitement of engagement, whilst the latter can support individuals attempting new skills or achieving new standards of competency. Both support the development of a positive attitude as enhanced motivation engages children and stimulates them to strive to improve performance particularly as

activities become progressively more sophisticated and challenging. Corrie (2003), as an experienced practitioner in schools addressing emotional literacy linked to behaviour policies, emphasises the need for schools to nurture intrinsic motivation and believes that the overwhelming focus on extrinsic motivation, developed through the use of rewards and stickers, is counter-productive and dangerous. She believes that school systems that are weighted towards children gaining approval from teachers do not encourage internal feelings of respect for self and others and may later lead to a greater tendency to negative peer-group pressure and low emotional well-being. She believes this has significant implications for classroom practice that needs to support positive behaviour management alongside the promotion of emotional well-being. This belief directly opposes that proposed by Bennett (2012) as responding to individuals' emotional needs suggests a greater degree of flexibility in behaviour management structures.

Social Learning Theory stresses the contribution role modelling has on individual performance believing '[p]eople seek proficient models who possess the competencies to which they aspire' (Bandura, 1995, p.4), suggesting the need for children to observe, imitate and collaborate with others. Role models within children's own learning environment are significantly important as they can inspire and motivate individuals to try new experiences or to push themselves beyond previously conceived boundaries. Learning environments should be rich sources of role models for pupils facilitating a mix of abilities, age-groups and interests, not easily accommodated within regulated school structures.

Classrooms can be key to promoting such experiences as learning to work as a member of a team in a truly collaborative process, this is important because it supports the development of emotional skills necessary to work alongside others, facilitating:

a clash of individual viewpoints and interpretations of situations or task requirements [and leading] to conflicts and negative emotional arousal. To overcome the challenges, group members are forced to exercise control over their emotions, the motivations, and sometimes their social environment to be successful with learning and interaction (Jarvenoja & Jarvela, 2013, p.162)

Crook (2013) emphasises a clear distinction between collaborative and cooperative structures for children, as the latter, commonly observed in current differentiated group structures, often mean working in a group on a similar task but completely independently. Crucially, the former supports positive interpersonal skills and increased confidence, abilities necessary for future engagement by enhancing self-esteem and developing curiosity and creativity. Arguing for the inclusion of creative processes within the curriculum Robinson and Aronica believe mutually collaborative and supportive environments enable children:

to cooperate with others in solving problems and meeting common goals, to draw on each other's strengths and mitigate weaknesses, and share and develop ideas (2015, p.138).

Highlighting cooperation and collaboration between pupils in the current climate may be problematic due to reduced opportunities as the focus on standards promote individual tasks. Robinson further maintains that practice appears to decrease as children near the end of primary school. Significantly, it is as children approach transition from primary into secondary school that those susceptible to low self-esteem are at their most vulnerable (Sherwood, 2013) and are likely to experience greater problems of engagement in learning and would benefit most from greater collaborative tasks.

Although Hirsch argues that developing communication skills are an important part of children's learning he sees this as a direct result of acquiring knowledge and the specific language associated within the range of domains. He argues that it is the acquisition of language that promotes children's ability to communicate effectively and that '[e]ffective verbal skills depend on a big vocabulary and effective initiation into the language community of the public sphere' (Hirsch, 2017, p. 80). This remains detached from the emotional experiences linked to engaging with others with little reference as to how children gain confidence within social networks.

2-4-7 Resilience

Supporting the needs of vulnerable pupils within schools may be fundamental to their future security. The need to address 'risk' and thus develop 'protective' factors (Siraj & Mayo, 2014, p.8) to enable these pupils to thrive may be approached through what Cunningham (2012) would term the 'skills agenda' (p.16), but are likely to be further embedded through enjoyment of learning and a commitment to involvement in the wider school agenda. Protective factors contribute to developing resilience defined as a 'dynamic process whereby individuals show adaptive functioning in the face of significant adversity' (Schoon, 2006, p.6). Davie (2016) believes resilience is best promoted by 'particular activities and experiences' (p.61) but suggests that those children living in poverty are less likely to be exposed to aspects of a healthy life-style that supports their ability to withstand negative experiences. However, resilience appears to be a contributory factor in addressing the achievement gap with pupils experiencing disadvantage, as Siraj and Mayo's research (2014) would suggest that resilience appears as a positive influence in counteracting the barriers poverty creates. For those pupils facing disadvantage an enrichment programme which includes participation in a range of activities they may not otherwise easily access outside of school may hold the appeal to future commitment and engagement in learning.

Gordon and Lexmond would argue that external structural changes within society alone will not affect the outcomes for those experiencing poverty and disadvantage, and that the development of such character traits as mental toughness and resilience are necessary to enable individuals to succeed in today's economic climate. Success depends on:

what we possess inside ourselves- our will to succeed, our creativity in solving problems and seeking opportunities, our ability to take on new challenges, or commitment to seeing things through even in the face of adversity, our ability to manage our emotional responses (2014,p.99).

However, developing character traits such as mental toughness may prove impossible in a climate where experience is significantly restricted due to poverty as Davie (2016) has highlighted above. Subsequently, providing these children with enrichment opportunities beyond school may contribute to a greater sense of resilience that supports future outcomes. The challenge for schools appears to suggest a more pronounced development of the skills linked to personal well-being and attitude alongside the focus on raising standards in core subjects. Diss and Jamie (2016) and Chanfreau (2016) highlight the Extended School is an opportunity for schools to develop programmes that appeal directly to the talents and skills children bring to their learning whilst nurturing feelings of success and accomplishment. It may, furthermore, support the development of study skills that may enable pupils to thrive in the more formal atmosphere of the regular school.

Transition to secondary school has been named as a hurdle for children, as this major change can seriously disrupt learning patterns leading to disaffection. A report by the EEPSE project highlighted how this was a significant problem for those pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds with 58% of this group reporting they did not settle well into their new school (Evangelou et al, 2008). The significant recommendation that supported transition in this research was for children to be helped to develop social and personal skills thus encouraging friendships whilst promoting self-esteem and confidence (p.16). This may constitute qualities that contribute to developing the mental toughness Gordon and Lexmond so strongly advocate above.

2-4-8 Friendships

Supporting positive emotional health, friendships can both promote confidence and self-esteem whilst mitigating the obstacles that may arise to hinder progress and is an important step as children move away from parents and family towards a wider circle of peer groups. Ridge (2002) recognising the complexities of the social environment sees friendships acting as the 'social glue' (p.60) that binds individuals into the social structure. The opportunity to extend friendship groups whilst supporting the development of important skills to promote relationships are located within

schools both during formal learning and in the playground environment. Crucially, this includes nurturing the skills to interact with others and forming friendships which become:

integral to children's ability to successfully negotiate the inevitable hurdles of childhood, adolescence and even life as an adult. Friends and peers acceptance bring a sense of validation and connectedness to school and help children to thrive academically, socially and emotionally. (Leyden & Shale, 2012, p.27)

Identifying the significance of playtime as a period fundamental to day-to-day development of children Blatchford's research (1998) captured their views and recognition of playtime as the opportunity where they 'are relatively freed from the attention of adults and the structure of the classroom' (p.1), where they could learn to manage relationships independently. However, research by Blatchford and Baines (2006) highlights a reduction in playtime in the last 10 years with additional imposed structures that segregate Key Stages, both within internal and external spaces. Introducing more formalised organisation around playtimes and recreation reduces the opportunities for children to engage informally with others and interact across age-groups.

Restrictions due to an age-segregated education system are increasingly recognised (Bukowski et al, 1996) as children rarely have the opportunity to work beyond chronological groupings. Rubin (1980) considers similar patterns of age-segregation filtering down from school into the neighbourhood. Fostered by parents seeing this as desirable, it further diminishes mixed-aged friendships both within school and beyond. Age-segregated organisation can be limiting as it inhibits friendships developing between pupils who may not be the same age but have other common attributes that can be mutually beneficial; physical skills, verbal fluency or athletic skills may enable pupils to play comfortably together on an equal basis (ibid). As there is 'no inevitable relation between a child's age and his or her level of interpersonal understanding' (ibid, p.41) mixing pupils across the age-range can allow for differences in development, experience and interest.

Exploring and developing friendships remain a highly significant part of the school day for all children and the benefits remain essential to maturation as it allows for:

enmities, gang life, leaders and followers. It means opportunities for working out the intricate balance of power and status between people, for sharing imaginative experiences, for understanding and manipulating the feelings and ideas of others, for a range of relationships that differ greatly from those of parents-with-children (Dunn, 2004, p.7).

Success in school for children is dependent on their ability to both work and play with extended groups, leading to further engagement in learning and a greater capacity to thrive educationally (Waters, 2013), remaining an important aspect of school life. However, the pressures of a greater

regulated school-day appear to seriously inhibit this aspect of school organisation. Research highlights the additional opportunities that the Extended School offers to children to interact, learn and play alongside others therefore mitigating the reduction over time of both playtimes and informal interaction with both adults and children of all ages.

2-4-9 Healthy Lifestyles

Strongly linked to positive emotional development the promotion of healthy lifestyles support children remaining active and physically fit. However, the impact of developing sedentary lifestyles, defined as activity with low energy expenditure (National Statistics, 2016), continues to cause concern about children's health with the serious rise in recorded data linked to obesity. Current figures indicate that young children face a future of poor general health with serious medical conditions, such as heart disease and diabetes, if the rise in obesity is not addressed, resulting in shorter life expectancy (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Potential cost to the NHS linked to obesity as this generation grows is substantial (Royal Society for Public Health (RSPH), 2015) with current figures for 2014-15 estimating approximately £5.1 billion for conditions associated with overweight and obesity related diseases (DoH, 2016). Data also highlights the difference in obesity prevalence between the most and least deprived has increased over time (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2015) with figures for Yr6 pupils in the most deprived areas suggesting children were twice as likely to be obese as children from affluent areas (ibid), exacerbating the concern for the well-being of those living in poverty. Data from the borough in which this research is located (National Child Measurement Programme, 2014) identifies it as within the top 10 boroughs with an obese profile of primary aged pupils, indicating an acute localised problem and reaffirms this position. The alarming increase in obesity from 10% to 20% (Ibid) as children age between five and eleven confirms the necessity for immediate and radical action.

Obesity is generally associated mainly with poor diet and an increasingly sedentary lifestyle, although the reasons behind the current rise indicate far greater complexity where it is crucially linked to poverty (Donkin & Marmot, 2016). A lack of regular exercise is recognised as a major contributory factor as evidence suggests this is a significant challenge. Currently less than a third of primary aged pupils achieve recommended activity levels (RSPH, 2015), that is 30 minutes of wide-ranging school activities and 30 minutes supported by parents and carers after school. Schools are allocated a fundamental role within the strategy due to their 'unique contact with parents and can signpost them to information and advice on keeping them healthy' (Sport England Strategy, 2016, p.8). Additionally, research recognises girls having a more significant problem recording their aversion to exercise developing as young as seven, identified as the 'tipping point', affecting both

confidence and attitude (Government Equality Office, 2015; Youth Sport Trust, 2016), exacerbated as they reach adolescence (DCMS, 2016). A recent government strategy to address the problem of childhood obesity (DFH, 2016) places significant responsibilities on schools to ensure pupils have daily physical activity, thus ensuring they remain active for longer, currently funded through the PE and Sport Premium (DfE, 2014).

PE and Sports remain a statutory subject but time limitations may severely restrict the degree of participation pupils experience in physical activities during the school day. Cunningham (2012) also identifies the cost of facilities, transport to venues and the additional cost of expertise in the subject as significant barriers to quality provision. However, if schools are to contribute to combating the rise in obesity developing successful physical activity practises is essential.

Contemporary lifestyle constraints for families living with little access to outdoor space has also been highlighted in recent research from the organisation Natural Connections (Waite, 2016). The research identifies busier family lives and an increased fear in society as reasons for this omission. Thornton (2015) proposes that this attitude creates a risk-averse culture where children lack the opportunity to navigate their environment and community. Access may be further restricted due to the common problem of lack of gardens and communal play space on inner city estates. Waite echoes the pressure on teachers to focus on academic achievement at the expense of providing a wide range of experiences including participation in outdoor activities. Restrictions to child development, both physical and emotional is the result, ultimately contributing to a lack of well-being and long term positive health. Participation in after-school activities may prove a valuable antidote to the lack of opportunity for outdoor play children experience particularly within the inner-city.

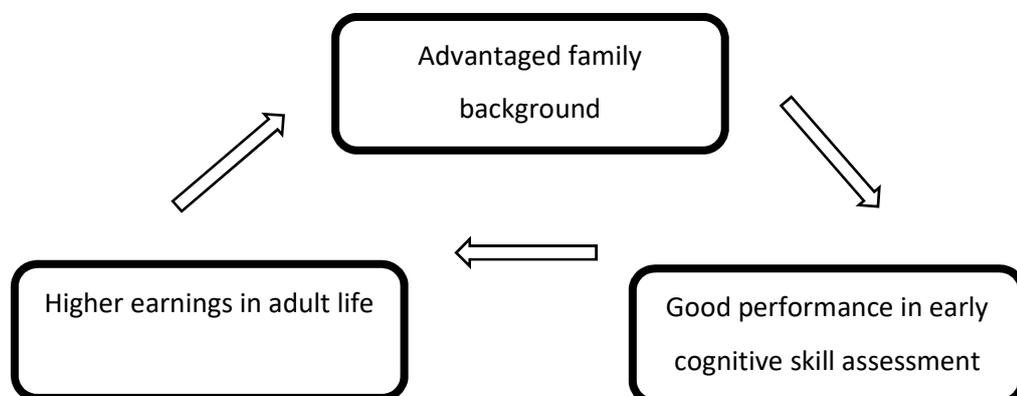
2-5 Wider Issues Influencing Education in Schools

Despite a focus on the achievement gap and an indication that over time this is decreasing moderately (DfE, 2015), the attainment of those pupils deemed disadvantaged remains a concern. This is a particular challenge for many schools as disadvantaged children entering nursery school at three may be as much as 18 months behind others. Research by Law, Charlton and Asmussen (2017) locate this significant difference in the lack of acquisition of language skills by these children suggesting that whereas between 5% - 8% of children experience language difficulties 20% of children from low income households experience significant delay. They highlight the effect this has on development, suggesting early language acquisition impacts all areas of learning and 'contributes to the ability to manage emotions and communicate feelings, to establish and maintain relationships, to think symbolically, and to learn to read and write' (p.5). Research also

indicates that the difficulty these pupils experience persists beyond schooling and impacts future employment (ibid). The most recent results from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Jerrim & Shore, 2016) further highlights the gap in attainment at 15 between pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds reinforcing the impact of poverty on future prospects. This programme also highlights the achievements in the UK against other countries which further lends weight to government policy to continue to improve standards in core areas. Government policy has continued to address the needs of these pupils with the current Pupil Premium Grant (PPG), linked directly to the allocation of FSM, with the aim of accelerating learning and reducing the achievement gap. Significantly, educational opportunity has become a central stake in central government's attempt to address poverty by improving prospects within a future globalised economy (Cunningham, 2012) thus contributing to the notion of social mobility.

2-5-1 Social Mobility

Social mobility may be defined as the opportunity of 'individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds to move up in the world' (Crawford et al, 2011 p.6), realised through a 'progression in learning and employment, particularly professional levels of employment' (Gordon & Lexmond, 2014, p.101). For schools, support for disadvantaged children to improve their future prospects has focused on narrowing the achievement gap and improving outcomes in core areas with the ultimate target that 'huge numbers will go on to higher education as preparation for the workforce (Cunningham, 2012, p.16) reinforcing the emphasis on economic developments linked to the labour market. Although standards have risen there is still concern the achievement gap remains entrenched and more needs to be accomplished to support vulnerable pupils who enter school with basic skills well below their peers. Reinforced patterns established within advantaged family circumstances would suggest a significant cycle of benefits represented as:



(Adapted from McKnight, 2015, p.18)

This cycle ensures those from advantaged backgrounds maintain their position of financial security and future prospects; the challenge is to address the experience of the downward spiral of this cycle for those children living in poverty positively influencing their future options.

Considering the multi-issues facing disadvantaged children, Exley (2016) considers there is far more school systems can do to mitigate the problems associated with poverty. She identifies issues arising in school such as behavioural difficulties arising from financial insecurity, poor housing and a range of problems associated with poor mental health. Issues which can interrupt schooling and hinder progress. She also identifies where more advantaged pupils can benefit from access to popular and more successful schools or private education, all of which weakens the prospects of disadvantaged pupils. Ball also stresses the degree by which more advantaged families protect their interests ensuring they maintain their privileged position citing an array of that go beyond school choice to include 'educational toys and software and other learning materials, tutoring and other commercial services and activities' (2017, p.207). Financial security ensures that these children are able to maintain social advantages in education irrespective of policy. This may be further exacerbated by the significant rise in tuition, highlighted in research by The Sutton Trust (2018), and inextricably linked to the ability to pay. Described by Mortimore as 'the elephant in the room' (2013, p.99) in discussions concerning its effect on formal attainment outcomes it emphasises the significant difference this out-of-school provision makes to the achievement of specific groups within school. Reay (2017) reinforces this argument citing the increase over time of tuition and the impact it has on outcomes in the most advantaged schools alongside additional enrichment opportunities.

Cummings et al (2011), acknowledging the complexities associated with disadvantage, sees the dual role for schools as both acting 'to reduce the risks to which individuals are subject, and increase their resilience in the face of those risks' (p.113). Whilst they do not depict schools as disrupting social structures that perpetuate disadvantage, they appreciate the role schools play in supporting pupils to do well in spite of difficulties. Extended Schools are one example of the type of intervention designed to support pupils and families offering opportunities more readily available to more advantaged pupils as a matter of course and which may contribute to mitigating the effects of long-term poverty within the home. Additionally, with its focus on the provision of affordable child-care, after-school activities may also address the dual issue of both inter-generational and intra-generational social mobility (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010; Gordon & Lexmond, 2014) as the initial policy of affording parents opportunity to work or study is recorded in research (Diss & Jamie, 2016),

Addressing disadvantage and the issues related to social justice and class distinction in education has been the focus of Reay's work over many years. Her most recent publication queries the current focus on social mobility as a 'straight forward linear process from one occupational category to another' (2017, p.115), believing individual case-histories (including her own) would suggest that the complexities of the issue demand far greater consideration and that, ultimately, within our unequal society this concept does not offer 'the panacea it is made out to be' (ibid). She argues the scope and the equality of opportunity in education has diminished within the current climate, hindered by the 'the downgrading of education as a right in itself and an increasing preoccupation with education as a means to economic ends' (p.181). Therefore, education as a mechanism for children to improve their opportunities is being inhibited by current policy that ultimately weakens their options. She also questions the data related to success measured by progression into higher education, citing above average attrition levels amongst disadvantaged students; data would suggest support for these students need to be available and continuous.

Whilst his argument centres around the policies from successive governments to address inequality, Ball (2017, p.198) argues against systems that a focus on education to address the issue of social mobility detached from economic considerations and the labour market, as it locates the problem with schools 'rather than the problem of the economy'. Friedman and Laurison (2019) in their work on the equality of access to higher-status professions consider the changes in structure of the British workforce over-time citing the reduction in manual jobs and the rapid expansion of positions within the professions and management. They argue it was a change in the job market and the expansion of opportunity that promoted greater social mobility in the last 25 years implying it is 'room at the top' (p.59) that allows for greater equality of access to employment with greater satisfaction and higher salaries. However, this expansion has not persisted and the current stagnation in social mobility is linked to the current climate of 'precarious employment' (Farthing, 2016, p. 84) for young people, including the emphasis on continued education or training and an increase in zero-hour contracts, contributing to rising youth poverty. Reay (2017) considers this the 'tip of the iceberg' (p.19) seeing the UK as now becoming a 'low-pay economy in which the wage share relative to profit has fallen dramatically' representing the divide between socio-economic groups.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) raise the difficulties in determining social mobility suggesting instead *income mobility* as a more convenient indicator. They highlight the relationship between intergenerational social mobility and income inequality concluding that data reveals that 'countries with bigger income differences tend to have much lower social mobility' (p.159). The UK reflects both the widening gap in income alongside declining social mobility. Furthermore, they cite that

problems 'more common at the bottom of the social ladder are more common in more unequal societies' (p.18). This suggests that disadvantaged families are significantly challenged within an increasingly divided world.

2-5-2 Disadvantaged Pupils and the Allocation of Free School Meals

An important signifier, FSM acts as a specific marker for aspects of school's attainment whilst generating additional funding for individual pupils. Estimates indicate 19.5% children live in absolute poverty (Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission [SMCPC], 2014, p.14) with ongoing fiscal constraints, following the 2015 general election, exacerbating this percentage for the foreseeable future (Hoskins & Barker, 2014, p.24. SMCPC, 2014). Linking low attainment with entrenched social mobility stagnation the SMC (2014) surmised that without significant changes in the current anomaly in outcomes progress would continue to be slow. Crucially, data suggests an underlying trend of deterioration (SMC, 2016; The Boston Consulting Group, 2017). Addressing this concern Ofsted continues to prioritise the outcomes for pupils in receipt FSM in its inspections (Ofsted, 2014, p.14), reinforcing the focus for schools whilst adding further weight to government policy in addressing the achievement gap.

The allocation of FSM is a proxy indicator of disadvantage as it specifically identifies children growing up in low-income households and is the basis for gathering data regarding children living in poverty. In England FSM a statutory benefit is available to school-aged children from families who receive support from one or more of eight other qualifying benefits, having applied through the relevant registration process (DfWP, 2013). Subsequently, only those families that apply and are awarded the benefit are included in the data. However, since September 2013, all infant-aged children are entitled to a FSM with the result that parents are less likely to apply for the benefit, making statistical data in this area less specific and less reliable, as reported by The Guardian, March 2015 (Tickle, 2015). Therefore, specific FSM data may not represent an accurate profile of the poorest children (Gorard & See, 2013, p.11 ; SMCPC, 2014). Approaching the issue of disadvantage by dividing children into two groups, those on FSM and those not, may overlook some disadvantaged pupils who for a variety of reasons are not recognised. Current government figures would indicate approximately 11% of pupils who should be eligible for FSMs are not registered (NAO, 2015a, p.7); therefore creating an absolute profile is problematic. It may also be the case that FSM children appear distinctive due to their congregation within individual schools or specific local authorities (Gorard & See, 2013), possibly showing a disproportionate percentage against other localities, thus indicative of a wider, localized impoverishment. Areas of high deprivation could therefore represent a higher than average percentage of those entitled, but not claiming,

FSM, an issue pertinent to the borough in which this research is located. Although criticised as a low proxy indicator of poverty (NAO, 2015a), FSM remains the one criterion that designates disadvantage within the system and subsequently generates additional financial support to schools in order to address the achievement gap.

Critically, the influence of neighbourhood on overall achievement is increasingly understood to mean those children growing up in areas of high deprivation face increased disadvantage (Schoon, 2006). Poorer levels of local services, lower levels of social trust and the subsequent perception of the threat of violence and crime risk feelings of isolation and a lack of engagement within the community (MacBeath et al, 2007). The location of this case study has been representative of these areas over an extended period of time, remaining until 2015 as one of the most deprived local authorities in the country (DfCLG, 2015). The Extended School was primarily introduced to provide disadvantaged children with additional opportunities to explore a wide variety of interests outside of school hours. This research will, therefore, contribute to assessing the value of this intervention in supporting disadvantaged pupils designated as living within an area of high deprivation a focus not apparent in previous research.

2-5-3 Pupil Premium Grant

Additional funding for FSM was allocated to schools by the Coalition government as the Pupil Premium Grant (PPG) which generates £1320 per primary pupil, per year, (based on 2018-2019, Gov.UK figures). It funds specific, strategic intervention with the aim of accelerating progress to raise standards and contribute to reducing the achievement gap. The allocation of the PPG (updated to Ever6 in 2013, extending eligibility to six years) highlights those pupils designated as disadvantaged and at risk of failing within school, and appears as a lynch pin both in the last Coalition and current government's social mobility strategy. This represents a substantial financial commitment (£1.9 billion in 2013-2014, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2016), addressing disadvantage within schools. However, Ball (2017) sets this within budgetary issues which has seen a reduction in actual funding during successive years leaving schools with significant shortfalls which leads to contradictions regarding its claim as additional funding.

Initially allocated to schools and used at the discretion of the leadership, PPG funding appears to have gradually become more regulated as budgets tighten and pressure is increased to raise standards. Models of good practice applying the PPG are promoted by the government sponsored EEF, which gives feedback on activities recorded as having a high impact on achievement. Additionally, initiatives, such as the DFE's Pupil Premium Awards, may be viewed as a recommended blueprint for the application of the funding, as financial awards are given to schools

demonstrating effective use of the grant to directly raise standards in core subjects. As a result, a greater sense of accountability concerning the funding, and increasing directives to show causality between its use and attainment of disadvantage pupils, appears to be shifting the focus of its allocation. This is emphasised within the borough in which the research is located as the LA audits the use of the PPG against test results annually. Strategies, such as catch-up programmes in core areas for those underachieving, appear as priorities as opposed to enrichment activities for all eligible recipients; greater government intervention would suggest a narrowing of activities for pupils.

A reduction in the range of options for pupils may be further intensified by a shift in subsidy, over time, from a range of grants, including Extended Schools' funding, into the PPG (Chowdry & Siebieta, 2011; Lupton & Thomson, 2015, p.12). This has endorsed a more directed use of delegated funding with a tendency to avoid activities which cannot be easily assessed and measured for progress. The PPG remains at the forefront of discussion around the standards agenda, with repeated calls to identify how this money may be used more effectively to directly support achievement, whilst guaranteeing that the funding currently allocated demonstrates value for money (The Public Accounts Committee, 2015). This contradictory and confused position concerning policy is therefore leading to huge variability in its use across schools and LAs. Allen (2018), whose research has highlighted issues concerning disadvantaged children, questions the use of this funding. She stresses that those pupils in receipt of PPG do not have homogenous needs and typically reflect social rather than income characteristics therefore supporting the view that the PPG does not necessarily support the poorest children within a cohort. Her work contributes to the debate on the effectiveness of this high profile grant.

2-6 Summary

This chapter argues that successive government intervention has directly influenced the dominance of core subjects in schools, reducing the opportunity to provide pupils with wide-ranging experiences during the school day. Ball (2017) would see the view of education primarily 'in relation to global economic competitiveness' (p.115) as a consistent feature of successive governments which has resulted in policy and practice that promotes 'basic skills' (Cunningham, 2012, p.16). This view reinforces the position that curriculum is directly linked to statutory assessment where pressure to ensure all pupils meet national expectations dictates priorities. Ultimately, the requirement that the curriculum addresses wide-ranging needs is jeopardised regardless of the expectation on schools to respond to issues of national concern such as poor mental health and the crisis in obesity.

The change in government in 2010 introduced several new initiatives that saw a radical change in direction including a new focus for NC influenced by the knowledge-curriculum advocated by Hirsch (2017). The new NC challenged practice linked to a far more integrated curriculum which, in the view of Robinson (2013a), seriously undermined schools ability to promote creativity and personalisation. Changes introduced by the Coalition government in 2010 also seriously influenced practice in a range of provisions leading to projects, such as the Extended School, 'falling off the agenda' (Diss & Jamie, 2012, p.27). The cancellation of longitudinal research, the redirection of funding and the de-regulation of policy all contributed to this marginalisation of the provision. However, against this backdrop the Extended School, particularly after-school activities, persisted, indicating that headteachers regarded the contribution they made to children's well-being as important. By collating the perceptions of a range of stakeholders this research aimed to contribute to the discussion regarding the background to this continuation.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This single case study was developed to encapsulate the views of stakeholders in one Extended School provision. Explored within a Critical Theory framework it focuses on the needs of those pupils facing challenging circumstances as a result of living in poverty. It details the selection of both setting and interviewees and outlines how data was gathered from participants. It furthermore clarifies how data was analysed throughout the process within the agreed ethical standards.

3-2 Theoretical Framework: Critical Theory

Research was located within Critical Theory whereby the inquiry ‘must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.453). Established within the early part of the last century, it lacks a ‘specific formula or homogenous representation’ (Darder et al, 2017, p.9) but draws its commonality through its commitment to liberate the powerless and disadvantaged. Aimed at realising a society ‘that is based on equality and democracy’ (Cohen et al, 2011, p. 3) its ultimate goal is creating social change for the benefit of everyone, irrespective of background, by challenging the status quo of current power dynamics. Critical Theory, linked to education, advances the tenet that school and society are inextricably linked and interrogates:

how schools perpetuate or reduce inequality: the social construction of knowledge and curricula – who defines worthwhile knowledge, and how this reproduces inequality in society; how power is produced and reproduced through education; whose interests are served by education and how legitimate these are (Cohen et al, 2011, p.32).

Although schools should address inequality and unequal outcomes as a result of policy, structure and curriculum, Cho (2013, p.17) would argue that they are designed to ‘reproduce unequal outcomes’. Reay (2017) reinforces this perception by examining issues around funding for schools which, she argues, continuously favours those from more privileged backgrounds.

Cunningham’s view of education (2012, p.16) ‘as a form of economic investment’ linked to the demands of KS assessments prioritise numeracy and literacy, often at the expense of a more broad and balanced programme for children. The overwhelming focus of this generates key messages related to what is valued within schools and, importantly, what is not. Ward, advocating Critical Theory applied to education, would argue that this restrictive approach to curriculum creates ‘social and cultural pacification’ (2017), generating costs to children in the lack of development of

alternative but crucial skills. He aligns this approach with ensuring maintenance of the status quo within the system of societal hierarchies as children are not exposed to developing skills that would enable them to compete in those professions guaranteeing greater financial rewards or influence. Referring to this aspect as ‘the hidden curriculum’ Ward stresses children lack tutoring in:

- an inability to think critically
- to question authority
- to be reflective
- to weight evidence
- to recognise the difference between reasoning and opinion
(Ward, 2017).

Supporting the need to address consensus reached by Fullan and Langworthy (2016) his argument highlights skills that support pupils beyond the classroom; this includes their future roles as citizens within their own communities and beyond.

Critical Theory acknowledges not only the contribution that interviewees make to research but sees the role of researchers as developing greater partnerships with participants. Hence the term ‘participatory research’ (Cohen et al, 2011, p.37) is adopted to express the nature of this design. Regarded as ‘research for change and development of communities’ (ibid) it promotes the view that ‘ordinary people are entirely capable of reflective and critical analysis of their situation’ (ibid); therefore they are also qualified to express desirable improvements. Ensuring all groups have access to forums to express their views is problematic but is particularly relevant for those individuals directly affected by the outcomes of decisions made on their behalf. This research was designed to ensure that views of a diverse range of interviewees, and especially those significantly affected by change within the provision, were collected.

Primarily, the intention of this research was to address the needs of those disadvantaged in society and to question how access to resources may result in a greater equality of opportunity. In this respect the aim was ‘not only about making a contribution to knowledge and understanding of a certain phenomenon, but [was] actually about changing and improving practice’ (Mehmedbegovic, 2011, p.50). In the first instance, engaging parents in meaningful discussions facilitating an opportunity for them to reflect on practice they might not necessarily have considered previously established the foundation for an innovative and transformative exchange of views. But aligned to this are the views of stakeholders themselves, influencing future decision-making and development. Exploring the Extended School service and determining the perceived contribution it makes may therefore be a crucial area for discussion within the current climate of cuts to services. The strength of the arguments made by families can be a valuable contribution to establishing it remains a priority adding an important voice to future operational decisions.

Whilst creating a wider structure for the analysis of data, selecting specific aspects of models within the Critical Theory framework is also useful as it creates boundaries to contextualization, ensuring a determinate selection of features for analysis (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015, p.104). This is an important dimension of the research process as, on the one hand, it outlines the extent of the focus under consideration, but it also creates parameters to what may be considered within the constraints of this single case study. This addresses a problem that may arise in qualitative methodology where too loose a context may result in data being 'indeterminate and without bounds' (ibid, p.105) and, subsequently, difficult to analyse.

3-3 Research Design

From a broadly qualitative approach and developed within an interpretivist design the research gathered data from a range of interviewees. Qualitative research begins 'with individuals and set[s] out to understand their interpretations of the world around them' (Cohen et al, p.18). Crucially, the research process focuses on 'learning the meaning that the participants hold' (Cresswell, 2009, p.175) and not the meaning brought to the research by the researcher or current literature. Robson (2011, p.24; Gibson, 2017) describes meaning as 'constructed by human beings as they interact and engage in interpretation' rejecting a belief that meaning can exist as a separate phenomenon. This approach acknowledges that there are 'multiple interpretations of, and perspectives on, single events and reality' (Cohen et al, p.17) and that reality itself is constructed through human interaction and may change over time.

Engaging with stakeholders within a fixed context facilitates insights into the specific world and setting of that focus group. Ultimately an interpretative approach retains 'the integrity of the phenomena being investigated, [as] efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within' (ibid, p.17). Enabling an exploration of how individuals or groups make sense of their experience it 'is interested in how people differ in relation to a particular phenomenon, as much as it is in what they have in common' (King & Horrocks, 2011, p.27) Ultimately, it searches for understanding through interpreting data rejecting the belief that knowledge can be assumed. Within this approach this research focused on first-hand experiences reported by stakeholders which was paramount to facilitate the type of data that would, fundamentally, uncover the value and importance they held for the Extended School provision. Whilst acknowledging the subjective nature of the views expressed and the risk of bias by those already engaged and benefitting from this provision it allowed access to perceptions based on direct experience of the Extended School.

The nature of this research raised the appropriateness of the word *data* in this context (Coleman & Briggs, 2002) and the terms evidence, information or material may have been a more accurate

substitute. This was something I considered seriously as *data* appeared too detached for the quality of the feedback I gathered. However, to ensure my developing role of researcher was further embedded I decided to maintain the more accepted formalised language throughout the research.

3-4 Contextualist Theory

Robson (2011) acknowledges the mutual responsibility of both interviewer and interviewees in the interpretivist approach seeing participants 'as helping to construct the 'reality' with the researchers' (p.24). Tudge (2010) regards this mutual construction of reality as promoting a contextualist standpoint regarding the researcher as an active participant in the process of gathering data. In this respect the researcher is seen to continuously influence the outcome of the interview beyond that exerted by the research design, the questions generated and participation in the interview itself:

From the contextualist perspective, the goal is not to try to make the researcher invisible but rather, having accepted her necessary visibility, to treat the information gained as a co-construction of researcher and participant in research. (p.61)

Evidence supporting the co-construction of data within the interview process acting as a catalyst for the development of the views arose during three parent interviews. As one left and was offered thanks for her valued participation she added:

P7: I also verbalised some things I didn't know about clubs but I understand now.

Concluding her interview a second parent commented:

P10: Your questions have been quite thought provoking, I had to think about it, as opposed to just picking them up and dropping off. I've kinda had a go, I do think about that.

Mid-interview a third parent changed her view regarding the value of the physical nature of clubs. She said, in the first instance, she viewed clubs as merely fun for children but returned to the question rephrasing her response as she equated the games session with herself as an adult visiting the gym at the end of the day. These three parents ideas were either formed or changed during the interview, highlighting the understanding that parents were considering issues raised in this research for the first time; a greater awareness and the development of views arose as a result of the interview process. This reflection may have occurred spontaneously or developed from a previously held opinion. Demonstrating the power of qualitative research these responses highlight how the process may act as a vehicle of change and transformation as interviewees consider issues in a fresh light or questions not previously considered. Thus '[i]nterviewing is an active process where interviewer and interviewee through their relationship produce knowledge' (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, p.17). Implications for the tone and management of interviews also arise where

the focus is on a more conversational exchange facilitating the opportunity to talk about experience and its context. The conversational tone also allows time and space for reflection and for views to form or to be reconsidered (Burgess, 1984).

3-5 Case Study

Previous research (Carpenter et al, 2012) has quantified the content and scope of the Extended School provision nationally whilst further research has explored the impact of participation on attainment (Chanfrau et al, 2016). Both projects gathered extensive data across a wide spectrum of settings collating generalised viewpoints within non-specific groupings. In comparison the focus for this research was to gather specific qualitative data regarding the perceived quality of the experience and learning undertaken by stakeholders. This supported an understanding of its contribution to children's development and to explore the impact on learning beyond that measured by KS2 testing. The aim was to address specific detail rather than scope (Silverman 2010, p.104). The research pursued an embedded, single case study model (Yin, 2012) demonstrated by data gathered from different sources within one primary school.

Case study methodology is valuable as it 'can penetrate situations in ways that are not always susceptible to numerical analysis' (Cohen et al, 2011, p.289). In this instance, the model was valuable as it allowed for the level of in-depth feedback from stakeholders generally lacking in current research. An example of this arose whereby individual parents were able to give evidence that childcare facilitated by the Extended School enabled them to improve their prospects. This would suggest a contribution to social mobility something quantitative data cannot currently prove. A case study is commonly recognised as occurring in a 'specified and physical setting' making it context-specific (Miles & Hubberman, 1984, p.27) and, whilst acknowledging similarities in some ways to other settings, presents unique qualities (Stake, 1995). This was particularly relevant in this research as the focus on disadvantaged pupils necessitated a diverse profile of pupils including a percentage of those on FSMs. There are drawbacks with this model due to its focus on a specific group which restricts the development of generalisations that could be useful in other settings (Plowright, 2011). It also reflects a specific period in time in which the data is collected.

Operating from an outside perspective enabled me to view the provision within the case study setting solely from a researcher viewpoint, a position I had not experienced previously. Although I have had extensive experience as a headteacher within a different primary school, it was valuable to focus on the data without the detailed knowledge I had previously in my own school, allowing for greater specificity and objectivity. It also distanced me from the school staff, thus facilitating a more independent role with interviewees whilst avoiding the sense that there was a 'right answer'

to any of the questions (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, p.145). The disadvantage of this position was its reliance on the headteacher to recommend the selection of interviewees and initially engage their cooperation and the senior administration officer to collect permission slips. Communicating with them with absolute clarity was crucial to ensure the collaboration of selected participants.

3-6 Interdisciplinary Strategy

An interdisciplinary strategy has been adopted to create a framework to support this research. This approach aims to 'integrate knowledge and modes of thinking from two or more disciplines (or well-established fields of study) in order to create products, raise questions, solve problems, and offer explanations of the world around them' (Boix-Mansilla, 2017). This approach, which combined literature from education, health and social studies, was important as the concept of the Extended School was rooted within the integrated approach to children's welfare embedded within the Every Child Matters (DFE, 2001) policy. It was therefore necessary to scrutinise background information in all these relevant areas. Subsequently, a review of both government and other agencies' policies has created an analytical context within which the Extended School was developed. Located within a move to address inequality and to support those families facing disadvantage due to poverty, this research links the Extended School with government aims to improve access to work with accessible child-care arrangements.

3-7 Selection and Profile of the School

Negotiating a school for the research was an important first-step and this was carefully considered alongside the research design (Burgess, 1984). Relevant factors important to the selection included:

- the school was situated within the borough where I worked but was not within the area of my former school or where I live, thus ensuring anonymity as a researcher;
- my previous working relationship with the headteacher suggested she would be trustworthy regarding her understanding and respect of the ethical nature of research, including valuing confidentiality within the process;
- a stable school where a research project would not impinge hugely on the delivery of education;
- a school that had established a successful after-school programme ensuring all stakeholders could make an informed and pertinent contribution to the research;
- a well-resourced after-school provision with facilities that supported a wide range of opportunities for children including both indoor and outdoor activities;

- a school where I was unknown to staff and families thus eliminating any preconceived notions of my own practice or principles in this area.

Canthorpe Primary is a community school that caters for pupils between the ages of three and eleven. A larger than average two form entry school it had 349 pupils and 50 FTE nursery places and a high proportion of pupils from minority ethnic groups recorded as follows:

Black African	30%
British White	30%
Black Caribbean	22%
Asian	8%
Turkish	8%
Other White	5%
Other	2%

32% of pupils were in receipt of FSM which is double the national average and the number of pupils with special educational needs was also well above the national average. Categorized as Good in a 2016 Ofsted inspection, attainment was recognised as broadly average with good progress from a low starting point. Behaviour in the school was judged Good, the report considered children thrived in a caring and safe learning environment. Children were judged to show respect for others and to have a positive attitude to learning. Most pupils lived within the immediate area of the school which comprised of a large local authority housing estate with Victorian terrace property to the north of the school.

3-8 Procedures for Interviews

Data was gathered from current KS2 pupils and their parents as they would have had the opportunity to experience a wide range of activities during their primary school years. Of particular interest were Yr6 pupils as they could reflect on how they believed the extended provision had supported their learning as they neared the end of KS2. Fifteen pupils were invited to attend a semi-structured interview divided into six pairs and one group of three. Grouping the children enabled them to feel more secure and contributed to addressing feelings of anxiety as it was more naturalistic and closer to their day to day experience than the more artificial 1:1 interview (King & Horrocks, 2011). Previous experience with this age-group supported groupings as it facilitates good rapport between children whilst ensuring each have the opportunity to participate in discussions. It also facilitates individual views to be 'amplified, qualified, amended or contradicted' between participants (ibid, p62).

3-8-1 Sampling Method, Profile of Interviewees and Interview Procedures

Recognised by Robson as a non-probability sample (2011.p.274) a purposive sampling approach (Plowright, 2011; Robson, 2011) was employed to select children and their families for the research ensuring they had experience they could share regarding the issue. Identified as 'participatory research' (ibid, p. 37) it aimed to gather knowledge from those who had benefited from the provision. Thus priority was given for those pupils who had regularly attended the extended activities over a period of time but aimed to include a good balance of gender, ethnicity and age-groups. Aiming to achieve a representative group there needed to be an element of selecting individuals based on creating a profile that did not focus on one group at the expense of another. A quota sampling method (Cohen et al, 2011) could have been considered, which would align closer to the whole school population, but this risked a lack of gathering data from those who attended clubs regularly. Dimensional sampling could have also been used which involves identifying factors for consideration and obtaining 'at least one respondent of every combination' (ibid. p.158) but this could prove difficult in an unfamiliar setting where I was reliant on others to make choices. Children were not selected based on standards of attainment, although those with a Statement of Educational Need were excluded. The profile consisted of:

- gender - seven boys and eight girls;
- Year group - six Yr6, five Yr 5 and four Yr 4;
- ethnicity (based on the categories used within the school's database) – seven Black African, four White British, one Asian, one Turkish and two Caribbean;
- four pupils eligible for FSM with an additional pupil included under Ever6.

Approximately 32% of pupils in KS2 are in receipt of FSM so including a fair representation of those pupils in the research was a priority. As FSM is still currently employed as the method for assessing disadvantage this research adopted this definition to identify this category. I was given the opportunity to meet briefly with participating children prior to their interviews to establish an initial relationship, answer any questions the children wished to pose and outline the nature of their contribution. The children chatted well during this session and expressed enthusiasm to participate.

Parents of the 15 children were invited for interview individually. Semi-structured interviews focused on how they perceived the effectiveness of the Extended School and how far they believed it was well matched to their children's needs. Unfortunately, due to time pressures and other commitments, three parents withdrew from the research leaving 12 interviewed, 11 mothers and one father. Parent interviews were organised on a 1:1 basis as this facilitated the opportunity to

talk specifically about the perceptions of their children without the possibility of generalizations that a small group approach risked and with each guaranteed anonymity.

Three members of staff involved in the Extended School were interviewed on a 1:1 basis. This allowed staff to reflect on their individual experiences and draw on examples from their own practice. Although a purposive sample approach was used interviewees were also selected based on work schedules where they could be released and covered satisfactorily. Unfortunately, the lead manager for the Extended School was absent due to long-term sickness at the start of the research so the headteacher agreed to supply the necessary background data. Two male members of staff interviewed were well-established and experienced within the Extended School whilst a third female member was in the second term of employment, which provided a good overall balance of experience and expertise. All three were employed within the school day as teaching assistants and each had National Governing Body Awards Level 1-4 relative to a specific sport. Both male members of staff held additional posts within the neighbourhood leading sports activities for youth projects; this proved an invaluable additional perspective on their role within the neighbourhood.

Interviews were carried out during the autumn/spring terms 2015-2016. A room was specifically allocated within the school so interviews could be carried out in confidence. Children were interviewed during school time with the agreement of the classteacher. Parents were interviewed at a time convenient to them. Staff interviews were arranged by the headteacher with cover to support their absence from duties.

3-9 Pilot Study

An initial pilot study carried out prior to the main field-work proved invaluable as it facilitated refining data collection plans in respect to both the data content and procedures to be followed (Robson, 2010; Cohen et al, 2011). For an outsider researcher this proved imperative to ensure all aspects of the process agreed with school policy and were fully understood and implemented as negotiated. Reviewing such issues as the interview space, collating agreement slips and confirming the length of time the interviews took supported the far more extensive programme of the main field study interviews. Although the children's interviews ran smoothly two issues arose during the pilot stage: the parent cancelled the interview at the last moment and the lead member of staff, who was to support the research, had taken long-term sick leave. Anticipating further glitches with parents I agreed with the school to extend the time period for parent interviews, thus maximising flexibility whilst being readily available over a much wider period to fit around parents' commitments. The school agreed a re-scheduling of staffing interviews and the headteacher agreed

to supply the information and an overview of the provision. The parent interview was rearranged, which the parent attended and the response was constructive.

3-9-1 Development of Semi-Structured Interviews

Collating appropriate questions (Appendix 2) to support the interviews was fundamental to recording genuine opinions and experiences, and time was spent on identifying the right areas for questions and considering the order and wording ensuring they were specific, clear and easy and accessible. Developing the format and questions for interviews engaged the work of Brinkman and Kvale (2015) which proved invaluable whilst their guidance on interviewing was central to the planning and preparation for data gathering. The aim was to generate the opportunity to describe experiences, feelings and actions (ibid) giving good insight into activities at the clubs and, crucially, avoiding impressions unsupported by evidence. Time was allowed for follow-up questions which could not be pre-planned being a response to data given (Bailey, 2007). As all the participants were unknown to me it was important to establish a good rapport; asking for general information at the beginning of the interview supported this. Although I had explained my background and rationale for the research in the letter to interviewees, it was also important to repeat this information at the beginning of the interview and giving ample opportunity to answer questions ensuring clarity. I thought it was important to detail my school experience, my relationship with the current school and that I lived in the borough, which more than one parent indicated was important. I believed sharing this information contributed to creating a conducive atmosphere facilitating the collection of constructive data necessary whilst quelling any initial nervousness.

Full transcripts of the pilot interviews were undertaken supporting a review of the suitability of proposed questions and their relevance to the research (See Appendix VI for examples). This gave valuable opportunity to review the questions and to reflect on the approach to interviewing and its effectiveness. Furthermore, it contributed to organising transcribing the remaining interviews once recorded. The approach involved transcribing the interviews as fully as possible including pauses, laughter, which occasionally arose, and incorrect grammar. Pronunciation, such as dropping the h at the start of the word, was noted but for purposes of clarity was put in brackets to indicate its omission. Similarly, punctuation was added to the transcripts to add further transparency for the reader but this was done as far as possible to convey the actual meaning intended by the interviewee not as an exercise in correct grammar. The aim throughout was to reflect as accurately as possible the opinions and views expressed by the interviewees and maintain their authentic voice. It was also important to consider whether the questions gave interviewees enough opportunity to talk and the data gathered would address the research question in full. This entailed

not only listening to the interviewees' responses but to considering how the questions were presented and whether, as an interviewer, I held back sufficiently to facilitate full responses to the questions.

At the end of this process the questions were reviewed and minor changes were made to the parents' schedule where I thought more opportunity was needed regarding their attitude towards the standards agenda and the contribution they believed the Extended School made to their children's attainment in core subjects.

3-10 Approach to Analysis

A thematic coding analysis approach (Robson, 2011, p.467) formed the basis for interrogating the data. Analysing the full set of interviews followed an approach developed through the pilot stage, which proved a valuable exercise to support the management of the final full range of data. The process was applied systematically to avoid a sense of being swamped by the volume of data collected. The first stage of this process involved developing a familiarity with the data which was enhanced by the transcribing of the recordings in full. At this stage all interviewees were given an individual reference number which was then used throughout the remaining research process. C for children, P for parents and S for staff were used, followed by a chronological number. The subsequent analysis was approached by maintaining these three sets. The initial stage involved a detailed re-reading of all interviews, statement by statement, to extend the familiarity with the data. This stage was further supported by post-it notes of relevant ideas that emerged which generated an initial reaction to data.

As a second stage transcripts of interviews were read then manually colour-coded and labelled, highlighting phrases or sections of the data that were relevant or of potential interest to the focus of the research with similar areas given the same code. This level of coding acted as a form of 'indexing and categorizing system' (Cohen et al, 2011, p.559), creating links between transcripts and carried out systematically thus ensuring that no relevant data were excluded. Importantly, both major and minor strands were identified at this stage and included such aspects as specific experiences, actions, participation and responses. However, coding was as specific as possible to ensure the process remained manageable. Brief notes and headlines were recorded directly onto the transcripts for future reference and in some cases sections of transcripts carried more than one code. Initial themes also began to emerge at this stage and were identified and recorded (See Appendix VII for example of coding).

Selecting workable themes was an important next stage to ensure the range of data remained practicable and relevant. Of the main themes which emerged three were adopted to form the headings with three sub-themes included in each. The coded sections were recorded against these themes. Coded sections were then mapped on large sheets of paper to create a framework for further analysis and interpretation. Where links were apparent certain codes were subsumed into others, forming a more significant area for analysis such as those that formed the section on health and well-being (Robson, 2011).

Each section was reviewed for analysis to explore the content of the data and to begin the process of drawing meaning from interviews. Evidence of such things as patterns emerging across the sets of data, where similarities or conflicting views arose, were highlighted. It proved particularly valuable to compare responses from each of the three interview groups and to be aware of differences of responses between each of them. As was maintaining an awareness of those families in receipt of FSM the data of which was extremely relevant to the final analysis.

The themes were further considered in the light of the research question to ensure the data matched the focus of the research and an iterative approach was maintained linking literature, methodology and selected themes. Separate flow charts were produced for each theme which subsequently facilitated a more coherent breakdown of the data included in each. This gave the opportunity to look for additional links and any necessary adjustments that were appropriate to ensure consistency and coherence whilst removing repetition in the data analysis and subsequent presentation.

3-11 Ethical Considerations

BERA guidance (2011) formed the baseline for the work. I gained UCL/IOE ethics approval in line with the university's regulations. In accordance with LA procedures, the school arranged DBS clearance and registration, which facilitated working with pupils in confidence. The headteacher acted as gate-keeper (Burgess, 1984; Cohen et al, 2011) throughout the process of the research and agreed all practical arrangements. Maintaining anonymity for the school and participants was a primary agreement and this has been sustained throughout in all stages of data gathering. This has influenced how interviewees have been represented including abandoning a specific profile of contributors as it risked identifying individuals leading to a 'loss of privacy' (Robson, 2011, p.208).

A letter of introduction was sent to all interviewees and written agreement was collected from all parents confirming their willingness for their children to participate (Appendix III, IV, V). This included an outline of the aims of the research and contractual issues including an agreement

allowing any participant to withdraw at any time during the period of data collection (Robson, 2011). Agreement was also sought from participating children. The headteacher approached individual staff members and confirmed their consent; specific arrangements were made to cover their duties while they were attending the interviews.

Children in receipt of FSM and categorised as disadvantaged were a primary focus for this research. This was a sensitive issue and was handled considerately throughout the process thus ensuring no participant was categorised in a way that could cause offence or anxiety or any derogatory labelling. It was also important to consider that within the context of the research families in receipt of a FSM would be identified as indicating a level of need whereas the individuals themselves may not consider themselves in this light (Schroon, 2006). Categorising families in this way was a delicate issue and demanded extreme care to ensure that the literature expounding FSM did not dictate any preconceived notions regarding the families. Interviewing staff regarding their perceptions of the Extended School also required sensitivity to ensure individuals did not feel their work was being judged or criticised. Equally important was ensuring staff felt confident to share constructive criticisms about the facility, that this would be respected, valued and treated with full anonymity, albeit indirectly reported to contribute to subsequent improvements in the service.

All participants were informed that, although they were guaranteed anonymity and their names would not be revealed, the data collected from them would be central to writing a thesis and that a summary would disseminated to the school and other interested bodies as part of the process of research. Ensuring that anonymity was maintained throughout the whole process was paramount and, although individuals may identify their contribution in the report, maximum precautions were taken to ensure no-one else could identify interviewees (Burgess, 1984; Cohen et al, 2011).

CHAPTER FOUR – DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4-1 Introduction

Analysing the data gathered from interviewees aimed to answer the research question:

What impact does the Extended School have on the attitudes to and engagement with learning of disadvantaged children in an inner-city school?

Three sections form the framework to address this question and, although clearly interdependent and informing each other, provide the evidence to substantiate the qualities of this provision in one school. They are:

- Curriculum
- Learning and Emotional Development
- Healthy Lifestyles and Pupil Well-Being

Data from children, parents and staff involved in after-schools clubs were interrogated and presented separately in sections in this chapter to outline contrasting points of view. Prior to interviews the current policy for the Extended School was reviewed forming a baseline to establish specific aims and rationale within this case study school. Supplementary information pertinent to the provision was provided by the headteacher; including the school's development plan, curriculum map and the current Ofsted report. The school's Values Statement also demonstrated how the Extended School was strategically located within the whole school ethos by promoting opportunities, experiences and enjoyment for pupils. In the absence of the Extended School leader the headteacher also agreed to be interviewed to provide additional information.

4-2 Curriculum

4-2-1 School Context and Extended School Policy

Data collated from the school included:

- the context and features of the school, including current attainment data, recorded in relevant policies and the school's profile;
- extended activities in place, how they are managed, staffed and funded and the current aims of the provision as identified in the Extended School Policy, the parents' leaflet and information from the headteacher;

- evidence collected by the school regarding the outcomes of activities, including the feedback from annual questionnaires from participants and parents, the quality of outcomes recorded by headteacher monitoring and awards presented to pupils;
- current development issues as recorded in the school's development plan.

Collating a profile of the Extended School established current background data and avoided gathering basic information during interviews.

With a focus on the NC the headteacher of Canthorpe Primary School clarified that, given the low level of achievement recorded on entry by a percentage of pupils, a high proportion of time was allocated to literacy and numeracy. Progress is monitored rigorously as the headteacher is unequivocal regarding the need for all children to reach national standards. To deliver Foundation Subjects effectively, the school is currently implementing The International Primary Curriculum. Presenting a cross-curricular approach to teaching Foundation Subjects this scheme provides planning, resources and texts for lessons. However, the headteacher stresses prioritising core curriculum areas to promote high standards alongside the range of other subjects means '*the curriculum is really tight leaving little room to put in all you want to do*': time remains a problem. Subsequently, current practice proves restrictive for developing breadth within all subjects incurring the sense of 'curriculum congestion' identified by Hopkins (2007, p.61).

Believing time after school should facilitate both a balance to the school day and differing experiences the headteacher considered maintaining flexibility regarding content a priority for the Extended School. She emphasised children should be offered activities:

- *they haven't experienced before*
- *they wouldn't otherwise do*
- *that are too costly outside of school*

Ideally, the Extended School should '*open doors to fuller opportunities so children could take up things they would never have dreamt of*'. The promotion of enrichment opportunities for pupils within the Extended School reflects 86% of schools highlighted by Diss and Jamie (2016, p.42) whose data supported the view this provision was perceived by headteachers as an opportunity to improve children's specific access to sport and cultural activities.

The school has produced a detailed Extended School policy which makes explicit its intention to create clubs that:

Help to enhance a child's learning, build confidence and enjoyment in school. It can help children to acquire and develop new and existing skills, and can expose

children to activities that they may not otherwise encounter. (Extended School Policy (updated), 2015)

Specialised programmes within the school day for children working below average meant the clubs' emphasis on the creative arts and sports were viewed as offering an alternative focus. However, additional after-school classes in core subjects were offered to selected, under-performing pupils at specific times of the year in preparation for national tests. Selected children were also invited to join the homework club where circumstances were not favourable to completing tasks within the home. The homework club is an example where the school has identified problems for certain children and has created an alternative opportunity for them to avoid difficulties. This particular issue is highlighted in Quilgars & Pleace (2016) and Diss & Jamie (2016) where schools provide alternative arrangements thus avoiding problems which may arise around homework in the home (Mortimore, 2013; Siraj & Mayo, 2014). All other clubs are open for all children to apply termly through a process published in the policy document. The Extended School Policy also informs parents of the practical day-to-day arrangements including a brief statement regarding expectations around behaviour outlining actions where behaviour falls below standard. At the current time the school does not provide guidance for parents about selecting clubs or information concerning how clubs support children's learning and development. However, following discussions about this research, guidance is planned for the future as the headteacher believes this will be of value to parents.

Freedom to select from a wide range of options was critical as it ensured after-school clubs enhanced areas of learning whilst motivating pupils. The headteacher was adamant that, with a high proportion of children experiencing disadvantage, extending horizons and ensuring they had access to opportunities not otherwise available to them was a huge priority. She believed that additional experiences after school built children's confidence and *'enabled them to access wider opportunities allowing them to make more informed choices in the future'*. The headteacher also confirmed the popularity of the provision with clubs outlined in Appendix VIII full the majority of sessions with additional play opportunities extending participation. Although an approximation half of pupils in KS1 and KS2 accessed facilities over a term.

Echoing Heath's research (2015) the headteacher acknowledged the hurdles many families face accessing cultural facilities in the wider community resulting in organised additional whole-school events such as visits to museums, London landmarks and sports venues. The clubs formed part of a package offering wide ranging of choices within the arts, sports and the wider curriculum ensuring an extension to the regular school day particularly for disadvantaged pupils. Allowing children the freedom to choose activities and taking responsibility for their own learning was valued and this

contributed in some way to the promotion of personalised learning (Fullan et al, 2006; Hopkins, 2007) beyond that which the school could facilitate during the day.

Creating a balance to standards in core subjects during the school day alongside the opportunity to broaden children's experience within a stimulating and enjoyable environment remained central to the headteacher's aims for the Extended School. This approach concurs with research by Chanfreau et al (2016) that reflects school leaders' view of clubs as 'a golden opportunity to provide enrichment' (pp. 21-22). Within the current time constraints of the NC (2013) and the regime of a 'high stakes assessment' (Wrigley, 2010. P.), this creates a unique offer for pupils' access to experiences not otherwise available to them in school. In this respect the original aims of the Extended School to create opportunities for those children who would otherwise be excluded from after-school activities remain tangible. Significantly, recent research (Diss & Jamie, 2016) highlights the enduring nature of the provision which has withstood increased pressure on schools to focus on strategies directly linked to improving standards and test results within diminishing budgets. The headteacher is adamant that the provision adds value and prioritises its retention.

Establishing a staffing group that could fully support the aims of the Extended School remains a high priority for the headteacher. The starting point for this, she believes, is:

Sharing your vision with people, having conversations, share what it is you're trying to develop...If they understand what you want to achieve they can share your passion, you don't have to get them on board, they are there from day one.

Additionally, the headteacher sees identifying talented individuals within the staffing group who can support children develop their interests and passions is a necessity. As the majority of staff in the Extended School are engaged during the school day, there is a familiarity in the pupil/adult relationship that may be built on further during clubs. A key role identified by the headteacher is the promotion of staff acting as mentors during activities, particularly for those pupils who are vulnerable and experiencing learning and social difficulties within the school. A rigorous assessment system maintained by all clubs leaders ensured attendance was regular and that progress in all activities was monitored and recorded. This insured all pupil activities and outcomes were reviewed and contributed to ongoing assessment systems recording progress during the school day.

Financial support for the Extended School was sourced from the school's delegated budget with a portion of the PPG systematically allocated to directly support FSM pupils. All staff were pro-active in encouraging particular children to attend clubs, regarding this as an opportunity to help certain individuals develop and acquire specific skills whilst boosting their feelings of confidence and well-

being. Pupils on FSM were prioritised and encouraged to participate in a range of clubs they might not otherwise consider. Often this meant approaching parents individually if they appeared reluctant to follow up the activities available. The targeted approach worked well for certain children as the headteacher believed parents responded well to *'staff showing a personal interest in their children [concluding] when someone seeks you out you stop and think about things more'*. Interrogating attendance data on a regular basis guaranteed the Extended School offered opportunities to all groups of pupils thus ensuring no group was under-represented. The headteacher was aware that, for some children, the school provided the only facility after school they were able to access due to both cost and ease of access. She emphasised *'activities in the community are restrictive because they may be open to everybody but not everybody can access them. You have to have the confidence to know you can fit in'*.

Clubs and resources such as musical instruments and sports equipment are free of charge at this school. Guaranteeing equal access to all children no-one is excluded due to the inability to pay or lacking appropriate equipment. Although research indicates many schools reflect a scale of charges for certain pupils (Diss & Jamie, 2016) the over-riding driver for this headteacher is ensuring equality of access for all pupils. The school reflects approximately 42% of providers who apply the delegated budget to support clubs with 75% using the PPG to cover costs. Dissimilar to other providers the school does not ask parents for contribution although 71% of schools are recorded in research as doing this (ibid, p.36). Cummings et al (2011, p. 20) saw school leaders building Extended School services and activities 'on the basis of a diverse set of assumptions about what matters and why'. For this school the priority remained embedded within the policy that all pupils should have access to activities after school with the barriers of affordability and kit removed.

4-2-2 Children's Selection and Participation

Children talked enthusiastically about clubs reflecting the popularity included in Diss and Jamie's 2016 research where only 7% of children recorded they were not interested. Collectively the 15 children attended a wide range of activities in the Extended School and all but one had done so for a number of years (see Appendix 7 for summary). Activities included a wide range of sports, music, art and the performing arts. For both boys and girls, football was a popular choice and had been over a period of years. In one interview two agreed:

C5: It's always good to know something that you don't know so that in your spare time you do these things....

C6: ...I like to socialise with other people and play with my friends and also learn at the same time.

In other interviews:

C9: My sister, she has been dancing here and I thought I would like to try it.

C15: Lots of people says it's great to do and it's really fun.

Children indicated they chose activities themselves and were not influenced by parents although three children reported attending clubs while parents worked and had no choice. However, this was not stated negatively and those children continued to talk about clubs as offering opportunities they valued. One girl reported that, due to her parents' work commitment, she had to stay for clubs three days a week but:

C6: I stay for five because I enjoy it.

Whilst highlighting similarities to the school day, such as the familiarity of premises and staff, children in different interviews also acknowledged that the clubs could feel different:

C5: You have more freedom in a way so it's like relaxing your body from the stress of working while like at school you're just building up the stress

C11: Its feels a little more relaxed.

C14: You can be free and choose what you want to do, in school the teacher says you have to do this all the time.

However, one child saw no distinction with the school day stating:

C3: Same teachers, same school, same rules. Clubs give you the opportunity to build on skills you learn in school.

Opportunities to choose activities was a particular distinction as in school children were timetabled for subjects and given no choice. A Yr6 child reported that this presented constraints on both engagement and outcome as she often had to change subjects when she was not ready and as a result:

C4: I know my work is not good enough but I know I could have done better if I had been given more time.

However, one child saw a serious problem related to choosing activities highlighting the role adults play in scaffolding learning:

C5: You can just choose something really, really easy that you already know, but the teachers choose something you don't know so you learn it and you progress into the future. Because if you learnt something that you'd learnt in the past you would stay at the same level, you wouldn't go up.

As part of a wider play-centre facility, pupils of all ages were also given space for free play where they could participate in their own devised games or engage in 'socio-dramatic play' (Thornton, 2008, p.478). Three children talked about participating in free-play which offered a wide range of activities they enjoyed such as IT, art, table-top games and improvising their own plays. Lantolf's (2003) view of play as moving children beyond their current level of ability, regarding play and work as 'not "polar opposites" but possessing absolutely the same psychological nature' suggests they were engaging in activities supporting learning in a relaxed and enjoyment forum. Free play gives children the opportunity to explore the world of 'let's pretend' (ibid) without adult intervention, a valued activity and identified by Robinson (2015) as currently facilitated solely within the Early Years in primary schools and largely excluded from other Key Stages. Play activities in the Extended School appeared a unique opportunity for pupils as this appeared the sole occasion for them to engage in this informal pursuit.

Children expressed the freedom they had selecting clubs and implied they attended regularly. Where differences arose these tended to reflect age and sex. Older children tended to be more selective than in previous years possibly because they had experienced a wide choice in the past and had made specific decisions regarding where they wished to specialise. Younger children were keen to try new experiences. Boys tended to select more physical activities such as football or rugby and whilst girls attended sports clubs they also favoured the performing and visual arts. Differences were not apparent across socio-economic profiles although the more affluent children selected activities that complimented those they additionally attended outside of the school such as additional music tuition or dance classes.

When offered the freedom to add clubs to the provision currently not available children suggested reasonable ideas based mainly on physical activities such as:

C6: More dance like tap or ballet

C14: Skateboarding

Only one child suggested alternative to physical activities:

C7: I would like something like maths, like 'cause we, um....or we could have another subject like science, 'cause um, they can help us.

Significantly, the clubs provided children with the opportunity to work collaboratively alongside others. Fundamental to this experience was the opportunity to speak freely and informally across a wide age-range, developing skills in communicating alongside the application of subject-specific language. Time within the school day may be restricted due to the demands of the curriculum but the extended day appears to offer children this opportunity. Developing a learning environment

that generates constructive interaction amongst children is, therefore, a primary factor in ensuring learning is secure. Ten of the children in this research saw the Extended School as an opportunity to talk, exchange ideas and to develop their skills in an interactive environment.

Children appeared keen to try new experiences inaccessible elsewhere and valued the diversity of choice offered. It was particularly striking that Yr6 children talked about the constraints of a school curriculum that left them with little freedom to make decisions about their learning either in terms of content, method or timing. The contrasting experience of the Extended School was clearly recognised alongside their enjoyment of participating in activities that felt different from the school-day. One child created a clear distinction:

C9: In class we are basically just at school for learning for our older life, but with clubs it's extra things and those are the things you choose and the things that you really want to do as your talents or something.

Another child's comparison to the school day recognised:

C5: You have more freedom, it's like relaxing your body from the stress of working.

The element of choice was particularly significant as was the 'students' perception of adults as co-learners' (Wikeley, 2007, p.6) which they enjoyed. The opportunity to try new experiences was boosted by the access children had to tutors with expertise particularly in the fields of arts and sports that enhanced both their learning and enjoyment. This level of expertise complimented and, to a certain degree, compensated for the lack of classteacher specialisation in these areas and enabled children to develop to a far more advanced level than would have been possible in regular class lessons. All tutors in the Extended School had advanced qualifications in physical activities which gave children access to expert advice and guidance over a period of time.

Responding to choice children's responses suggested they enjoyed greater flexibility and the opportunity to try different activities in areas unfamiliar to them. They reinforced the view that school offers little differentiation in Foundation Subjects allowing little opportunity for personalisation, highlighted by Hopkins (2007) who believes that even with assessments that grouped children for differentiated activities matched to their ability, children are not free to work on independent tasks linked to their interest or previous experience. Robinson suggests national policy has significantly diminished a flexible approach to curriculum content. Clubs introduced a style of curriculum design that offered, 'in addition to what all students need to learn in common...opportunities for them to pursue their individual interests and strengths as well' (2015, p.88). The different pace of learning and the acquisition of skills the Extended School facilitates is an approach which counteracts rigidity. The clubs were therefore offering choice matched to

individual learning paths that was lacking within the constraints of the NC. A model that is 'in tune with their own stage of human development and maturation' (Waters, 2013, p.275).

4-2-3 Parents' Views on Selection

Parents expressed views regarding selection of activities, highlighting opportunities in arts and sports, which they perceived as enriching and motivating whilst offering pupils crucial enjoyment at the end of the school day. Parents of Yr6 children acknowledged the demands of the curriculum, with its focus on numeracy, literacy and regular assessment, created a pressure on their children and saw clubs facilitating opportunities to unwind and discover new interests. Three parents commented on children aspiring to discover their passions and linked this to the importance of individual well-being. Two parents vehemently expressed views regarding balanced activities:

P5: Not everybody is going to be good at that (numeracy and literacy) anyway, that might not be his way forward. His way forward might be into Martial Arts or it might be basketball or a musical instrument or like that, nothing is saying you have to stick to what's known as standards things to be doing. It helps, of course it helps... but it might not be your passion and I think passion is important because then you'll stick to it, you'll look forward, you'll get up with a smile and go and do it.

This echoes Robinson (2013) who sees children as 'different and diverse' and inherently 'creative and curious' who respond positively to a curriculum matched to their individuality. Another parent stressed the rigour of a curriculum focused on standards and whilst not dismissing the importance of literacy and numeracy recognised children's needs beyond core subjects:

P9: We can't have children studying, studying, studying, you've got to have a break and something that they can, I suppose, let off steam, do you know, just to be free and run around and just do other than studying because it's a lot a pressure on them.

Data suggests that whilst some parents are aware of the need to promote core subjects they are mindful of the stress the current focus on standards creates. Although not directly stated this may suggest a greater emphasis on more broad and balanced opportunities in the curriculum.

Parents differed widely in their attitude to the selection of activities. Nine stated they allowed their children to make their own selection and in no way intervened and were quite prepared for children to go when they wanted and stop if they lost interest:

P6: I don't push him into anything, it's, if he says to me I don't want to do any clubs, fine, that's not a problem for me.

P4: They can pick whatever they like.

P1: It's always her choice.

P2: There's no input from me whatsoever or any pressure, she just said this is what I'd like to do.

Whilst offering a greater freedom to choose this suggested that children lacked levels of support from parents that could be of benefit to them. It could also imply that children were not encouraged to persevere when learning became challenging and the option of opting out appeared easier. This attitude was in sharp contrast to three parents who prioritised the selection of clubs explaining how they directly supervised the time their children spent out of school whilst ultimately agreeing activities:

P12: What we did as a family, I say, tick what you think you want to attend and then I review it with my husband by saying 'do you need this? How important is it?' And then I prioritise according to her learning or her level. I say 'this might help you in a certain way with your social skills or this might help you in your numeracy'.

This minority of parents expressed the advantages and the long term outcomes of clubs implying a heightened sense of awareness concerning the contribution to children's learning and development. Further capitalising on this awareness this group of parents invested their own time enhancing the provision by making additional contributions to activities at home or within the community. The following two examples shared during interviews offer insight into the learning paths children took demonstrating the interest and involvement parents shared in the learning process.

Example 1 P12: African drumming club inspired her child to investigate the history and technique of making tie-dye designs at home. The child Googled patterns leading her mother and aunt buying the relevant material and tools to create a tie-dye garment. Pursuing this the child learnt African dance moves on-line and became interested in learning her mother's first language of Ebbo. The mother saw her develop a real interest in learning about her family culture and it was *'through the after-school club that she discovered all that'*. The parent supported each stage and provided the resources when necessary.

Example 2 P2: The parent believed her child's participation in the steel pan club initiated her listening to a much wider range of music which led to an interest in the work of Bob Marley, a musician previously unknown to her daughter. At home her child downloaded a range of his songs, learning the lyrics and gaining a fuller understanding of his musicality and background culture to his work. During work in school for Black History Month her child pursued her interest in Marley's music and, at home, produced a written piece about him which was celebrated in school for its originality and quality. The parent saw a link between the club and the written piece produced for Black History Month and believed this advanced her daughter's knowledge, musicality and appreciation of a culture previously unknown. She emphasised: *'she is given direction to explore, not just in the lesson, she's encouraged to go home and research a bit more and then obviously bring that back again when she goes the next lesson'*.

The above represented a contrasting style of learning from the school day with a nuanced demonstration of how the model of Deep Learning proposed by Fullan and Langworthy (2014)

could actually work in practise. In the examples the children explored technology to gain knowledge and insight but, importantly, set their own perimeters of investigation. With family members acting in mentoring roles they were able to progress in their studies finally sharing work within school for further feedback and appreciation. The examples highlight how pupil motivation supported interest determining the content of investigation and the skills employed to study. Each differed significantly from the organisation of the curriculum in school where areas of learning are planned by the teacher and children follow a pre-prescribed route through a project. Both instances demonstrated effective application of IT as central to the development of knowledge. Being both functional and effective it reflected Hasebrink et al (2009) proposal that, through this medium, individuals are able to 'select and process information independently in a self-determining fashion' (p.224). It also demonstrated enhanced learning between school and home reflecting the empowerment IT can generate to create meaningful links between settings (Somekh, 2006).

Although the children started their investigations from one focused activity they were motivated to move into other areas given appropriate support and guidance. These models may also reflect the level of guided support introduced within Vygotsky's theory of ZPD. Following input from the tutor the child engaged with work in a different setting with another adult which was then followed by a return to school with further support and feedback. The model is fluid but maintains a focus on the child's interest and stage of learning progressing through a variety of situations, reinforcing their own sense of agency with adults providing 'elements of the task ...beyond the learner' (Daniels, 2001, p.107). Both examples indicated parents were informed about specific follow-up activities whilst actively engaged in the process of discovery offering specific support with resources and facilitating access on-line. The projects outline how parents may maintain active involvement with the learning process, engaging both with the activities in the clubs and the creative development of ideas at home. Finally, they observed the culmination of both projects feeding into the curriculum in school and a celebratory final performance. The examples also recognise how children's learning blossoms when they are able to engage in their own culture finding an audience for this sharing back in school.

Marked differences by parents, reflected in the attitude towards attendance, were categorised by those representing more advantaged families who took a far more active role in the clubs' selection and ensuring their children participated regularly. One parent was explicit about how clubs enhanced her child's learning needs and ultimately chose clubs for her child. The research supported the view that '[m]iddle-class families engaged in a process of actively, even assertively, cultivating their child's talents by making sure their children participated in organized activities' (Siraj & Mayo, 2014, p.35). Alternatively, the parents of children on FSM suggested a more casual

attitude allowing the children total freedom to select an activity and the choice to discontinue if they so wished. The headteacher's policy for intervening where children were identified for activities supported the view that the latter group of parents required additional support to fully access the facilities the school offered; the former group appeared to need no additional information to comprehend the opportunity the school was providing. But, additionally, it appeared that those children who needed support to attend also needed support to maintain interest and motivation. Continued participation by disadvantaged children over time may be a further area the school may explore within the interrogation of attendance data to ensure attrition levels of specific groups do not sit outside the norm.

Data from parents supports the views expressed during IFS research (Coulthard, 2014) that they strongly acknowledged the contribution the Extended School made to their children's development, providing opportunities and experiences they were unable to access elsewhere. They acknowledged the activities created a balance to the school day, particularly as children reached the top of primary school and were preparing for national tests. Whilst appreciating the focus on standards that promoted good levels of achievement they wanted more than this for their children and had expectations the school would provide this. This reflects research by Siraj and Mayo (2014) and their recognition of the growing weight parents placed on schools to provide services and facilities beyond the school day.

4-2-4 Staff Views on Curriculum and Participation

Two members of staff had extensive experience working within after-school clubs. Offering valuable insight, acquired over time, they saw current provision as both constructive and limiting. One member of staff explained a local programme, Personal Best, introduced in 2005 which involved a far more integrated approach to the clubs with activities linked to home, they believed, appeared beneficial:

S3: Because it was football it was win/win but the idea behind it was basically to tackle performance, work with them, using sport, in different models...so they had specifically skills to develop to incorporate into the game, they also had to do things on ICT, identify information, do some research.

A strong focus on engaging parents in the programme required they report on the follow up activities under-taken at home. This programme ended due to time-limited funding and prioritising activities to encourage increased numbers of children to attend clubs. However, it was presented as a model of how an integrated curriculum programme worked successfully for pupils within this provision. It also demonstrated the process described on page 65 whereby pupils were able to follow their own line of enquiry at home with appropriate support from an activity in the club.

All staff interviewed worked as teaching assistants during the school day and were able to draw distinctions between the statutory provision and the club activities. One reported:

S3: I watch what the children do and see how they navigate and work things out. When I do PE classes it can appear to be a bit crazy, but there are challenges to work it out. You know, if you are in a class all day it can be pretty quiet, then you come to my PE classes, it's very loud. On reflection you might think that's disorganised but I'm always telling teachers, 'let them work it out, 'cause they will, somehow they will. As opposed to us driving in and being a solution to their needs.

Recognising a need for children to confer with others and to make decisions acting on their own initiative, independent of adult intervention, appears a strong feature of this member of staff's way of working. The level of freedom generated by the informal nature of the task allowed a contrasting style of learning to occur where children 'learn to negotiate, to resolve conflicts, and support agreed solutions' (Robinson & Aronica, 2015, p.138), opportunities, they reflected, not available within the more formalised lessons during the day. Furthermore, they could also highlight the different quality in the relationship between staff and children in the two settings:

P3: I may have a relationship with a child in the classroom, it will be different in a sporting element simply because they want to be there, which gives me the opportunity to engage with them, see how they are, what's up, what's down.

Employment during the day also gave staff the chance to encourage individuals to attend the clubs:

S2: You say, 'you've got good coordination why don't you do cricket' and stuff like that.

There was a clear suggestion that the staff were in a good position to form links with children taking a lead in support individuals between settings. This level of encouragement and support could act as a positive incentive for children who may not receive this guidance from home.

Staff appointed to after-school sessions were selected for a variety of strengths and offered expertise in either creative arts or sports. This gave children access to a wide range of expertise ensuring they were well coached in a range of activities. This feature extended the children's access to high level skills training beyond that which the school provided during the day.

4-3 Learning and Emotional Development

4-3-1 Children's Views on Learning Skills and Emotional Development

Although all the children could talk about sessions they enjoyed and felt were positive only two Yr6 children could explain the specific transfer of skills and knowledge they gained from the practical after-school sessions. They had good recall of the classes that had made a significant contribution to the development of their skills and the opportunity they had to develop this further:

C6: In kit and samba course the teacher actually helped me and showed me new things on the kit, he showed me a beat and then I learnt how to do it, I really enjoyed it and got to teach other people.

C3: I learnt a set of tackles in football and when we played the game I was in goal and striking and I scored a goal, putting into practise the skills we just learnt.

One Yr6 child explained how clubs gave her opportunities to develop physical skills comparing this to activities in PE lessons in school. Attendance at a weekly club the previous year resulted in her excelling at basketball as she learnt a range of skills and played regular matches:

C7: Last year I went to basketball and cricket for a whole year, learning for a whole year is better for me but now I'm good at them so I can play when-ever I want, now I'm interested in football, I need to develop my skills like carbon kick ups, bit I think I can do it now.

There appeared a real commitment to developing expertise within each discipline as one led to increased motivation in the next. This child also raised an important distinction regarding the opportunities clubs provided which enabled children to develop skills not necessarily an option in class lessons. Time was a particular problem, as highlighted by Cunningham (2012), in this area of the curriculum which current priorities cannot facilitate. Although children may be introduced to a range of sports as part of the NC time does not allow for individuals to thrive within selected disciplines and planning for the whole class means lessons have to incorporate children with contrasting interests. This child also highlighted the advantages gained by playing with others who were similarly motivated.

The Acquisition of Expertise (Simon & Chase, 1973) is also relevant to this example when identifying the early stages of developing expertise. In this instance the school provided early stages of basic training, expert coaching and regular, focused practise. Simon and Chase (1973) highlight the role parents' play supporting the development of expertise in chosen activities as they introduce their children to opportunities outside of school with support in the early stages of acquiring skills. Not all parents have the capacity to offer this level of support and this may be particularly the case for those children facing disadvantage where cost or practical arrangements such as transport may prove inhibitive reflecting data in Heath's research (2015). This research concurs as it was only those children from more affluent families that accessed facilities out-of-school supporting the development of expertise within the arts and sports (Hirsh, 2007). For many children the opportunity for this approach appeared to be offered solely by school because alternatives, such as playing football informally with friends, lack the required structure or guidance needed to make improvements

Similarly, this programme may reflect facilitating 'deliberate practice' (Strenberg et al, 2002, p.71) which hones skills and provides a supportive scaffold for children. For those children who lacked the opportunity to practise skills in other venues the clubs were invaluable at providing time and space for them to engage in guided, focused activities with others. The nature of practise is highlighted by Strenberg et al as being specifically achieved 'mindfully and sequentially' with 'guidance offered by teachers with expertise' (ibid) and it is this that time classes at the Extended School can provide. Although schools are unable to totally replace the role parent's play in creating opportunities for their children to develop skills and expertise, clubs can go a long way towards offering less fortunate pupils alternative options at the early stages (Diss & Jamie, 2016). This facilitates access for all children to develop expertise within selected areas supporting the possibility of maintaining engagement in the future as they transfer to secondary school.

Team games were highlighted by as enjoyable which PE in the school day did not facilitate. In a follow up to a question regarding teams two children added:

C1: It's the teams and the matches.

KC: Is that the same as in school?

C2: In school we don't do matches because it might be too dangerous, in the football club we have practises and real matches.

When another pair explored the difference from PE in school they added:

C5: In a team you can aim a lot higher...

C6: I think working in a team is good because you get to cooperate and know things about other people that you don't really know about.

Another child reported team participation as something needing attention:

C7: Since netball, like two, three weeks, we've been really close because we need to work, this whole football and netball team, you need to all work as a team.

The value of working with a member of a team is highlighted by Jarvenioia and Jarvela (2013) seeing the activity directly supporting children's' development of skills in controlling emotions and motivation. Children reported team matches as distinctive to clubs which school did not offer. Children also recognised the engagement with other children who were similarly motivated which increased their chances of refining their skills and becoming proficient practitioners, something they aspired to. One child did not appear to engage with any particular activity although attending a range but this may relate to issues regarding relationships with other pupils which is raised in the final section of this chapter.

Children's enthusiasm was expressed in different ways with some focusing on skills and others reflecting on how they felt about participation. In one interview children agreed:

C7: I felt really good, 'cause I achieved 'cause I thought I was going to be good...

C8: ...I always said, I'm not good at maths, I always gave up. But now I've joined performing arts it's given me confidence.

Another said:

C15: We were teaching other people, it made me feel excited.

Children's motivation was strong and this contributed to their striving to improve performance in areas of learning. This was a central issue when one group discussed the school's behaviour scheme 'Staying On Green' (SOG, The Learning Trust). Although expectations of behaviour were similar to the school day, the lack of the school's behaviour system at clubs appeared to make a significant difference in attitude and outcome. A distinction arose between school and clubs where, in the former, the children understood the standards of behaviour linked to the structure of SOG, compared to the latter where the less formalised scheme in the Extended School made different and distinct demands. Three older children stated they felt they had to try hard in clubs although there were no SOG silver or gold awards, enjoying the activity for itself. This group reflected on their observations of behaviour in class and contrasted this with what they observed in the clubs:

C9: In school time you get silver and gold but when it's after school you don't get that. People think, oh miss is going to give out silver so we should be good. I think after school actually teaches you that it's not about.....

C10: getting silver and gold...

C9: It's about having fun....

C10: ...what happens to you in a club, you know you're not going to get silver or gold, but what happens to your attitude because it still seems to me that in a club you still want to try...

C11: Yeh, you have to try, otherwise it won't be fun and the people playing with you won't enjoy it.

Building on each other's ideas they suggested a link between self-motivation and a commitment to working to the best of their ability irrespective of the controls the SOG system generated during class time. There is an implication that children moved between the more imposed level of 'extrinsic motivation' (Corrie, 2009; Cherry, 2016), where the system of SOG and its awards controlled their behaviour, into more self-generated control of 'intrinsic motivation' (ibid) a process of 'learning to use your self-control capacity: the shift from reactive to proactive mode' (Hattie & Yates, 2014, p.251).

One child reported how poor behaviour in the clubs could cause disruption suggesting that a more formal structure may be helpful for some pupils:

C15: Some children don't get along and they start fighting and it's really upsetting for the people in the club.

KC: So what happens then?

C15: They get sent out.

No-one else referred to elements of poor behaviour and this was not something parents raised concerns about. The children's analysis of the school's behaviour management system raised interesting perceptions of how classmates could modify behaviour to conform to rewards although this did not reflect their general attitude or commitment to the task in hand. Corrie's view (2009) that rewards and stickers do not always develop the 'internal values of the child' (p.101) but encourages behaviour that simply conforms to immediate control whilst reinforcing the need for approval seeking responses suggests that alternative approaches to behaviour management can add value to children's understanding. These children understood the constraints of SOG appearing to recognise the power of the Extended School system that developed intrinsic desires to form successful collaborations with others. The children's heightened awareness of the weakness of SOG suggests they could be central to contributing to reviewing the system to support an effective bridge between the day and the Extended School.

Parallels may also be drawn to the contrasting ways of working indicated by the staff member on page 68 where it is suggested that children are given the opportunity to '*navigate and work things out*', a strategy not observed within the school day. This also appears to offer a level of flexibility in behaviour management not considered as part of Bennett's (2017) approach to this issue. Regimentation may prove counter-productive in the long run. Additionally, the pressure of timetables delivered through pre-planned programmes of work may not easily facilitate this style of interaction and so the Extended School may be presenting children with opportunities to experience degrees of negotiation otherwise unavailable during the day. This may prove a further valuable learning prospect which extends children's interpersonal skills. Early research in the USA with disaffected pupils identified where participation in after-school programmes resulted in children becoming more cooperative whilst learning to handle conflicts better (Schargel & Smirk, 2001), and concluded this could only result in children's improved behaviour within school. Research by Diss and Jamie (2016) would support the outcome of improved social and emotional skills contributing to children's enhanced ability to handle difficulties and may reflect the differences in approaches to interaction.

Children expressed the feeling of motivation that clubs generated, significantly linked to new experiences within the arts and sports. Developing a new skill, working alongside others and performing for friends and family was central to this. The experience reflects both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation which believes:

learning is essentially a social phenomenon, learners are partially motivated by rewards provided by the knowledge community. However, because knowledge is actively constructed by the learner, learning also depends to a significant extent on the learner's internal drive to understand and promote learning process (Covington, 2017)

Children talked about how they were enthused by the activities in the clubs, implying that their motivation to participate was high whilst stressing the challenge they felt to improve their skills. This implied a level of intrinsic motivation, as the children were engaged in the activity and communicated a sense of 'personal reward' (Cherry, 2016) without external incentives to continue. This was particularly significant in the performing arts club where children reflected on their urge to combat feelings of insecurity and to overcome personal inhibitions to sing, dance and act in front of others. Participation enabled them to conquer barriers they felt had held them back in the past, extending their choices in the future.

However, the implied level of intrinsic motivation demonstrated by the children may be balanced by the rewards experienced at the culmination of the term when children performed in front of the school and their families in productions or when participating in inter-school matches and sports. This would suggest a blurring of boundaries between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as the satisfaction of the events, such as public performance, appeared to enhance the engagement and commitment of the children highlighting the need for a balance in both forms. However, it also suggests children do not need immediate extrinsic rewards but can build towards this over time culminating in one significant event. For one child, whose parent invited a party of extended family to the performance, the feedback and sense of celebration was enormous.

Working with others was also a valued aspect of the performing arts and sports activities. Although children worked cooperatively with class members throughout the day there was little evidence that this work was collaborative or collective. In the clubs a significant part of the enjoyment and motivation for children appeared to be as a result as of performing group activities. Certainly children were vocal in the level of support they experienced from friends and others and the degree to which the activity generated the need to work collaboratively. This was expressed as a positive aspect of the arts and sport and a key part of learning. 'Particularly in collaborative learning activities, relevant goals and values concern not only the task or learning domain, but also social and interpersonal aspects' (Mullins et al, 2013, p.142).

Links with skills learnt in clubs to those in the classroom were perceived by children and, although tentative, they made good attempts at giving specific examples: table tennis with science, African drumming with learning patterns and words with a common emphasis on complex scoring patterns and warm up games that linked to number work. However, the examples were speculative and two children in separate interviews saw no connections:

C13: No, it doesn't help you because it's a different thing. You don't learn maths by doing cricket, you don't learn literacy by playing the violin, you don't learn anything, you just learn what you're doing.

C5: Because in different subjects you do different things like maths you do sums, multiplication, division... while in sports you have to think of like your movement and where you have to move, where and what time to move.

These children perceived learning as subject-based lacking insight into any understanding of the way differing aspects of learning may be integrated. This may reflect their experience of the current NC that omits linking areas of learning, creating distinctions between subjects organised through specific timetabling. Lacking links to the core curriculum did not appear a barrier to children's engagement and it was apparent that they valued participation in the clubs. There was no implication of not valuing school work as they talked in very positive terms about classroom achievements, but the suggestion is that the contrasting activities on offer were regarded as important in their own right. Undoubtedly, the children expressed enjoying the informality and freedom of the clubs as they facilitated a level of interaction not catered for within class lessons. Significantly, they reported the clubs generated the opportunity to talk informally suggesting this was not allowed within the class:

C10: In class you're not allowed to talk about irrelevant stuff like friends and the playground you are only allowed to whisper about the work so you can't really make friends in class.

Activities in the clubs tended to generate collaborative interaction the value of which is highlighted by Crook (2013) who sees this way of working promoting interpersonal skills whilst enhancing self-esteem. Children clearly expressed their perceptions about the qualities they gained from participating in activities, such as the performing arts, which were significantly enhanced where sessions culminated in a performance for the school, friends and family. In addition to the development of their performance skills, more importantly, their confidence and ability to communicate with others also improved.

Six girls talked about the transition from being shy and intimidated, performing in front of company, to feeling confident as a result of developing the skills that enabled them to perform to others. The clubs appeared to address the feeling of shyness suggesting this inhibiting trait could be overcome

with the appropriate support and guidance. Opportunities to address these inhibitive feelings appear paramount for those pupils who lack confidence in public forums. Children who had experienced the thrill and satisfaction of performing explained how they had overcome their inhibitions of public speaking, reflecting a sense of accomplishment and six spoke with assurance about their development of confidence. Two children conferred:

C7: I used to be shy with my best friends, but now I have the confidence...

C8: ...It gives you confidence to do things such as going on stage if you have stage fright, you always go for it with performing arts. Because of performing arts I have that confidence, now I feel I can do anything.

Others talked independently about their own experiences:

C6: Some of the clubs you have to like show it out to people with performances and stuff so that kind of helps you to be more confident and more able to show people what you're good at and what you're able to do.

C9: When I first joined I was really shy at doing it, so when I actually went that is when I gained in confidence.

C1: It teaches me how to be a little bit unshy.

For one child she expressed the desire to:

C15: Not be shy around people I don't know.

Shyness appeared to represent Meadows view that it is a:

net of feelings and behaviour... a cautious or fearful attitude towards the unfamiliar; as individuals' understanding of themselves and of the social expectations of others develops, feelings of self-consciousness and anxiety about being evaluated negatively (Meadows, 2010, p.95).

Improved self-confidence was expressed enthusiastically by children as a result of participation in the clubs. However, it could be argued it was a lack of previous opportunity or experience to develop the skills of public speaking and performance which exacerbated their feelings of insecurity and acted as a major inhibitor and not solely a result of internal feelings of fear of being observed. Although the children talked of feelings related to shyness, internalising the problem, an alternative interpretation suggests the lack of previous opportunities to develop the necessary skills which needed time and opportunity to develop. This would place the problem within 'the linguistic space in which they move' (Burr, 2003, p.52) as opposed to a personal lack of skills. Unfortunately, the children appeared to personalise the difficulty they felt as a quality they lacked rather than understanding they had had no previous experience to build on. The success the children had performing could indicate overcoming a lack of confidence or a positive response to learning a new skill. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) would frame the lack of confidence the children report

with poor self-efficacy where a lack of performance or failure is internalised and children see themselves as lacking qualities. The change for these children suggested a move towards greater self-efficacy where they saw themselves as overcoming barriers. Developing the ability to externalise difficulties improves children's perception of themselves and motivates them to succeed as problems are seen as obstacles they can overcome. The clubs presented children with a range of opportunities that both challenged and extended their learning within the public domain including the greater demands of public-speaking and performance regarded as an 'essential skill to express your thoughts, feelings, and ideas to a large group of people' (Johnson & Sessions, 2015, p.54). The ability to talk in front of large groups is recognised as a necessary skill in the learning situation and has subsequent advantages once the skill is acquired.

Schools may be significant agencies of change supporting children to overcome negative feelings whilst boosting their feelings of success and abilities particularly in areas where they lack confidence. Building a sense of self-efficacy, a belief 'in one's capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to manage positive situations' (Bandura, 1995, p.2) appears crucial to boost children's confidence through a diverse range of activities that motivate and inspire them. Significantly, children in this research appeared to need to be highly motivated to accomplish tasks to overcome their insecurities particularly in new areas of learning. The drive to participate in performance appeared to offer such motivation as it forced children to confront feelings of insecurity and their lack of self-assurance. Furthermore, it is clear children felt a sense of accomplishment in these activities perceiving themselves as successful learners, the cornerstone according to Bandura (1995) to enhanced enjoyment and a commitment to learning in school.

Clubs offered specific opportunities to perform on a regular basis in a variety of settings: in front of small groups, the class and, termly, presentations to the whole school. It was the latter which many children talked about with enthusiasm, as they saw this as a significant achievement they were prepared to work hard to accomplish. Children acknowledged that weekly class assemblies within school rarely matched participation in after-school performance opportunities. Children also reported how they were able to transfer the confidence performing gave them into their roles within the classroom. They identified times when they were able to speak up in class lessons where previously they had felt inhibited and threatened by talking in front of others.

Children also acknowledged how observing others perform and develop confidence inspired them to attend clubs as they saw the level of self-assurance demonstrated by older siblings, class-mates and friends as a positive role model they would wish to emulate. Proficient role models from within their own close school or family community appeared particularly important for this group of

children and enabled them to aspire to a different way of behaving both within the club and in front of the whole school. From the pupils' statements it is clear that the influence of modelling has had a huge impact in the belief that they too could perform well.

Observing classmates may prove to have huge repercussions on the rest of the school. All pupils are able to watch familiar pupils, known within the school, perform and then see themselves able to perform in front of others, displaying the degree of confidence they have witnessed in others. This would have a continued impact as one cohort would then influence the next. 'Exposure to a successful model is an excellent way to encourage a person to believe he or she can be successful as well' (Hattie & Yates, 2014, p.221). But, importantly, models need to be similar to those who are to be influenced by them; too high a performance may be counter-productive and discouraging. In this instance familiar models from within the children's own cohort or Key Stage worked well appearing to motivate the children and appears as an important feature of children working together in these activities.

C9: I think what made me gain confidence was just seeing how my sister, I remember at home when she was dancing when she was shy, like she could dance, I could see her dancing, but she was saying no, I don't want to do it. But she started doing it (attending clubs), that was when she gained a lot, a lot of confidence. When I saw how much she'd gained I thought oh, I could be like that. So I tried, I just went for it.

Role models were a significant influence for many children both from within their families and the school which created significant motivation to engage in activities with the aim emulating observed performances. The significance of role modelling is recognised as an indispensable aspect of learning within Social Learning Theory, which believes 'from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed' (Bandura, 1977, p.22). Models from within children's own circles are powerful because they present goals that seem realistic. Identified as a 'vicarious experience' the:

impact of modelling on belief of personal efficacy is strongly influenced by perceived similarity to the models. The greater the assumed similarity the more persuasive are the models' successes and failures (Bandura, 1995, p.3).

Meadows argues that for complex activities modelling, to support learning, requires a 'clear model, sufficient time to observe it, and perhaps the prior development of many skills that are components of the model's behaviour' (2010, p.214). Therefore, this type of learning is best placed within a clearly organised and planned activity and not left to ad hoc chance and opportunity, say within informal recreational activities. The clubs provided an array of influential role models for many pupils which clearly effected engagement whilst the structured sessions facilitated many

opportunities for children to observe others and imitate what was observed. Children's views supported this as a grounding in their own development. Thornton (2008) identifies the natural phenomenon of peers acting as role models for one another but stresses the risks when children are attracted by the negative behaviour of others, the issue raised by the parents of black boys in this research as their children reached mitigate other, less helpful influences and support greater well-being for pupils particularly as they mature. Within this model of working is a strong link between the children's development of specific skills and emotional and social framework that enabled this skills to develop and thrive.

The children's explicit shaping of their experience which linked the skills developed through the activity alongside feelings of improved confidence and social recognition reflect the interconnectedness of these processes central to Vygotsky's theory of learning (Portes & Vadeboncoeur, 2003, p.371). There is also a clear indication that they are mutually beneficial and that each intensifies the experience in the other domains. In the experience of performing the children gain skills which improves their confidence with others around them thus motivating them to gain greater experience in the activity that initially proved so challenging. It is this specific sense of agency that the children take back into the classroom. This process may also been seen as part of children gaining skills in areas such as sports where developing expertise is strongly linked to feelings of success and well-being.

4-3-2 Parents' Views on Learning Opportunities and Emotional Development

Learning opportunities presented by clubs were recognised by all parents and while nine did not believe in direct impact on standards in literacy and numeracy, most believed children's learning improved as a result of participation. Such issues as motivation, collaboration and enhanced whole body learning were mentioned as desirable outcomes that were transferable and, subsequently, impacting positively on the school day. Nine parents held a more holistic view of learning and assessed the effect of clubs as:

P7: They're more motivated. They look forward to the next thing coming to school, which means they take an interest in their studies as well.

P4: Just an example, cricket. It's about strategy, thinking, brainstorming, working as a team. Yes, it does help towards school and not just with outside recreation, but in the classroom, learning to listen and understand others.

P10: Direct link, not so much, in terms of being involved in the school community, yes. In terms of the fact, acting, if you feel more confident about your body and your movement and your fine motor skills and generally being more rounded in your physical skills can help you write, it can help you stand up and perform in class if you have to answer a question. Especially the reading and writing, they are absolutely enhanced by those experiences because you need have the vocabulary

and understand concepts and the sort of breadth of knowledge to do well in those things.

P4: You need both of them to be an individual, you can't just learn what society wants you to learn.

In contrast three parents disagreed strongly that clubs provided learning opportunities seeing activities as providing time for children to relax and have fun after the demands of the school day:

P8: I think it's two separate things, I mean after school club is play-centre, it's for playing, that's how they see it and school is for learning, it's two separate things.

P6: I wouldn't say it helps, no, not during school time, no. I find with the clubs at the school, they seem more about fun rather than progression.

Parents were unclear about the lack of constructive links between core subjects and the creative and physical focus of clubs. This could reflect a lack of general knowledge about the clubs or may suggest a far more relaxed attitude towards their children's regular or sustained interest in participation after school. Collaborative learning skills or the sense of achievement children felt in less academic pursuits were, similarly, rejected by these three parents and the focus on attainment in English and maths as basic skills offered by the school curriculum were ranked way above other subject areas. The view proposed by Oettingen (1995) that skills developed in one area enhanced others was not acknowledged and they were unequivocal in their beliefs that the clubs did not support their children's achievement in school.

Further development of self-confidence enhanced by the clubs, particularly in public, ran through several parents interviews. They were particularly aware of the pressure their children felt performing in front of others and this was generally recognised by the parents as a skill their children lacked alongside feelings of insecurity and timidity with others.

P11: It's building up his confidence for me....and it's helped him in lots of ways. I could see the difference in him.

P3: My daughter used to be reluctant to joining in with anything, anything to do with standing up in front of people, she'd be very shy. But now she's not, she's more willing to give things a try now instead of saying no, I don't want to do it...she's more happy to give it a try, which is progress for me.

P6: When she first started the club she was quite shy, and then within a year or so she wanted to be in every club, she was dancing in front of the whole school, she was singing in front of the whole school, so I found it helped with her confidence.

Reflecting views of the children, parents did not equate initial feelings of shyness with a lack of opportunity to develop skills but something their children lacked, nor did they acknowledge the structured help and support needed to overcome inhibitive feelings. It also reinforces how parents rely on schooling for building these qualities as children did not access other settings. Significantly,

although only girls referred directly to a lack of confidence three parents raised the issue of a lack of confidence in their sons:

P8: He's very shy around people he doesn't know

P11: He's not confident but it's better in school since clubs.

Lacking confidence, expressed by some as shyness, appeared to affect nine of the fifteen children interviewed. This is a significant number of children therefore, engaging in activities that supports this aspect of emotional well-being appears crucial. Although emotional development is promoted within schools, increasingly heightened within the current concern about poor mental health, the opportunity to boost all children's sense of well-being may be inhibited; time again becomes a factor. Thornton's view that whilst feelings of self-esteem 'are socially constructed' (2008, p.152) school has to be seen as the major contributor to counteracting negative feelings and a lack of agency. The evidence from this research suggests the after-school clubs contribute significantly to building children's emotional well-being by offering activities many do not encounter either within the school day or elsewhere.

Most parents understood the learning opportunities presented by the Extended School and all but three valued aspects such as the promotion of motivation for learning, the facilitation of collaborative techniques and the opportunity to develop thinking skills. However, the views of the three parents who did not make this connection are significant, therefore a greater sharing of views from parents could be valuable to inform and support others appreciate what was available. For those parents who did not support their children's attendance at the Extended School, this information could prove a valuable spur to both encourage and engage parents' interest and the subsequent participation of their children.

4-3-3 Staff Views on Learning and Emotional Development

Staff expressed the need to support children's self-confidence through access to opportunities the clubs offered. They understood their role to promote positive attitudes to schooling; central to this was the promotion of children's self-confidence and feelings of success in the activities they selected. This was seen as a gradual, step-by-step process they heavily invested in, often developing links with activities they led during the school day. The focus appeared primarily those pupils experience vulnerability:

S1: Some of them are very, very insecure as in they just don't want to come out, they are very shy. I was working with a child yesterday, she wouldn't talk to me at all. I saw her today and she smiled at me, so for me it's a break in the barrier.

S2: Because if you build friendships and you build team work, you build confidence and then, in anything else they do, they will get more confident.

Self-efficacy is further developed through 'social persuasion' (Bandura, 1995, p.4), where children are supported in learning to develop an understanding that they can succeed even when they face significant challenges. This requires good planning and the development of an understanding of how personal goals are accomplished defined by Bandura as:

[S]tructure situations ...in ways that bring success and avoid placing people in situations prematurely where they are likely to fail. They encourage individuals to measure their success in terms of self-improvement rather than by triumphs over others (1995, p.3).

There are clear links here with the theory of ZPD (Daniels, 2001) as this requires children to encounter learning tasks that challenge them but do not risk 'the chasm' representing a too big a step in learning (Hattie & Yates, 2014) pre-empting any chance of success. It further identifies the adults' role to structure both cognitive and emotional aspects of learning by adding encouragement and ensuring children reflect on their small steps of accomplishment.

One member of staff demonstrated how he applied the method of social persuasion with a high profile athlete as a model. He clarified the positive approach he wished the children to take when setting themselves personal challenges and goals specifying that the competition was against themselves:

S3: Confidence in this arena should collect confidence in another arena. One of the main things I do when I'm teaching is Personal Best (PE programme). And so you may not be able to outrun Usain Bolt but you may be able to outrun your own time, which gives you a level of confidence and self-worth.

There is evidence from data this role is effectively developing within the after-school activities, as both pupils and parents recognised the contribution that the staff make towards supporting individuals.

This member of staff also introduced the importance of motivation and linked this to the fact that children 'want to be there'. He viewed this as something that gave him 'the opportunity to engage with them, see how they are' he could utilise to develop stronger relationships with pupils, specifically those children who needed greater guidance and help to succeed in an educational setting. He saw the importance of children investing their own time by making the choice to attend and, as a direct result, applying themselves to the activity which led to improved performance. He believed it was the act of the child choosing that was the pivotal factor as it increased commitment and, with the right support, ensured effort was sustained.

4-4 Healthy Lifestyles – Friendships, Activity Levels and Learning in Other Settings

4-4-1 Introduction

Interviews with children and parents indicated a range of skills and life-style choices that would support their future potential and was particularly significant for children considering transfer to secondary school. Skills identified included the ability to make friends beyond their immediate circle, the development of active lifestyles and an increased range of options for the future.

4-4-2 Children and Friendships

Developing friendships is a significant aspect of school for children, central to feelings of emotional well-being Dunn stresses its potential as ‘a key contributor to children’s growing understanding of the social world’ and ‘marks the beginning of a new independence from parents’ (2004, p.7). Thirteen of the children emphasised friendships developed with ease in clubs enhancing their skills in communicating with a wide group of children and adults. Two children distinguished between the notion of close friends, mainly children within their own cohort, and friendliness towards others:

C7: I’m everyone’s friend but not really close friend, because we need to work as a team...I can be friends with other people even if I don’t really know them.

C15: Lots of people come to different clubs and they maybe they might not have much friends because they might be new so you kinda introduce them to what you’re doing or you help them.

They recognised skills such as learning names, offering supportive comments on performance and helping others if they were experiencing difficulties. This aspect of clubs was valued by children and the headteacher reported observing a positive effect in relationships during the school day where older children acted effectively and responsibly as prefects and playground mentors, supporting the view that:

[c]hildren who have a number of friends are generally more socially and emotionally savvy. They can empathise and play successfully, are friendly, positive and charming and are able to express themselves clearly and assertively. (Leyden & Shale, 2012, p.83)

Children echoed this view talking enthusiastically of opportunities for increased friendship groups promoted by the clubs alongside feeling greater confidence in relationships:

C2: (in school) I just play with my old friends and that’s kind of boring so I try to make new friends.

C5: Sometimes at clubs there’re children from Y6 to Yr3 and I meet them and then make friends with them because we’re doing the same club.

C6: It's easy to make new friends, yeh, it's fun because I get to make new friends I haven't really met before, I haven't spoken to.

C15: I make a lot of friends because in clubs you get to be more sociable with other people. Lots of people come to different clubs, maybe they might not have much friends because they might be new, so you kind of introduce them to what you're doing.

Two Yr6 girls appeared significantly more confident when discussing friendships explaining they were believed they were popular in school:

C6: It's easy to make friends because, you know when people are popular and some people just have a couple of friends, some people think I'm popular at school so it's easy for me to make friends.

One said she felt the younger children benefited from the opportunity to meet and play with her and saw herself as a role model for them. This feedback tended to reflect a differing attitude to friendship and personal self-esteem from other children. Possibly, the two girls associated friendships with feelings of popularity a distinct aspects of children's peer relations as 'friendship is a mutual dyadic relationship that may be influenced by attributes quite different from those that influence popularity' (Bukowski et al, 1996, p.89). The data was distinctive and contrasted significantly to the majority of the children as both appeared very confident representing non-FSM families. Significantly, both had extensive programmes of activities outside of school including tutoring in art, music and the performing arts. The Extended School offered additional opportunities for them in lives already enriched by an extensive range of activities. Meadows (2010) recognises the social maturity displayed by those with similar experiences who demonstrate the qualities associated with popularity. In this respect children tend to be:

Astute in their social cognition: for example they tend to have goals that are seen as positive, they are not too impulsive and unpredictable, they can manage their negative emotions and not engage in negative behaviour, they have effective techniques for making overtures to people and joining in activities (p.174).

The two children reflected this level of maturity and demonstrated wide experience for their age and extreme confidence throughout their interviews. This remained in stark contrast to the majority of the children who expressed a lack of confidence which included both FSM and non-FSM.

Structured age grouping within schools is traditional, well established and rarely questioned. One group of children identified where the policy of remaining with one class of children for a continuous period of time:

C9: In class, children know you better than other people so they'll be like, I don't really like her and if you want to be their friend then they might say I don't feel the same way but if it's in the club then they wouldn't really know you but you'll have a chance to become friends.

They viewed staff at clubs as good mediators of disputes that emanated from the classroom, as disagreements that arose during the school day could be reported to club staff who had the time to address the problem. But, more significantly, clubs could also successfully counter-act this type of discord and isolation experienced by children because to those individuals clubs offered the opportunity to meet others throughout the school who shared common interests and talents, offering an antidote to feelings of loneliness and isolation experienced during the day.

Of the two boys who found friendships problematic one expressed serious concern about making friends and saw the clubs negatively affecting his relationships within his own class:

C12: Because when you get your friends from a different class, from the other class [the clubs] you get too attached to the other class, and the other class [the school class] won't play with you anymore.

This boy expressed fears about contacts established during clubs becoming detrimental to friendships in school time and appeared to be experiencing difficulties as a result. For some children the spread of friendships could be too wide to manage and thus counterproductive. However, within the research cohort this was an isolated case and this child's experience appeared contrary to all others regarding engaging with activities beyond simple games. However, he stated it was his choice to attend the clubs which he enjoyed. The second boy suggested he mixed well with others but did not have a particular friend or group of friends, a view later corroborated by his mother.

The school playground is recognised as a very important space for children (Riley, 2013) promoting informal play and the opportunity to develop friendships. Considerable planning and resources has developed this environment into a stimulating and exciting space for children at this school. Large spaces for games with greenery, a secure areas for football with additional adventure style activity spaces ensure children have many activities to pursue. However, due to health and safety issues, alongside appropriate supervisor and space restrictions during the school day, demarcated areas for KS2, KS1 and EY are established reducing the opportunity for friendships groups to develop across age-ranges. Reduction, over time, of breaks has also contributed to less time and opportunity for children to play with those beyond their own cohort (Blatchford & Baines, 2006). The opportunities offered by clubs clearly promoted mixed age-group activities not facilitated within the school day, adding a unique opportunity for all key stages to integrate and learn from one another.

Increasingly it was only during the extended activities that children could interact with the full primary age-group; this was seen by all interviewees as a very positive outcome of the clubs and there were many examples of the constructive benefits of this mixed-aged organisation. Older pupils reported the enjoyment they experienced in developing roles as leaders and mentors with younger pupils subsequently enhancing their status and feelings of responsibility and maturity. Furthermore, they recalled how, as younger pupils, they had learnt from the positive role models of older children whom they admired and wished to emulate. Here again children demonstrated how mixed aged groups promoted the opportunity to develop role models but also reinforces the positive outcome for older children who can act in this capacity .

Although the data did not indicate a competitive problem within cohorts in this school, a further benefit of the opportunity to mix across age-groups may stem from the issue of:

same-age groups [who] often breed competition and aggressiveness, as individual children strive to be the strongest or most successful among their peers. Interaction across age lines may help to diffuse this competition (Rubin, 1980, pp.116-117).

Feedback on the range of opportunities that the clubs offered to promote friendships formed a significant aspect of the data collected from children, emphasising the importance of this issue to them. Saarni (1999) reinforces the need for children to engage in 'emotion-eliciting encounters' embedded within a social context and the two processes are 'reciprocally influential' (p.3) a process apparent for children within the context they describe which may underpin the positive research by Chanfreau et al which supports the belief that 'spending time with friends outside of school was positively linked with emotional and behavioural child outcomes at age 11' (2016, p.15). But not all children are in a position to access friends beyond school which highlights the importance of clubs for children to engage with friends.

Schooling regularly presents opportunities for children to develop friendships but as they mature, and timetable pressures create greater structures to classroom practice and reduce playtimes, there is less opportunity for children to develop skills necessary to improve interpersonal relationships. The relative freedom of after-school clubs offers greater opportunities for children to develop a wide range of social skills promoting greater awareness of how friendships are formed and maintained. In addition, the pressures of living in environments that are perceived as less safe outside of school has restricted opportunities for the development of peer interaction (Blatchford, 1998), placing a greater degree of responsibility on schools to compensate for this restriction. Developing the skills to meet and interact with others and establishing a wide circle of friendships appears an apparent key element to the Extended School but may be seen as a crucial for those

Yr6 pupils approaching transition to secondary school. This is particularly important time for those children experiencing low self-esteem as Sherwood (2013) would suggest they are at their most vulnerable during this process.

4-4-3 Physical Well-Being and Children's Activity Levels

Children's responses to alternative activities without participation in clubs indicated reduced levels of physical activity. Contributing to children remaining active for longer participation in clubs appeared to reduce the time spent watching television or playing computer games, often alone in bedrooms. The focus on 'screen time' has been 'linked to more social, emotional and behavioural difficulties at 11' ((Chanfreau et al, 2016, p.15) raising concerns about activities in free time. Children's responses arose in answer to the question of what they would be doing if they were not attending the clubs. Individually responses followed a similar theme:

C5: I do a couple of clubs every week to make up for the time I'm wasting at home.

C12: I play on my Playstation 3, watch TV, do my homework.

C13: I usually just lay, um, play on my iPad and then I wait until a good show that's on and then I just watch that and then I have my dinner then I just go to bed.

C11: Just go home and watch TV....

C10: ...Go home and watch TV and annoy my sister, play games on the iPad and just sit and eat junk food.

Left to their own devices children reported engaging in sedentary activities at home with few participating in alternative, active pastimes. One boy stated he would play football in the locality with friends but was unclear how this was organised, and it became apparent that this was an informal activity which happened on an ad hoc and irregular basis. No-one mentioned the use of facilities such as the local adventure playground or swimming pool. Only one child indicated she would spend time playing with siblings. The sheer lack of perceived alternatives to clubs appeared a significant hurdle to children's involvement in wider circles but a lack of necessity to find substitutes to after school clubs could be pertinent. Advice to address the growing problem of obesity in the young would recommend an approach that is systematic and motivational (DoH, 2016). Therefore, leaving children to develop healthier lifestyles, without organised support and guidance, is not likely to address this problem which requires a radical structure to promote sustained change.

IPads and the television did not appear as a preference for children at the expense of more physical alternatives. Their choice appeared more to do with accessibility and the range of options available,

although feedback from those children not attending clubs may add further information about this issue. It may highlight the fact that the latter wish to fully focus on their technology as opposed to any other activity and therefore is an area the school should explore further.

Although schools may contribute to changing attitudes and lifestyle with strategies such as the walk-to-school-buses and after school activities (RSPH, 2015) the school curriculum may prove counter-productive as children a focus on literacy and numeracy has displaced time for subjects such as PE (Cunningham, 2016) requiring them to expend energy not exhausted during lessons elsewhere. Clubs readily offer opportunities for high-level exercise whilst guaranteeing security for all pupils who attend. The feedback from interviewees regarding the popularity of the clubs which promote active participation, would suggest that children are eager to attend if they are able to select from a range of activities. Furthermore, children experience a heightened sense of enjoyment and achievement in physical activities superior to that which the more formalized PE sessions timetabled in school offer.

Although the school grounds would only partly fulfil the experience of learning and playing in an outside environment, having extended access would be beneficial. Increasing the opportunity to open school grounds for extended physical exercise could be seen as a relatively inexpensive option to address the future health issues facing children today. Diss and Jamie (2016) have identified that providing a safe environment for pupils remains a high priority within the Extended School aims with 69% of headteachers stating this is a significant consideration. However, the cost to schools is prohibitive, due to financial implications in both capital expenditure and staffing; without specific funding this is not an option and remains a serious hurdle to this expansion.

4-4-4 Children's Participation in Activities Beyond School

Six of the 15 children reported attending weekly activities held outside school within the community. Three attended tutoring in English and maths, one of which also attended music and drama classes, one child was tutored in art, identified by a football club scout one was sponsored by a top professional team to attend the club venue for training and one attended a Saturday performing arts club in a Hackney secondary school. These children spoke enthusiastically about the range of activities they pursued outside of school contrasting significantly to the nine children who did not express an interest in doing so. The data revealed a lack of consistent engagement with participation in activities outside of that offered by the school by a high percentage of children. Significantly, none of the FSM children attended activities outside of the clubs whilst the children who indicated more privileged circumstances all engaged with a range of activities. This reflects

Hirsch's view (2007) and research by Diss and Jamie (2016) that it is uncommon for children from disadvantaged backgrounds to access provision beyond school.

Gorard and See (2013, p.85) highlight the wider role of schools in supporting the preparation of citizenship and an understanding of civic participation fundamental to active neighbourhood engagement as children mature into future members of their own communities. Although long-term in its conception this later transition may be eased with the intermediate experience of after-school clubs acting as a bridge between the formality of school and the informality of recreational organisations. The clubs appear to act as a stepping-stone into that wider world for some children and, with extension may enable more children to develop the confidence to participate within this sphere. Without this transitional practice many children do not access the experience in the community which would prove valuable to them as they move through adolescence and engage with the responsibilities of citizenship.

4-4-5 Parents Views on Friendship

Parents expressed views regarding the opportunities clubs gave to widen friendship groups with the added bonus of mixing with different age-groups. Recognising how extending circles of acquaintances enabled their children to develop more confidence whilst establishing a higher profile within the school, they believed had positive outcomes during the day. They would concur with Rubin (1986) that mixed age-groups proved mutually beneficial. Concurring with the children's experiences they observed how younger children enjoyed the company of older pupils who acted as positive role models throughout the day simultaneously developing leadership skills in the latter as they adopted responsibilities for younger pupils outside of the classroom:

P5: I think it's better because in clubs they're mixed ability, whereas when you're in primary school you tend to stick to your class friends who you know, he knows a lot of kids in school now because of the clubs.

P1: It gives her a wider range of friends 'cause like in after school club they're all grouped together, all the years are grouped together so she's out of her age-group and she's got younger ones as well.

P11: Making new friends, getting involved, really being part of a team – because the friends you see every day – they're certain children you play in the class and when you've got after school clubs you've got different ages of children and then you get involved, they are all your friends and you can play with different people.

Parents were proactive in gathering information about friendships, observing and talking to their children eager for them to develop a positive network of friends within school. One parent recalled:

P10: When we used to pick the kids up from after school clubs they were running, almost running in a pack and being active, but from all ages and accepting all ages

and, I think, it's been a real positive, you know you get stuck with 30 kids for an entire year almost so mixing with outside of that class group helps them with forming those slightly more instant friendships and the almost kids version of small talk and how I get on with someone younger and older than me. I think that's really nice and you can see that.

She also added her child supported a much younger pupil who was experiencing a significant bereavement by taking him to class and helping him settle every day. She believed this was a direct result of the children developing a relationship within a club.

Three parents discussed raising an only-child and the value the Extended School offered ensuring they had additional time with other children. They believed the alternative, of spending more time with adults, hindered the development of appropriate skills necessary for coping more effectively with the social demands of school. The lack of sibling contact was not perceived as the problem but the need to develop negotiating skills with their peer group. This experience, recognised by Silversmith (2016) as 'only-child-syndrome', highlights the need to spend quality time networking and playing informally with others to counteract the skills others may gain from interacting on a daily basis with siblings. The three children did not raise concerns related to being an only-child but one did refer to being at home solely with her grandmother or aunt, where they tended to watch TV quiz games together as opposed to other activities. Although this was not reported critically, she emphasised the enjoyment she gained from the alternative of regularly participating in clubs.

4-4-6 Parents' Views on Children's Activity Levels

Although a lack of exercise related to obesity was not raised as a question parents were unanimous in their response to the opportunities clubs offered to keep their children active for longer linking this to issues regarding well-being and related health issues. They were generally well-informed about the need to maintain activity levels but expressed real concerns regarding how they could keep their children active for longer. They were aware of the risks of sedentary leisure activities but found it challenging to find alternatives to the iPad or television which many saw as the activity of choice for their children. Two parents indicated it was difficult to engage their children in additional reading, homework or games. The parents fully supported the clubs as the best way to ensure children maintained sound levels of exercise seeing the facility competing with the attractions of technology by offering an attractive alternative which promoted participation in physical activities. The issue for parents was not one of ignorance but support with practical solutions to address the problem as many had no access to gardens or secure green spaces at home to aid improved activity levels:

P11: Just to get them fit and everything really because they come home and sit there and watch TV.

P10: They would be with a child-minder so then it becomes more difficult to have some kind of physical activity every day. I've got boys and I sometimes link it to having a pack of Labradors, you have to let them run every day in the fresh air and that really gives them that sort of chance to do sports on more days you could access if it was child-minders.

P9: It's good for them because they're learning something and socialising and if they're at home they're just watching the television.

P8: I think it helps them, um, run off a bit of energy because when they come home they're sitting on the carpet, playing video games.

Interestingly, the parent quoted in a previous chapter, giving a constructive example of the use of the computer for her daughter to extend her learning about Bob Marley and his music, was also critical of the use of the iPad within the home (see below). The contrasting comments were made addressing different questions and the following appears as a generalization rather than a specific criticism of her own child's practice. However, it may indicate that it is necessary to inform parents about how technology may enhance learning and development and the variety of technology available to children may be better employed to enhance their understanding.

P2: I just think it's a case of where kids are just into iPad and stuff like that and it brings them away (referring to the clubs) and when you're on the iPad you're not interacting with anyone, you're not developing yourself, you're not finding yourself, you're hooked on this thing and it can be very addictive.

Associated with overuse the dilemma that arises from children's engagement with technology is significant and highlights the concept of accompanying 'risks and opportunities' (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009, p.11). Although more commonly associated with the threat of inappropriate on-line contact (Thornton, 2008), in this research the risk identified by parents appeared to focus on the attraction of technology at the cost of children's physical engagement and subsequent overall standard of health and well-being. Although there is the possibility that the isolation that arises from sedentary occupations on-line may lead to an over-dependence on the precarious social contacts that technology facilitates (ibid). Unfortunately, feedback from parents stressed the disadvantages of their children's apparent obsessive occupation with technology, divorcing this completely from the associated skills.

Alternative action is necessary if childhood obesity is to be addressed by the 2016 strategy of 60 minutes exercise a day however, this may be problematic. Time pressures on an already overloaded curriculum, reduction in playtimes and a growing recognition in a lack of rigor in PE and sports during class time may prove difficult to maintain even the 30 minutes exercise recommended for

school. Additionally, 30 minutes of exercise daily with the support of parents may prove unrealistic in practice due to the constraints of work commitments and facilities. Significantly, parents themselves have called for further support from schools requesting the introduction of a daily hour of active fun and play (RSPH, 2015) supporting the argument that some parents feel they cannot adequately channel their children into physical pastimes. With repeated calls from parents for more support ensuring their children engage in exercise, assuming a national strategy directing parents to act will generate positive outcomes appears simplistic and naïve. Furthermore, the greater risk of obesity within impoverished households would suggest that the most vulnerable would be those living in conditions that do not readily access play-space or local sports facilities. Ultimately, the very group this policy is aimed at would be the least likely to benefit from its recommendations. Parents in this research were aware of the issues as they talked of ensuring their children were active for longer to avoid the health issues linked to sedentary lifestyles but they did express concern about how to keep their children active for longer. Parents believed the clubs presented the best way to ensure children maintained sound levels of exercise and saw this facility competing with technology as they offered an attractive alternative and promoted physical activities.

4-4-7 Parents' Views on Children's Participation Beyond School

Improvements in local services, including education, housing and the development of local amenities has contributed to the regeneration of this inner city borough. Many parents indicated they were raised in the area and compared their childhood experience in the borough to that of their children's. Two recalled living within an extended family in the neighbourhood and enjoying the freedom of playing on the street with family members and friends. But they now believed times had changed considerably and the immediacy of the extended family was no longer a reality. For parents there appears a weakening of social capital within the neighbourhood (MacBeath et al, 2007), where a lack of an extended family or closely bound social network leaves parents isolated, lacking support on a day-to-day basis. This is a feature particularly marked in disadvantaged areas where there appears a significant reduction in social trust (ibid).

None of the parents saw the street as a safe haven for their children to play, stressing they would not allow them the opportunity to play unsupervised outside of the home:

P11: I am concerned, I wouldn't let my children play outside, even 'though I live in a nice area. So many people have said it was safe, but you know. Here, down where I live now, you don't see nobody play outside.

P6: (comparing now to her own childhood) They're so different kids now, now it's computer or TV. When I was younger we loved being outside, we wanted to be out. If the weathers not bad they play out just on the balcony.

Only one parent allowed her child, a Yr6 girl, to walk home alone from school. This attitude, reflecting the belief that the local environment was unsafe, seriously restricted the opportunities for children to play freely, unsupervised, beyond the confines of their homes. For many schools the clubs offer a familiar and secure environment for children to play (Diss & Jamie, 2016) and parents in this research fully acknowledged this opportunity. In addition, the majority of the Extended School staff were familiar as they were part of the regular school. Knowing and trusting the club leaders was an additional strong factor in parents' choice of employing the clubs to meet after school needs for their children.

P10: I think knowing the staff is a real bonus, I think organised activities you trust more, especially if there are two or three people around and stuff like that. I think sometimes it's ease of access. You are nervous when you leave your kid with someone you don't know and I think this feels much safer and much better.

P12: You don't know who to trust, it's better to trust the school.

Reservations about safety in the local area suggested the expectations on the school to provide after school activities appeared expedient. Parents did not engage with opportunities the wider locality offered children and rarely accessed the range of resources available. There appeared a significant divide between those parents who solely use the resources within the school and those that see beyond. The minority of parents who accessed local resources frequently reported swimming in local pools, events in the parks or football clubs as an option. It is significant that children are introduced to swimming by the school and are subsequently encouraged by staff to go in their free time and that the football club most frequently referred to is one run by a previous member of the after-school club staff. Familiarity in both location and staffing appears key here for children and parents.

Changes in lifestyles and restricted access to outdoor space have been cited in research as reasons for a reduction in the opportunity children have to engage with activities outside the home (Waite, 2016). For inner-city families the perception that public spaces present insurmountable risks to children has increased over time (Horschelmann & Blerk, 2012) and has added to the constraints parents feel about allowing their children access to local play spaces. This has exacerbated the lack of choice parents could offer their children as the limitations of remaining within the confines of the home give them few alternatives as many have no access to gardens or communal spaces a problem associated with inner-city social housing (Waite, 2016). The lack of space within the home may also contribute to sedentary occupations, such as technology, as they keep children still and

quiet in conditions where family members need to share space. The parents in this research fully appreciated the option of the familiar and safe areas within the school and the ease of access at the end of the day meant there was no argument when they encouraged their children to participate.

Data presented by parents reinforced this position with only one parent adding the role her child played in the local church, where she acted as an altar-server on Sundays and participated in additional activities during the week; attendance in church, in any capacity, was not mentioned by any other interviewee. The parent of the child attending the local performance group reported looking for:

P2: Anything going... seeing if there's anything she can like going to the Museum of Childhood and stuff like that... use the parks, go to the museums

However, this view was not repeated by any other parent and the wealth of opportunities both locally and in the city beyond were overlooked. The experience of engaging with the wider opportunities offered by living in a vibrant city appeared delegated to the school. Reasons for this lack of local participation remained unclear from the interviews. Certainly the cost of local activities arose with several parents who saw the inexpensive school clubs as their only affordable option, recent research would corroborate this finding (Diss & Jamie, 2016; Chanfreau et al, 2016). This was also a major factor in the governors of the school deciding not to charge for after-school sessions, ensuring all children have access whether or not they could afford it. Parents commented:

P3: I have looked into finding another dance club for my daughter to go to as well. But, it's really hard or it just costs too much money, it's too expensive.

P7: (The after school clubs) are free or not much money as you'd pay a private person, so that's another benefit of after-school clubs, they're cheaper, they're more affordable

P4: One of my sons done clarinet, I rented the clarinet from the school, so it's given us opportunities that's not going to cost a bomb. Lots of parents can't afford to do things.

Similarly another parent had enquired about additional guitar lessons for her son but said:

P5: £150 for ten lessons was beyond my reach.

Another parent, whose child had been inspired by African drumming, wanted to buy a drum but found the cost of £100 inhibiting. They decided it would be a long term goal to save for the instrument only making this sort of outlay if the child persisted in the club for a year or more. Cost was raised by six parents who were able to demonstrate where the clubs had given their children access to activities that would have been otherwise unaffordable and these included those in

receipt of FSM. Diss & Jamie (2016, p.15) recorded the low cost as a 'key facilitator to take-up by disadvantaged pupils' as was 'the convenience and familiarity of the setting'. This research shares this view but found the issue was raised by parents from more advantaged backgrounds who also talked of the convenience of leaving children within the school at the end of the school day. For all parents the familiarity of the school site and the staff held an overwhelming attraction and all parents stated that the Extended School was their first option when choosing additional activities for their children. The cost factor was important but the security of provision in school was also a serious concern.

Alternatively, inexpensive clubs allowed children to participate in a variety of activities without parents making a huge outlay on equipment deemed wasteful if the activity proved unsuccessful. This school provides all musical instruments, sports and art equipment for sessions with some on loan for home, equipment beyond the financial resources of many parents. This allows children the opportunity to experience a wide range of activities before selecting those they wish to commit to. It may also encourage children to try things they would not necessarily choose, perhaps, providing the opportunity to discover talents previously unrecognised.

Lacking confidence appeared a further hurdle for children to pursue activities outside of school due to being in unfamiliar surroundings and people they did not know. One parent reported trying the local Beavers club but found:

P8: He didn't want to do it, he's very shy around people he doesn't know.

Another parent had tried a club offering additional literacy and numeracy sessions but this hadn't worked because:

P11: They know they're safe in school, because it's the environment, they know here, they know the adults, but going somewhere else not knowing people.....

According to parents, children's lack of confidence arose as a barrier to them opting for involvement outside of school. One parent questioned the quality of provision in the area reporting accessing a local football club but withdrew her child as he appeared bored and frustrated with the standard of teaching on offer. She felt there was too much pressure on her to support his behaviour management during these sessions, believing the leaders should have been more proactive developing the boundaries for him themselves. She felt far happier in the school environment where, she believed, behaviour management was not an issue.

4-4-8 Parents' Attitude to Transition to Secondary School and Associated Risks

Three parents supported their children in clubs at the primary phase as a priority believing this established a pattern of involvement which would be easier to maintain into secondary school. The belief in P9: *'the earlier the better'* reflected research by Gardner et al, (2009) and underpinned the notion that clubs gave children additional skills which would be beneficial later whilst introducing them to a lengthened school day. With the understanding that regular attendance at clubs was compulsory for many local secondary schools they felt this would establish a pattern of participation making transition into secondary school easier:

P5: The choice for us was to give him a choice to do what he likes but also I wanted him to do a few things that I think could benefit him as he gets older.

P3: I think it will help her from when she moves on to secondary school or if she wants to do out of school activity, it helps her because she got those skills and that knowledge.

Linking clubs to future development was expressed by two parents raising concerns about managing black boys in the borough as they progressed to secondary school and beyond perceiving a clear threat from 'postcode gangs' (The Guardian, 2007). The threat outlined in Longfield (2019) would support the parents' view that this is an issue in the inner-city and one that needs especial consideration by parents. However, it was only the parents of black boys that voiced this concern, a profile not addressed within the report. Although not currently experiencing a problem, these parents recognised the investment in developing interests and hobbies at the primary stage perceiving this as a long-term strategy to avoid future risk. They actively engaged in supporting their children attend clubs hoping to decrease the attraction of participating in gangs when the boys were older and more independent. This attitude demonstrates parents' recognition and investment in protective factors, and in this instance, the embracing aspects of psychosocial resources (Siraj & Mayo, 2014) to promote resilience against the threat of gangs in future years. The parents further elaborated by sharing both an aspirational attitude towards the clubs and an understanding of the benefits their children could reap at a later stage of development. The parents revealed a tenacity regarding their children's well-being that appeared to leave little to chance in the future:

P5: He's got quite a bit going on so it gives him a nice taste of things and try different things and, who knows, hopefully, he can carry it on because that is the aim, for him to pick up one or two of these things and, maybe, then say, later in life, he'll always be busy, so when he's in secondary school and he's at home, he's not going to say can I go and hang out where-ever, you've got something to do.

P3: I believe that it is important for children to do after school activities because I'm totally against children standing around on street corners or hanging around

getting up to no good or, you know, being bad influences or being influenced by not so good children or adults.

These parents revealed an awareness of the necessity to create a protective buffer for their children as they matured. Perceived threats located within the environment was shared by parents but was difficult to quantify as no-one expressed any first-hand experience of this. However, this contrasted dramatically with evidence shared by staff members discussed on page 96.

4-4-9 Staffs' Views on Friendships

Staff reflected positively on the successful way children of all ages mixed and how this promoted a conducive attitude to learning and friendships. They supported the headteacher's view that the children's subsequent behaviour and attitude towards others during the school day was positive and promoted a more caring attitude towards others particularly the older children towards the younger pupils:

S2: In the playground they know each other so it cuts that barrier, they don't argue because they've played with each other after school.

S1: (during the school day) Even 'though the younger kids are in the infant playground they all stand around, talk to them and play over the wall – they like to make sure the younger friends are doing the right thing.

The suggestion proposed by Bukowski et al that only younger children benefit from the cross-age mix of pupils and that 'older children do not reciprocate because they do not share interests or ability or because they feel socially pressured not to befriend someone younger' (1996, p.91) is not supported by this research. All interviewees believed children responded well to mixing with all age-groups, which may reflect the positive encouragement given to mixed groupings within the school. This may also indicate the expertise of club staff and their management of pupil cooperation on a daily basis.

4-4-10 Staff Views on Children Remaining Active

Staff worked consistently to encourage children to be as active as possible during the after school programme and observed many children applying themselves well to physical activities. All three members of staff interviewed had expertise and qualifications in one or more sports and coached children to attain good standards presenting excellent role models. However, whilst acknowledging advantages for children remaining active, they focused on the development of skills and emotional well-being, no link was made to specific health issues or obesity. They were fully aware of the level of encouragement some children needed to engage in physical activities, particularly as children progressed through KS2, and this appeared as their major focus in relation to well-being and physical fitness.

4-4-11 Staffs' Views on the Local Community

Two members of staff talked from experience about threatening gang culture and related risks to children's welfare and security. Both were involved in clubs for older children located on within the borough's social housing estates. Their experience highlighted the issues facing young people locally as they spoke about the challenges facing those living on or near estates. They saw the clubs in school as a direct way of influencing children positively in two specific avenues: firstly, developing physical skills in activities would engage children therefore deterring them from gang involvement; secondly, interacting with others from across postcodes could lead to positive activities and relationships within the neighbourhood. Importantly, they saw the value to the individuals involved extending to the safety and well-being of those living in the wider community acting as an antidote to disaffection and anti-social behaviour:

S2: You see most of the mistrust going around there, well what we try and do is barrier breaking. We play the same team and say something unfortunate happens, someone says, I know him, he plays for my team, it can diffuse the situation straight away because they've built a friendship outside. I think what having activities after school does, it gets the kids together and it breaks down those barriers, you get different kids playing together and that's very important.

This presents a stark reminder of the risks certain areas of the inner city pose for vulnerable children. Promoting activities that engage children from different areas to participate joint sports or arts events would cement relationships contributing to conflict avoidance in the future. The inter-school football or rugby games supported by clubs could prove hugely beneficial in this regard. Unfortunately, team games of this nature, whilst perceived as desirable, are currently not part of the regular school timetable due to time restrictions on older pupils. One member of staff also reinforced the fear parents have of allowing their children greater freedom outside of the school, believing:

S3: For some parents work commitments or elements of safety requires that if they're not here they've got to be home, simply because of the environment they live in.

The dilemma for parents is huge. On the one hand, restricting access to a community they may perceive as insurmountably threatening is paramount but, on the other, this inhibits constructive participation within the community which, in the future, would offer constructive rewards.

4-5 Additional Issues Raised by Parents

Nationally, research would support the view that children enjoy and wish to participate in the Extended School. Diss & Jamie (2016, p.44) estimate that only 7% of pupils state they are not

interested, which would indicate that this is a facility is effective. Only one child raised concerns about the provision in this research, however, additional issues were raised by parents as follows.

4-5-1 Snacks

Encouraging healthy eating and to ensure children do not grow hungry the school provides those who stay after school with a tea of sandwiches, fruit, healthy biscuits and juice. Three parents referred to this, and whilst two acknowledged that a healthy snack was positive and contributed to their children's well-being, one disagreed. This parent criticised the food provided stressing she insisted her daughter only eat the fruit she provided. This may imply a lack of understanding the school's intentions regarding snacks indicating the need for further clarity for parents concerning this arrangement. One parent fully supported the snack and suggested the tea supplemented the healthy meal at lunchtime and believed that, for a handful of children, the tea remained their main source of sustenance at the end of the day.

4-5-2 Over-Subscription

Two parents specifically criticised the termly application to over-subscribed clubs, such as football, but this was suggested by others. They described each term as a lottery regarding their child's access to participation. This presents a dilemma for the school, one which the headteacher had previously raised regarding future plans for the after-school arrangements. The funding for the provision is unlikely to be increased in the future due to current financial pressures on school budgets. Although it has been the long-term aim of the headteacher to increase participation this is unlikely to be possible unless there is additional funding from other sources. The over-subscription of certain clubs will remain and some children will be excluded. This appears as a major discouragement regarding attendance of pupils who would otherwise wish to participate and may require further follow up to ascertain how restrictive the policy may be.

4-5-3 Extended School and Childcare

The Extended School was initially designed to include support for parents to return to work whilst giving their children valuable learning opportunities they might not otherwise access (DfEE, 2001). Evidence from research would indicate the policy has met this original aim. Diss & Jamie (2016) record 77% of the provision supported childcare, although this research indicates 100% of parents used the provision to support employment or study:

P3: Sometimes (parents) don't have the time because some parents do work nine 'til five and it's really hard, so I think it's really important to have after school clubs, the chance and opportunity to try something new.

P4: I just think that clubs are not just good for the children, it's good for the adults, it gives them a chance to get things done, to get things on. It's hard when you're working, if there's a club, it's just like childcare.

P8: It makes me feel secure that they are not being pushed from pillar to post while I'm working.

Following redundancy one parent returned to college studies as a way back into employment. Her child's attendance at the clubs allowed her to attend classes and reduce the amount of time she needed to complete her course:

P5: I wouldn't be able to do it otherwise, I'd really have to lose one or two of my classes.

For this parent clubs facilitated time to study with the prospect of improved employment enhancing future prospects. She believed her current dependence on school for support would lead to an additional earnings enabling her to better provide for her son as he grew older. Diss & Jamie (2016) support the view that improved family income was a valuable outcome of this service. Another parent maximized the additional time facilitated by clubs by extending her day working freelance affording her the opportunity to build her own business. Both parents were highly motivated with aspirational goals which, they recognised, were facilitated by the Extended School. This suggests that clubs support an intrapersonal outcome for social mobility (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010; Gordon & Lexmond, 2014), improving the outlook for parents and their children. The DCLG data profile on this borough (2015) demonstrates improved outcomes due to the rise in employment. If this trend is to continue the provision of easily accessible and reliable childcare for parents could make a further contribution to the movement of the borough's poorest families out of poverty into employment. In addition a recent British Chamber of Commerce report (2016) reaffirms the continued need for affordable childcare, judging it to be a key issue in recruiting and retaining staff.

Although generally positive from all parents one gave an overwhelming endorsement of the Extended School at the end of her interview. She expressed the many positive outcomes of this provision and expressed her views with conviction that it has contributed to the title of this research. She summarised:

P10: They're positive for lots of reasons, for families who are struggling, I mean for me it's about ease and about trust and things like that and it wasn't a financial thing, but actually if you can cover things with relatively cheap child care that's actually giving them an extra experience and a real positive experience and increasing kids friendships, I mean what's not to like. All round with families who are struggling to go out to work and perhaps not earning very much, so it's kind of all that stuff together, it's a package and it removes the stress from parents and I

think there's a lot to be said for that as well. Your mum can be going out to work and maybe have a little bit more cash around and she trusts what's going on as well.

4-5-4 Additional Staff Views

Liaison with parents at the end of the session was a priority for staff as it gave them the opportunity to provide feedback on children's contribution, development and behaviour but, importantly, to build valuable links with the school on an informal basis. Staff believed parents valued the time spent in discussion as the sessions ended as it gave them feedback on a range of skills not covered by class teachers. Furthermore, it contributed to the development of trust between school and home that supported children through their education in the long term. Importantly, for working parents, this may be the only regular contact they had with staff in the school and was particularly valued as a forum for keeping in touch. All staff emphasised the need to work closely with parents and valued this additional strand of their responsibility as an Extended School leader.

One member of staff raised the issue of discussion between settings to share good practice and to establish better links between schools. The development of networks was part of the early programme but was discontinued as the provision was de-regulated and LA involvement removed. This proved an inhibiting factor which stemmed from changes in policy but was regarded by the member of staff as excellent practice in the early stages of development. Re-instating a level of networking between schools could prove valuable in the future.

4-6- Summary

Reflecting the current climate this school maintains a strong focus on standards in core subjects and the headteacher is unequivocal concerning the need for all children to reach national levels by age 11. A broad and balanced curriculum is delivered through the day with specific planning ensuring all children experience a wide-range of opportunities. Similar to research data (Chanfreau et al, 2016, p. 21-22) after-school clubs are intended to provide 'a golden opportunity to provide enrichment' for pupils to enjoy a range of activities offered as an additional experience to this curriculum delivery. Within this small case study all children expressed enjoyment in the activities offered with many giving examples of the skills they developed or improved as a direct result of participation. Opportunities for 'socio-dramatic play' (Thornton, 2008, p.), the development of expertise (Simon & Chase, 1973) and performance in the arts and team games in sports all are reported as experiences unique to the clubs reinforcing that it aims of enrichment opportunities are being realised. Most notably, the opportunity to develop confidence within activities appears to support the development of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1995) in many children which in turn leads

to greater participation in the school day promoting improved attitude in the class. Reinforced by the benefits of mixed-aged participation promoting positive role-models, leadership responsibilities and general cohesion amongst pupils during the school day, the general organisation appears conducive to supporting well-being in the school day.

In line with recent research and central to early Pathfinders programme the concern around participation of disadvantaged pupils in this school is apparent. Ensuring engagement with FSM pupils and promoting opportunity for all is central to the clubs and review of data in both attendance and progress highlights this group's participation. The learning opportunities in clubs outlined above appear crucial for these children as repeated research (Hirsch 2007; Diss & Jamie 2016; Chanfreau et al, 2016) has highlighted they are unlikely to access these opportunities elsewhere reinforcing the gap between the experiences more advantaged children have as a matter of course. A strong focus in primary schools on core subjects may enhance children's future success in school but this may prove insufficient to remove the barriers that enable disadvantaged children to succeed in secondary school and beyond.

Although views in learning opportunities differ, all parents agree that after-school activities offer children enjoyment, improving activity levels, promoting confidence whilst offering an inexpensive, safe and secure environment for them to engage with others and develop new skills. All parents in this research engage with greater employment or study opportunities suggesting that the contribution this makes overall to family well-being is significant. Highlighting the current serious concern parents of black boys express around gang culture (Longfield), reinforced in this research by the experiences of staff working within LA estates, this appears as a significant resource in the current task of addressing this social challenge alongside the other crucial issues of obesity and the early development of poor mental health.

CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5-1 Conclusions

Recognised by Ofsted and the LA as providing an example of good practice in Extended Schools Canthorpe Primary school has presented a valuable model to explore the research question:

What impact does the Extended School have on the attitudes to engagement with learning of disadvantaged children in an inner city primary school?

This research supports Diss and Jamie (2016) and Chanfreau et al's (2016) recent work outlining the opportunities the Extended School presents whilst extending an understanding of specific qualities promoted in after-school provision. Reinforcing the view that the arts and sports are an important aspect of clubs interviewees have highlighted that children enjoyed the time it gave them to develop expertise (Simon & Chase, 1973) in areas of their choice and supported the application of skills learnt in team games against other schools. Time and space to practise skills safely also contributed to the development. All children, regardless of background, responded positively to the time spent engaged in activities and could share examples of where participation enhanced their skills in opportunities unavailable during the day. Children who participated in performances were equally adamant that this experience has supported a growing confidence which they were able to apply in other settings. Given the issue raised by many participants who shared their inhibitions resulting from a lack of confidence this appeared a major contribution to their sense of achievement and personal well-being. This was of particular significance for those children who felt they lacked skills and confidence in activities they had not experienced before as they equated no experience with a lack of ability. Clubs gave children the opportunity to both develop skills and confidence. This was not something that the children from more advantaged backgrounds expressed as they talked with confidence in all aspects of engagement. Furthermore, these activities were not available during the school day and time constraints would seriously inhibit their inclusion in school.

The promotion of friendships, particularly opportunities to work within mixed-aged groups, developed positive outcomes supporting the acquisition of leadership skills, acting as role models for others and working alongside those who shared interests and passions in a range of activities unavailable during the school day. In this instance the evidence supported the view that the Extended School offered enrichment opportunities that time and organisation could not facilitate during the day although the benefits were recognised as transferring. Blatchford and Baines (2006) highlighted that time in the day to mix freely with others is reduced over time and children lack

opportunities to develop the skills playtime facilitates. All children enjoyed the informal exchange with others this allowed although, for children from less advantaged backgrounds, clubs provided opportunities that they did not engage with elsewhere. Importantly, this research further supports the argument that disadvantaged children do not access additional activities elsewhere and rely on the school to provide what their more advantaged peers do as a matter of course from home (Hirsch, 2007). This was particularly evident in this research and reinforces the understanding that this position has not changed over time.

Without the Extended School disadvantaged children are unlikely to engage with enrichment activities and would be restricted in future choices as a result. The opportunity to develop skills and expertise gave these children an additional string to their bow of confidence which could support learning in primary school. Furthermore, by sharing these skills in secondary school they may develop a greater sense of security in transition, a period recognised as increased vulnerability for many children. This may also support their transition into further education giving them a greater sense of belonging where they are able to participate in sports and the arts, facilitating a wider circle of friends reducing the high level of attrition recorded by Reay (2017). Extended Schools may not be the solution to problems children encountered later in their education but may be one contributory element in a range of initiatives that promote a greater sense of well-being and resilience for disadvantaged pupils.

Parents gave additional valuable insight into the advantages they attributed to the Extended School supporting issues of health and well-being that are subject to high profile scrutiny at the present time: the rise in obesity, poor mental health and gang culture. By supporting better activity levels, facilitating feelings of confidence and success whilst breaking down the artificial barriers created by gangs participation in after-school clubs may also make a contribution to these issues that are potentially life-threatening and costly to public services. There is a case for supporting the parent's view '*the earlier the better*' as this ensures pupils establish regular patterns of attendance throughout the primary school. Research from the USA would endorse this view as Gardner et al (2009) highlights that pupils, and especially boys, are unlikely to opt for participation in their teens when issues such as image become a more primary concern.

Exploring the nature of the Full Extended School Martin (2016) and Cummings (2011) highlight the significant differences this initiative made on the nature of schooling. They acknowledge the demands on leadership instigating a re-focusing on roles and responsibilities of staff and the unique contribution a changing pattern of relationships made with both families and the community. The implications of their work raises issues for all schools in gauging the repercussions of developing

Extended School activities and how far these may alter the direction the school envisages. The question of choice is an important issue to consider and whether or not schools are too readily bombarded with initiatives at the expense of focusing on promoting quality classroom practice. Cunningham (2012) acknowledges that policy under New Labour directed at encouraging schools to form increased links with children's lives both beyond and outside schools 'generated considerable overload' (p.38) impacting on the role of teachers. The initial development of the FSS accrued funding that supported additional staffing something that was not replicated as all schools were expected to engage with the national roll-out programme. This may have contributed to additional workload for some and a lack of consistency in implementation. However, it does raise the issue that if this service is to continue standards need to be maintained to ensure after-school provision offers all children quality opportunities from which they will benefit. This reinforces Ridges' argument (2002) that children spending increased time away from home as a result of working parents' must be offered quality provision. This may prove challenging as budgets decrease.

Ball (2017) argues that education cannot take sole responsibility for ensuring the options of disadvantaged pupils are improved and that social mobility becomes a more realistic prospect within the country. No initiative introduced in schools can be viewed as a solution to problems that have challenged successive governments with little evidence of improved outcomes. The most recent report from the Social Mobility Commission (SMC 2018-2019) highlights that social mobility remains stagnant with the pay gap and levels of unemployment still an issue for those living in poverty. This report, whilst reinforcing current data on the achievement gap between disadvantaged pupils and their more advantaged peers, stresses that poverty is still an over-riding determinant regarding outcomes at all stages of development and reiterates previous reports call for greater intervention by government. Evidence from recent research would suggest the Extended School can offer children additional opportunities the school day does not supporting the argument that funding should be a priority to maintain the service. The cuts to education, estimated by the SMC (2018-2019) to be 8% between 2010-2018, present schools with difficult choices in a culture that maintains a focus on the standards agenda and outcomes of statutory assessment for pupils.

Embedded within the framework of Critical Theory, one aim of this research was to give stakeholders the opportunity to express their views and to contribute to a wider discussion on the value of the Extended School. This research reinforces the view that stakeholders are well placed to make operational decisions that will work in the interests of those individuals the policies are designed to support. Acknowledging the value attributed to the Extended School by those who are particularly affected by the policy, the parents' data communicates a particularly strong message

that the Extended School adds value to children's engagement and attitude whilst supporting parents beyond the school day.

5-2 Recommendations

Contributing to current knowledge the following recommendations are proposed for further consideration both within this school and beyond:

- The engagement and enjoyment expressed by the children in this research supports the case for maintaining the current model of the after-school programme. However, it is still a concern that all children do not participate regularly in the clubs. It would, therefore, be desirable if children who benefit from attendance could act as mentors to those reluctant to join to extend participation across the school.
- Parents clearly expressed what they believed their children gained from participation in the clubs and were extremely appreciative of the provision. However, not all parents supported their children's consistent attendance as they could not see the educational benefit. Many parents interviewed were informed about the positive impact of participation therefore it would be valuable if parents could support the programme by sharing their understanding across the parent group and to other agencies outside of the school such as Ofsted and the LA. This will contribute to reinforcing its value to children's learning whilst supporting the school when difficult economic decisions are made.
- Although senior managers value this provision, worries have been raised regarding future funding. As difficult decisions are made regarding the budget, funding streams need identifying to maintain this facility. This may prove a valuable opportunity to engage with the local community to establish links for additional provision through either inviting the community in or supporting children further to attend activities outside of the school. This could have the added dimension of engaging children in a positive role within their communities in the future.
- The positive contribution this provision could make needs further consideration and discussion by the LA could prove fruitful. A survey charting the overall provision within the borough could highlight where good practice has been maintained in order schools could support the re-development of networks to promote best practice and continue to develop this service in the future.
- The strength of this provision within the borough would need to acknowledge the contribution made in the initial stages by the over-riding support and strategic overview given by the LA. If this provision is to continue a moderate level of support across schools should be maintained to ensure high standards and equitable access for all pupils.

5-3 Limitations

Ensuring clear boundaries were developed (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015) to create a workable programme for the research was important. Working independently as a self-supporting researcher, within a time frame, limited the number of possible interviews, which led to a narrow focus solely on those who participated within the Extended School and had participated over several years. Unfortunately, this gave no insight into those children who did not attend or those that decided to withdraw. Questions remain as to why some children chose not to participate and this could provide valuable information for the school. Similarly, gathering data from those parents whose children did not attend could support this additional avenue of discovery but may be further explored if the very positive parents interviewed could lead questionnaires in the future. Additionally, it might suggest what alternative provision could be provided by the school to attract those pupils who currently do not engage with the Extended School. This could prove a valuable follow up study.

5-4 Dissemination

The dissemination of this research falls into three distinct areas. Firstly, meeting my commitment to the headteacher of the school I will share my final report with her. Her interest and support throughout the process of this research has been phenomenal and I would wish to enable her to use a summary to develop ideas and practice within the Extended School. Facilitating dissemination through the parents who have given such powerful and positive feedback will also remain a priority. Furthermore, I would wish to share this research widely through the LA and have the agreement of lead members to do this.

Secondly, the Member of Parliament who has shown interest in this research has asked for a summary wishing the findings to be distributed amongst colleagues who are particularly interested in supporting those pupils facing disadvantage. As a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts I plan to present my research to the Inequality in Education Forum as part of ongoing work in promoting the interests of those facing the challenges of poverty.

Thirdly, I plan to address my own development by contributing aspects of this research to publications in the field of education seeing the IOE Doctoral Journal as an initial introduction to this. Furthermore, I would like to pursue further writing assignments using this research as a basis to engage in wider publication opportunities. For me taking my research forward by sharing it as widely as possible is the next challenge.

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Appendix I

Feedback from the Department of Education Following Freedom of Information Request.

The provision of extended services was a programme under a previous administration that set out a core offer of services accessed through schools prior to 2010. Changes in policy priorities allowed schools to make their own judgement about what they would offer, given their local circumstances. As a result the scope of the evaluation was changed. The final report, published in 2011, offered an overview of the research evidence on the outcomes that extra-curricular activities can produce, and on how those activities can be made most effective. The report was aimed at practitioners and decision makers, particularly head teachers, developing extra-curricular activities in and around their schools. The report can be accessed here: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/extended-services-in-practice-summary-of-evaluation-evidence->

Appendix II Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Children's Questions.

1. Can you tell me about the choice of activities that are on offer at the extended school?
2. Can you tell me in as much detail as possible about one class you felt was very successful for you?
3. Can you give me an example where you think the extended school activity really helped you with your reading/writing?
4. *(build on responses to previous questions where areas of learning may have arisen – maths, humanities, Arts, sports)*
5. How easy do you think it is to make new friends at the extended school?
6. *Can you tell me more about how this happens/ why this does not happen?*
7. What sort of activities do you attend out of school?
8. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience at the extended school?

Parents' Questions

1. Can you tell me about the activities your child attends at the extended school? What do you think influences her/his choice? Have those choices changed over the years? (In what way?)
2. Can you tell me about any sessions that you understand were particularly successful for your child? How do you think this built on previous skills/knowledge? Do you think the extended school supports the learning in the regular school?
3. Can you tell me about any session/sessions at the extended school that you think helped your child with literacy skills?
4. How easy do you think it is for your child to make new friends at the extended school? Is this any different from regular school?

5. Are there any activities your child has attended at the extended school that s/he has followed up in another setting? Do you see any change in attitude about school as a result of attendance at the extended school?
6. Are there opportunities offered to your child at the extended school that they could not access anywhere else?
7. What sort of things would your child be doing if they were not attending the extended school?
8. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience of your child's experience of the extended school?

Teachers' Questions

1. What are some of the successful extended school activities that the yr 6 pupils attend? How far are you involved in supporting or selecting pupils for the extended school activities? Do you think more children could benefit from attending? Are there any particular groups you think would gain from this?
2. How far do you think the children in your classes recorded as disadvantaged / FSM benefit from the extended school provision? How do you think the programme of activities could be improved to support these pupils more successfully?
3. How is progress recorded in the sessions? How is this communicated to others within the school? How far do you focus on the emotional development of pupils within the sessions?
4. Do you perceive any difference in attitude or social behaviour from those children attending the extended school over time? Can you give any examples of your observations?
5. Do you have any additional comments to make about the extended school?

Appendix III Parent Letter and Consent Form

School Headed Paper

Date _____

Dear (Parent's name)

I am currently involved in research at The Institute of Education. In the next month I will be visiting the school to talk to children and parents about the after school clubs. I would like to interview both you and your child about this as I understand your child regularly attends. I would like the opportunity to ask several questions about this facility to understand how well you perceive the sessions to be supporting your child. The interviews will take place in school between ----- and the ----- . I can be flexible regarding timing and would meet at a time convenient to you. I would like to record the interviews but can assure you all information shared with me will remain secure during the process of the research and will be destroyed once this is complete.

I will be interviewing the children in small groups and have written to them requesting that they confirm they are happy to participate. However, I would also require you to confirm that you are happy for you and your child to take part in this project. All information shared with me will remain completely anonymous although I may use any comments in a report which will be published.

You are in no way obliged to participate in this research and you or your child are free to withdraw at any time. If you are happy to be involved please sign the form below and return it to the school office. I will be available in the school on the ----- at ----- to answer any questions personally about my work.

Yours sincerely

Karen Coulthard

 I (print name) _____ give permission for my child to participate in the research concerning the after school clubs. I am prepared to attend for interview.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix IV. Pupil Letter and Consent Form**School Headed Paper****Date**

Dear (child's name)

I will be visiting your school in the next month and talking to children and parents about the after school clubs. I would like to interview you about this as I understand that you attend regularly and so would be able to tell me more about what happens. I would like the opportunity to ask you several questions which would give me more information about what you like and what sort of things you learn at your clubs. The interviews will take place in school between the ----- and the -----.

I would like to interview children in groups of three and record the answers so I can listen to all your responses again. The information you share with me will remain anonymous, which means no-one outside of the group will know who said what to me. I may use your comments in a report, which I will write, once I have collected the information from all the children. I will keep this information safe and no-one else will be able to listen to it. It may also mean that I would wish to talk to you again once I have listened to everyone's responses.

You do not have to participate in the interviews and you are free to withdraw from the work at any time should you wish. If you are happy to be interviewed by me would you please sign the form below and return it to the office. If you wish to ask me any further questions I would be most happy to explain any aspect of my work to you.

Yours sincerely

Karen Coulthard

I (print name) _____ would be happy to attend an interview to share my views on the after school clubs.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix V. Staff Agreement Letter**School Headed Paper****Date**

Dear (Name of staff member)

I am currently engaged in a research project as part of my studies at The Institute of Education. In the next month I will be visiting the school to interview children and parents about the after school clubs. As a teacher who leads sessions for this facility I would welcome the chance to interview you about the learning opportunities you perceive children are offered beyond the school day. I would wish to record the interviews but can assure you all information will be kept completely secure and will be destroyed when the research is complete.

All information shared as part of the research will be kept completely anonymous although comments may be used as part of my written thesis. You are in no way obliged to participate in this research and you will be free to withdraw at any time.

If you agree to be involved, please sign the form below and return it to the school office. I will, of course, be happy to share any further information with you about this research.

Yours sincerely

Karen Coulthard

I (print name) _____ agree to be interviewed as part of the study on the after school clubs. I understand I may withdraw from this project at any time.

Name _____

Date _____ -

Appendix V11 Example of Coding Analysis: Codes Are Grouped into Initial Themes

Example of responses from children's interviews: codes are grouped into initial themes. Numbers have been added to show the frequency of responses to codes.

<p>Friendships: Team work as positive experience- 5. Friends- 11. Extending friendships groups- 4. Mixed aged groups- 1. Talking with friends in class-3. Learn not to judge others-1. Friends giving help-3. Popularity- 2. Socialising-2. Different degrees of friendships-1.</p>
<p>Behaviour Issues: Playtime problems-1. Behaviour problems encountered-3. Problems with relationships in school-1. Bullying-1. SOG-3.</p>
<p>Emotional qualities: Nervous and shaky/ scared-2. Controlling temper and anger-2. Embarrassed-1. Feeling awkward in front of others-1. Boredom-2. Feeling bad-1. Feeling happy-1. Enjoyment/fun-14. Feeling pride-2. Confidence linked to performance/ improved scores-7. Feeling shy-6. Releasing stress-1. Feelings of freedom-3. Staying positive during difficulties-5. Feeling relaxed-2. Self-esteem-1. Energy boost-2. Excited-1. Feel I'm in my own world-1. Feeling pressure-2. Adrenalin pumping-1. Worried about class work-1. Pressure of SATs-1.</p>
<p>Relationships with staff: Individual coaching -4. Establishing different relationships with staff - 2. Tutors set goals-1. Aims for children differentiated-1. Asked to act as teacher/lead-6. Role model-2.</p>
<p>Attitudes to Learning: Good to learn new things-9. Links to learning in class-3. Learning in a different way-8. Enjoy choice-4. Uncomfortable with no choice- 1. Play and learn at the same time-1. Show others you are good at things-1. Comfortable in sessions-1. Wanting to try something new-1. Promoting talents-2. Practise in the playground-1. Clubs give you a headstart-1. Clubs linked to learning in class-2. Clubs make me try my best-1. Achieved my goals-1. Good to show others-1. A whole year learning one sport really positive-1</p>

Friendships
Enjoying friends 11
Opportunity to talk 8
Extending friendships groups 8
Team work as positive experience 8
Mixed aged groups 6
Support by friends 5
Different types of friendships 2
Popularity 2
Socialising 2
Learning not to judge 1
Problems arising from friends 1

Emotional Qualities
Enjoyment /Fun 14
Confidence linked to performance/ tests 7
Feeling shy 6
Staying positive during difficulties 5
Feelings of freedom linked to clubs 3
Controlling temper/ anger 4
Nervous and shaky/scared 4
Energy boost from clubs 4
Boredom 3
Feeling happy 3
Feeling awkward in front of others 3
Feeling relaxed 3
Releasing stress 2
Embarrassed 2
Feeling pride 2
Worried about class work 2
Excited 2
Feeling bad 1
Feel in a world of my own 1
Feeling pressure 1
Adrenalin pumping 1
Pressure of SATs 1

Attitude to Learning
Good to learn new things 9
Learning in a different way 8
Enjoy choice 7
Links to learning in class 7
Practise in the playground 5
Clubs make me try my best 4
Clubs make me try harder in class 4
Good to show others 4
Promoting talents 4
Show others you are good at things 4
Wanting to try something new 4
Uncomfortable with no choice 1
Play and learn at the same time 1
Comfortable in sessions 1
Clubs give you a head start 1
Achieved my goals 1
A whole year learning one thing good 1
Clubs are only for fun 1
Don't keep going if I don't like it 1

Relationships with Staff
Staff same as school 7
Familiarity of staff 6
Asked to act as teacher/lead 6
Staff helpful 5
Individual coaching 4
Different relationship with staff 4
Staff sort problems from school 4
Tutors set goals 2
Role models 2
Tasks differentiated 1

Behaviour Issues
Behaviour problems encountered 3
SOG 3
Problems with relationships in school 1
Playtime problems 1
Bullying 1
Observed poor behaviour 1
Silly behaviour 1

Appendix V111

Clubs Attended By Children Interviewees – Autumn Term 2015

Topics	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11	C12	C13	C14	C15
Dance		X				X			X	X		X		X	
Homework															
Cricket	X				X	X						X	X	X	
Football	X		X	X			X				X	X			X
Table Tennis			X										X	X	
Kit and Samba	X					X									
Music Tuition						X					X		X		
Marshall Arts													X		
Steel Pans															
Performing Arts								X		X					X
Drumming		X				X								X	
Netball				X			X								X
Activity Room – Art, Drama, IT etc	X			X				X	X	X			X		

Appendix V1 Transcripts

Parent 10 (P 10) 25.36 (2012.09.19_23_.28_01)

KC - So can you tell me about the activities your child attends at the clubs?

P10_– So my child has mainly accessed sports based activities, table tennis and multi-sports, they did access some music at various times, they've been coming to various clubs, and, yeh, and there was drama and some rehearsals for school plays that spilled into after-school so it's been mainly around drama and sports activities.

KC – OK, and how did the children choose their clubs?

P10 – So, it was a little bit of it being circumstances. So it was kind of when we were able to, when it suited both child-care and the list of things that were available, so there has been one thing, there was a Marshall Arts thing that really we couldn't facilitate. It because it was on a day when we'd organised to pick the kids up from school at 3.30 and things, so, yeh, they would liked to have done more I think but it was a bit about convenience as well with working patterns.

KC- And with the difference between the arts and the sports, has that changed over a period of time?

P10 – Yeh,

KC – Have their interests changed, or is that timetabling arrangements?

P 10 _No, it's definitely their interests, the older boys they seemed to have dropped their drama and their music a little bit, which I think is a shame and as their mother I'm always "don't you want to do the drama?" but, no, I can't, I think its maybe it's a fashion thing and boys see it kind of not their thing. But, yeh, there's a lot of who runs the sports things, they get them very involved, the people who run the sports activities, so I think there's a bit of that as well, of engaging kind of – the staff that do that, it's a more inclusive thing as well so....

KC – Can you think of any session that you got the feedback on that was particularly successful or an aspect of a session that has been particularly successful and any reasons behind that?

P 10 – So, what they really loved and I quite liked it myself as an activity, you know what they've really loved is table-tennis. And I tried to work out why they loved it, and I think it's because they get a bit of coaching, a bit of 1:1 personal time with the sports' teacher and they don't normally get that because it's normally group teaching and they also...their teachers also get involved and come and play with the kids, and so they see the teachers in a different light and a more relaxed way, and they come and get involved in it. So they say "I beat Mr X---" or a beat this you know, that kind of thing, you know they see staff in a different light and getting involved and I think that was quite successful.

KC – Do you think the sports activities or the arts they've done, does that build on the knowledge they have in school or has that been a separate thing that has been introduced to them?

P 10 - A bit of both really. So the sport has built on what they've done, although for instance, table tennis is not been an activity that they done in their lessons, but things like hand/eye coordination they do teach that in school. Some of the music and drama things they were able to, both of them do some piano lessons at one point and they started off piano lessons and so piano wasn't something you could take up within the school. Guitar was the main instrument that you could do, it was separate, but again, generally, it was enhancing your musical skills.

KC – So they did piano outside of school?

P 10 - Yeh.

KC –Do they still do piano?

P 10 – One of them does, one of them doesn't. The one that took to it more is still keeps it up, and actually he's taken it back up. My elder one has just gone to secondary school and he's continued with that at secondary school.

KC – So do you think doing the additional music here has supported that?

P 10 – Yes it has, but, to be fair, we probably could have got piano lessons from somewhere else, we're a family that could afford it somewhere else, and my kids have probably had a lot of opportunities and I wonder whether, I don't know, I felt a bit guilty almost, a bit, that it was my kids who got the piano lessons because it was sort of, you need to have a piano at home and you need to, do you see what I mean? It felt like an elitist opportunity.

KC – Right.

P 10 – But for my kids personally, it's been brilliant. So.....

KC – Do you think participating in clubs supports children in their learning attitude towards regular school?

P 10 – Do I think... I think it can support them. I think getting to know the staff in a slightly different way, um, it makes the kids feel quite warm about coming to school. I think it can be seen, these activities, can be seen as a reward, so, um, you kind of, you have to be good and engaged at school and then you, and then you are able to be in the clubs, then there's a bit of that and you can use it as a real carrot for kids who would not otherwise stay engaged, and I've seen that with a couple of friends of my kids, and it is something that makes them feel more part of the school community other than just coming in at 9 and going home at 3.30. Then, yeh it can, it's kind of they feel part of an "I do extra and I do that", especially if their clubs are something, are extending something that, maybe a performance at something, so it's all marrying up. So yeh, it can do, it depends on the activity, it depends on how it's managed.

KC – Do you think it can also depend on the child themselves?

P 10 – Yes, definitely.

KC – Do the sessions, do you think, help children in any of their literacy or numeracy skills? Can you see any link with the National Curriculum?

P 10 – Direct link, not so much, in terms of being involved in the school community yes. In terms of the fact, you know, acting, if you feel more confident about your body and your movement and your fine motor skills, and your gross motor skills and generally being more rounded in your physical skills, can it help you write? Can it help you stand up and perform in class if you have to answer questions? Yeh, that directly are we teaching maths in after-school clubs here? No we're not, but in terms, there were things like chess clubs here, I forgot about chess club, and that sort of taught strategy and thinking, and um, and in terms of getting on and team spirit, it's quite intangible, it's part of a package of things this school's put in and there's a general improvement in the school so... but it's one of lots of things they've put in.

KC – Can I just ask, do you think that for your children it boosts their confidence or they get something else from the clubs?

P 10 – Yeh, no I think so. So one... two children, one probably comes across as more confident but actually, underneath he's not. The other comes across as more contained, the one that's quite contained liked the camaraderie and learning new things and it was something he just liked to do, it enhanced his experience of school, I think. The younger one who, whilst probably appears to be confident, he's a bit more fragile and that makes sense so he kinda of...it's just a difference in their personality, and I think things for him, where he makes different friendship groups, 'cause it's not necessarily class based friendship groups, especially early on he got to know people in slightly older years so that when he was in the playground he felt more confident as well. It was that cross school, it wasn't just his brother that helped a lot. I think with the confidence in the playground and that sort of thingso I think for him it enhanced that.

KC – So is it talking about what the individual child might bring?

P 10 – Yes, definitely.

KC – I've got a question here about friends, and obviously, you've touched on that now. Could you give me any more examples of that value, certainly children have talked very positively of being in that mixed age-group?

P 10 - Yeh, it was interesting. WE used to joke amongst the mums when we used to pick the kids up from the after-school clubs and say it was a bit feral, that was the word we used, but actually it was in a good way. They were running, almost running in a pack, and being very active, but from all ages and accepting all ages, and I think it's been a real positive in terms of, you know you get stuck with 30 kids, for a year almost, pretty much and so mixing with outside of that class group, it helps them a little bit with forming those slightly more instant friendships... and things I think, the almost kids version of small talk and how I get on someone younger and older than me and I think that's been really nice and you can see that.

KC – Is that a skill that children might not necessarily get in school because they are in one class they know and because in the playground they are separated by age-groups?

P 10 – Yeh, no I definitely think there's a part to that, and actually now my kids, well one's left the school and the other child is in yr6, now it's been more of a focus they like to look after the little ones, and when they were little, they were looked after by the big ones. Do you see what I mean? There's been that sort of family atmosphere about it so that's been really positive and made them feel safer in other aspects of this school.

KC – Do you have an example of that?

P 10 – You could see that when you dropped your child off in the playground in the morning and older kids would say Hi - - - , Hi - - - - , kind of thing and they would know them. But there's another little one, the mum is a friend of mine, but we didn't mix with the kids and that sort of thing, and she split up from her husband, she had 2 kids, and the little boy kind of spent a lot of time hanging around -- -, the one in Yr6 now, in the playground because he was feeling a little bit nervous, and ---- knew him from clubs and ----- came home and said "oh, you know I've been looking after ----- today, he's feeling a bit sad. Do you know there was a bit of that and I don't think that would have happened if they hadn't had connection in after-school clubs because he wouldn't have known who he was.

KC – Kids certainly seem to really enjoy the nurturing aspect. One of the girls said they would go along and look over the fence to check the younger ones.

P 10 – (Laughs) That's really sweet, isn't it.

KC – So you talked about other follow ups. Are there activities that your children do in the Extended School that they follow up elsewhere, outside of school?

P 10 – There's a lot of football that goes on, this is a big football school. Boys are obsessed by it, and they do that, and, actually, they do it as almost an unofficial thing, they do it, so there's a club and there's a team but they also do football in the play centre, so they do it in a couple of ways, and then the boys go and access the ----- Football Club, that a lot of the kids from the school use and that's on a Friday evening and a lot of the parents drop them off there, and um, so there's definitely the football thing. There's a lot of things. I sometimes feel there's far more for the boys than girls, but maybe that's because I'm a mum of boys, and I'm seeing it but I think the girls stuff is coming now. Or maybe its activities we perceive but why shouldn't the girls play football but they don't really do. See what I mean? The boys definitely seem to access those sporting activities already, more than...

KC – OK. Do you think your children's attitude changed in any way because they were part of the clubs in terms of their learning?

P 10 – Um... difficult isn't it because they have different stages of development. Um... I know that there was a time when my elder one wasn't really enjoying his teacher, the school was quite disrupted at the time and he wasn't enjoying it, and, you know, at home you'd just say, he'll be fine and you know, make sure you try your best and you support, and you support if there's been punishment in the class, or whatever for the class and that sort of stuff. And I think, possible, the after-school club gave him something quite fun to focus on so the school day for him wasn't all negative, in that short period of time, to be fair, he's had very good teaching, I think, generally, even 'though it was just a short period of time. But, I think, because it was a different experience of school he would latch onto he didn't see school as negative, if that makes sense and we were able to keep him enjoyed.

KC – What would your children be doing if there weren't doing the clubs?

P 10 – They would.....um, well either we would organise work to come home and do something, we take them to the park or possibly organise for them to do clubs somewhere else, of they would be with a child-minder. So then it becomes more difficult to have that physical activity, so I really like kids to have some kind of physical activity every day. Do you see what I mean? I know it's a bit rude to say, but I've got boys and I sometimes kinda link to having a pack of labradors, you have to feed them lots and let them have a run out every day in fresh air, and that really gives them that sort of chance to do sport, um, on more days than you could access if it was child-minders or that sort of thing. So that's really good 'cause you kinda know and also I really trust the people here, because you trust the people that they come to school with, and there's staff apart from that team. S you don't feel kind of anxious about who they're with or that sort of thing but, um, I think that's where they'd be.

KC – Parents have started to say that with sports, and I think they were referring to boys, outside of school, there was a question of not feeling as secure as they do with the facilities in school. There was something around the safety aspect, are you thinking that as well, in terms of the staff?

P 10 – No, I think knowing the staff is a real bonus, I think organised activities you tend to trust more, especially if there are 2 or 3 people around, and stuff like that, and I think sometimes its ease of access because on a Thursday for instance, up until now I've taken them both to swimming lessons, and now they got to the top stage they don't need to carry on, but it's kind of that is much less easier to access because you have to make sure you get up at 6 o'clock in the morning on the day the swimming lessons are out in order to do it, to get in line and to get your place and then you have to get from here to the swimming pool having left work early from whatever which is two miles away from school kind of, so just that they can access sport, it makes it easy for you, you know that they are doing some sport, they're with people you can trust, you know that you kinda, yes there's lots of things for a working mum, as well having it around the school it makes it really easy in terms of company that to a 1:1 child minder, I think it takes you a while to trust that relationship and you are nervous when you leave your kid with someone you don't know, so, and I think this feels much safer and much better and they're with friends and they're doing activity, and they're not sitting in front of a TV and they're (*hesitation*) so all of these factors come into play.

KC- With the current focus on standards, reading, writing, maths and I'm not dismissing the importance, that's not my point, but that balance within the arts and sports, do you think other subjects are important for children to access?

P 10 - Yeh, absolutely and I think people, not so much maths, but you can bring maths into it, but especially the reading and writing, they are absolutely enhanced by those other experiences because you need have the vocabulary and understanding of the vocabulary and understanding the concepts and the sort of breadth of knowledge to do well in those things. So a broader curriculum enhances those things anyway. But also, yes maths and English are life skills and they are important but so are these other things around a rich cultural curriculum, is important for the country, so am in favour of broadening the curriculum? Yes I am. Is it fab that the entire, they're all going to the pantomime next week, and they're coming back late and that's fine and that's local theatre for some kids, you know, just simple things like that, is that a good thing to do? I think, yeh, really for me.

KC- Is there anything else you would want to tell me about clubs my questions haven't given you the opportunity to say?

P 10 - No, I don't think there is. I think your questions have been quite thought provoking. I have had to think about it as opposed to just picking them up and dropping them off. I've kinda had to go, yeh, I do think about that. Yeh, there're positive for lots of reasons for families who are struggling with, I mean for me it's all about ease and about trust and things like that and it wasn't a financial thing. But, actually, if you can cover things with relatively cheap child-care, that's actually giving them an extra experience and a real positive experience and increasing your kids friendships, I mean what's not to like all the way round. With families who are struggling to go out to work and perhaps not earning very much, so it's kinda of all of that stuff together. It's a package and it removes the stress from parents so I think, so there's a lot to be said for that as well. Your mum can go out to work a little bit and maybe have a little bit more cash around and she trusts what's going on as well.

KC- Thank you.

P 10 - I just should add on to the last point about struggling parents, is actually there's generally some kind of healthy food and snack at the clubs here and we suspect for some of our kids that's

their final meal of the day that they're accessing and I'm quite supportive of the fact that they should be able to access that here.

Children's Interview

M – C9 28.40 (2012.09.11_20.57_01)

Ja – C10

J – C11

KC – First of all could you tell me about the sort of clubs you do in school?

C9 – The clubs we do?

KC – Yes, tell me individually what you do?

C9 – I go to dance, play-centre and netball.

KC – Ok, what about you?

C10 – I go dance, Glee and play-centre.

KC- Ok, what made you choose the clubs you've chosen to do?

C9 – Dance is because my sister, she has been dancing here, and I thought that I would like to try it out, and glee, I like to sing, so , I decided to go to play-centre, it's really fun, and it's basically just a fun after-school club, after school.

KC – Yes.

C10 – I go dance because my sister used to dance and then she stopped going and I like dancing. I dance all the time at home. So I decided to go to dance. Play-centre is a really fun after-school club. You just get to play and they give you snacks and everything.

KC – Ok. What sort of things do you do at play-centre?

C10 – We go outside, no, before we go outside we have snacks, just like crisps, Greek bread, sandwiches and all that, healthy things, and then we sometimes stay inside if it is raining and we do games.

C9 – Arts and crafts, games, yeh.

C10 – We do games in the big hall like dodge ball and stuff.

KC – Yes.

C10 – and yeh, and I go netball because I just wanted to try it.

KC – OK. When you go to your after-school clubs, does it feel the same as being in school in the day?

C9 – Not really.

KC – Tell me how it's different?

C10 – You're a bit more free, and some of the clubs you don't have to wear uniform, you can wear your own clothes or your PE kit.

KC – What do you think?

C9 – I think it's because we're learning among school time and not every single classmate is with you, not everyone in the school is there, and it's different to what we usually learn in class. We're outside or doing something different and we don't meet the same teachers, so it's different.

C10 – And also I think that it's different because there's children from other classes that we don't really play with at playtime or see and they go to the club, so we get to know them.

KC – Ok. When you say there's more freedom, tell me about that freedom at the clubs you go to.

C10 – Because we can talk, and sometimes we're allowed to play and sometimes after netball the teacher that does it lets us go and play the trampoline and then we go inside and go home or play-centre or where ever we're going.

KC – And with your play-centre I understand you can choose what you do, is that right?

C9 and C10 – Yeh.

KC – Is that good to be able to choose what you are going to do?

C10 – Yeh. 'Cause some children don't like going outside, like this girl called ----- . She doesn't like going outside she likes to dress up and play board games and stay inside.

KC – But in school time can you choose what you do?

C10 – Because the teacher says you must do this or you have to do that.

KC – You can't choose your activity either?

C9 – If the teacher says we have to do maths you can't say you want to do literacy because you have to do maths and the teacher has to explain to you what you have to do in literacy.

KC – So when you're in clubs and you're choosing, does that feel good to have the chance to choose?

C9 – Yeh, because you might not be good at maths and we're focused to do maths so like when it's after-school clubs it's just you have a choice if you want to do that or not.

KC – And why did you choose your particular activities?

C9 – Well I think it's 'cause in class, um, we are basically just at school for learning for our older life, but with clubs it's extra things and those are the things you choose and the things that you really want to do as your talents or something.

KC – Tell me about your talents, no-one else has mentioned that, tell me about your talents.

C9 – I love swimming, I like, I sometimes read and singing and helping. I really like helping.

KC – And do you think clubs give children the opportunity to develop their talents?

C9 and C10 – Yeh.

C10 – 'Cause if they're good at singing and they go to Glee they have a chance to show what they're good at.

C9 – Yeh, and if it's just in class we do singing, we do singing but it's only once a week and it's a short session.

(C11 is brought into the group. Time out for introductions and clarification)

KC – Can you tell me the sort of clubs you go to?

C11 – I do table tennis and football.

KC – Any particular reason why you chose those clubs?

C11 – I'm quite sporty, so I like sport and I'm not that good at music.

KC – We were talking about the difference between being in school during the day and being in clubs, do you think there are differences? Does it feel different to you?

C11 – Yeh, there are differences, I think so.

KC – Could you explain a little about that?

C11 – Well it sort of feels a little bit more relaxed. If you're at play-centre you just get to do lots of fun things and eat nice food and stuff like that.

KC – And you enjoy that?

C11 – Yeh, I really like it.

KC – Can you think of one session that you did at one of your clubs that you thought was really good for you, that you really enjoyed? Can you think of one?

C11- Yes.....

C9 – I think it was in dance because we had to go to the ----- to do a performance. When I first joined I was really shy at doing it because my sister was one of the leaders, so I was really shy to do it with her, and when I actually went that is when I gained my confidence.

KC – OK. What was it about it do you think made you gain confidence? That's a really important point.

C9 – I think what made me gain confidence was just seeing how my sister, I remember at home when she was always shy. Like she could always dance, I could see her dancing but she was saying, no, I don't want to do that but when she started doing it that was when she gained a lot, a lot of confidence.

KC – And you noticed that in her, you could see it?

C9 – Yeh, but she couldn't but when I saw that how much she's gained I thought, oh, I could be like that, so I tried. I just went for it.

KC – Good. How did it feel, when you went for it. How did you feel?

C9 – I actually felt really good at doing it 'cause if I never did that again, I mean if I quit dancing. So yeh.

KC – What about you?

C10 – As --- said, when we went to the ----- because at home I always used to dance and put music on and my sister got to say "why don't you go to dance class?" But I was shy because there

was older children there and they would be better, well they are better than me, so then when I went dance I tried my best, yeh, I just tried my best.

KC – Ok, and you say this was a really good session. So how did you feel at the end of it? You tried your best, how did you feel?

C10- Well when I first started I tried my best and a couple of weeks later ----- said that I could move up a group 'cause there's different groups in dance.

KC- So that felt like real success for you?

C10-There's the top group and the middle group...

C9- There's A, B and J. (*hesitation*)

KC- What about you?

C11- It was the first ever table tennis lesson that I did because it was when I first learnt the basics and then I sort of evolved from that and now I can play quite well.

KC- When you say you learnt the basics do you mean at that point you learnt the skills you needed in order to get better?

C11- Yeh, then when we get better ----- teaches us how to spin and the other shots.

KC- So was it that learning the basics you could start off playing a game, playing against someone else?

C11-Yeh.

KC- What happened to change you at that point, to think this is really good, I know what I'm doing here?

C11- Well, he was just really clear on how to hold a bat and what to do and how to do it.

KC- OK, so although you felt good do you think this was about good teaching?

C11- Yeh, I think so.

KC- What about you, do you think who-ever supported you to stand up there, do you think that was helpful?

C9- Yeh.

KC- So perhaps having someone who's very good at teaching the skills is an important part of it?

C11- Because if you didn't get it straight away he liked spent a lot more time with you getting you as good as you could be.

KC- Ok, because you are at the top of the school, can I ask, have your choices for the clubs now are they different from when you were much younger?

C11- Yeh (*hesitation*) not really, a bit because I didn't do football a couple of years ago, now I do it. I did take tennis when I was in Yr3 then stopped, now I'm doing it again.

KC- So you've stayed in the area of sports?

C11- Yeh.

KC- Do you think going to clubs helps you with your work in regular school?

C9- Yeh.

KC- Can you think how?

C10 -When you go to clubs after school it's kind of like you're free to do stuff you can do in clubs instead of just doing what people are telling you to do, so when you come to school the next day you're refreshed.

KC- So you think it gives you a bit of a boost and you're happier coming to school?

C9- Yeh, so if someone's bullied you at school then when you go to club you feel really happy and the next day you forget about it.

C10- Yeh, you forget about it because you've been enjoying your time with your friends doing what you want to do

C9- (*interruption*) And also what really helps because some children straight away, if they don't go clubs, go home and just start watching TV all night and it's not good, so clubs really takes up your time and by the time you go home you're tired so that's good.

KC- What about you, for someone who's in Yr6 now, do you think clubs are really something that helps you with your learning?

C11- Yeh, 'cause when you go home, your adrenalin is pumping and you just want to sort of get back home and go to bed and in the morning you can just remember what fun it was and be really happy in the morning.

KC- Now with some of these skills and the sort of knowledge you get in clubs does that help you in school do you think?

C10 - Yeh, 'cause me and M..... and some of our other friends we go dance sometime and we like to practise the dance in the playground and we show it in the playground.

KC- How does that make you feel?

C10- Proud of our achievements.

C9- And even today we were doing country dance in PE and dance has helped us because now we do dance we can help others as well.

C11- (*taking up the argument*) 'Cause the table tennis coach is my TA, I sort of got to know him really well over the last couple of years so I think it just makes him seem that bit more friendlier and he's really friendly and helps us.

KC- So do you think it has help build up that relationship?

C11- Yeh.

KC- Is there anything else you think you get because you go to a club that helps you learn? What about your attitude towards learning, do you think clubs help that sort of thing?

C11- Yeh, if you are playing table tennis and you fail once, you don't just stop, you have to keep trying.

KC- So you think that because you keep trying this affects you during the day, if something is difficult you know you have to keep trying 'til you get it?

C11- Yeh

C10- Yeh, as ----- said, in dance, if you don't get the dance at first or you're not good at it, you keep on trying, so with work, if you're not really good at maths, you don't give up. You keep trying and trying 'til you get it right.

KC- When you keep trying at dance, when you find something difficult, do you think it's easier to keep going than if you've got some really difficult maths work?

C10- Yeh.

C9- Yeh.

KC- Why's that?

C10- In class there's only got one TA and one teacher and there's different level groups, there's HA, MA and LA and so the teacher helps the LA so there's not really focus on all the others that are in the different levels because if they're stuck on their work then the teacher is not worried about them, they're more worried about the children in the lower group where the person in that higher group might just struggle the same as the person in the lower group.

KC- But why would it be easier to keep going in dance?

C9- Yeh, because some people might not be a clever person but they might have some sort of talent if they want to be a dancer in life but not have a natural job like being a doctor, they might just want to be an entertainment dancer.

KC- Is there anything about clubs that makes you better at reading, writing, maths or science. Is there anything you can take from one learning situation into another?

C11- If you do table tennis in PE like the people in the club will have a really big head-start, like they're doing dance. In PE then they will have a really big head-start as well.

KC- But what about reading, writing, maths, would it give you a head-start there?

C10- There's some clubs like homework club or Saturday School which you can go to which helps you with learning in class.

C9- There's Saturday School as ----- said and it's like that extra part of school but, it's like, um (*hesitation*) the stuff that you're other learning or going to learn (*further hesitation*)

KC- Is Saturday School maths and English?

C9/C10- Yeh.

KC- And do any of you do homework club?

C9/C10 - No.

C10- There's only certain children that get letters, but if you want to go you can ask.

KC- So children are selected for that?

C11- Yes.

KC- Do you think it's easy to make new friends at the after-school clubs?

C11- I've met loads of people.

KC- Could you tell me more about that?

C11- When I did Yr3 there's been so many more people going and coming, I've met lots of my friends that I'm still friendly with now, I met in table tennis club.

KC- So you make different friends there from in your class?

C11- Yeh, now just people in my class.

KC- Is that good?

C11- Yeh, you know people in Yr7, in Yr5, Yr4.

KC- And is that a good experience?

C11- Yeh.

KC- What about you?

C9- Um, what was the question?

KC- Is it easy to make new friends in the clubs?

C9- Yeh, because in class children know you better than other people so they'll be like, I don't really like her and if you want to be their friend then they might say I don't feel the same way but if it's in club then they wouldn't really know you but you'll have a chance to become friends and if during school in break-time none of your friends are there then you can go to your friends you made in club and it's easier.

KC- What about you?

C10- Yeh, because as they said if you have friends in club if in class the children all know you really well, then someone might not want to be your friend, like I might not want to be M..... 's friend and then she goes to club and there's other children there or if you're being bullied you have the chance to make other friends at clubs and they won't know you're being bullied or they won't bully you because they don't know you.

KC- When you're at the top end of the school you've been with a class for quite a long time so can I assume you have friends within the class and that doesn't change very much?

C10- Oh well, when we went into Yr4 we mixed classes.

KC- so you got to know other people?

C11- There were two classes in Yr5 not there's three in Yr6 so we've all been whooshed together.

KC- But do clubs teach you more about making friends?

C9- I think so yeh

C10- (*interrupting*) Yeh, 'cause if you go club before you were mixed with a different class, if you go club and some- one else is from a different class they go to club you can make friends with them.

C11- Even better friends, **even better friends** (*heavy emphasis*) like you're friends but not really good friends and then you might become really, really good friends.

KC- OK, but you don't make friends by being in a room with people do you? You have to do things. Do you think you learn more about what you do to make friends at a club?

C10- Yeh, 'cause in class you're not allowed to talk about irrelevant stuff like friends or playground, you are only allowed to whisper about the work so you can't really make friends in class.

KC- Can you think about one thing you've learnt about making friends at clubs that you think is worth remembering?

C11- You can't like throw a temper tantrum if you don't get your way. You are going to lose in table tennis.

C9- Also, you also shouldn't be thinking the wrong thing because if you think that oh, she looks like she doesn't (*pause*) I'm trying to say hallo to her, but she's not saying anything or she wouldn't say anything, don't think the wrong thing, you have tried, don't think the worst.

C10- I would say don't judge people by their looks.

KC- you think you learn that in clubs?

C9/C10- Yeh.

KC- Do you think things like not throwing a temper tantrum is something you could transfer into the regular school day.

C11-Yeh (*hesitates*)

KC- So you..

C11- (*continues*) You just think it's a bit hard but you are just going to have to do it and don't start getting upset about it.

KC- So that is something valuable you can take into your class?

C9/C10/C11- Yeh.

C10- 'Cause if you are doing your SATs and if you go to club and you throw a temper tantrum because you don't get your way and then when you're doing your SATs and it's a really hard question or you don't understand you can't throw a temper tantrum.

C11- You just have to try.

C10- Yeh, you just have to try your best.

KC- Do you think there are any other examples of things you can get from clubs that helps you learn in class? You've talked about confidence so can you take that back into class?

C11- Yeh.

C9- I think it's also that 'cause in school time you get silvers and gold but when it's after school club you don't get that and people think that oh miss is going to give out silver so we should be good. I think that after-school teaches you that it's not just about that.

C10- Getting silver and gold.

C9- It's about having fun

C11- Yeh.

KC- Is that a valuable learning point?

C9- Yeh, because some children when the teacher's not thinking about giving out silver or gold there's not

C10- (*interrupting*) Yeh, and when she goes near the green board that's when they start sitting up.

KC- What happens in a club when you know you're not going to get a silver or a gold, what happens to your attitude, do you still want to try?

C11- Yeh, you **have** (*heavy emphasis*) to try, otherwise it won't be fun and the people playing with you won't enjoy it.

KC- Do you think you can take that into class, does it help you become a better learner?

C9/C10/C11- Yeh.

C9- Yeh, 'cause if we're thinking the worse then we will be just writing anything down and get it wrong, but if you're thinking good then that's when we're, yes, this is the right answer.

KC- That's valuable.

C10- If you go to table tennis like if you just give up, the person playing with you won't have any fun because you are not laying and they won't have no-one to play against or you're not doing it properly so there's no point in playing because someone will hit the ball at the net and keep on doing it 'cause they're not bothered to try,

C11- They just stand there and it gets really boring if you're not playing them and you've come to enjoy table tennis.

KC- Right. Do any of you do any activities outside of school that's not school based on clubs?

C9- I also have a tutor. On Tuesday because my mum thinks I need more help in my maths when I do (*hesitates*) I do a little bit of literacy then she brings in a tutor so that I can review what I did today and I see the point that I missed out in my work so when I'm doing my group I would remember, oh this is what it is, so it's better.

C11- I play for a mini football league which is fun and I get to meet a lot of people there as well.

C10- I've forgotten the question.

KC – Do you do any activities outside of school apart from clubs?

C10 – Yeh, I go to something called Play Scheme with my friend. I had a very good friend called S.... but she left the school but I still get to see her when I go to Play Scheme.

KC- And do you think the sort of things you do in clubs helps you with your activities you do outside of school?

C9- I think yeh because in school, at home I used to be angry a lot but when I come to school I am really nice to others, but just seeing how I am at school and how I am at home just makes me think I have to choose one so I choose to be good at home and at school.

KC- Great. What would you be doing if you did not attend clubs?

C11- Just go home and watch TV.

KC- What about you?

C9- The same.

C10- Go home and watch TV and annoy my sister (*everyone laughs*) play games on the iPad and just sit there eating junk.

KC- So it's good news for your sister that you're at clubs.

C10- (*chuckle*) Yeh.

KC- Are there any other activities you would like to have that you don't have at the moment?

C9/C10/C11 – No.

KC – Thank you so much.

KC – So could you tell me some of the most successful activities you do in the Extended School and I'm focusing on KS2 children there?

S3 – I've been in school for about 8 years now, 8 or 9 years now and we used to have a programme called Gifted and Talented which was an extended programme which basically identified kids who, the sport we used was football and basically what we did was an interview process. We selected X amount of children to come onto the programme. For them, because it was football it was win/win but the idea behind it was basically to tackle performance, work with them, using sport in different models. So it was an 11 week programme, they had work to do, they tackled it physically, so they had specifically skills to develop to incorporate into the game, they also had to do things on ICT, identify information, do some research, they also had questionnaires and competitions that related to literacy and the sport itself, and they also had a thing where they were invited to Arsenal Stadium. They'd go down there and write up their experience, over there, they had a pack that was pretty comprehensive, but it was all round sport, trying to engage with them, not just the physical element of sport but also the process of thinking, about the standard, and getting them to obviously use cross-referencing in terms of English etc. That was the programme. It lasted 11 weeks and then there was a presentation at the school, it was pretty successful and we have had changes in the school but those were one of the things that stood out.

KC – And do you think now the sort of work you're doing in sport is building on that model?

S3 – I doubt it. I think different changes in schools, it's like a new manager concerning the new club, they come with their philosophy, they come with what obviously they see as necessary, it's not about the head of the time, it's just that changes needed to be made and resources are very important, where money can be spent and where it can be saved.

KC – When you do your sports programme now, the feedback I've had from children, the impression I'm getting from them is that it's very successful and they feel they are really learning through these programmes.

S3 – I think what I've tried to do is because obviously the model, I don't do the Gifted and Talented programme any more what I've tried to do, and I've tried with sport, for me sport is the key and it accesses individuals. So where, for example, I may have a relationship with a child in the classroom it will be different in a sporting element simply because they want to be there, which gives me the opportunity to engage with them, see how they are, what's up, what's down, and actually, that access through sport, has allowed us to have a relationship, so I'm able to build on them, they don't actually sometimes realise because they're getting sport, they're able to play but it also allows me to understand their character, understand their trigger points, what works, what doesn't work with them, and I just try to get a 360 picture of them 'cause I see them in the classroom, even 'though don't specifically teach, but, for me, you're still on school premises so it's still a school environment and so it's just another way of engaging them.

KC – The children talk about building up their confidence, they are conscious of it and they use words like shy. Are you conscious of building up their confidence, are you using that language with them?

S3 – Very much so, basically how it is, I'm pretty fortunate, because I work not just in after-school programmes, I work with children with disabilities, -----, I also do estate work. And one thing I find in all these environments people are looking for an identity of a place of belonging. So sometimes you may find a child will come into the environment where they don't

particularly find they fit in, so my job is to create that environment, create that arena where they can actually recognise that, you know, I am somebody. I can do and I've got worth and so with that attribute instilled in them it allows them to transfer that hopefully in different walks of life and so as I said, sport is the key and it gives me the opportunity to do those things.

KC – Do you reference those sorts of things you are developing in the after-school clubs in the school day? Do you have reminders for the children?

S3 – So for me I tend to wear different hats, because I do the curriculum PE with the school well, that's what I do. And so what happens is they see me in one setting, and obviously, familiarity always causes problems or it can actually work for you. And they see me after school and the stance I take is with PE its curriculum, everyone's required to do this. With after-school clubs it's by invitation and so it's your time you're investing in this, and so it's important, not that PE isn't but the challenges is sometimes different within a school setting, as opposed them investing their own time to do something. But the language is the same, 'cause it should be transferable. Confidence in this arena should collect confidence in another arena, and it's to remind children, obviously for me, one of the main things I do when I'm teaching is PB, Personal Best. And so you may not be able to out run Usain Bolt but you may be able to out run your own time, which gives you a level of confidence and self-worth once again. So it's that thing once again of not comparing yourself with other people, stick within your arena, identify who you are and what you can achieve.

KC – Do you think more children could benefit from the sort of facilities you are offering them after school? Are there particular groups of children you see in school that you think could benefit?

S3 – Definitely so. And this isn't just down to those who are may be perceived to be deprived or at a loss. Because there are potentially children I see who have well- to-do parents that sometimes they are lost within the whole package anyway. Because the expectation they are trying o aspire to are so far unreachable it makes them feel negative. And so for me it's identifying where you are, can reach it, can you reach even further and, actually, own the expectation yourself, not work in isolation, obviously, but to be in a position where I feel you benefit and it's seen by others.

KC – How far do you recognise the children in classes who would be recorded as disadvantaged?

S3 – How would I...

KC – In school some children are actually recorded as disadvantaged because they're on Free School Meals. Are you aware of those children and the programmes they work with?

S3 – I understand how that's changed obviously with Pupil Premium Grant, is a big thing now, and so most of the children on the, if not all of them who are on the programme are in that bracket as I understand it. But then the strangest thing is amongst themselves the perceptions are slightly different, because if you look the part and have the latest clothing on, there's a perception that goes with that, for me branding has its part but identity.....I try and create that as a centre piece, because then you own who I'm worth as opposed to buying into something. So, yes, I am aware of the work that the school does to have the children on the programme from the backgrounds and as I said, it is a continual conversation.

KC – And do you think those children benefit more from the programme? Do you see a difference in those children to everyone else? Do you see them benefitting in a different way, do they react in a different way?

S3- I suppose it's what you qualify as being disadvantaged. What I can say is this and I've worked in school for quite a number of years and it was only recently I had to visit someone in school and I saw a young person and I said do you know where this block is and they looked at me and they said 'I know you, I know you because you taught me ' and this was 12 years ago and this person at the time I remember had a stutter and still does. Football wasn't his main thing but he recognised that in sport he could have an opportunity to succeed so when I see people on the street around the way they say thanks sir for what you're done , it makes me understand OK even 'though I thought I may not have got through I did.

KC- Do you think, and you have referred to this, but do you think the Extended School sport and other activities help children specifically with their maths and their English, their science and other areas of the curriculum?

S3- To be honest with you no and equally I don't think they should always do that. It all depends on the type of coach you have in place because sometimes a coach may be employed to do a specific job and cannot transfer those skills across those different remits, maybe because they've never seen it, it's never been brought to them, to be presented in that way. And equally, sometimes the after-school programme is a release, it's either you do this or go home and do nothing and so it has more schooling similar to what you've just received between the hours of 8.30 and 3 o'clock and may not be a good thing. But I do believe there are transferable skills that you can incorporate. And so as I said when I did Gifted and Talented programme a lot of it was attached to numeracy, a lot of it was attached to grammar and literacy, they had to write their experiences it wasn't just going on a trip and then coming home and telling mum it was great, they had to write the experience and I had to mark it and so I was able to see what they were writing, if it was comprehensive or not and then give them feedback on it and so they were able to understand that sport is not just a physical thing, it's a method thing as well, it's a learning thing and I just recognise it doesn't matter what sport it is or after-school programme, it is because I feel sometimes kids if I'm only doing this sport, I can only be an athlete or if I'm only doing drama I can only be an actress or an actor, that field of work is vast and a good education can allow you to be in it, you might not be an actress or an actor but it can allow you to work in that arena. I wanted to be a footballer, I never made it, but because I still had a passion for sport I was able to transfer it so once again it's down to the individual teacher, coach, person at hand.

KC- One of the things that's very ripe in education at the moment as things come and go is this idea of aspiration. Is that what you're talking about really there, do you think? That what you want is that whatever children are doing it's about aspiring to something?

S3- I think that's an underlying thing, when communicating with children, it's all about, OK it's cue based, what do you want, where do you want to go, how do you want to get there. It's about feeding them questions. But at the same time I think for young children I can only reflect on myself, between the ages of X or your teenage years your school years, sometime you want to be able to go to school and be happy and enjoy the opportunity you have in school, sometimes school doesn't present that, it doesn't present that, so you know all the aspiration kinda gets lost in translation, it's a droll, it's the same thing, it's repetitive and sometimes they don't want to be there. And so for me, yes aspirations are good but can get lost with all the different changes that government bring into schools.

KC- Do you get a sense, and some of the children are good at expressing this, that there's pressure in school that they feel released from at the after-school clubs?

H- I think so, I think so or let me put it another way. I try to bring that into my sessions. I'm very, I believe in fun, but I also believe in learning within that environment and so I, you know, the children do know where I stand. I am familiar but there are boundaries. But I try, as -----
----- I'm not a classroom teacher, so I don't want children to associate me with that mind-set, it could have a flip-side, where they think, he's another gentleman in school, he doesn't have a title so I'll just treat him in a familiar way but for me, they understand that ----- is funny but he's firm and I think these boundaries when they are reinforced at home, set a parameter that it's a 360 package, that's what I try and do, I don't know if I always hit the mark but that's my intention.

KC- When you run a session do you mainly teach football or do you teach all sports?

S3- I teach, so for PE, I teach all sports, I can teach tennis, but I'm generally athletic bound, so most sports (*pause*) at present I teach football mainly because it's the most popular sport in school.

KC- Do you record progress with children or things about their skills and their behaviour and things like that?

S3- What's required to fill out a template form after each session, so, once again going back to the Gifted and Talented, when that was required it was individually based, it was evidence against each child, it wasn't top heavy, it was generic stuff that the child could look at and read for themselves as opposed having to be written for executives to look at, it was more child related and child specific and so I was able to be specific and mark them on skill base, show where there was improvement, where they can improve, whereas now the shift is slightly different because there's a lot more kids, the targets are a lot greater than just the individual kids, some- time doesn't allow you to write specific programmes on individuals or identify, but where I can't do that I consistently verbalise it, so if it's not registered to an adult it's registered with the child and I suppose the evidence of that is when you talk to the children they can tell you.

KC- They are very clear about their own targets and what they're doing but also they can see they're learning and it's interesting because I'm finding it hard for children to talk about learning, but they can talk about progress and I suppose it's tangible for them.

S3- Yes.

KC- Do you perceive any difference in attitude towards the children who attend after-school clubs compared to those that don't?

S3- I must admit I've not seen a school deliver an after-school programme like it, in terms of variety and opportunity. Some schools tend to pick up a couple of sessions and obviously have a small amount of people where this school goes for as many people as they can get in which has its challenges because obviously kids are looking at a raft of opportunity but I do believe when I consider what's available in this school I feel there's a sense whether you're perceived to be wealthy or not kids will always be kids. For some children, how can I put it, when they're being verbally aggressive to another child it's not based on your being richer it's based on the whole thing of fitting in and having a place of identity and I suppose in any school you're going to get popular kids and you're also going to get the kids who don't want to be popular but I do feel that I'm trying to keep track of your question. I do feel in this school there is a sense of, I can only put

it down to just child likeness, innocence, some children can be rude, can be difficult but it's not because I think they're perceived to be the wealthiest or the better off or the less than, some kids can be verbally rude sometimes they are verbally rude to a child probably in the same position as them, I could be wrong and I'm thinking of how I was as a child, it's just that your for trying to find your position in school and stand on your own two feet.

KC- One of the things the children have talked about is the fact the Extended School enables them to make more friends across the school and they recognise the difference between being friendly and having best friends and it seems the Extended School is really facilitating that.

S3- Yeh, I think. I suppose, in having that outcome the question I would ask myself is was that the intention or did it just evolve into that and I think probably a mixture of both. I think when I'm working with children and I'm working in different programmes, obviously for me because sport is physical, the element of separation is based upon height etc. etc. but at the same time even when we do lunchtime activities the whole of the KS2 playground is inter-linked and so games, (*pause*) one of the big games we had over the last two years is Kingball where you found Yr6 would play and they were very good on their skills bases and you found children in Yr3 and Yr4 were playing with them because they found a sense of belonging, they found a sense of competitiveness and found a sense that I could actually play this with you and fit in so all of a sudden you've got yr6 children playing with Yr4 and there's not an issue.

KC- They've talked about being leaders, that children have the opportunity, the older children to lead the little ones. It's quite interesting, I was listening to someone yesterday, they said it's a two way thing, children learn to be leaders and also to be led and I think children working on those relationships is very important.

S3- Yes and sometimes you know I try even as going back to the lunchtime programme, there are specific things that children will ask to do, as you've seen the extent of our playground, it's full of activities, but sometimes get joy just watching what the children do without actually speaking to them and seeing how they navigate and work things out and when I do PE classes it can appear to be a bit crazy but there are challenges to work it out, so you know if you are in a class all day it's pretty quiet, then you come to my PE classes it's very loud on reflection you might think that's a bit disorganised but I'm always telling teachers let them work it out 'cause they will, they will somehow work it out as opposed to us diving in and being a solution to their needs. Let them work it out and they'll come to you if they're aware there's a framework for them to come to you.

KC- Can I go back to something you said at the beginning that you did some work on the states?

S3- Yes.

KC- One of the things I'm interested in and you've picked up on this too, is what children do if they don't go to clubs

S3- Yeh.

KC- and very few children seem to involve themselves in anything other than the Extended School or going home. A couple here go off to clubs but they don't really do that. Do you see there's a role for the Extended School supporting them moving out more into the community, into the neighbourhood?

S3- I suppose you got to broker a relationship and that relationship needs to be brokered with other schools, within the character area. There are other schools that come to this school and

once again friendships are found out there which I think is really good. Also, broker relationships with parents because for some parents work commitments or elements of safety requires that if they're not here they've got to be at home simply because of the environment they live in. The estate I work in, it's actually near ----- I've been working there for, this is my 13th year and it's one of those places where you feel you need a bullet proof vest, it has its elements. There are local gangs there, but one of the things that allow, and we've seen detached workers come down, we've seen personnel, they've have come down and gone. One of the things that the children who are in there recognise is that these guys stuck it out and out of that sticking it out there's been an element of trust and out of that trust it then requires them to share, talk. Life goes on for them but they know that every Tuesday and every Thursday between these set hours these guys are going to be there and so there is that level of consistency. Now once a parent or child see that there's more chance for them to invest in that because they know it's not wishy washy politics or game playing, local government situation, start a project, cut it because there's no money left. They will see it and be consistent and we've stayed there, you know I think out of 52 weeks we only take Easter and Christmas off because we're there, their parents then know then to send their kids, it has had its crazy days, police have been involved with certain gangs and we know the gang members and we've said listen, we cannot tell you to stop your life-style but what we can tell you is don't affect other people's life-styles so do yourself a favour and occupy yourselves away from our session on these occasions and then we'll be fine. And so out of that level of respect you know we didn't come in heavy handed like the police, we just said this is what we believe in, don't destroy our belief.

KC- Thank you.

S3- Sorry for going on.

KC- No, no actually, what you're saying is so important for me to have. Is there anything else about the Extended School you think I should know that I haven't asked about in my questions?

S3- No, I think as I said, I mean the thing with an extended programme is from my observation and I don't control the whole programme, like most schools, it's willing people who want to stay behind and help children in some way through some element of activity. But seldom do these bodies of people, the adults, get together and discuss what's going on, you know, you do your job, you rush off, you go home at the end of the day. I may talk to other colleagues because that's what I do, but there's no forum because time doesn't allow it and so your working day on the spin sometimes. But, at the end of the day it would be interesting to know how other (*reframes*) because it's shared learning, isn't it really and as much as I speak like this I'm the sort of person will sit at your feet and listen to you and I will sit at a child's feet and listen to them because I want to learn and there's so much information to share and learn. I may not be the best person to do it but if you know that model worked over there with that child, see if I can transfer it over here. It's win-win, so for me, not just our school but across the whole of the borough, the extended teachers or coaches, engagement with each other, formally and informally, I'm not sure if it could happen, probably informally.

KC- Thank you very much.