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Editor's Preface

In 2019, the second WERA-IRN Extended Education conference was held at Stockholm university, Sweden. A topic was '*Extended Education: Practices, Theories, and Activities.*' Many scholars, researchers, and students from all over the world attended sessions, in which great research papers were presented.

An 1/2021 issue was prepared as a special issue for the Stockholm conference. A major theme of the issue is *complementation* and *compensation.* Six articles were accepted after rigorous reviews by anonymous researchers. Details about the manuscripts will be found an introduction written by guest editors.

I would like to specially thank guest editors*, Anna-Lena Ljusberg and Anna Klerfelt*, for their valuable works. I am also thankful to my managing editor, *Jihye Jeon*, who have always done a great work for IJREE

Sang Hoon Bae

A critical scrutiny and discussion of the significance of complementation and compensation viewed from different aspects of Extended Education in different countries

Guest Editor: Anna-Lena, Anna Klerfelt

The concepts *complementation* and *compensation* are central in research and practice in the area of extended education. The concepts are however, often defined in different ways depending on the stakeholders and their interests. One way to approach this and the educational impact due to different interpretations, is to critically examine the concepts from the perspective of different actors.

Activities in extended educational contexts can in various ways supplement educational programmes in compulsory schooling and preschool classes and vice versa. The concept *complementation* targets how both educational activities, school-age educare[1] and compulsory school can cooperate. One starting-point is that these activities should be based on the children's needs, interests, and initiatives. That extended education can provide *complementation* indicates a recognition of an alternative way to view knowledge and how learning is supposed to take place. When it comes to the concept *compensation*, it suggests educational values of extended education. Children grow up dependent on different living conditions. The concept *compensation* concerns children's different and unequal access to resources. Extended education can be a tool for affording children experiences that are not available in other environments which they already participate in. Due to the children's diverse experiences, it is a challenge for extended education professionals to design and conduct activities to meet the needs of all children and thereby fulfil the goal of compensation (Klerfelt & Ljusberg, 2018). This volume consists of six contributions and they all, in different ways, address these questions.

Karin Lager and Jan Gustafsson Nyckel are highlighting the numerous changes the Swedish school-age educare has undergone during recent years concerning its social mandate, educational objectives, and the content, and they study how these changes have transformed the everyday practice for the staff working in the school-age educare centres. They base their analysis on policy enactment theory (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012) and their research material consists of twelve group interviews with 53 staff members. In their analysis they focus on how the teachers interpret, explain and talk about different ways of working with processes of complementation and compensation. The results shows that enacting policy in Swedish school-age educare involves multiple interpretations of these concepts, being constrained by materiality in several ways and representing a mix of discourses in both policy and practice regarding the tasks of complementation and compensation.

1 School-age educare is the denomination for the Swedish form of extended education as an educational practice with a caregiving dimension (Klerfelt & Rohlin, 2012; The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011, rev. 2018).

Marianne Schüpbach and Nanine Lilla present a study of extracurricular primary school offerings analysing two data sets from the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS). The first data set assessed reading and mathematical competence of pupils in grade 2 and the second one contained responses to a questionnaire by 300 principals in all-day primary schools. The questionnaire provided information on; type of all-day school, the pupils' social background, the number of pupils with an immigrant background, which extracurricular all-day school programs and elements were offered and with what frequency. The result showed that the most prevalent academic offering was homework assistance and the second was offerings of remedial teaching for pupils with low grades. Amongst non-academic offerings were music, art and sports most prevalent. When conducting latent profile analysis, three distinct all-day school programs profiles were identified. Schools with a higher amount of immigrant pupils were more likely to provide homework assistance and a broad range of offerings. The results suggest that school principals offer complementation and/or compensation depending on the needs and experiences of the group of pupils in their school.

Anna Wallin, Paola Valero and Eva Norén provide an alternative conceptualization of mathematics education. The method used in the study is participatory observation focusing two school-age educare centres′ mathematical activities. The theoretical perspective is policy enactment (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012) and mathematical enculturation (Bishop, 1991). Their conceptualisation of mathematics as the assemblage of activities and values allows a perspective where activities can be recognized as mathematical in a broader cultural sense. The results show that mathematics is present in the school-age educare centres′ daily practice and is about seeing, understanding, giving space for and putting mathematics into words. Teaching in school-age educare combines education and care and the results show alternative ways of thinking about mathematics which is both complementing and compensating.

Since 2016 Swedish school-age educare centres have a legal requirement to teach as part of an assignment to complement the knowledge requirements in school. Linnea Holmberg's question is how teaching, as part of the complementary assignment, is managed in practice in Swedish school-age educare centres. Through focus group discussions with children and school-age educare teachers she explores how this is possible. The theoretical perspective has its point of departure in the Foucauldian notion of governmentality (Foucault, 1997; 2003). The qualitative analysis problematises the voluntary nature of school-age educare in relation to the requirement to teach by using the concept *liberal arts of rule* while asking what can be governed and how one can govern in these centres. The results show that the children willingly participate since they experience themselves to be free and with great opportunities to play when in the centres. At the same time, the teachers fulfil the complementary assignment by disguising learning while teaching undercover.

In her micro-ethnographic study Ann-Carita Evaldsson is focusing children's peer-play-in- action and how children create shared peer cultures through their collaborative performances in situated game activities. She is influenced by Corsaro's (2018) micro-sociological work on children's peer cultures and Goodwin's (2006) linguistic anthropological studies of children's peer language practices and situated games. The data is based on video-recordings. The study shows how the children create micro dramas in play that serve as cultural frameworks to dramatize and transform experiences from the outside world. It also shows how they playfully subvert hierarchies and gendered orders and comment upon and unravel controversial issues in their social life, but also how they handle more dark sides of their play.

In her article Kirstin Kerr presents a study which explores how a school gradually extends its role to act as an agent of 'slow renewal' supporting long-term change in children's complex family and community environments. Her interest is to understand how schools can extend their roles beyond their statutory duties to address wider social needs, and more specifically, on how schools serving high-poverty neighbourhoods might help to address barriers to good education and related outcomes. Kerr has worked with intervention's strategies for three years together with the staff in the school. Her study contributes by generating a set of integrated conceptual principles on which schools working to support slow renewal can act and which challenge the values of market-driven education systems more generally. She suggests that four concerns appear integral to developing a principled approach. These are: adopting a socio-ecological perspective on children's lives; working through soft systems change; building assets; and creating liminal spaces for innovation.

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Guest editors: Anna-Lena Ljusberg, Assistant Professor in Child and Youth Studies and Anna Klerfelt, Associate Professor in Education, Specialisation School-Age Educare, both at Department for Child and Youth Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden.

Teachers Enacting Complementation and Compensation in a Practice under Strain – Policy and Practice in Swedish School-Age EduCare

Karin Lager, Jan Gustafsson-Nyckel

Abstract: The aim of this study is to explore the way teachers enact policy regarding the tasks of complementation and compensation in Swedish School-Age Educare. As a result of numerous policy changes, school-age educare as an institution has undergone significant and substantial changes in terms of its social mandate, educational objectives, and content. In this paper, we investigate how these policy changes have transformed the everyday practice for staff working in these settings. We base our analysis on policy enactment theory, focusing on the way policy is transformed into practice. The research material consists of group interviews with 53 staff members interviewed in twelve focus groups, representing twelve different settings. The results highlight that enacting policy in Swedish school-age educare involves multiple interpretations of these concepts, being constrained by materiality in several ways, representing a mix of discourses in both policy and practice regarding the tasks of complementation and compensation.

Keywords: fritidshem, school-age educare, policy enactment**,** interviews, compensation

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore teachers' policy enactment regarding the tasks of complementation and compensation for the education of pupils in Swedish School-Age EduCare (SAEC). A historical and social pedagogical focus for SAEC was to compensate for children's different backgrounds and follow their interests and needs, as a complement to the family (Gustafsson-Nyckel, 2020). Since the first SAEC curriculum came out in 1998, focus has changed to complement the education pupils receive in school by doing something different than they do in school. Nowadays, the complementation task is described in the curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2019) which points out that the SAEC should complement: "(…) the compulsory school, to a greater degree, in that learning be situationally governed, experience-based and group oriented, as well as based on the pupils' needs, interests, and initiative" (SNAE, 2019, p. 23). At the same time, the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) highlights the compensatory task and points out that the aim is: "(…) to offset differences in the children's and pupils' ability to assimilate their education." (Chapter 1, Section 4).

These two foci could be described as a double-coded policy (see Gewirtz, Dickson, & Power, 2004), aimed to create conditions for both complementation and compensation for pupils within SAEC. How this double-coded SAEC policy is interpreted and enacted into practice regarding these concepts is important to explore and understand both from an equivalence and quality perspective.

In line with educational reforms across Europe, there have been numerous policy changes in the Swedish SAEC since the 1990 s. There is, however, a clear shift in policy from the 1990 s when day care for school-age children was integrated into the educational system in Sweden and incorporated into the national curriculum of the compulsory school and later into the Education Act. As a result of these policy changes, the SAEC as an institution has undergone significant and substantial changes in terms of its social mandate, educational objectives, and content. This change can be understood as care being replaced by education. At the same time as the educational intentions have been strengthened for SAEC, reports and research (Lager, 2020; Swedish School Inspectorate 2010:2018; Swedish Government Official Reports [SGOR], 2020:34) state that there are major challenges when it comes to enacting these policy changes in practice. These challenges consist of poor conditions for learning, large numbers of children in groups, only 30 percent of staff with degrees and qualifications for the work in SAEC, and constraints in living up to quality standards (SGOR, 2020:34). In other words, the lack of resources has increased while at the same time the policy has been strengthened. Consequently, considering these socio-material conditions, it will be interesting to investigate this double-coded curriculum and then especially the relationship between policy and practice. The aim of this article is therefore to investigate teachers' enactment of policy regarding complementation and compensation in practice. The following research questions are addressed:

- How do teachers understand the concept of complementation within an SAEC context?
- How is complementation in education enacted within SAEC?
- How do teachers understand the concept of compensation within an SAEC context?
- How is compensation for children enacted within SAEC?

This introduction is followed by a brief review of the research area concerning the SAEC task of complementation and compensation. After that, policy enactment theory is presented followed by methodological issues concerning group interviews with 53 staff members in SAEC. The findings are presented from interpretative, materialised, and discursive dimensions regarding teachers' enactment of complementation and compensation in practice.

Previous Research

From an international perspective, Bae and Stecher (2019) discuss different arrangements for extended education to children and families around the world. They also argue that different state organised community programs can strengthen the possibilities for equality in society.

From a Swedish perspective, Klerfelt and Ljusberg (2018) discuss the concepts of complementation and compensation regarding Swedish SAEC-settings. They argue for complementation as an issue of cooperation between SAEC and compulsory school among educational objectives and compensation as the SAEC effort to compensate for children's different backgrounds by giving them experiences they lack. Perselli and Hörnell (2019) report four different teachers' interpretations regarding what their work with complementation should involve: collaboration, working in the classroom, applying practical work and offering something that the school lacks. Andishmand (2017) reports that equality is currently chal-

lenged in SAEC efforts at compensation. Andishmand reports from three different social economic areas, where the groups are increasingly homogeneous and reproduce the contextual conditions in practice. She concludes that the increased emphasis on complementing the school can limit the possibilities of working to compensate children's different backgrounds.

Despite the fact that this field is unresearched, in Sweden there have been several research projects focusing on the profession in SAEC and the encounter with the work in compulsory school regarding the complementation task. These projects often focus on the problems that arose when SAEC was integrated with compulsory school. For example, Calander (1999), Hansen (1999), Gustafsson (2003) and Haglund (2004), found several challenges when two traditions of education were encountered in practice. Lately, Andersson (2013) and Ackesjö, Nordänger, and Lindqvist (2016; 2018) have researched the development of the profession since the teacher education program was revised. Nevertheless, there is a need for more research about how teachers in today's severely strained daily practice (Lager, 2020) enact complementation and compensation in practice and in relation to structural conditions.

Theoretical Point of Departure

In this paper we investigate teachers' enactment of policy regarding complementation and compensation in practice. In our analysis, we take our point of departure in policy enactment theory (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012). Policy enactment theory focuses on the policy process – the way policy is transformed into practice – and we are interested in how policy is enacted in SAEC settings. Enactment is related to how teachers interpret and understand policy in a way that makes sense for them in daily practice. In that way, they try to handle policy in relation to what they as teachers already do in practice. The understanding of policy through this perspective, means that policy is constructed by those who use the policy (Ball, et al., 2012).

To analyse teachers' enactment of policy, three dimensions are used: an interpretive, a materialised, and a discursive. Together, these three dimensions will construct the enactment of policy into practice. When policy is moved from one context to another, it is adapted continuously, implying that it is recontextualised (Bernstein, 2003), which changes the circumstances for policy and transforms it. More specifically, Bernstein argued that recontextualisation "is a principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order or ordering" (Bernstein, 2003, p. 184).

Methodology

This paper is part of a larger ethnographical project about children's leisure in SAEC, covering twelve weeks of fieldwork in twelve different settings. This specific paper consists of group interviews with 53 staff members interviewed in twelve groups, who were asked to consider the latest 20 years of changes in policy and practice. Group interviews were chosen to develop

an in-depth discussion of the current theme. The concepts compensation and complementation are commonly used both in policy and practice for SAEC and were an engaging subject for the staff.

The settings were chosen with the help of the administrators for teacher education programmes at two different universities in Sweden. Emails were sent to the settings in their areas with an invitation to participate in the research project. Fifteen settings responded and twelve of them were then booked into the schedule, see Table 1. The staff group shifts in number of workers due to different sizes of settings and the staff groups also differ in educational level. The settings belong to different social-economic areas, see Table 1.

Table 1. Interviewed Teachers and SAEC Settings.

Setting	Number of interviewed staff	Staff	Location P (private school)
Antelope	4	People with and without degrees	Countryside, rural, small school (P)
Bear	6	Mostly people without degrees, some with	Large town, urban, small school
Dolphin	4	People with degrees	Middle-sized town, large school (P)
Elephant	3	People with and without degrees, some substitutes	Large town, urban, large school
Fish	6	People with degrees	Small school, middle-sized town
Gorilla	6	Mix of people with and without degrees	Large town, urban, small school
Hare	2	Mix of people with and without degrees	Small town, rural, middle-sized school
Impala	3	People with degrees	Large town, small school
Koala	2	Mix of people with and without degrees, some substitutes	Large town, small school
Lion	8	Mostly people without degrees and substitutes	Large town, small school,
Swan	3	People with and without degrees and substitutes	Small town, middle-sized school, rural
Tiger	6	Mostly people with degrees	Large town, small school,

Note: In a Swedish context, it is common that SAEC settings have different names. In this study they are given fictive animal names.

Of these 53 staff members, 23 were people with degrees and qualified to work in SAEC. Six of them were qualified for teaching in other school forms. Two of them were caretakers with long experience of working with children and four of them were youth and recreation leaders. Six of the interviewed staff members were students on teacher education programmes and twelve had no degrees for working with care, education, or children. In each setting, the members of the staff were interviewed through focus groups with one of us leading the discussion. Due to the low number of qualified teachers in the interviewed staff group, we will from now on use the term "staff" instead of "teachers" when presenting the findings. However, the low number of educated teachers on the staff teams represents the situation in Sweden today (Swedish Government Official Reports, 2020).

The interviews were carried out at school, for one-two hours. In some groups there were eight staff members participating, in some only two. This reflects the different participating staff-teams but also the selection of settings regarding small and large municipalities, small and large schools, municipal school and independent school, rural and inner city.

The validity of the current study is linked to our ability to control and to dispute the knowledge presented through the analysis (Cukier, Ngwenyama, Bauer, & Middleton, 2009). In terms of legitimacy and truth aspects, we have tried to critically assess our empirical data and the analyses that have been developed. The credibility of our analyses is important in this context, and in this process, it has been important to reflect on our theoretical and methodological perspectives, as these influences and frame our analyses. As part of this validation process, we have reflected on our empirical material. Validity such as clarity and sincerity mean that the study's credibility should be tested in conversations with the study's informants. This part of the validity work had to be cancelled due to the Covid pandemic. Our plan was that the conversations should be conducted on the basis of our interviews and thematic analysis (Hammersley, 1992).

Ethical considerations were made in line with ethical guidelines (Swedish Research Councils (2017). All participants were informed about the whole research project, and except for one person, the participants have provided written consent for participation in these specific interviews. This non-consenting person has been removed from the transcripts and is not part of the results. All participants, settings, and schools have fictive names in the reported findings.

Findings

Policy enactment theory (Ball et al., 2012) is used to analyse the interpretation and translations of policy regarding teachers' enactment of complementation and compensation with the dimensions enactment as interpretation, materiality, and discourses. An interpretive dimension focuses on how the teachers interpret what can be complementation and compensation. From a material dimension, complementation and compensation are analysed regarding transformation into practice by searching for examples of how teachers explain their work in practice. The discursive dimension analyses which discourses are circulating according to how they interpret these concepts and what materiality is in play in practice.

While analysing, the interviews were read several times, searching for themes and empirical patterns (Braun & Clark, 2006). We have done this by especially focusing on differences and similarities according to interpretations of complementation and compensation, how it is materialised in practice and which discourses are recontextualised orally when staff talk about their everyday practice. The findings are presented in two parts, *Enacted complementation*, and *Enacted compensation*, with all three dimensions given.

Enacted Complementation – During the School Day or During SAEC?

Complementation is described through examples of how complementation is interpreted by staff, materialised in practice, and recontextualised in discourses about practice.

Interpreted Complementation – Cooperation and Collaboration

First, complementation is generally interpreted by the staff as collaboration or co-operation with the compulsory school and its teachers. Second, there seem to be interpretations of complementation regarding both the work SAEC-staff do during the school day and about the SAEC work before and after school as a complement to the school day. These two interpretations are often intertwined and hard to separate from each other in the transcriptions of the staff's speech.

One way of interpreting complementation as collaboration or co-operation is that the staff in SAEC and the school complement each other, they know what they are good at and work together to achieve common objectives.

Ilse – We complement each other, the [school]teachers know what they are good at, we know what we are good at and we work together to achieve the objectives, that is at least our position. (Ilse, SAEC teacher in Impala)

Ilse, cited above, talks about how teachers in SAEC and compulsory school know each other's competences and work together to achieve common objectives. At least she says that this is their common point of view. Noteworthy is the fact that this interpretation of complementation comprises both, at least the way it is articulated: the work during the school day as well as the work in SAEC.

In terms of co-operation or collaboration, the interviewed teachers in SAEC say that they would like to have a common strategy with schoolteachers. This is however hard to accomplish without time for planning, both individual and shared. Some of the staff say that today there is neither co-operation nor collaboration with the school.

Tina – Yes, these are the objectives in math, Swedish, technology and all that we have, and then we lack a united approach with the school, I have no planning time with the class teachers.
Thea – I have a quarter of an hour, which is usually ten minutes with the second grade I'm in.
Researcher – But what are you planning for those ten minutes?
Therese – You have time to say hello.
Thea – Yes, it's a good question, then we usually go through the parents we have heard from, either negatively or positively, a lot of these things, you have to keep each other up to date, what I have said and what they have said.
Researcher – Well, so it's more some kind of checking off with each other.
Thea – Yes, it's nothing else.

Therese – Me and L [schoolteacher] managed to get half an hour on the schedule but, it has not happened more than maybe twice during the whole semester because there is always something happening
(Tina, Thea, and Therese are SAEC teachers at Tiger).

At SAEC Tiger, the staff tells us about how there is supposed to be a united approach and shared planning for the cooperation with school, but it seems to be hard to manage any cooperation with limited time for planning, both common and individual. The cooperation they refer to above is neither about content or a common objective, but more about what is happening with the pupils so they can inform parents about their child's school day. It is not clear what the SAEC work is in this interpretation.

A second interpretation is that complementation is about teaching more playfully during SAEC time than traditional schoolwork, meaning that staff in SAEC must find other ways, more creative ones, to work with school content.

Greta – Like our work with music and creative things so that they might also improve their knowledge in math and, but it's also one thing about that, now I'm upset here!
(…)
Greta – But you can write that the school complements the SAEC?
Gerd – Or that we should complement each other, or that you can write a little more evenly perhaps.
Greta – But it doesn't really matter, I can feel that it is sad that we have so little impact really. It's about how you view it and what attitude you have at the place you work, about insight into each other's work. It probably has to do with the way in which we should then complement the school, I don't know if everyone knows or understands it, I don't think it is common knowledge.
(Greta and Gerd are SAEC teachers at the Gorilla)

When the staff in Gorilla recounts how in SAEC they can complement the classroom work done in various subjects by working with them in a more playful and creative way, another more frustrated discussion emerges about the way SAEC is told to complement the school. Greta argues that there is not enough knowledge and understanding about the complementation work. This is shown in mixed attitudes toward their work with complementation, she argues.

A third common interpretation of complementation is to "help" or assist individual children or teachers in class during the school day. Some say that a benefit of working in the classroom during the school day is that they are with the children all day. Working during the school-day is good for the relational work, she explains, and it is easier in the afternoon if the staff have insight into what the children experienced earlier in the day. This interpretation, however, is only valid when a work team is constructed around a special group of children. For many staff, their duties during the school day have nothing to do with the children they meet at SAEC in the afternoons.

It is interesting that complementation seems to be interpreted more in line with what staff do during the school day than how their work in SAEC can complement the children's learning in school, by doing something different. In the national curriculum for SAEC and compulsory school, it is formulated that SAEC should complement the education in compulsory school; but the complementation is not described in terms of how. This is left to the staff to work out and there is an argument made in earlier research that it is difficult for those in this profession, and still is. This seems to make an interpretation possible that the SAEC staff could be used to complement work during the school day instead of planning and organising a practice in SAEC that complements the children's education after the school day.

Materialised Complementation – Assistants to School

In the absence of "good" examples of collaboration or cooperation with the school, the SAEC staff talks about problems they refer to as the task of complementation. Due to a lack of time and space, as well as leadership, complementing the education pupils receive in school – meaning the work in SAEC before and after school-day – is impossible in several ways, according to some staff. They say that the relation to school in practice is just a structural drain, nothing like the intentions in written policy. Most of the time, the work SAEC-staff do during the school day has nothing to do with SAEC-work; their work is more a kind of assistance to children or to class teachers.

Kristin – Yes, I was class support in X, I was supposed to be in one of the preschool classes as support but then the teacher left and I got a little more responsibility so I am not class support now. I am the teacher in that class now. I have been working there since then, but I do not teach math or Swedish, but I teach art and work with relations and circle-time, such things, but it is good enough.
Kerstin – But when I think about it, everyone who works in SAEC is class support in some way.
Kristin – Yes, no one has…, we both teach subjects, I teach my subject.
Kerstin – Yes but when I don't teach my subject, I am support in class and it is obvious that sometimes it feels like I am doing a good job, but sometimes it feels like a waste of time that I should be at the back of the classroom when they should have a briefing for half an hour, I could have used that half hour in so many other ways.
(Kristin and Kerstin are SAEC teachers at Koala)

In SAEC Koala, the staff talk about their work during the school day. They say that there is no meaningful work going on where they can use their SAEC competencies; they are just assistants. If the staff are qualified and certified to teach a subject in school, their duties in the school are generally connected to that subject. Otherwise, with no certification, they are treated like assistants to teachers or pupils with special needs.

The answers from staff in interviews are often about too little time to plan their work, whether it be in school or in SAEC, and there is also a lack of time between work during the school day and SAEC. Many of the staff express the feeling that they would like to work in long term cooperation or collaboration but lack time for planning, and time to meet and talk to each other, making their work short term with just separate activities.

In many settings, the staff explains, the spatial environments for SAEC are the same rooms as school, a classroom. Not having their own designated rooms has consequences for putting everything back together for the school day. Consequently, this is a common problem when it comes to doing something else, since in SEAC, the more playful or creative the work, the more likely it is to complement the education pupils receive in school.

Despite the interpretations of complementation during the school day or during SAEC work, the materialised dimension shows that SAEC staff assist the school both during the school day as assistants to teachers or children in the classroom and as school assistants even while doing SAEC work, by handling the contact with parents about the school day, or assisting children that need some help with schoolwork.

Discursive Complementation – a Subordinated Position

As has been visualised above, the task of complementation is both interpreted and materialised in different ways. The different interpretations regarding complementation, such as the work SAEC staff do during the school day or the work they do during SAEC, are somehow

recognizable in the SAEC struggling to understand their task as stated in the curriculum. Complementation in policy and practice contains a mix of recontextualised discourses.

In the interpretations, complementation is something they have in common, as in objectives in the long term, and at the same time there are differences since they have various competencies that they use in their work, or that SAEC-work is something different from school work, more playful or creative. In practice however, collaboration is not happening; daily practice seems to be materialised as serving school from a subordinated position. SAEC is in that sense a resource for dealing with school problems, where staff can be borrowed or used to make schoolteachers and children's school-day successful. The only way this subordinated position can be valuable for SAEC is when staff is talking about the fact that it is good to know what the children experience during the school day, since the parents may ask when they pick up their children from SAEC in the afternoon.

The staff are constantly referring to the notion that they are supposed to back up school, and the fact that they are not only helping out in school during the school day; staff from SAEC can be selected to help in classes that have longer school days so the staff in SAEC are not in place when they are needed there. This in fact means that what is done during the school-day is at the expense of SAEC. Another example is when there is time for SAEC staff planning, they have to leave their planning to help in a class. These are very typical examples of how school becomes the norm and the SAEC is subordinated. One staff member thinks this is sad and explains how she thinks about this:

Gerd – We should not have to live up to school norms to be taken seriously, we should be taken seriously just by being SAEC.
(Gerd is a SAEC teacher at Gorilla)

Listening to the staff in interviews one can visualise that their subordinated position is due to a lack of leadership and lack of both personnel and material resources. Despite this, the staff in SAEC perceive that they are the ones who decide about what happens in the SAEC daily practice, with the conditions they have. They explain that the head-teacher is not questioning their activities or content, but is constantly borrowing the staff from SAEC, which has consequences, as described above. A possible interpretation regarding head-teachers not interfering with SAEC is also a consequence of the subordinated position.

To conclude, regarding complementation within SAEC, the analysis shows a subordinated discourse which means that the staff has no mandate to impact their situation regarding the school as norm when it comes to organising daily practice or spatial environments. Through this discourse, the staff are positioned as subordinated visitors in school both during the school day and during SAEC work. SAEC work with meaningful leisure time, learning and development in more creative and playful ways, seems not to be valued in the same way as schoolwork. If the staff had better conditions, their work with the children during SAEC could have been complementing the children's learning and development in a meaningful way, but that does not seem to be possible.

Enacted Compensation

Enacted compensation is described by examples of how compensation is interpreted by staff, materialised in practice, and recontextualised in discourses about practice.

Interpreted Compensation – Equality

Unlike enactment of complementation, the interpretations of compensation seem to be all about the time the children are at SAEC. Compensation is generally interpreted as offering children experiences they do not get with their families. The staff offers the example that they are doing the best they can for all children by doing more for children who are doing less with their parents by compensating with experiences they assume the children do not get in other ways. At the same time, children are often talked about on a group level when it comes to what children need, and activities are arranged in relation to what they think most of the children need.

There is also an interpretation about not all children having the chance to practice all these abilities that children can do at SAEC because their parents are at home with younger sisters and brothers and in that they are not able to be at SAEC, due to the regulations.

Göran – Yes I believe, I don't know if this has to do with it, but we have pupils who have younger siblings and first they take part in the school day but afterwards they have to go home. But their friends can stay and practice skills for more hours if their parents work long days, and it is unfair for those who are not allowed to be here.
Greta – Or if you recently had a sibling, everyone must, if you have three children for example, then all three children must be at home. Then the child doesn't have the right to be in SAEC. It feels too damn wrong. The child who maybe has always been there, now must go home right away and might not get so much stimulation being among their friends anymore or get involved in activities and things like that. It's not equal! But I don't know how, it's another part, it's not mandatory as well and you can apply for a place, and it's a bit like this …
(Göran is a health educator and Greta is a teacher in SAEC Gorilla)

In this example the staff is talking about the regulations that allow only the children of parents that are working or studying to have access to SAEC. If a child gets a younger sister or brother, the child cannot be at the SAEC due to rules. Besides not being able to practice and improve different abilities, the staff highlights that these children are excluded from communities with their friends. In the next example, on the other hand, the staff at Impala talks about how they sometimes ignore these rules:

Ilse – Yes exactly, that's right. I mean we cannot control what the children experience at home, no, we have to leave that. What we can do, is to make sure that they have a meaningful leisure time here and that we are flexible in what the child needs instead of sticking to the rules. From an educational point of view, we can overlook the regulation because the children will actually have a better time here and then it's probably better that they're here.
(Ilse is a teacher at the Impala)

In Impala, Ilse says that some of the children have a better and more meaningful leisure time experience at SAEC than at home, according to their knowledge about children and their families. This knowledge they say, makes them able to neglect the rules and let the child be at the setting instead of going home to their parents.

Another interpretation of compensation is about compensating for a school that lacks time for play and recreation. This interpretation refers more to complementation, as described above, we argue.

Materialised Compensation – on Special Occasions

Teachers say that in practice they try to talk to each child, getting to know them so that in dialogue with children and parents, they can explain why SAEC activities are so important.

Sven – I also think that since our goal is to get to know each pupil very well, it will be easy for us to do compensatory work, because we know what it is, we can compensate. As an example, these social abilities we try to practice with them to take their own initiatives and then during their lives have sustainable relationships with others.
Stig – You can, of course, if there is something, they feel they need, support from home, then we can call home and talk about it. It was like that once when there was a pupil whose parents never showed up. This became very difficult when he saw that everyone else had their parents present in our SAEC-day. Then I phoned and had a conversation with that parent "Your child would probably feel very happy if you came", I presented it in a very good way, you do not have to come or anything but "He would probably think it was really fun if you came", "Yes but I will come by", and he did.
(Sven and Stig are teachers at SAEC Swan)

At the Swan, the staff are keen on getting to know all the children even though there are so many of them. In practice this can be accomplished by talking to the parents about the child and explaining why, as in this example, it is important that the parents show up on SAEC-day.

Arranging for compensation is otherwise most talked about as there are too many children. Regarding large child groups, some staff explain that the school holidays are a good time for doing compensation work, there are few children, and they can do more, like plan an outing with the children who are not able to do that otherwise.

Asta – It was very fun when we ate a buffet at a nice restaurant during the sports holiday, then it became very clear who has experienced that before and is used to such situations.
Researcher – Yes.
Anders – I know, that was fun.
Asta – Yes, it was interesting.
Alfred – Some were just …
Asta – Yes, they couldn't figure out how it worked.
Alfred – what to do.
Anders – Yes, because it is often, for some of them it becomes an exposition, it is obvious that you, that you have an important role to give them these experiences as well.
(Asta has no degrees for work in SAEC, Anders is a teacher in SAEC, Alfred is a youth and recreation leader at the Antelope)

In Antelope, the staff refers to a school holiday when they visited a restaurant with the children who spent their holiday at SAEC. In this way, they realized that some children lack knowledge and experiences in how to behave in these kinds of situations. They say that they compensate for children's lack of experiences, so they will not fail in similar social situations.

Compensation, as in compensating for children's lack of experiences, seems otherwise hard to do in today's large child groups. The staff say they can see what children need but they cannot do anything about it with the large number of children. Instead, staff say that there is a tendency that all children are treated the same way. Subsequently, it seems hard to work with differences and diversity in today's practice. The compensation work is instead on a group level and not a child level. This in practice, means that the individual needs of a few children take all the focus for the staff and the others are left behind.

Another consequence of this in practice is that the SAEC practice becomes more structured with very limited choices for the rest of the children. Staff say they try to do things in smaller groups but there are not enough rooms to be in.

Discursive Compensation for Special Needs

Compensation in policy and practice is a recontextualization of different discourses. It is about shortcomings in families, about school, children with special needs and large numbers of children. The main discourse is the large number of children in relation to being able to compensate the children.

Another main discourse that is recontextualised is that compensation is related to the staff feeling sad about children, in groups and individually, and that they as staff at SAEC have an important role in giving children something they do not get at home, or in school. But the other way around, the structural practice shows that with this large number of children, compensation is not happening for anyone, due to lack of staff and rooms. About shortcomings in families, it must be considered in relation to the often-used group level. Children are different and so are families' possibilities for bringing up and guiding their children. The interpretation of compensation as "the same for all" also reflects the views about a lack of resources in families.

To conclude, regarding compensation within SAEC, the analysis shows a discourse of enacted policy as meaning it should be the same for all. The staff wants to offer children new experiences and compensate for lack of resources in family life but must adapt to socio-material conditions, which means that policy for compensation is enacted as the same for everyone or everything for a few individuals.

Discussion

The aim of this study is to investigate teachers' enactment of policy regarding complementation and compensation in practice. The study consists of interviews with 53 staff members working in twelve different settings representing a variety in large and small settings, schools, and municipalities.

The careful process of reading the interviews several times and analysing them in line with policy enactment theory (Ball et al., 2012) strengthens the results regarding the enactment of complementation and compensation. This analytical process of finding valid patterns is also connected to how we conducted the focus group interviews, which has been described earlier in this article. On the other hand, these results are not generalizable to all forms of SAEC practices around the world, but they are a valuable contribution to building up the research field in extended education

With these aspects considered, the results show that through recontextualization, staff interpret the two concepts as two deficiency concepts. They must partly supplement the school for its shortcomings, and partly compensate for shortcomings in the family with regard to, for example, social background. The analysis also shows that these two concepts are in many ways recontextualized together by the staff, which can probably be linked to the curriculum's double-coded language.

One example is the interpretation of the complementation task, where several alternative interpretations of the task appear, i. e. there is no unambiguous wording in the interviewed teachers' speech. When these multiple interpretations of the complementary task (see Ball et al. 2012) are materialized and discursively formulated through the pedagogical practice, an

adaptation and reformulation of the policy takes place; a pedagogical discourse is created which subordinates SAEC in relation to the school and this discourse argues these children's families lack the resources other families have. A similar recontextualization process takes place in relation to the compensatory assignment. The teachers in our data interpret it as an equality goal where SAEC as an institution must provide the children with experiences and opportunities that they do not get through their families.

When this equality discourse is recontextualized together with the material discourse, a policy practice is created that once again points to a lack of resources in these children's family life. It is the double-coded policy discourse that enables this recontextualization process, opening up for a subordinate discourse for SAEC and that emphasizes a deficiency discourse and lack of knowledge in relation to the children. This is both an unintended consequence and an undesirable effect of policy (Ball et al. 2012).

The curriculum's goal of complementation, that children be taught through situational learning: "(…) governed, experience-based and group oriented, as well as being based on the pupils' needs, interests, and initiative" (SNAE, 2019, p. 23), does not appear in our empirical material. Likewise, teachers formulate a compensatory task that focuses more on children's lack of social skills than on the opportunities for children to acquire education and skills.

At the same time, the analysis shows that the concepts are transformed and re-contextualized through the enactment process and there is an adaptation to the local socio-material conditions in the SAEC settings. In practice, two policy discourses are created which we describe as *subordinated* and *policy as meaning the same for all* which are far from the intentions in the curriculum. Both of these discourses reflect shortcomings, and in the double-coded policy a discourse of shortcomings is constructed.

In relation to our analysis, there still seem to be problems regarding SAEC staff collaboration or cooperation with schoolteachers, as found earlier when the integration with school was researched (Calander, 1999; Haglund, 2004; Hansen, 1999; Gustafsson, 2003). Complementing the school has not been easier or less challenging over time. This result reflects the findings by Perselli and Hörnell (2019) with different interpretations regarding the task of complementing the school in various ways. There seems to be an ambition on the part of staff to accomplish something together but instead there are currently several socio-material conditions in practice constraining this. Today, it is a strained SAEC practice that is limiting this collaboration for staff (Andishmand, 2017; Lager 2020). The interviewed staff refers to lack of time for planning, lack of leadership, no spatial environment or material for SAEC work, and last but not least, the large number of children in the groups. It can also be assumed that the many interpretations of the concepts refer to the variation of competencies and educational level among the staff teams.

The large number of children in the groups is also a recurring problem in the enactment of compensating. Compensating for children's different backgrounds with so large a number of children is forming a practice based on the same activities for all children, or all efforts for a few children.

Concluding Remarks and Future Research

To conclude, enacting policy in SAEC regarding complementation and compensation consists of being constrained by socio-materiality in several ways. Further, the analysis highlights a mix of competing discourses in this policy enactment process. Complementing the school-work done in the classroom is more directed towards the children's school day and less toward the work in SAEC. Compensation, on the other hand, is directed towards the work in SAEC and their work with families. It is interesting to reflect upon this result because the task of complementing as it is formulated in policy texts, is only directed towards the staff in SAEC. On the other hand, the school and the SAEC share the work with compensation and equality. It is also interesting to reflect on how these two concepts are intertwined both in policy and practice, and how complementing what is done in the classroom is also a part of compensating the children for their home environments. Still, according to Andishmand (2017) the work done on complementing is threatening the compensation work, due to lack of socio-material conditions in practice. This is confirmed by this study's results, showing how a underfunded practice with a large number of children, lack of qualified staff, no spatial environments and lack of time impedes the staff's work. In addition, the subordinated position in relation to the school is not helping. The staff understand these two concepts in line with the intentions, but the socio-material conditions in practice impede them. As Ball et al. (2012) point out, it is difficult to have total control over the policy process and the creation of policy and its goals, or whether policy can achieve any changes within the schools or SAEC. Our result is in line with the above reasoning and clearly shows that policy enactment often has both unintentional and unwanted consequences. We therefore argue for more research into the way policy and practice are related concerning the changes made to SAEC. It would also be valuable to explore the consequences for children's everyday lives in these settings.

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Extended Education in Germany between Complementation and Compensation: An Analysis of Extracurricular Primary School Offerings With Regard to Content, Frequency, and Range, in Connection With the Composition of the Student Body

Nanine Lilla, Marianne Schüpbach

Abstract: All-day schools, the most common school form with extended education offerings in Germany, are expected to complement regular hours of school instruction with a wide array of offers and to compensate for origin-related educational gaps by providing specific offerings for disadvantaged students. Complementation and compensation can only be achieved by providing extracurricular offerings within the all-day school program suitable for the respective student body. This study empirically investigates the extracurricular offerings at 300 German primary schools with regard to their content, frequency, and range, in connection with the composition of the student body. Descriptive findings show high prevalence of homework assistance, remedial teaching, sports, and music/art. Conducting latent profile analysis, three distinct profiles of extracurricular school programs were identified depending on the extracurricular offerings provided. Schools with a student body with lower levels of linguistic competence and higher amounts of immigrant students were more likely schools providing homework assistance and a broad range of offerings. Our results suggest that offerings partially meet the specific needs of the student body, but that the potential is not yet fully exploited in order to bring about complementation and compensation.

Keywords: extended education, extracurricular offerings, latent profile analysis, primary school, student composition

Introduction and Research Questions

In Germany, the case of extended education has been stimulated in 2003, when the German federal government decided to invest four billion Euros in the expansion of all-day schools, a form of extended education, nationwide (duration: 2003–2009) (BMBF, 2006). This political decision meant a departure from the till then in Germany prevailing model of half-day schools. By extending the school day, the growing demand of – especially young and well-educated – parents for high-quality all-day care and education was to be met in order for them to be able to combine family and working life. Furthermore, after the first PISA study in 2000 had revealed that students' skills were only average in international comparison and linked to their social and cultural background like in almost no other industrialized country (e. g., Artelt et al., 2001), all-day schools – the most common form with extended education offerings which extend school days and expand learning beyond regular classes – were expected to provide optimal framework conditions for better education and equal opportunities (StEG-Konsor-

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tium, 2010). Since then all school types have expanded extended education and provide all-day offerings (KMK, 2020). In 2018, 67.5 percent of primary schools were considered all-day schools. The majority of primary schools is organized as ′open-attendance′ all-day schools [offene Ganztagsschule] where participation in modular activities in the afternoon is voluntary for students (58.4 %). Only nine percent of primary schools nationwide are ′compulsory all-day schools′ offering compulsory extended education where students in certain school classes [teilgebundene Ganztagsschule] (6.7 %) or all students of the respective school [vollgebundene Ganztagsschule] (2.3 %) attend extended education offerings in addition to regular hours of school instruction. Overall, the proportion of primary students attending all-day school was 42.2 percent in 2018 (KMK, 2020). Even after the initial investment program has ended, the expansion continues. Today, there is a current political debate on the introduction of a nationwide legal right to all-day care for primary school-aged children by 2025. In the federal state of Berlin, for instance, already since 2010 all primary schools provide all-day school programs and are officially designated as all-day schools.

Political motivation aside, there is also pedagogical rationale in favor of a nationwide expansion and provision of all-day schools. According to Holtappels (2005), all-day schools follow four educational aims. First, all-day schools contribute to the socio-cultural infrastructure with regard to the reconciliation of family and working life and the provision of equal opportunities for learning and leisure. Second, in view of children's and adolescents' changing socialization conditions outside of school, all-day schools offer an expanded space for socialization and create an enriched learning setting, especially with regard to social integration and manifold learning opportunities for the acquisition of academic and non-academic competences. Third, all-day schools are further to be understood as a reaction to higher formal qualification and altered content-related educational requirements, and fourth, in response to the development needs of schools and the school system, e. g. regarding students at risk and educational inequality, which are to be achieved with the help of a new learning culture and expanded learning opportunities.

In conjunction with the advancing implementation of inclusive schooling, all-day schools also offer the possibility of realizing a new learning culture providing individual support especially for students at risk of academic underachievement both at the level of the individual school and the entire school system (Schüpbach, Lilla, & Groh, 2018).

Hence, put into the terms of this special issue, it is expected that all-day schools in Germany both complement regular hours of school instruction with a wide array of offers, and compensate for origin-related educational gaps by providing specific offerings for disadvantaged students. With regard to complementation, all-day schools are expected to improve the possibilities for individual support for individual students by providing versatile learning arrangements that enrich the development of students' academic and non-academic competence in an extended timeframe that extends beyond regular hours of school instruction. By interlinking the extracurricular offerings in the all-day school context with the learning that is taking place in regular lessons, complementation is further to be achieved by providing educational opportunities throughout the day and creating valuable leisure activities for all students. With view of the weaknesses of the German education system, which have been repeatedly shown since PISA 2000, in which the general level does not meet today's educational requirements and students' social and cultural background strongly influencing educational success (e. g., OECD 2019), all-day schools are expected to reduce origin-related educational gaps and increase equal opportunities by producing compensatory effects for

socially disadvantaged students and those facing learning difficulties (e. g., Kielblock et al., 2021; Lossen et al., 2021). In its package of measures following the PISA 2000 shock, the KMK (2001) emphasized that the expansion of all-day schools intends to create expanded educational opportunities in order to promote students' development. The discussion about complementation and compensation does not only exist in Germany, but also in other countries, e. g. Sweden (for a discussion of the concepts of complementation and compensation in extended education in the Swedish school system and its curriculum also refer to Klerfelt and Ljusberg (2018)).

Neither complementation nor compensation can be achieved by simply prolonging the school day. Research on all-day schools has shown that the quality of all-day schools is crucial for a better development of all students, and especially for students at risk (StEG-Konsortium, 2016). According to Sauerwein, Hannemann, and Rollett (2018), the content and the range of the all-day offerings are important (quality) features of all-day schools. Furthermore, extracurricular offerings are part of the schools' profiling (Altrichter, 2011), showing whether there is a main focus within the extracurricular activities provided – either matching the student body or meant to attract a specific clientele (Heinrich et al. 2011). Against this background, in this paper, we focus on the extracurricular offerings provided at primary schools, extended education, in Germany. Analyzing data from the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS), a nationwide survey on education across the lifespan, the aim of the present study is to gain empirical knowledge on extracurricular primary school offerings and their fit to the student body. For this purpose, we empirically investigate the extracurricular primary school offerings with regard to their content, frequency, and range, in connection with the composition of the student body.

Review of the Literature

From 2005 to 2019, the expansion of all-day schools in Germany has been scientifically accompanied by the *Studie zur Entwicklung der Ganztagsschule* (StEG; study on the development of all-day schools). Accordingly, the current state of research on all-day school in Germany is predominantly, but not restrictively, based on findings based on data from the StEG assessments.

Effects of All-Day School Attendance

The state of research within Germany on effects of attending extracurricular all-day school offerings provides mixed empirical support for the notion that all-day schools can achieve complementation and compensation. Within the primary school context, Steinberg and colleagues (2018) for instance found positive effects of attendance in dance and physical theater offerings on students' socio-emotional skills. Positive effects on primary students' social behavior were also found following specific intervention (Hanisch et al., 2017). With regard to compensatory effects in the German primary school context, a number of longitudinal studies did not observe positive effects of attending all-day school or extracurricular offerings on primary students' achievement in reading, mathematics, and natural science in general

(e. g., Lossen et al., 2016; Reinders et al., 2011; Schründer-Lenzen & Mücke, 2010; Tillmann et al., 2018). However, one study conducted by Bellin and Tamke (2011) found small indications for compensatory effects in reading achievement specifically for immigrant students. Findings from intervention studies further provide evidence that attending specific subject-related offerings actually provoked the intended improvements in primary students' achievement, if offerings were goal-oriented and competence-oriented, and educational quality was high (StEG-Konsortium, 2019). Thus, reading competence, for instance, improved through extracurricular reading support, especially in primary students whose initial competence was rather low (StEG-Konsortium, 2019).

Student Composition in All-Day Primary Schools

One prerequisites for compensation and complementation of extracurricular offerings and all-day school is that students from diverse backgrounds and disadvantaged student groups are reached with differentiated learning arrangements. In short, students need to make use of all-day school offers. Following this concern, data from the StEG-assessments were analyzed to identify possible selective patterns of attendance of all-day school offerings. Analysis conducted by Steiner (2011) for instance found no difference in attendance based on primary students' gender or ethnic origin but revealed that primary students of socially less privileged family background made less use of all-day school offerings than children from better-off families, especially when both parents were full-time employees.

Comparing data from earlier StEG-assessments with later data, Holtappels, Jarsinski, and Rollett (2011), however found that the social composition of the student body according to socio-economic background became more balanced over time. While more students with high socio-economic background attended all-day primary schools initially, possible selection effects in favor of students from better-off families in the first survey in 2005, largely disappeared over time. With regard to the proportion of immigrant students in all-day school offerings, time series comparisons showed that gradually more immigrant students have been taking advantage of all-day school offerings. Differences in attendance between immigrant students and their native peers were traced back to the average proportion of immigrant students in primary school and not to possible social selection based on immigrant background.

As the mere attendance of all-day school offerings seems less decisive for positive effects than the active use of learning opportunities Holtappels et al. (2011) further investigated participation in specific extracurricular offerings and found that there were largely no differences based on students' socio-economic background or immigrant background, with the exception of remedial teaching, which was more often attended by both, students with a low socio-economic background, and immigrant students.

Structure of Offerings

The structure of offerings has been assessed in the first phase of StEG at three measurement points in 2005, 2007 and 2009: School principals were presented a list of 18 elements of offerings and asked whether they were offered (yes or no) in the context of the all-day school

program at their school (Rollett et al., 2011). Subsequently, in the second phase of StEG, the structure of offerings was examined in the school principal surveys in 2012/2013 (StEG-Konsortium, 2015), 2014/2015 (StEG-Konsortium, 2016) and 2017/2018 (StEG-Konsortium, 2019). The most recent results and the development regarding the elements of offerings since 2012/2013 are briefly presented below.

As a part of the final principal survey in the 2017/2018 school year, 419 primary school principals were asked about the extracurricular offerings at their all-day school in the current school year and principals reported whether contents were offered (yes or no). In the descriptive report (StEG-Konsortium, 2019) providing representative insight in the offerings at all-day primary schools in Germany, five areas of offerings were distinguished: (1) learning support offerings, (2) offerings in the MINT area, (3) offerings in the area of linguistics and humanities, (4) musical-cultural, practical and job-oriented offerings, and (5) offerings on leisure, exercise, health and social learning. With regard to the first area, the majority of primary schools offered learning support. With almost 90 percent, homework supervision was the most commonly practiced learning support, followed by remedial teaching and/or remedial classes (76 %), and specific support measures (72 %). Offerings in the area of MINT subjects were less frequent. In descending order, courses on natural science (51 %), new media (48 %), technical courses (33 %), and mathematical courses (30 %) were offered in primary schools. Within the area of linguistics and humanities, more than 70 percent of primary schools provided offerings that can be assigned to the subject areas of German, literature and reading. At almost every fourth primary school, there were offerings of a variety of foreign language courses. Only 13 percent of primary schools provided offerings that can be assigned to the subject areas of history, politics or local history, and geography. Offerings of music and art were represented at the majority of primary all-day schools (90 %). Offerings of handicraft and/or household were represented at more than three quarters of primary schools (77 %). In the area of leisure and exercise offerings, almost all schools provided offerings that enable students to do sports (94 %). The majority of schools provided further leisure activities in the form of games and brainteasers (71 %), social learning (68 %), and health and nutrition offerings (64 %).

Overall, the findings have been somewhat stable over time since 2012/2013. However, a negative trend could be observed in some areas, i. e. a decrease in offerings in courses on natural sciences and new media, in the areas of linguistics and humanities, music and art, and leisure and exercise offerings (StEG-Konsortium, 2019).

Taken together, descriptive findings show a picture of a wide array of different offerings provided at all-day primary schools. However, specific analysis also revealed that there were location-related differences in the structure of offerings (StEG-Konsortium, 2015). Considering offerings of learning support, and content-related offerings in the MINT area, and in the area of linguistics and humanities to target students' academic development, and musical-cultural, practical and job-oriented offerings or offerings on leisure, exercise, health, and social learning as rather non-academic competence development offerings, the picture further indicates that – besides homework supervision which seems to be a steady component in almost every all-day primary school in Germany –offerings that aim at non-academic competence development and thus more complementary appear to be more prevalent than academic offerings, from which compensatory effects could be expected

Range of Offerings

A wide range of offerings and thus a variety of all-day offerings are widely considered a quality feature of all-day schools (Radisch et al., 2017; Rollett, Lossen, Jarsinski, Lüpschen & Holtappels, 2011; Sauerwein, Hannemann & Rollett, 2018). A review of US studies on the effectiveness of afterschool programs furthermore showed that a broad range of offerings that are available to students may increase the likelihood of participation for the individual and maintain participants' interest of attendance (Simpkins, Little, & Weiss, 2004).

Within the framework of the StEG assessments, the range of offerings provided within all-day primary school programs has been examined in the early phase of the study by differentiating four types of offering structures and generating indexes ranging from 0 – indicating that none the offerings were provided, to 1 – meaning that all offerings were provided. These indexes enabled statements regarding the main focus in the priorities of the offerings at the level of the different types of offerings. In addition, an overall index "range of offerings" was compiled to provide a global measure of the diversity of offerings within all-day schools (Holtappels, 2008). Regarding the development of all-day primary school offerings from 2005 to 2009 using these indexes, Rollett and colleagues (2011) showed a positive development and strong linear increase in the overall range of offerings provided in all-day primary schools.

In the late phase of the StEG, another approach to describe the range of offerings in all-day schools was carried out by Sauerwein and colleagues (2018) using latent class analysis (LCA) to empirically identify distinct profiles of all-day school programs. The analyses, which included 11 offerings of all-day primary and secondary schools, revealed a four-class solution with four profiles: (1) "Offering school" with a wide range of offerings (37 %; 28 % of primary schools (ps)), (2) "sports and music-related all-day school" providing offerings known to be frequently chosen (31 %, ps 44 %), (3) "learning school" (similar to offering schools, but less homework support; 25 %, ps 20 %), and (4) "low-offering all-day school" (low choice of offerings; 7 %, ps 9 %). Strikingly the profile "sports and music-related all-day school" was more prevalent in primary schools than in secondary school types. The authors of this study considered the range of offerings to be a distinguishing feature of all-day schools – in addition to the organization of time and the conceptual connection between teaching and offering in all-day schools.

Using data from the school principal assessments conducted within the StEG framework, both studies were based on the school principals' statements whether contents were offered (yes or no) without considering their frequency. Thus, there is only limited information on the range of offerings provided within all-day school programs. Accordingly, we argue that an evaluation of the range of extracurricular offerings should also account for the frequency with which extracurricular offerings are provided at primary schools.

Range of Offerings and Composition of Student Body

School development in narrower sense can be defined as the "conscious and systematic development of individual schools" (Rolff, 1998, p. 326). Rolff (1998) describes this as intentional school development. On this basis, it has been assumed that the school development of the individual school is driven by the structural characteristics at school level. This

includes the composition of the student body (socio-economic status, migration background, etc.), the form of the all-day school (open-attendance or compulsory), and school size. The range of offerings as a quality feature of all-day schools thus seems to be an obvious aspect for the further development of all-day schools. Moreover, considering that all-day schools in Germany are expected to complement regular hours of school instruction with a wide array of offers and to compensate for origin-related educational gaps by providing specific offerings for disadvantaged students, it is important to know what needs to be complemented and what exactly is to be compensated. Schools with a low level of performance, with a large proportion of immigrant students or a student body of low social background, for instance, have other needs than schools with a high level of performance, with a low proportion of immigrant students or a student body of high social background for which the all-day school program should include suitable offerings.

Within the StEG context, Rollett et al. (2011) investigated whether different characteristics of the school (flexible time organization, evaluation of the cooperation of the educators, and participation of teachers in offerings) play a role as conditional factors for the development in the range of offerings. Their analysis showed that any conceptual characteristics or the schools' goal orientations were unrelated and the only structural characteristic influencing the development of the range of offerings was school size. However, the range of offerings at the first data collection showed to be more diverse at larger primary schools, and where the student body was described as having a high socio-economic background (Rollett et al., 2011).

Based on a representative sample of primary schools in Germany including data on the frequency of extracurricular offerings, Stirner and colleagues (2019) investigated whether primary schools match their extracurricular offerings to their student body. They found significant positive associations between the socioeconomic background of the student body and the frequency with which extracurricular offerings in the area of handicraft, and in the area of music and arts were provided. Negative associations, on the other hand, were found with regard to extracurricular offerings in remedial teaching in German, native language lessons, social and intercultural learning as well as "offerings to improve learning and work techniques". Further controlling for the size of the school and location differences, the analysis revealed that as the socio-economic status of the student body declines, there is also a decrease in the frequency of extracurricular offerings anchored in the school's all-day program.

Regarding the provision of extracurricular activities, school principals play an important role, as they are the most important actors for school development and implementation of educational reforms (Muslic, 2017). Within the context of the governance of all-day school programs, empirical evidence suggests that it is largely school principals, who are in charge of the set-up of extracurricular offerings, especially in all-day primary schools (StEG, 2019). Hence, school principals' assessments on the composition of the student body together with data from competence tests are in focus of this study.

We know of no study that has used the latent class approach on extracurricular offerings to investigate a possible connection between the composition of student body of a school and the extracurricular offerings provided, i. e. whether the extracurricular program reaches the target population.

Research Questions

The German state of research provides comprehensive information on whether specific offerings are provided within the primary after-school context. However, the StEG assessments do not provide information on the frequency of each type of extracurricular offering in German primary schools as school principals were only asked to indicate whether contents were offered (yes or no). Hence, analysis based on data from StEG assessments suffer limitations in this regard. Furthermore, the prevalence of offerings in German primary schools has not yet been investigated in further large-scale studies in Germany apart from StEG. Against this background, the aim of the present study is to examine the extracurricular offerings of primary schools by analyzing the content, frequency, and range of offerings, in connection with composition of student body of the school. Following the aim of gaining empirical knowledge about the accuracy of fit between extracurricular offerings and student composition, we hope to be able to draw further conclusions about the fulfillment of complementation and compensation in the all-day primary context. Therefore our research questions are:

1. What extracurricular offerings are provided at German primary schools and how frequently are these offerings provided across all schools? What are the most prevalent academic and non-academic offerings?
2. How do German primary schools differ regarding the range of extracurricular offerings? What profiles of extracurricular school programs can be identified?
3. What are the connections between different profiles of extracurricular school programs and composition of student body of the school in terms of a) mean level of academic competences and b) cultural and social background?

Methods

Sample

The research questions are investigated in the context of the German National Educational Panel Study[1] (NEPS, Blossfeld, Roßbach, & von Maurice, 2011). NEPS is a representative study on learning across the lifespan following a multi-cohort sequence design. For our study, data from Wave 3 and Wave 4 of Starting Cohort 2: From Kindergarten to Elementary school was analyzed. More specifically, questionnaire data from 303 primary school principals was available in the scientific use file. Due to partially contradicting information from the school principals regarding the type of their school, all data from school principals who had answered the questions on extracurricular activities at their school were included in the analysis (N = 300). Competence data was derived from individual competence tests of N = 5607 students in

1 *This paper uses data from the National Educational Panel Study (NEPS): Starting Cohort Kindergarten, doi:10.5157/NEPS:SC2:7.0.0. From 2008 to 2013, NEPS data was collected as part of the Framework Program for the Promotion of Empirical Educational Research funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). As of 2014, NEPS is carried out by the Leibniz Institute for Educational Trajectories (LIfBi) at the University of Bamberg in cooperation with a nationwide network.*

Grade 1 and aggregated on school level. The mean number of first grade students who participated in the competence tests per school was 24.74 (*SD* = 12.73).

Instruments

School principals provided information on the size of their school (*N* = 275, *M* = 238.47, *SD* = 132.10) and were further asked *"Are the following extracurricular all-day school programs and elements offered at your school and, if yes, how often?"* with regard to several different contents (items see Figure 1). Answer options were labeled "no", "yes, namely twice a year or less frequently", "yes, namely quarterly", "yes, namely monthly", "yes, namely weekly", "yes, namely 2–3 times a week", and "yes, namely 4–5 times a week".

School principals were also asked about the composition of student body at their school regarding the amount of students with a migration background ("*How large approximately is the amount of students in your school that have a migrant background?"*) (*N* = 255, *M* = 22.76, *SD* = 21.81) and regarding social background (*"What proportion of the students of your school are from families from low social class?"*) (*N* = 222, *M* = 25.95, *SD* = 18.50).

Students' linguistic competence was assessed through listening comprehension at word level. Following the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT, Dunn, 1959, Dunn & Dunn, 2007), in the NEPS, receptive vocabulary was measured using a total of 66 selected items arranged in complexity and students' task was to select the correct picture from a set of four pictures. For students' linguistic competence, the scientific use file provides sum scores of 66 items, which we aggregated on school level (*N* = 300, *Min* = 21.41, *Max* = 54.55; *M* = 39.93, *SD* = 5.22).

The construct of mathematical competence in NEPS is based on the idea of mathematical literacy (OECD, 2003), which refers to the ability of solving mathematical problems in age-specific contexts. In order to measure mathematical competence independent of students' reading competence, items were read aloud and different pictures provided from which the right answer needed to be chosen. Students' mathematical competence is provided as weighted likelihood estimates (WLEs), which are estimates of a person's most likely competence score (see also Pohl & Carstensen, 2013) (*N* = 300, *Min* = -1.26, *Max* = 1.57; *M* = 0.04, *SD* = 0.52).

Data Analysis

Statistical analyses were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 26 and Mplus Version 8.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017). Following descriptive analysis, latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted in order to obtain distinct profiles of all-day school programs taking into account the information on content and frequency of offerings provided within all-day schools. The aim of LPA is to assign objects based on their characteristics to as few groups as possible, which are internally homogeneous and externally as heterogeneous as possible (Giegler & Rost, 1993). Hence, conducting LPA based on the schools' characteristics referring to their extracurricular offerings, different profiles were estimated and every school was assigned to a certain profile with a certain probability. According to the general approach, the

number of profiles was increased stepwise starting with two profiles and the resulting fit indices compared to the previous profile solution as recommended by Nylund, Asparouhouv, and Muthén (2007). In addition, according to the literature, models are to be evaluated on interpretability, and solutions with fewer profiles to be preferred. Furthermore, to investigate the connection between profile of extracurricular activities and student body of the school, multinomial regression analysis were conducted where profiles were regressed on mean levels of students' linguistic and mathematical competences and the amount of immigrant students as well as students of low social background. Tests to see if the data met the assumption of collinearity indicated that multi-collinearity was not a concern (linguistic competence: Tolerance = .51, *VIF* = 1.96; mathematical competence: Tolerance = .64, *VIF* = 1.57; amount of students with an immigrant background: Tolerance = .47, *VIF* = 2.12; amount of students from a low social class: Tolerance = .50, *VIF* = 1.99; school size: Tolerance = .92, *VIF* = 1.09).

Results

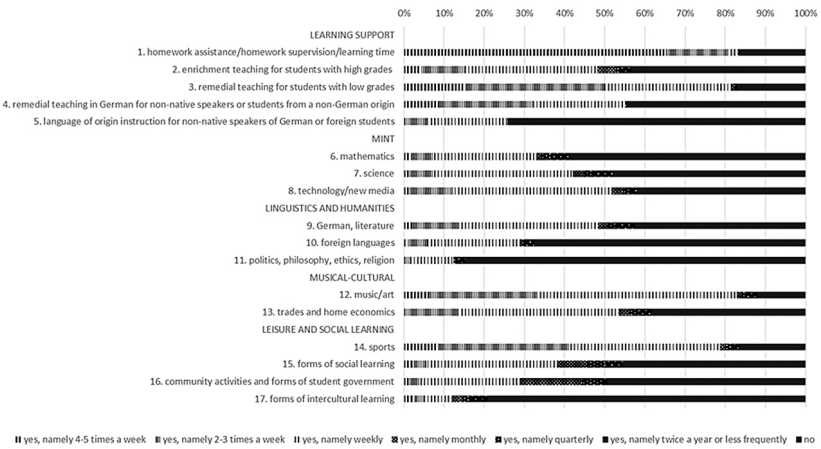
Descriptive Findings on Content and Frequency of Offerings

Figure 1 shows the different items that school principals gave information about whether these extracurricular offerings are provided at their primary school or not and if yes how frequently. With regard to the first item, *homework assistance/homework supervision/learning time*, only 17 % of schools answered not to provide any such offerings. The majority of primary schools provided such offerings 4–5 times a week (65%). Similarly common within the area of *LEARNING SUPPORT* were offerings of *remedial teaching for students with low grades.* Only 18% of school principals answered that no such offering was provided at their school. With regard to frequency, every second school provided *remedial teaching for students with low grades* either 2–3 or 4–5 times a week and another 32% percent once a week. For students with first languages other than German *remedial teaching in German* was offered on a weekly basis at least in 55% of schools, and *language of origin instruction* in only 27% of schools on a weekly basis or more frequently. *Enrichment teaching for students with high grades* was not offered at all in 44% of schools, while in almost half of all schools such offerings were provided on a weekly basis or more frequently. Offerings in the area of MINT-subjects were less prevalent altogether. The majority of schools did not provide learning opportunities in *mathematics*, and only one third provided such offerings on a weekly basis at least. Learning opportunities in *science* and general offers in *technology/new media* were slightly more prevalent with at least weekly offerings in 42% and 52% of primary schools, respectively. Within the area of *LINGUISTICS AND HUMANITIES*, less than half of all primary schools provided offerings that can be assigned to *German, literature* at least once a week. At almost one third of primary schools, *foreign language* learning opportunities were offered on a weekly basis at least (32%). Only 13 percent of primary schools provided learning opportunities in *politics, philosophy, ethics, religion* weekly or more often. Offerings in *music/art* were represented at more than eight out of ten primary schools (83%). Offerings of *handicraft and/or household* were provided at the majority of primary schools on a weekly basis at least (53%). In the area of *LEISURE AND SOCIAL LEARNING*, almost all schools provided offerings that enable students to do *sports* on a weekly basis at least (78%). The majority of

schools did not provide further leisure activities in forms of *social learning*, *community activities/student government,* or *intercultural learning* on a weekly basis at least. Amongst these offerings, a monthly or quarterly basis were more prevalent than in all other offerings. With regard to the frequency of offerings, it is noticeable that if one looks only at the answer categories "yes, namely weekly", "yes, namely 2–3 times a week", and "yes, namely 4–5 times a week" – where one can realistically expect positive student outcomes to occur – is that in the areas of *MINT* as well as *LINGUISTICS AND HUMANITIES* the majority of schools does not provide any of these offerings. Further, this is especially the case for offerings for non-native German speakers and offerings in the area of *LEISURE AND SOCIAL LEARNING* especially with regard to forms of *intercultural learning.*

With regard to the prevalence of academic and non-academic offerings, in case of the former, *homework assistance* and *remedial teaching* are the most prevalent while offerings in *music/art* and *sports* are most prevalent non-academic offerings.

Figure 1. Overview of Extracurricular Offerings Across Primary Schools



Results of Latent Profile Analysis

Latent profile analysis were conducted accounting for content and frequency of extra-curricular offerings (items are identical to those in Figure 1 and shown again in Figure 2) to identify distinct profiles of all-day school offerings. Following the general approach described above, models containing two, three, four, and five latent profiles were estimated. Table 1 presents the fit indices for the different models. According to the p value of the Lo-Mendell-Rubin test, the three-profile solution seemed to be superior to the two-profile solution, and the four-profile solution seemed superior to the three-profile solution. The same was indicated by decreasing AIC and BIC values. The Lo-Mendell-Rubin test, comparing the five-profile model to the four-profile model, indicated that the four-profile model had a significantly better fit to the data though AIC and BIC values further decreased. Entropy, i.e. the measure of how well profiles can be distinguished, however, decreased from .914 for the three-profile solution to .884 for the four-profile solution, meaning that fewer objects can correctly be classified by

the four-profile model in comparison to the three-profile model. Considering the standard to rely on fewer profiles, we decided to rely on the three-profile solution and three distinct profiles were identified. Further, the LMR test clearly indicated that the five-profile model was not superior to the four-profile model though entropy slightly increased but stayed below the entropy of the three-profile solution. The BLRT did not point to any specific model. Figure 2 shows the results of the three-profile solution that emerged.

Figure 2. Estimated means for the three-profile solution.

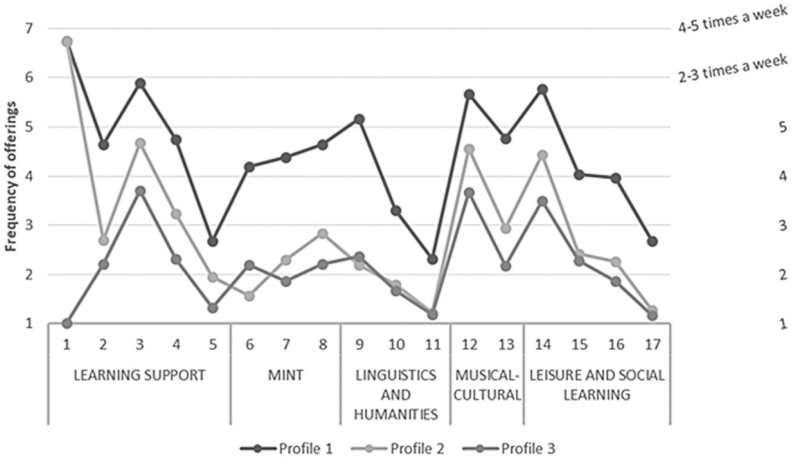


Table 1. Model Fit Indices

Profiles	AIC	BIC	aBIC	LMR	BLRT	Entropy
2	19225.843	19418.440	19253.526	–	–	.835
3	18647.622	18906.886	18684.888	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	.914
4	18335.497	18661.430	18382.346	$p = .0346$	$p < .001$	.884
5	18219.536	18612.137	18275.968	$p = .4873$	$p < .001$	.897

Notes. AIC = Akaike information criterion, BIC = Bayesian information criterion, aBIC = adjusted Bayesian information criterion, LMR = Lo-Mendell-Rubin adjusted LRT test, BLRT= bootstrapped parametric likelihood ratio test, – indicates that the test was not conducted.

Profile 1 characterizes primary schools who provide *homework assistance* daily and offerings of *remedial teaching for students with low grades*, *music/art* and *sports* several days a week. Primary schools in this profile further provide weekly offerings within the area of *LEARNING SUPPORT*, namely *enrichment teaching for students with high grades*, and *remedial teaching in German for non-native speakers of students from a non-German origin*, within the area of *MINT* (*technology/new media*), within the area of *LINGUISTICS AND HUMANITIES* (*German, literature*) and *handicraft* within the *MUSICAL-CULTURAL* area. Learning opportunities in *mathematics* and *science* (*MINT* area) and *forms of social learning* and *community activities* (*LEISURE AND SOCIAL LEARNING* area) are provided monthly or more frequently. All other offerings are provided less frequently in the extracurricular school

offerings of schools in Profile 1. This profile includes 35 percent of all-day primary schools in the sample. Based on the characteristics of this profile, Profile 1 was coined "homework assistance and wide range of offerings".

Profile 2 comprises primary schools whose extracurricular program provides daily *homework assistance. Remedial teaching for students with low grades*, *music/art* and *sports* are offered on a weekly to monthly basis. All other offerings, especially in the areas of *MINT* and *LINGUISTICS AND HUMANITIES* as well as *forms of social learning* and *community activities* are provided only sporadically, in terms of quarterly or less frequently. Learning opportunities in *politics, philosophy, ethics, religion* and *forms of intercultural learning* are no part of the extracurricular school programs belonging to Profile 2 at all. Profile 2 comprises 48 percent of primary schools in the sample. Based on the description of this profile, Profile 2 was referred to as "homework assistance and medium range of offerings".

Profile 3 characterizes primary schools who in contrast to the extracurricular programs described in Profile 1 and Profile 2 do not provide *homework assistance. Remedial teaching for students with low grades*, *music/art* and *sports* are the most frequently provided offerings on a monthly to quarterly basis. Offerings of *language of origin instruction*, learning opportunities in *politics, philosophy, ethics, religion* and *forms of intercultural learning* are not provided at all within the extracurricular school programs described by Profile 3. All other offerings are provided only sporadically, similar to Profile 2. Profile 3 is named "no homework assistance and small range of offerings" and includes 17 percent of primary schools in the sample.

Student Body of the School and Profiles of the Extracurricular School Programs

Table 2 displays descriptives of mean level of student competences and composition of student body together with school size within the different profiles of extracurricular school programs. One-way analysis of variance showed that there were no statistically significant differences between profiles in students' mean level of reading competence and mathematical competence. However, profiles differed statistically significant regarding the amount of immigrant students ($F(2,252)=13.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$) and regarding school size ($F(2,272) =14.64$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$). For both, the effect size value suggested medium effects. The analysis of variance regarding the amount of students from a low social background indicated only marginally significant differences between profiles, and the effect size suggested a small effect ($F(2,219)=2.65$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .02$).

Multinomial regression analyses examined differences in likely profile membership based on mean competence levels in linguistics and mathematics, amount of students with an immigrant background, amount of students from a low social background, and school size (see Table 3). For the comparison between Profile 2 "homework assistance and medium range of offerings" and Profile 1 "homework assistance and wide range of offerings", mean level of linguistic competence showed to be a significant predictor, while mean level of mathematical competence was only marginally significant (Model 1). Higher levels of linguistic competence were associated with a higher likelihood of belonging to Profile 2 relative to Profile 1 ($OR = 1.08$, $p = .02$; 95% CI = 1.01, 1.14). Though not significant, mean level of mathematical competence showed a tendency of higher levels of mathematical competence being associated

Table 2. Student competences, composition of student body, and school size in different profiles

	Profile 1 "homework assistance and wide range of offerings" (*n* = 104; 34,7 %)			**Profile 2** "homework assistance and medium range of offerings" (*n* = 146; 48,7 %)			**Profile 3** "no homework assistance and small range of offerings" (*n* = 50; 16,7 %)		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Mean level of linguistic competence	104	39.07	5.36	146	40.25	4.91	50	40.79	5.09
Mean level of mathematical competence	104	0.05	0.53	146	0.02	0.49	50	0.08	0.60
Amount of students with an immigrant background	91	30.71	23.49	119	20.86	20.79	45	11.69	13.86
Amount of students from a low social class	84	29.25	19.77	103	24.82	17.91	35	21.34	16.01
School size	93	289.85	146.25	133	225.98	118.90	49	174.84	100.34

Note. School size refers to total number of students.

with a lower likelihood of belonging in Profile 2 relative to Profile 1 (*OR* = 0.59, *p* = .08; 95% CI = 0.33, 1.07).

Including further characteristics of the student body in Model 2, amount of immigrant students was a significant predictor. Higher amounts of immigrant students were associated with a lower likelihood of belonging to Profile 2 relative to Profile 1 (*OR* = 0.97, *p* = .01; 95% CI = 0.96, 0.99). Mean level of linguistic and mathematical competence as well as the amount of students of low social background did not significantly contribute to the prediction of profile membership (Model 2). Including school size as an additional predictor (Model 3), none of the other predictors reached statistical significance. However, amount of students with an immigrant background – together with mean level of mathematical competence – showed to be marginally significant predictors (*p*s = .07).

For the comparison between Profile 3 "no homework assistance and small range of offerings" and Profile 1 "homework assistance and wide range of offerings", mean level of linguistic competence showed to significantly predict profile membership (Model 1). Higher levels of linguistic competence were associated with a higher likelihood of belonging to Profile 3 relative to Profile 1 (*OR* = 1.09, *p* = .04; 95% CI = 1.01, 1.18). Including further characteristics of student body in Model 2, amount of immigrant students was the only significant predictor. Higher amounts of immigrant students were associated with a lower likelihood of belonging to Profile 3 relative to Profile 1 (*OR* = 0.92, *p* < .001; 95% CI = 0.88, 0.96). All other predictors did not significantly contribute to the prediction of profile membership in Model 2. Amount of immigrant students was still a significant predictor when controlling for school size (Model 3). Still, higher amounts of immigrant students were associated with a lower likelihood of belonging to Profile 3 relative to Profile 1 (*OR* = 0.93, *p* = .001; 95% CI = 0.90, 0.97).

For the comparison between Profile 2 "homework assistance and medium range of offerings" and Profile 3 "no homework assistance and small range of offerings", both mean level of linguistic competence and mathematical competence, showed to be non-significant predictors (Model 1). Including further characteristics of student body in Model 2, amount of immigrant students showed to be a significant predictor. Higher amounts of immigrant students were associated with a higher likelihood of belonging to Profile 2 relative to Profile 3 (*OR* = 1.06, *p* = .002; 95% CI = 1.02, 1.10). Also in Model 3, when controlling for school size, amount of immigrant students was associated with a higher likelihood of belonging in Profile 2 relative to Profile 3 (*OR* = 1.05, *p* = .009; 95% CI = 1.01, 1.09). All other predictors did not significantly contribute to the prediction of profile membership.

Discussion

In this study, we analyzed the extracurricular offerings provided at German primary schools. From an educational policy perspective, all-day schools are expected to provide all-day care and better education with equal opportunities. From educational perspective, all-day schools are expected to complement regular hours of school instruction and compensate students' family background.

Table 3. Results of multinomial regression predicting profile by characteristics of student body and school size

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
		95% CI for Odds Ratio				95% CI for Odds Ratio				95% CI for Odds Ratio		
	B (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper	*B* (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper	*B* (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper
Profile 2 vs. Profile 1												
Intercept	-2.52* (1.20)				1.14 (1.79)				1.07 (1.82)			
Mean level of linguistic competence	0.07* (0.03)	1.01	1.08	1.14	-0.01 (0.04)	0.91	0.99	1.08	0.01 (0.04)	0.93	1.01	1.10
Mean level of mathematical competence	-0.53^{+} (0.30)	0.33	0.59	1.07	-0.58 (0.37)	0.27	0.56	1.16	-0.69^{+} (0.38)	0.24	0.50	1.06
Amount of students with an immigrant background					-0.03* (0.01)	0.96	0.97	0.99	-0.02^{+} (0.01)	0.96	0.98	1.00
Amount of students from a low social class					0.00 (0.01)	0.98	1.00	1.03	0.00 (0.01)	0.98	1.00	1.03
School size									-0.00* (0.00)	0.99	1.00	1.00
Profile 3 vs. Profile 1												
Intercept	-4.14* (1.67)				2.66 (2.54)				2.81 (2.59)			
Mean level of linguistic competence	0.09* (0.04)	1.01	1.09	1.18	-0.06 (0.06)	0.84	0.94	1.06	-0.03 (0.06)	0.86	0.97	1.09
Mean level of mathematical competence	-0.38 (0.40)	0.31	0.69	1.50	-0.12 (0.50)	0.33	0.89	2.38	-0.32 (0.52)	0.26	0.72	1.99

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
		95% CI for Odds Ratio				95% CI for Odds Ratio				95% CI for Odds Ratio		
	B (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper	*B* (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper	*B* (*SE*)	Lower	*OR*	Upper
Amount of students with an immigrant background					-0.08** * (.02)	0.88	0.92	0.96	-0.07** (0.02)	0.90	0.93	0.97
Amount of students from a low social class					0.01 (.02)	0.98	1.01	1.05	0.01 (0.02)	0.98	1.01	1.05
School size									-0.01** (0.00)	0.99	0.99	1.00
Profile 2 vs. Profile 3												
Intercept	1.62 (1.60)				-1.52 (2.38)				-1.75 (2.40)			
Mean level of linguistic competence	-0.01 (0.04)	0.91	0.99	1.07	0.05 (0.06)	0.94	1.05	1.17	0.04 (0.06)	0.93	1.04	1.16
Mean level of mathematical competence	-0.15 (0.38)	0.41	0.86	1.81	-0.46 (0.48)	0.25	0.63	1.61	-0.36 (0.48)	0.27	0.70	1.79
Amount of students with an immigrant background					0.06** (0.02)	1.02	1.06	1.10	0.05** (0.02)	1.01	1.05	1.09
Amount of students from a low social class					-0.01 (0.02)	0.96	0.99	1.03	-0.01 (0.02)	0.96	0.99	1.02
School size									0.00+ (0.00)	1.00	1.00	1.01
N	300				211				207			

Note. CI = confidence interval, Model 1: R^2= .03 (Cox & Snell), .03 (Nagelkerke), .01 (McFadden). Model $x^2(4)$= 7.88, p = .096
Model 2: R^2= .15 (Cox & Snell), .17 (Nagelkerke), .08 (McFadden). Model $x^2(8)$= 34.62, p < .001.
Model 3: R^2= .19 (Cox & Snell), .22 (Nagelkerke), .11 (McFadden). Model $x^2(10)$= 43.97, p < .001
+ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

Analyzing data of the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS), descriptive insight in the extracurricular offerings provided at German primary schools was given with regard to the content and frequency of these offerings.

Taken together, our analyses showed findings in line with findings from the StEG assessments (StEG-Konsortium, 2016, 2019). The most prevalent offering was homework assistance, provided by more than 80 percent of schools in the sample at least several times a week. Also rather prevalent were offerings of remedial teaching for students with low grades within the area of academic offerings. Amongst non-academic offerings, music/art, and sports were most prevalent offerings, provided weekly or more frequently by 33, and 42 percent of all primary schools, respectively. Altogether descriptive findings indicate that compensation is strived for in extracurricular offerings with regard to homework assistance and remedial teaching, whereas complementation, in terms of enriching students' development and learning by providing versatile learning arrangements, seems to be less in focus.

Further, the present study examined the range of extracurricular offerings within German primary schools conducting latent profile analysis. Three distinct profiles of extracurricular school programs pertaining to primary schools were empirically identified. Profile 1 was characterized by schools who provided homework support on a daily basis and remedial teaching, offerings in music/art, and sports several times a week. With the exception of language of origin support, offerings in foreign languages, in politics/philosophy/ethics/religion and different forms of social learning, all other offerings were provided weekly to at least monthly across school programs. Profile 2 was characterized by schools who provided homework support frequently, namely daily, while all other offerings were provided considerably less often, in terms of quarterly or less frequently. Only remedial teaching, offerings in music/art, and offerings in sports were provided on a weekly to monthly basis across school programs. Profile 3 differed from the others by characterizing schools who do not provide homework support. The most prevalent offerings in school programs of schools belonging to Profile 3 are remedial teaching, offerings in music/art, and sports. While these are offered less frequently than monthly, all other offerings are provided even less often. The most prevalent profile, composed of almost half of all primary schools in the sample was Profile 2, every third school was characterized as Profile 1, and the least prevalent was Profile 3 composed of 17 percent of the sample. Although Sauerwein et al. (2018), identified four profiles in German all-day schools, our findings relate to their findings as the most prevalent profile for primary schools seems to have a main focus on homework support in connection with offerings in music and arts, and sports.

Furthermore, multinomial logistic regression models were calculated to investigate the connection between profile of extracurricular school program and different performance-related characteristics and composition characteristics of the student body of the school. Considering mean levels of students' academic competences, differences in profile membership were found as a function of mean level of linguistic competence. Higher mean levels of linguistic competence indicated a greater likelihood of belonging in Profile 3 or in Profile 2 relative to Profile 1. Additionally accounting for composition of student body of the school and controlling for school size, group differences were found by the amount of immigrant students. Schools with a higher amount of immigrant students were more likely to be classified as Profile 1 than Profile 2 and Profile 3. In the extended models, in each case the contribution of amount of students of low social background was not significant in any model. Although all effects were of small size, our study extends the findings from Rollett and

colleagues (2011), whose analyses showed that only school size related to the range of offerings of all-day primary schools over time.

Taken together, the present study suggests that there is at least to some extent a match between the profile, i.e. the content, frequency, and range of the extracurricular offerings, with regard to students' linguistic competences and the ethnic composition, in terms of the amount of immigrant students in school. However, our results indicate that the setting up of extracurricular offerings provided at primary schools needs a more accurate fit, which matches with the student composition and their specific needs in order to complement and compensate. In conjunction with the findings from Rollett and colleagues (2011), especially small schools may face challenges to provide extracurricular activities suitable to fulfill their obligations of complementation and compensation.

The results of this study need to be interpreted within the context of several limitations. First, the data were collected within the NEPS framework. While this offers a satisfying sample size, there are restrictions on part of the items and scales. Principals provided information on the extracurricular activities at their schools and were employed as the sole source for the composition of the student body. Since we were interested in the principals' perspective on the student body, we refrained from checking the validity of principals' evaluations, which would have been possible by comparing with individual student data from Grade 1 on immigrant background or social class. While principals' information on characteristics of the student body concerned the school as a whole, competence data was only available from students of Grade 1. However, we want to argue that the mean levels of one grade can be used as a proxy-variable for the mean competence level of the school. Further, no information on quality of offerings was considered in our analysis. Quality of offerings showed to be a very relevant explaining variable in studies on outcomes of extended education (e.g., von Allmen, Schüpbach, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2019) and should therefore be considered in future investigations. Especially in conjunction with the method of latent profile analysis, this could provide valuable insights. More importantly however, we were restricted regarding information on students' attendance of all-day school in general and attendance of extracurricular offerings in specific. Hence, the results of our study are focused at school, the meso level, and do not provide a perspective at the micro level. No statement can be made about how the competences of students who depend on compensatory and/or complementary effects in academic and non-academic offerings and who attend them regularly develop in association with the respective profiles of extracurricular school programs. That means for future research to investigate whether a specific profile of extracurricular school program oriented towards the prevailing student body can effectively achieve individual complementation of regular hours of school instruction and/or individual compensation of student's family background on student level. Whether a particular profile of a school succeeds in meeting both demands equally well or whether one goal is achieved better than the other, remains open and is difficult to prove empirically as complementation and compensation cannot be clearly demarcated but merge into one another. The question arises whether the mission of complementation and compensation is fundamentally inseparable whenever there is a group of individual students studying together?

Nevertheless, on the basis of the present investigation, it can be hypothesized that the potential of matching extracurricular school offerings to the specific needs of the school's student body is not yet fully exploited in order to endeavor complementation and compen-

sation through the content, frequency, and range of offerings provided within the extra-curricular school program.

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Activities and Values in School-Age Educare Mathematics

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Abstract: Based on an empirical study of policy enactment and mathematical enculturation in Swedish school-age educare, a conceptualization of *mathematics* as the assemblage of *activities* and *values* is proposed. Observations were analysed using policy enactment theory and the lens of mathematical activities. The result shows that making creations, describing relationships and addressing problems are mathematical activities evident in the practices of school-age educare. Values of plausibility, critical stance and connectedness are evident. This alternative conceptualization of mathematics offers possibilities for respecting a balance between education and care in practice. The result opens for alternative ways of thinking about mathematics as a complementing and compensating area that resists the tendency towards *schoolification* in educare.

Keywords: extended education, mathematics, activities, values

Introduction

It is afternoon at the educare centre the Moon and children are engaged in various activities. I approach Gabriel and Michael who are sitting around a table. They are cutting out cardboard figures to build a city in which robots—that they had also assembled—can travel around. Gabriel designs a parking meter and calculates the fees. I ask Gabriel how much it costs to park. "Fifty kronor for four hours", and he continues drawing. "Okay", I say. "But how much is it to park one hour?" He thinks: "Well… 50 divided by… four…" Gabriel estimates: "Per hour it will be around 15 kronor, or we can say ten". Michael objects: "It may not necessarily be division. This isn't math… I mean, if it is 80 kronor, and if you park for two hours, it's not certain that you should pay 40". Michael continues as he gestures with hands and fingers: "If you buy three pieces of something in the store for 15 kronor…" He shakes his head, shows one finger and continues: "… and then you want to buy just one, it's not certain one-piece costs five kronor". I ask: "Why is that?" He shrugs: "I don't know, maybe they want to earn money. One piece might cost seven or so…"

This vignette illustrates what could be considered mathematics in Swedish school-age educare. Children perform activities at will, based on their interests. The adult asks questions and invites children to explain. Materials are touched, cut and put together. Children's stories and reasons for what they do emerge in conversation. There is a clear expression of what the situation *is not* about: "*This is not math*..." Michael exclaims when Gabriel tries to calculate prices using a typical school maths division: If a price for $4x$ equals 50, then x equals 50 divided by four. Michael points that in their robot, paper city another logic is valid—it may not necessarily be division. As in a real shop, they also want to earn money for the price of a unit. Still, there is a logical explanation for the price, and it is reasonable.

The vignette captures the tension explored in this paper. On the one hand, the practice of *school-age educare*—"fritidshem"[1] in Swedish—has held an "exceptional position […] promoting both education, care, play and leisure in a beneficial way" (Klerfelt, Haglund,

1 85% of Swedish children between six and nine participate in school-aged educare, *fritidshem.* While school is compulsory from the age of six, school-aged educare is not. To participate in the latter, a child's caregivers need to be working or studying (SNAE, 2018b). For more details, see Klerfelt et al. (2020).

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Andersson, & Kane, 2020, p. 187) for children's general well-being and development. Education in this setting prioritizes meaning making and playful learning in caring ways. On the other hand, recent education policy in Sweden has tended to extend the teaching discourse of compulsory school to school-age educare, aiming to improve student achievement in international comparative measurements such as OECD's PISA tests (Government, 2016). The term *schoolification* highlights the tendency to assimilate other educational settings into schooling in content and character, subordinating their own value and importance to the goals of compulsory schooling (e. g., Gunnarsdottir, 2014; Lager, 2015). We claim that the tension between the possibilities of educare and the tendency towards schoolification is visible when mathematics is made explicit.

In 2016, the Swedish National Agency of Education (SNAE) revised the curriculum for school-age educare to support learning in different areas such as mathematics. "Mathematics as a tool to describe ordinary phenomena and solve ordinary problems" (The Swedish National Agency of Education [SNAE], 2018a, p. 25) is stated as an aim. The problem emerges since the term "mathematics" carries a meaning closely linked to the practices of compulsory schooling which are characterized by structured content, with a high priority given to formalization and the dominance of rules, numbers and symbols, the authority of math books, and solutions that fit the right answer in the book (Helenius et al., 2018; Holmberg, & Ranagården, 2016). Such an idea of mathematics is strongly rooted in the collective experience of formal school education, probably shared by most school-age educare participants—adults and children alike. If not challenged, there is the risk that the views, activities and relations typical of school mathematics will colonize and inhibit the emergence of other possible meanings of mathematics that are pertinent to school-age educare.

Indeed, the limited research that explores mathematics in extended education has pointed to this tension. For example, Haglund and Peterson (2017) explored why practitioners use board games in school-age educare. They showed that supporting social competences and structure were the most predominant reasons. Learning cognitive abilities was a secondary reason that appeared when mathematics was made evident. However, practitioners pointed to the difference of the use of board games for the development of mathematical skills in the context of school age educate and in school. Harvard Maare (2015) points to the tension between teachers' and children' intentions for developing mathematical relationships. Game designs that allow peer collaboration and children's affect and motivation bring attention to mathematics in school age educare. Nonetheless, the nature or characteristics of mathematics are not interrogated but remain subordinated to the interactions. Other intervention studies in countries such as Germany have emphasized that participation in extracurricular activities in a variety of areas, including mathematics, supports the development of social and academic competences (e. g., Fisher, & Klieme, 2013). In other locations, such as Hong Kong, studies have highlighted general competencies and lifelong learning abilities, encompassing non-formal and formal learning, as well as mathematics (e. g., Sivan, & Po Kwan Siu, 2020; Bray, 2013). It is evident in these studies that the meaning of "mathematics" in extended education is not interrogated. In some cases, the mathematical elements seem intended to supplement school; in other cases, the presence of mathematics seems intended to amend for the children's lack of success in school.

In this article, we propose an alternative understanding of what could be labelled as "school-age educare mathematics" in harmony with the formulation of education and care. Since school-age educare has a valuable offering that combines education and care for chil-

dren (Klerfelt et al., 2020), the question arises of how the mathematics education enacted in such spaces can be characterized to be distinct from school mathematics. We explore the mathematics enacted by staff and pupils in Swedish school-age educare. The aim is to provide an alternative conceptualization of mathematics education as a practice that offers a different view of knowledge and learning—complementation—, with the purpose of offering children experiences not available in the spaces in which they already participate —compensation. In this way, we explore the concerns of this current special IJREE issue with respect to mathematics.

Policy Enactment and Mathematical Enculturation as Theoretical Lenses

This research draws on two different tools from studies on educational policy change and mathematics education: policy enactment (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012) and mathematical enculturation (Bishop, 1991a). The former allows us to understand recent policy modifications unfolded in the particular context of Swedish educare, and the latter makes it possible to think of "mathematics" as related to the cultural activities and values in such a context, in contrast to school mathematics.

Ball and collaborators' (2012) notion of policy enactment directs attention to the multiple translation processes that people-in-practice undertake when making sense of and acting on the intentions of policy documents. Moving away from ideas of "implementation", policy enactment offers tools to study concrete actions—through which policy becomes alive—in context. The enactment brings together contexts, values and history in the process of unfolding new activities in practice. Despite being strongly interconnected, the interpretive, material and discursive aspects of enactment can be distinguished analytically to capture different angles of the translations, reinterpretations and new creations that people enact in practice. The material aspect invites us to consider the physical contexts and artefacts used and produced to materialize policy. The interpretive aspect directs the gaze to participants' articulations of, "what does this text mean to us?" (Ball et al., 2012, p. 43). The discursive aspect emphasises how the new productions and processes of meaning making relate to contextual and historical conditions so that they come to be considered true (Ball, 2015). These perspectives are used to consider mathematics in educare.

Policy intentions in Sweden are inscribed in the Education Act (SFS 2010:800), the curriculum (SNAE, 2018a) and related commentary material (SNAE, 2016). These documents define the policy directives that are to be translated into educational settings. The enactments of policy involve recontextualization at different levels of education. Material and interpretive aspects are visible in the curriculum document and accompanying guidelines circulated by SNAE to facilitate interpretations of policy in practice. For instance, a commentary material (SNAE, 2016) unfolds the intended meanings of the curriculum and provides suggestions for practice. The discursive aspect is partially evident in the worldwide tendency of educational policy to emphasise improved student performance in international comparative assessments (Ball, 2003). Such a tendency has affected extended education in both character and content (Klerfelt et al., 2020; Noam, & Triggs, 2018). Over the years, central components and concepts have been changed in the policy intentions. In the 2010

Education Act activities became education and children became students. We claim that when mathematics as a tool for problem solving in everyday contexts appeared in the 2016 curriculum, policy discursively aligned school-age educare and school (Wallin, Norén, & Valero, 2019) since mathematics is conveyed as a means of educating for problem solving—one of the key ideas of the Swedish school curriculum (SNAE, 2018a).

Bishop (1988) proposes understanding mathematics education as a process of enculturation. From this perspective, the mathematics curriculum is an educational policy that aims to steer and influence society with regard to what counts as mathematics. The curriculum brings together the values, goals and ambitions of a given society with particular views of mathematics. Furthermore, "mathematics is a part of everyone's curriculum […] because it is a part of everyone's culture" (Bishop, 1991b, p. 196). Through the study of different cultures, societies and contexts around the world, Bishop has identified various forms of mathematical knowledges and related values and qualities. One of these approaches is "Western Mathematics", with which people in Western Modern societies are familiar because it is present in academia and school curricula (Bishop, 1991a). Western Mathematics embeds a set of values such as rationalism and objectivism, control and progress, openness and mystery. These values are seldom explicitly discussed, but function implicitly in the enactments of the school curriculum in practice. As values vary according to culture, context and society, they can feel more or less familiar to the people involved. As a result, Bishop (1988) identified the need for mathematics education to work "in tune with the 'home' culture of the society" (p. 179).

A problem in mathematics education is the tension between the expansive culture of Western Mathematics that dominates the curriculum and the many other "home cultures" of people, communities and societies that do not identify with Western culture. Such cultures often clash with the norms and values imposed by Western school mathematics. As an alternative, Bishop (1988) proposed that there are six activities that are part of all researched human cultures and contexts. They are "universal" because they are performed in all cultures in various ways and with various meanings. They encapsulate the mathematical, because they emerge when people engage with others and their material conditions in situations that require reasoning, doing and systematic thinking. *Counting*, answers the question "how many?". *Locating* relates to the spatial world. *Measuring* relates to the comparison and arrangement of quantities. *Designing* involves creating, constructing and describing things or shapes. *Playing* involves the agreement on rules for operating and strategizing in situations, as well as distancing oneself from reality in an imaginary world to operate with a set of conditions and rules to achieve a goal. *Explaining* includes actions and talk of motivations, formalizations and reasoning. Bishop (1988) described these six mathematical activities as "necessary and sufficient for the development of mathematical knowledge" (p. 182). These ideas are important in studies of mathematics education in contexts different from school such as etnomathematical practices (e. g., Nutti, 2013) and preschool mathematics (Helenius et al., 2018). These theoretical lenses are used to examine the tension.

Summing up, these two theoretical lenses allow us to approach the explicit entrance of mathematics into the 2016 curriculum modification from the perspective of mathematical enculturation. We acknowledge that there has always been "mathematics" in the practices of school-age educare. But by investigating the actual enactments of mathematical enculturation, it is possible to characterize what is particular to the context of educare. Therefore, this study takes the work of practitioners in the field as a point of departure and attempts to respect their work and expertise. At the same time, the research adopts a critical stance that problematizes

the tendency towards schoolification imposed by policy changes and offers an alternative conceptualization for practice. By researching the mathematics enacted in centres, our intention is to make visible and add meaning to the position of mathematics in school-age educare, where "care, play and leisure [relate] in a beneficial way" (Klerfelt et al., 2020, p. 187).

Methodological and Analytical Approach

Contextual conditions create a dynamic process of policy/curriculum enactment (Ball et al., 2012). These conditions bring together configurations of values, attitudes, relationships, historic development and resources into the enactment process. Since contextual conditions are unique in each setting, the overall research design for this research is based on two comprehensive case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in two distinct school-age educare centres—the Moon and the Sun—both located in a medium-sized municipality in Sweden. Both settings service ten-year-old children in school buildings. The Sun is part of a rural school where most children have Swedish backgrounds, while the Moon operates in an urban area where the children have more cosmopolitan roots.

The empirical material for this study is the set of participatory observations completed by the first author of this article. Twelve observation sessions between one and three hours each were conducted in two educare centres offered to children in the ages of nine and eleven. Participants in the observations were one school-age educare teacher, one staff, one school teacher and children at the centres. Some caregivers were also included, since they engaged in some activities when collecting their children. The observations were documented using field notes, photos, audio- and video recordings. The video recordings were collected as the researcher moved around observing and talking to children, identifying Bishop's mathematical activities. No general video recording was made to protect children's privacy. The overall material amounted to 60 minutes of recordings and 73 photos.

Ethical considerations follow the Swedish Research Council's (2017) general principles for quality and ethics in research. Permission was granted by the municipality and the leadership of each centre. Staff, children and caregivers signed written participation consent. The names of all institutions and characters are fictional. The first author's identity as a researcher shifted with the settings—at the Moon, she was a familiar mathematics teacher at the school, while at the Sun, she was an outsider. Being familiar to the children in the Moon was an advantage since the children did not seem to change their behaviour when she came closer, but it was a disadvantage since the participants were aware of her research interest in mathematics education.

The observations were analysed in detail by the first author and then in collaboration within the research team. The recordings were closely examined to select sequences of activity where it was clear that one or more of Bishop's six mathematical activities were evident, by paying attention to the participants' verbal communication, bodily expressions and actions. In this first stage, 21 sequences varying between 15 seconds and 7.32 minutes, were selected.

In the second stage, each one of the 21 sequences were analysed, paying attention to the aspects of policy enactment theory—the interpretive, the material and the discursive— at the

concrete level of the enactment process taking place. A table was completed for each sequence, describing the situation, who was involved, what the situation was about, and which of the six mathematical activities were evident and in which form. The interpretive aspect described how the participants were talking, gesturing and posing questions as they made sense of the mathematical activity. The material aspect organized the use of space and artefacts that were drawn as part of the activities and interactions. It became evident that the participants' bodies played a role in relation to other artefacts. The idea of bodies as an active force in learning (De Freitas, & Sinclair, 2013, p. 454) allowed us to focus on bodily movements and gestures as materialisations of mathematical activity. The discursive aspect was traced through connecting each of the situations to the characteristics of the centres' culture. Out of this second stage of analysis a pattern emerged regarding the frequency with which Bishop's mathematical activities were evident and how the aspects of enactment were configured. This led to the identification of three types of school-age educare mathematical activities: *making creations*, *describing relationships* and *addressing problems.*

In the last stage, the 21 tables of sequences were examined again with the focus on how attitudes, justifications and ideas were represented and defended in expressions and productions. Applying a keen and subtle eye to the interpretive, discursive and material aspects in each sequence revealed three types of formations covering values of school-age educare mathematics. Values that were frequently enacted in the 21 sequences were *plausibility*, *critical stance* and *connectedness.*

Results

The resulting identification of three types of activities and values provides a way to talk about mathematics "in tune with"—to paraphrase Bishop (1988, p. 179)—the cultural context of school-age educare. In other words, the analysis of situations where Bishop's six mathematical activities emerged explicitly, and the analysis of the discursive, interpretive and material aspects of their enactment led to identification of the activities and values of school-age educare mathematics. Below, the values and activities are presented in general and then illustrated with three vignettes that provide us with insight into their enactment in practice.

The value of *plausibility* was visible as participants expressed justifications and arguments that made their actions reasonable by connecting to the world outside the educare setting. *Critical stance* was evident in the form of challenges to, questionings of and reflections on their own doings or the doings of others. The value of *connectedness* was traced in the participants' involvement in the situations, in their actual collaboration with others, and in the ways in which they responded—turning and moving—towards each other. The values were expressed not only in verbal enunciations, but also in the bodily actions and use of artefacts, space and materials.

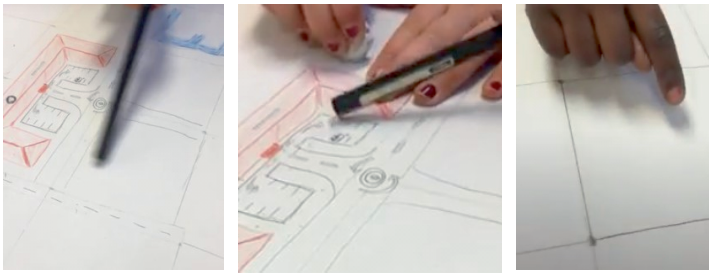
Making creations was an activity where designing was dominant, while counting, localization and explaining were less evident. In making something new, artefacts and children played a crucial role in participants' conversations and actions. Creations, reproduction of patterns and constructions were produced. Creativity appeared as a framing approach in the

situations. Taking a critical stance was slightly more salient in this activity than the values of plausibility and connectedness.

In the activity *describing relationships*, explaining, locating and measuring, and the value of plausibility were more salient. The situations were framed in the instructional and teaching approach, where the focus of communication among participants was on describing concepts and ideas for the purpose of producing descriptions and generalizations. Artefacts and bodily movements were evident in explanations.

When it came to *addressing problems*, measuring, playing and counting were most frequent and the value of connectedness was slightly more salient and crucial in participants' involvement with each other, exchanges and reasoning. Artefacts and children's bodies were tools to elaborate ideas and generate strategies to achieve commonly agreed aims. Tackling problems while taking existing rules and ways of acting in a familiar social context into consideration was an approach that framed the situations.

Mapping "Our City"



At the Moon, school and school-age educare staff are working with the children in building "Our city". Sofia and Johanna are drawing on an A1 sheet of paper. They are using special coloured markers and a ruler. I head to their table, asking what they are up to. Sofia lifts her head and answers enthusiastically: "We are making a map of a city." Johanna explains that they are making this map because they are going to build a city based on it. They explain that the map represents an urban area and with their markers indicate different buildings and arrangements. "Here there will be a pet shop", says Johanna, placing her marker where the shop will be located. The grocery stores and the pet shop seem far away from each other, so I ask: "Why is there such a large distance between the pet shop and the grocery store?" Johanna moves the marker back and forth on the highway connecting the grocery store to the pet shop and says: "Because … it should be suitable for cars to go between…" Then Johanna places the marker between the grocery store and a closer, empty area across the street and says: "If we put it here, then everyone can just walk". For clarification, I ask: "Okay, you should be able to drive to the pet shop?" Sofia nods and ends the discussion by demonstrating the idea of the map making: "… you can go by car because there's a road here", sliding the marker again back and forth along the road.

This vignette illustrates the activity of *making creations.* A creative perspective frames the overall activity. Children design an urban space, measure at scale the sizes of the elements that

will make up that part of the city, locate them in ways that seem suitable and explain the ideas behind their design. Holding markers, they use their hands to show the spatial environment and slide the marker between points to make visible the distance between buildings. The values of critical stances and plausibility are enacted when the children link the map to reality as a way of expressing similarities with situations they are familiar with, reflect on the characteristics of their design and justify their choice of distances. In the children's conception of the urban area design, it is evident that customers will be required to have a car. Their design of the area and the consequences this brings are justified because of the connection to an existing urban area nearby their school. The value of connectedness is embedded in the bodily and verbal expressions that children build together and that emerge in the relations between maps, cities and realities as they generalize and justify their creation—for example, if the distance is long, there is a highway and therefore one needs a car.

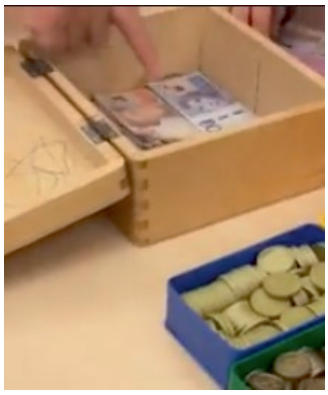
Increasing Security

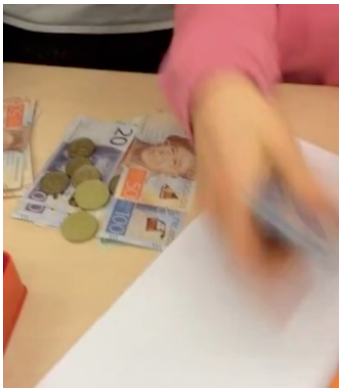
At the Sun, children and one school-age educare teacher are playing in the imaginary setting called Sara's Café. In the room, children have created several businesses and have labelled them: there is a veterinarian, a bank, a police station, a toy shop and, of course, Sara's Café. The teacher, "Sara", who dresses up to play the role of the café owner and a child, Patrick, are standing by the wall discussing something. I get closer to observe and record their interaction. Patrick, the police officer in town, has been called to install a security system at the café. Patrick is telling Sara how to operate the newly installed alarm box. "Put your thumb here and push". Patrick points to the wall, to the imaginary box, showing her how to push a pretend button. Sara does as he tells her, though not for long enough, and informs him about her observation: "Whoops! A light on the alarm box turned yellow". Patrick reacts to the light, quickly extends his hand to reach the box and says: "Press again but a bit longer. Now press OK and then press three other buttons. Now you should enter a passcode". Sara follows the instruction carefully. The alarm is set, and the policeman returns to his police station.

The vignette above is a *describing relationships* activity, framed by an instructional and teaching discourse. In this case, however, it is not the teacher who instructs and teaches but the

child who frames the situation. The child describes and explains to Sara the function of a security system, creating an imaginary object and using his hands as he points to and presses imagined buttons for a certain duration and number of times. His instructions are accurate and Sara understands him; he seeks her attention, then reflects on and reacts to her actions. Connectedness is evidenced in his relation to Sara and the system. Measuring appears in the bodily actions of pressing the buttons, as he shows a sense of time span that relates to the speed needed to move the fingers on the box. He verbally and bodily describes and explains the function of a technological system and generalizes it—when there is a security box, one needs to press certain buttons and enter a passcode for it to work. The value of plausibility is evident as his security system is designed to mirror an existing object, pictured through imagination, but actualized in the concrete situation.

Making a Withdrawal





I'm sitting in a corner at Sara's Café. Mary and Rita are the bank tellers today. Sara approaches them and states her errand at the bank: "What is my balance?" Rita replies: "You have 1500 kronor in your bank account". Sara points to the coins and bills: "Great, I want to withdraw 1500 kronor in different denominations. I need money with lower denominations to give change to my customers". The girls start to talk, count and discuss. After a while, it seems that their calculation goes wrong. Rita becomes confused, looks at the stack of coins and bills and turns to Mary: "3000 ... no, wait, wait. Where were we?" The counting takes a while and Sara waits patiently. Rita becomes a bit stressed and says: "Sara, can you please come back in a while, when we have this worked out? We will contact you." Rita turns to Mary and says: "Now, I need to count by myself. Do not put any money in here please. Let me have some peace and quiet". Rita starts to count the money; she lays the coins and bills in a stack and starts to write the amounts on a memo pad. She writes and rewrites, putting the bills into piles and explaining the calculations to Mary. Mary listens and helps. After some minutes, she shrugs her shoulders and lifts her face in triumph: "Now we need to call Sara and tell her it's all worked out!"

This vignette illustrates the activity of addressing problems. It unfolds a perspective of tackling problematic issues as a process with an unknown end or result. As Sara enters the bank to withdraw money, nobody can predict how the situation will evolve. The children measure the value of the money, count the bills and coins to match the desired withdrawal amount with their denominations, and engage in playing as bank tellers with a customer. Connectedness appears in a special way as Sara allows the space for the children to do their work without intervening. The children recognize their challenge but kindly ask to be alone to think. A critical stance emerges as the children recognize the difficulty in counting money in given denominations and restart counting in a more systematic and strategic way, considering the desire of the customer—the amount to be withdrawn and the small denominations. The arguments were connected to familiar situations and became a source of justifications for participants' actions and expressions.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper began by pointing out a tension between the possibilities of educare and a policy tendency towards schoolification where "mathematics" appears in the curriculum as an explicit education area in school-age educare. The unchallenged association of mathematics with the practices of school may reinforce such tendencies, which compromises the special qualities to be found in the combination of education and care that characterizes school-age educare as a space for children's whole development and well-being. Questioning whether an alternative conceptualization of "mathematics" is possible emerges as a way to counteract unchallenged policy directions about what counts as mathematics in school-age educare. Theoretical tools from policy enactment theory, drawing on Ball and collaborators (2012) and mathematical enculturation based on Bishop (1988, 1991a, 1991b), allowed a detailed study of how activities can be recognized as mathematical in a broader cultural sense unfolding in the enactment of the interpretive, discursive and material aspects of the curriculum. In contrast to Haglund and Peterson (2017), these theoretical tools allowed us to explore the mathematics not as a discourse of "learning cognitive abilities", but as a particular emergence in a practice where education and care are combined (Klerfelt et al., 2020).

The results showed that three types of *school-age educare mathematical activities* and a set of three *values* were enacted in practice. "Mathematics" refers to the particular configurations of the cultural mathematical activities—counting, locating, measuring, playing, explaining and designing—and the lived-in, embodied values emerging as participants engage in the context of school-age educare. The activities of making creations, describing relationships and addressing problems, together with the values of plausibility, critical stance and connectedness offer a way of conceptualizing school-age educare mathematics as a complementary approach to knowledge and learning. We envision school-age educare as a space for the enactment of activities and values, experiences and challenges coming alive in the entanglements of contexts, participants, interpretations, discourses and materialities. In short, a space of emerging mathematical possibilities. The vignettes presented in the paper illustrate such spaces. The empirical identification of these mathematical activities and values may not

be the only possible way, but it was the way that was evident at the Sun and the Moon at the time of observation.

Our conceptualization offers a description that differs from the usual ways of viewing school mathematics. There is no prescribed syllabus or content to follow, nor predetermined list of right abilities or competencies in this view of school-age educare mathematics. From our perspective, mathematics emerges out of children's and teachers' genuine interest and engagement, and out of what they know and who they are. As proposed by Harvard Maare (2015), children's interests and affects need to be met more in the educational debate. The mathematics is not external to them, but it is in their daily conversations, actions, productions, thoughts, imaginations and challenges as they relate and reason in the cultural context of school-age educare. This type of mathematics values care for others and the situation, the good reasons that are expressed to support actions, and the efforts to tackle challenges together. Such a set of values also differs from school mathematics values. Thus, school-age educare mathematics offers a compensatory area for children's experience.

This conceptualization provides a concrete tool for practitioners to understand, think about and recognize "mathematics" while respecting the nature of their own practice. Teachers and staff can identify and stimulate the emergence of mathematical activities and values through communication and encouragement. They can take a step back or get involved to build on children's interests, knowledge and expression. In this way, school-age educare mathematics can offer a complementation and compensation to school mathematics.

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To Teach Undercover: A Liberal Art of Rule

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Abstract: School-age educare centres in Sweden have previously not engaged in teaching guided by objectives, but since 2016 there has been a legal requirement to do so as part of an assignment to complement the knowledge requirements in school. Through focus group discussions with children and school-age educare teachers this study explores *how* it is possible to teach in a voluntary educational programme such as school-age educare. The analysis problematises the voluntary nature of school-age educare in relation to the requirement to teach by using the concept *liberal arts of rule* while asking *what* can be governed and *how* one can govern in these centres. The results show that the children willingly participate in school-age educare since they experience themselves to be free and with great opportunities to play when in the centres. At the same time, the teachers fulfil the complementary assignment by disguising learning while teaching undercover.

Keywords: extended education, school-age educare, complementary assignment, advanced liberal rule

Introduction

How does one teach in a context where teaching —by tradition— is not considered legitimate? This seems to be a task that is not easy to perform, yet it is a mission that Swedish school-age educare faces today. How this task is handled by teachers and how children experience their participation in school-age educare is explored in this article through a qualitative analysis of focus group discussions.

School-age educare, hereinafter referred to as SAEC, is an integral part of the education system in Sweden, constituted of both education and care – educare. Legislation stipulates that all municipalities must offer this kind of educational programme, staffed with university-educated SAEC-teachers among other pedagogues, for children in preschool classes, compulsory school and compulsory school for children with learning disabilities. Unlike the school, SAEC is completely free from knowledge requirements and mandatory attendance for children; nevertheless 85 % of children aged six to nine are enrolled in this educational programme (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019a, hereinafter SNAE). However, SAEC centres are governed by the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and a national curriculum (SNAE, 2019b) and through these they are regulated to *complement* the school. The curriculum requires co-operation between the different forms of education with an intention to enhance children's development and learning. The complementary assignment for SAEC revolves around offering learning that is situationally governed, experience-based and group-oriented and with a content that is based on children's needs, interests and initiative.

Since 2016, SAEC teachers have been obliged to teach while guided by objectives. During this time the term teaching was entered into a new chapter intended solely for SAEC in

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the national curriculum. While the purpose, objectives and central content were clarified, the concept of teaching was given a prominent role: to teach *should* aim to stimulate children's development and learning, and offer meaningful leisure time (SNAE, 2019b). It is therefore through teaching that the centres should complement the other education forms in their implementation and fulfilment of the objectives of the curriculum (SNAE, 2016). In the Education Act, teaching is defined as goal-driven processes that, under the guidance of teachers, aims at development and learning through the acquisition and development of knowledge and values (SFS, 2010:800, 3§). The curriculum includes a supplement which states that in SAEC, the concept of teaching should be given a wide interpretation, where care, development and learning in the teaching forms a whole (for more detailed explanations of the Swedish SAEC, see for example Klerfelt & Ljusberg, 2018 and Klerfelt, 2017).

SNAE points out that the concept of teaching is controversial and debated vis-a-vis SAEC. In their evaluation of the new curriculum chapter a dissatisfaction emerges among the personnel in the centres, revealing opinions that emphasise that the concept does not belong in SAEC. According to SNAE there are fears that the use of the term 'teaching' —distinctly associated with the school— will reinforce an ongoing and contested schoolification of SAEC. The evaluation also shows different interpretations of the complementary assignment among the personnel, some indicating that the new curriculum chapter —with its focus on teaching guided by objectives— may lead to overly controlled activities, which is also considered too similar to the school (SNAE, 2018).

Overall, this indicates contradictions between traditional and newer ideals, implying a disagreement about what SAEC is or should be these days. This study, therefore, intends to highlight how this contradiction is handled by SAEC teachers in SAEC centres when assigned to complement the school by conducting teaching guided by objectives in a voluntary educational programme, and in relation to this the study examines how the children perceive their time in SAEC today.

Aim and Research Questions

To make visible how teaching, as part of the complementary assignment, is managed in practice in SAEC, the study explores how children and SAEC teachers talk about the purpose of SAEC and about what they actually do when in the centres. Given the voluntary nature of SAEC, the aim is to problematise the requirement of teaching in relation to *what* can be governed and *how* one can govern in the centres. The analytical focus is directed towards the following research questions:

- How do the children talk about their time spent in SAEC?
- How do the teachers talk about their work in the centres?
- How is it possible to teach in a voluntary educational programme?

Previous Research

As part of the research field called 'extended education', Swedish research has since 2016 — when the curriculum chapter exclusively about SAEC was launched— engaged in some studies, mentioned below, which in various ways, to some extent, deal with the concept of teaching and/or the complementary assignment. Together they paint a picture in which the centres are caught between a tradition of social pedagogy and a contemporary educational discourse, positioning SAEC as an arena offering both social everyday knowledge and formal school knowledge. In the tension surrounding older traditions and newer standards, a shift is visible in the policy documents, moving SAEC away from an assignment focused on care towards a strengthened educational assignment focusing on objectives, individual performance and assessment. However, such a schoolification is not assumed to be as prominent in the centres. There is said to be a gap between what the centres are expected to do and what they actually do. A traditional way of working is prioritised at the expense of the newer goal-oriented and curriculum-bound assignment (Boström & Berg, 2018). In the centres, a social pedagogical discourse still seems dominant (Lager, 2019), where a relational approach means that personnel consider themselves as role models, guiding children in social learning (Jonsson & Lillvist, 2019). One reason this discourse continues to be central is said to be the long history of care and development of children′s relational and social abilities. As a consequence, teaching in SAEC today is shown to be primarily about care, relations and children learning to play with others (Lager, 2018). Along with this way of teaching, a persistent starting point in the child′s perspective is found when analysing how a commonly shared discourse produces a professional identity among personnel in SAEC centres (Klerfelt, 2018). This professional identity —emphasising fundamental values of social relations— is claimed already to have been created and adopted in the teacher education (Ackesjö, Lindqvist & Nordänger, 2019), for example, through the literature student teachers are exposed to in their education. This literature ties teacher′s professionalism in SAEC to the skill of not being formal and school-like, but still being educational in a politically approved way (Ljusberg & Holmberg, 2019). Due to this kind of ambiguity, the personnel consider their educational assignment to be unclear. When giving the skill of not being too formal and school-like a high value, the personnel experience dissatisfaction when they need to be controlling towards both children and content (Ludvigsson & Falkner, 2019). In addition, there are different understandings of the complementary assignment (Perselli & Hörnell, 2019). Some researchers call for other concepts, specifying the unique character of SAEC, to avoid losing special features in the SAEC tradition and end up too deep into the school tradition (Klerfelt & Ljusberg, 2018).

The present study is an additional contribution in the field of extended education, and tries to broaden our understanding of how extended education can be staged.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

As a way of framing the analytical focus, a theoretical perspective with its point of departure in the Foucauldian notion of governmentality will be outlined. Such a qualitative approach

contributes knowledge of how children and SAEC teachers create meaning and find solutions based on available conditions in the centres.

Formal education has for centuries been a practice of governing, a way of shaping ideal citizens as a way of trying to achieve a better society. Today, a new set of educational obligations have emerged, not confined in space and time in the same ways as the school. Besides this, a shift in *how* to govern has been established. The value of learning has become a dominant principle of our time; consequently, children are taught in arenas other than the school. Simultaneously, the value of freedom underpins our conceptions of how our life should be organised; consequently, children cannot be forced into things in any way possible. For that reason, the government of freedom will be theorised here (Fejes, 2006; Foucault, 1997; Rose, 1999).

In Foucault's later work, he addresses the governability of subjects and discusses how the emergence of the modern social state enabled changed ways of exercising power involving an increased governability of people's conduct. These forms of governing can be analysed using the concept of governmentality, putting the practice of governing into question. Analysing governmentality means the searchlight is directed at liberal rationalities of governing, implying liberalism as a mentality of ruling, a mode of governing. The mentalities of governing have shifted from repressive and centralised power into decentralised rationalities of governing via institutions, such as SAEC, and via subjects, for example children in the SAEC centres (Fejes, 2006; Foucault, 1982, 2003; Hultqvist & Petersson, 1995). One way to describe this shift is by naming a pervasive rationality of governing as *advanced liberal rule.* This kind of rationality degovernmentalises the state but de-statises practices of government. If possible, it seeks to govern through regulated choices of citizens rather than governing through society. The advanced liberal rule locates social institutions within a market logic, comprising ideas of competition, benchmarking, accountability and consumer demands, thereby creating a distance between political decisions and providers of social services. In a wide range of choices, people are created as autonomous actors who need to choose and thereby fulfil themselves as citizens. This is a form of governing conducted through people's own free choices, using techniques to act in the name of freedom (Fejes, 2006; Hultqvist & Petersson 1995; Rose, 1996). That is, to shape people's behaviour in accordance with particular norms and ideas. Instead of laws, rationality shapes people's conduct by working through their desires and beliefs:

> The regulation of the conduct becomes a matter of each individual's desire to govern their own conduct freely in the service of the maximization of a version of their happiness and fulfilment that they take to be their own, but such lifestyle maximization entails a relation to authority in the very moment as it pronounces itself the outcome of free choice. (Rose, 1996, pp. 58–59)

Accordingly, in a productive way advanced liberal rule governs the conduct by shaping, promoting and attributing subjectivity. Government of subjectivity thereby operates through a complex and heterogeneous assemblage of technologies that act as relays, bringing political ambitions into alignment with the ideals and aspirations of individuals. In Foucault's thinking, subjectivity is what people *do*, rather than who they *are*, it is an active process of becoming, a technology of living. People learn to recognise themselves as certain subjects since their understanding of themselves is linked to the ways they are governed. The subject acts, but also acts within the limits of subjectivation. It is produced rather than oppressed and animated rather than constrained (Ball, 2013; Dean, 2010; Rose, 1989/1999).

In conclusion, to problematise the requirement to teach in a voluntary education programme is to raise the question of *what to govern* followed by the question of *how to govern* the conduct of individuals at liberty, in order to make visible how children in SAEC centres can be taught in legitimate ways today.

Material and Procedure

The analysis is based on discussions in focus groups recorded in 2019 in three different SAEC centres, located in a large Swedish city. The discussions included three sessions with a total of eight SAEC-teachers and seven sessions with a total 23 children aged eight to nine. Each of the sessions with the teachers lasted about one hour and the sessions with children about 15–25 minutes. All participants gave their consent to take part in the study, and were informed about the ethical guidelines concerning research involving people. In the case of the children, their guardians also gave their written consent.

Focus groups here used since such a method is suitable when the interest is in how people, in this case children and teachers, make sense of a given topic (Morgan, 1997). The discussions were focused around a set of predefined issues and all participants were asked to discuss the question "What is SAEC?" Beyond this, the children also talked about "Why do children attend SAEC centres?" The teachers, in addition, talked about "What purpose does SAEC have in the education system, and in society, today?" The moderator was the researcher; however, the researcher took a passive role to enable open discussions between the participants. Accordingly, the discussions were thematically controlled, while avoiding control of content as far as possible.

The analytical approach used was closely related to the theoretical perspective. Thus, the notions of governmentality, liberal arts of rule and of freedom guided the analytical readings of the transcripts from the sessions. In the initial readings, were highlighted containing talk about what children and teachers do and why, talk about teaching, and talk about the relationship between SAEC and school. In the continued reading, passages analytically distinguished as being about *what* is possible to govern and about *how* it is possible to govern were marked. Based on this, the analysis was then structured into a section called *SAEC from the children's' point of view* and a section called *SAEC from the teachers' perspective.* In the analysis, excerpts from the focus group sessions are used to make visible and problematise mentalities of how to make children governable in the centres and what kind of liberty appears compatible with advanced liberal rule in SAEC. The question dealing with how to teach in a legitimate way in SAEC today is discussed in the concluding remarks.

The excerpts that are given in the analysis are translated from Swedish. For ethical reasons, the various children, teachers and centres are not defined, not even with fictitious names, to avoid the risk that they may be identified. Instead, the participants are referred to only as children or SAEC teachers. However, the excerpts found in the analysis consist of discussions from all centres, from all participating teachers, and from about half of the participating children.

Analysis

SAEC from the Children's Point of View

What is possible to govern in SAEC today? When coercion and demands are not appropriate and children cannot be forced into things, other technologies must be put into play. To be able to let the children act freely but at the same time control them, the government needs to be aimed at their subjectivity, creating children who like SAEC but also enabling the centres to meet the expectations found in the curriculum. Accordingly, it is children's mentalities that need to be worked upon, and so the answer to *what* can be governed is children's conceptions of themselves and of SAEC. On the theoretical basis that their conduct is shaped through their desires and beliefs, how do the children describe their participation in SAEC?

To begin with, the children are unanimous on one point, when in SAEC centres you have fun and do whatever you want. By that means, they seem to regard themselves able to exercise some sort of freedom when in the centres. Nevertheless, they are not entirely sure why they are there at all. According to them it might be because their parents are working and that they deserve to be free and enjoy themselves after a hard day at school: "Maybe to have a break and have fun when you've done quite a lot of work that you might not want to do." Portraying SAEC centres as a break from school indicates that they are aware of the different expectations of their behaviour depending on which setting they are in. They draw a clear line between time spent in school and time spent in the centres. In SAEC the children find themselves less controlled than in the school. This provides a contrast to the school, and there are opportunities to do things you want to do instead of requirements to do things you might not want to do. This indicates that in SAEC the children are enabled to act autonomously, which subjectivates a mentality where freedom of choice is central, as part of fulfilling themselves as citizens.

The children′s ideas about SAEC are consistent: it is a fun place to be. A fun place is also a place where you are willing to spend time, even if you do not have to. Thus, their mentalities become inclined towards voluntary participation. Another reason to spend time in the centres that they mention is the opportunity to spend time with friends:

> You are kind of there to be with friends and then there are different things you can do, and you can, for example, go to the spa room if you want to, be in the craft room if you want to, and be in various rooms and play with friends.

In SAEC you are a child in charge of your own mobility, and you decide for yourself who you spend time with and what you do. Seemingly, you are trusted to make your own choices without being fully supervised. From the children′s point of view, they can do pretty much whatever they want.

When the children talk about SAEC, it is always in relation to the school. In addition to descriptions of involuntary work, the school is distinguished from SAEC through explanations that emphasise that learning takes place in school while SAEC is all about play. The children adopt the mentality that play is not equated with learning; instead play is described as something that is purely fun. The children explain that unlike SAEC, school means you have to follow some sort of plan, keep a schedule and work on school subjects. School means compulsory attendance and that you have to do what the schoolteachers tell you. In the school, children are subordinated and under the control of others, both teachers and external authorities, aspects not prominent in the descriptions of SAEC. The children appear to be well aware of what applies in the different settings and they accept the disparities but prefer the

conditions prevailing in SAEC. The content of school is predetermined and they are required to learn things, which, according to them, is not the case in SAEC. While the time spent in the centres can be summarised in terms of 'want to′ in line with their own desires, the school is about 'have to′ in line with the views of the schoolteachers:

In school it′s more like this, you need like… what do you say, you need to learn stuff, what to say, like this: it is more sit-still-learning. So, you sit still and learn calm things, for example maths, Swedish, social sciences and things like that. It′s more like certain lessons and stuff, more determined time. And in SAEC it′s like you can move freely. Perhaps you might practice making an earring. But, it′s like if you want to. But in school you have to learn because there are basic subjects and blah, blah, blah.

When distinguishing between the settings it seems easier to put into words how the school is structured than to explain how things work in SAEC in detail, since the school is organised in a clearer way than the time in SAEC centres. In SAEC the children say they are to a large extent allowed to be self-organising, which is only advantageous from the children′s perspective. Linked to the vagueness of how SAEC is organised is also the children′s uncertainty about who works there. In school there are teachers, but they do not really know what profession the adults have in SAEC.

Although the attitude towards the school is apparently less positive than towards SAEC, the children say it is useful to go to school but "at school you have to work really hard. It is quite hard." In contrast, while in SAEC centres, they are free and can do things that suit them since there is no one there who control them. "It′s like you have a break, and you are free to play." They can come as they are, they get to relax and can just take it easy. The children define time in SAEC centres as if it were leisure time, despite the fact that it is an educational institution. In the mentality the children display during the discussions, leisure in SAEC is basically portrayed like leisure elsewhere.

Yet another difference is that the school requires the children to sit still, while in SAEC they are free to be physically active. In school:

You are sitting still, and then it′s always so nice when the teacher says, "Thanks for today!" and they come from SAEC and say, "Yes, jump and play!" And we can run and everyone just rushes from there, everyone just runs.

Freedom to decide your own mobility is highly valued. For that reason, the children emphasise that they can leave SAEC if they want to, but they are never allowed to leave school. Some of the children say they like that they can do different things during the day since "It is good that you can learn in school and play in SAEC, like everything on the same school day", which shows that in the children′s conceptions, one of the most significant differences between these two institutions seems to be that learning primarily takes place in school, and SAEC is mainly about play. But even if most think school is important, they long for the time in school to end so they can go to the centres: "After school you should be rewarded with something, because you′ve been working all day, then you come here and you can play." Apparently, what they like most about SAEC is that it is not school. In their understanding of it, it is rather the opposite. SAEC is everything that the school is not —SAEC offers what the school does not offer, what is not possible in school is possible in SAEC.

In conclusion, the children like SAEC and when in the centres they tend to perceive themselves as free and utilise that freedom to play. In relation to the centre's complementary assignment and their obligation to conduct teaching guided by objectives, this might be somewhat contradictory. How is the children′s mentality in SAEC —linked to freedom and play— compatible with the requirements of education? To get the whole picture, the SAEC

teachers' version of why children are in SAEC centres and their focus group discussions about how they work is needed.

SAEC from the Teachers‘ Perspective

How is it possible to govern in SAEC today? What are the techniques used to govern the children′s mentality allowing the teachers to teach in line with the objectives in this voluntary educational programme?

Based on the SAEC teachers' discussions, children spend time in the centres in order to become good citizens in the society when they grow up. To induce them into this ideal citizenship in the voluntary setting, the personnel talk about themselves not as teachers —their formal title— but as mainstays, guides and mentors leading the children in the right direction: "We guide children, so that they will become good people." Liberal art of rule in SAEC thus comprises techniques of guidance, subjectivating the mentalities of the children in certain ways. These certain ways are related to the specific purpose the teachers say is always present in their work and to what they want to achieve in the centres: "We are educating them more now." They emphasise a greater educational awareness in the work than before. The teachers strive to ensure the children grow through the education they offer. They want them to be able to take responsibility, draw conclusions and to understand the society, thus being able to manage life in and outside the centres and be a part of the society. To succeed in these ambitions, they say they need to be strategic:

> We have a well targeted focus, we plan: What is the purpose? Which goals do we have? We evaluate to see what we came up with and then we continue to work to make our centre as good as possible for the children.

These strategies are barely visible, if not invisible, when the children talk about SAEC. Part of these strategies seems to be to keep the children out of them. Recurring in the discussions are the teachers' unspoken motives for what they do and why. They always seem to know what they do and why, while the children do not, as the educational aim exists mainly in their minds. The objective "is still in the back of our minds when we shape our content and our activities." This tends to be the way to align aims, planning and goals with meaningfulness, spontaneity and voluntariness for children, constituting the liberal art of rule in SAEC; a power technology used in such a way that the children do not feel controlled, but instead feel free. In a delicate way, the children′s mentalities are worked upon so that their beliefs about SAEC merge with their own desires. Although the children perceive themselves as free, the teachers —somewhat paradoxically— indicate that teaching is ongoing all the time in SAEC. Teaching takes place wherever you are and whatever you do: "When you are in SAEC centres, you teach. […] Teaching is conducted continuously." At the same time, they do not use the word teaching in front of the children, indicating that the concept is not quite legitimate to use in the SAEC context, even though teaching is a requirement in the centres today:

> We don′t call it teaching, because I think, both in my own mind and in the children's minds… If so, it becomes something else, something more rigid. If I say, "Now it′s teaching in…", I want to beware of that. Because I can absolutely teach in the centre, but I do not use the term there. It is about the desire to learn, we′re talking about "It′s fun!" or "We′ll have fun together" or so. So, even though in my own mind, in my own planning, I understand that this is teaching actually, just like everything else, I don′t use the word teaching among the children.

This liberal art of rule, teaching undercover, seems to please the children: "The children want their free time when in SAEC centres." It also works to prevent the children from being "more school-oriented in their thinking" since the teachers do not want them to experience being in school in the afternoons. In the same way that the children distinguish between school and SAEC, the personnel draw clear boundaries between the settings; however, seemingly not for the same reason. The teachers consider that very important learning continues in the centres, but say: "We don′t talk much about what they have learned or about learning. But we have it in us, even though we may not talk that way to the children." That is, while the children talk about the school as learning and SAEC as play, the teachers talk with children about school as teaching and about SAEC as fun. Simultaneously, in the mentality they display, SAEC is all about learning and the work of the teachers consists solely of teaching. So, despite the fact that everything is teaching, nothing is staged explicitly as teaching. Rather, "you are like a big, huge, family in the afternoons." When in school you "inhale and are filling up" and when in SAEC you "exhale", and the teachers claim children learn a lot while exhaling. The learning curve in SAEC is said to be huge although everything happens while children intentionally are supposed to experience their time in the centres as a sort of break:

And we do it all in the break [referring to SAEC activities in the afternoons]. Grasp how much that happens during this break. This indirect way of learning, it′s much easier to absorb.

Doing things indirectly becomes part of the technology used in the liberal art of rule that the teachers are devoted to, letting the children believe that they are engaged in play while there is a hidden agenda, with teaching and learning at the top. Making children governable is therefore about inducing them to believe that the intentions of SAEC are something quite different from the school, even though they are almost the same; whether the children are in the school or in the centres they should, based on the objectives in the curricula and due to the complementary assignment, continuously be developing and learning.

The knowledge and the abilities the children are taught theoretically in the school, they learn in more implicit ways in the centres. For example, if the children happen to love some of the things they do in school, the teachers just let them devote themselves more to these. In this way, SAEC complements the school, without the children noticing that they are learning:

There are those who love to read, who sit and read in a reading corner. And I think that′s a great complement to the school. Here they get the enjoyable reading and stuff like that, without them thinking about it.

According to the teachers, the children wish they were at SAEC all day, probably as a consequence of the experience of not having to perform and deliver in the centres as they do in the school. In surveys about how the children experience SAEC, there is sometimes —surprisingly, since the teachers does not seem to talk about this with the children— a question about what the children are learning in the centres:

Usually it′s that question the children ask about: "But learn? That′s something you do in lessons?" For them SAEC is… It′s a place to relax. It′s not supposed to be like sitting at a school desk because that′s what they think about, when thinking about learning. That "Now I am supposed to learn stuff. Now I learn maths" All this socialising, that′s usually not learning for children. It′s just something that happens.

For the teachers, social learning equals learning for life, which is equal to spending time in the centres. In SAEC, children prepare for life —how to use proper table manners, road safety, how to be a good friend and so on— through daily practice, and are not necessarily aware of the teaching and learning involved. When discussing this, the teachers refer to how SAEC

complements the home —not the school as requested in the Education Act—by providing the children everyday knowledge: "It′s our job to get the children to… yes to complement their everyday life with other things than what they do at home." This seems essential for the teachers since: "They get to learn so much in SAEC that they don′t need to learn at home." The teaching that is constantly in progress and seem to be hidden for children, tend to be important to make visible to parents as a way to ensure professionalism. It seems important that the parents know what their children are actually doing in the centres:

> The parents have begun to understand that we have an intention, exactly, that we raise… that we work really hard with that. That it′s not just the… the storage. There are reasons behind the things we do.

To communicate the reasons behind things appears fairly simple in relation to parents, but when governing individuals at liberty —the children in SAEC centres— the conditions are different. When dealing with coercion, it needs to be disguised just like the teaching and learning: "When you start in SAEC you should try different activities. It becomes a tiny obligation, without the children grasping it. […] So it is a tiny obligation, but a disguised obligation. They have no idea that we…" Like hidden coercion, "you can always have fake participation and similar things too." Again, secret motives serve as the key to governing the children without the children realising that they are being taught. The teachers work upon the mentalities of the children, shaping their desires in ways that allow the children to experience themselves as free to play, while from the teachers' perspective the free and playing child is also a governable child who learns through the undercover teaching.

Concluding Remarks

The Art of Teaching Undercover

The contradictions between traditional and newer ideals implying a disagreement about what SAEC is or should be these days, which are highlighted in the introduction and in previous research are not noticeable in the children′s conceptions about SAEC and what they are able to do in the centres. Regarding the teachers, they deal with this contradiction by going undercover. While they acknowledge the complementary assignment and the requirement to teach, they disguise these aspects while working with the children. Somehow, they seem to manage to fulfil their professional assignment and at the same time keep the children unaware of what is going on to keep them voluntarily engaged in the activities offered in the centres.

Within the contemporary SAEC discourse it is possible —and expected— for children to talk about SAEC as a free and fun place with unlimited opportunities for play. Such a mentality is necessary for them to be governable and, thus, to voluntarily participate in the educational programme. At the same time, the teachers need to talk about SAEC as educational and about a professional purpose in their work. However, this only applies when talking to each other, in documentation of quality work and when talking with parents. When talking to the children they need to emphasise that SAEC is fun. The dichotomisation the children use to differentiate SAEC from school is encouraged by the personnel, letting their beliefs and desires merge in a mentality where SAEC is about leisure and school is about teaching, SAEC is about play and school is about learning, SAEC is about mobility and school is about being

sedentary. These dichotomies do not exist in in the same way in the teacher's conception of SAEC, since to them, SAEC is teaching disguised as leisure and learning disguised as play. Being sedentary is disguised as mobility in that way that the children think it is OK to sit still as long as it is self-chosen, such as when they choose to sit and read. That is, when skilfully disguising that SAEC is much like school, the personnel make children governable in a regulated freedom. The complementary assignment can thus be said to be met when freedom becomes an achievement of government. The advanced liberal rule used in the centres promotes a specific form of freedom as a way of integrating the children′s mentalities and conduct into the practices of government (Fejes, 2006; Rose, 1996).

To teach, when teaching —by tradition— is not considered legitimate is therefore about working undercover, meaning that SAEC must always be staged as fun as part of the work to disguise that the reward the children believe they get after school is actually more teaching and learning. Here, a relevant question demands attention: How does this disguising work from the child′s perspective, which is said to be highly central in SAEC? How can one take their perspective into account, listen to them, and promote their interests while also withholding key aspects, like teaching guided by objectives, from them? Is this the public secret of the profession, stressing that SAEC is based on the children′s interests and initiative, when instead, SAEC revolves around the complementary assignment and teaching? Is talk about the child′s perspective primarily only a well-polished surface? When professionalism in SAEC is about the skill of being school-like, and thereby politically approved, without the children noticing, the recently imposed requirement of teaching does not seem to legitimise the concept itself, but rather the advanced liberal rule of freedom.

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Examining Children's Peer Play-in-Action: Micro Dramas and Collaborative Play Performances

Ann-Carita Evaldsson

Abstract: In this study, particular focus is on micro-ethnographic studies of children's peer play-in-action and how children create shared peer cultures through their collaborative performances in situated game activities. It will be shown how children create micro dramas in play that serve as cultural frameworks to i) dramatize and transform experiences from the outside world; ii) playfully subvert hierarchies and gendered orders; and iii) comment upon and unravel controversial issues in their social life. The data are drawn from three sets of video-recorded data of children's everyday play activities collected during fieldwork in separate school and after-school settings located in middle-class and low-income multiethnic suburban areas in Sweden.

Keywords: children's play, situated activities, peer cultures, micro dramas, micro-ethnography

Introduction

In this article, attention will be given to micro-ethnographic studies of children's play with a particular focus on children's collaborative play performances in situated game activities (Evaldsson, 2009; Corsaro, 2018 for overviews). The study of play and games as situated activities implies a shift in focus from *what* children play—the preoccupation of more traditional anthropological studies—to *how* players actively contribute to the organization of play and games (Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin, 2006). There are several reasons for studying play as situated activities (Goffman, 1961). A focus on children's play as situated activities emphasizes the importance of investigating how children accomplish play activities in real life settings through jointly produced activities (Evaldsson & Corsaro, 1998; Goodwin, 2006). It captures how play forms a crucial part of children's peer cultures and meaning-making, emotional sharing, and creativity in everyday lives with peers (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011; Corsaro, 2018). A focus on games as situated activities also locates children's play in wider institutional frameworks. Of importance is that a situated activity has "transformation rules" or "frames" that define what experiences from the outside world are to be recognized in the boundaries of the activity (Goffman, 1961, pp. 26–34).

This study will foreground how a focus on children's play as situated activities provides rich sites for exploring the often spectacular and innovative character of children's collaborative play performances, in what will be referred to here as micro dramas. Micro dramas are characterized by the occurrence of something dramatic, recognizable and noteworthy. My interest in micro dramas relates to the ongoing improvisational and transformative character of children's play (Sawyer, 2002; Schwartzman, 1978), and how children through their participation in collaborative play produce and generate knowledge of the wider culture beyond the

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peer group (Corsaro, 2020, p. 18). Drawing upon perspectives from Goffmanian interactional analysis, linguistic anthropology and conversation analysis on children's peer play (Aronsson, 2011; Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011), I will show how micro dramas, involving dramatic and collectively performed actions, serve as cultural frameworks for children to address and transform controversial (moral, emotional, and social) issues in their everyday lives with peers.

The analysis draws on video recordings of children's everyday peer play activities that were collected at three separate fieldworks among elementary school children, in one middle-class setting (Evaldsson & Aarsand, forthcoming) and in two separate multiethnic low-income settings in Sweden (Evaldsson, 2003, 2004; Evaldsson & Melander, 2018). It will be demonstrated that ethnographic studies based on video recordings provide possibilities to study children's peer play (and the cultural and linguistic diversities it inhabits) in its' own right (Aronsson, 2011; Corsaro, 2018; Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011). Thus, rather than focusing on extended education from the perspective of the school or after-school program, or based on what adults/teachers consider important for children to learn, children's everyday life, their peer play practices and peer cultures form the focus of this study.

Studies of Children's Play and Games as Situated Activities

Micro-ethnographic studies of children's participation in situated play activities demonstrate the importance of exploring the often dramatic and transformative character of children's peer play interaction (Evaldsson, 2009; Goodwin, 2006). Investigating children's peer play interaction in situated game activities requires in turn methodologies based on fieldwork among children in real life settings (Corsaro 2018) together with video recordings of children's everyday activities (Goodwin, 2006). Such methods are now a common approach in research on children's peer interaction and peer cultures for capturing the embodied and highly dynamic character of their peer play (see Corsaro & Maynard, 1996; Cromdal, 2001; Danby & Baker, 1998; Evaldsson, 2003, 2004; Goodwin, 1990, 2006; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011; Griswold, 2007; Kyratzis, 2007; Theobald, 2013). The methodological approach taken foregrounds the role of language and social interaction as deeply embedded in the accomplishment of play activities, which both encodes culture and are a tool for children's participation in that culture (Corsaro, 2018; Goodwin & Kyrtazis, 2011). The linguistic anthropological approach taken to children's play is heavily influenced by the early work of William Corsaro (2018) on preschool children's participation in cultural routines (dramatic role-play, chasing, access rituals, and more) and constructions of peer cultures, as well as Marjorie Harness Goodwin's (1990; 2006) studies of preadolescent children's participation in a wide range of play and games (dramatic role-play, team sports, jump rope, hopscotch, and more) in their neighborhoods and at nearby playgrounds. Given the broad range of micro-ethnographic research on children's peer play interaction, my review in this section will focus only on a limited number of the existing studies. More specifically, I will show how ethnographic studies of children's play interaction can be used to challenge some of the tacit agreements that tend to reappear in more traditional research on play about the nature and benefits of children's play (see Schwartzman, 1978 for an overview). In most of this work, the focus is

almost entirely on *what* children play rather than *how* children organize their participation in play (see Evaldsson, 2009 for a critique).

Especially, Corsaro (2018, p. 18) has shown how preschool children in their peer play interaction "actively engage in the creation of unique peer cultures" while "appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns". For example he demonstrates how a group of Italian preschoolers used milk cartoons to create a unique "traveling bank"— an idea taken from the adult society but extended and given new meanings in children's fantasy play (see also Aronsson, 2011; Kyratzis, 2007). Such findings challenge, for example, common assumptions of children's play in traditional folklore studies (Opie & Opie, 1959/1977) whereby children are seen as possessing a culture that is separate from the adult world (see James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998, p. 85 for a critique).

Micro-ethnographic studies of children's peer play have also challenged easy gender dichotomies in children's games by exploring variation in styles of play activities across gender, ethnic, and cultural groupings (see Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2014 for an overview). Much research demonstrates increasing gender separation in schools, with older children preferring to play with children of the same sex (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2014; Thorne, 1993). However, Evaldsson (2003, 2004) and Goodwin (1995, 2006), in ethnographic studies of girls' participation in foursquare games (Evaldsson) and in hopscotch (Goodwin), demonstrate how gender dichotomies of "girls as cooperative" versus "boys as competitive", along with essentialized notions of "boys' games as more complex than girls'", dissolve when children's interactions in situated games are analyzed in detail (see also Extracts 2a, b).

The romanticized view of play as a free activity—outside ordinary life, not serious but at the same time absorbing players (Huizinga, 1971; Opie & Opie, 1959/1977)—as well as the antithetical view of play as rebellious, hierarchical, and disorderly organized (Sutton-Smith, 1997), are also contrasted by the empirical subtleties in micro-ethnographic studies of *how* children organize their play *in situ* (Aronsson, 2011; Corsaro, 2018; Evaldsson, 2009; Schwartzman, 1978). Several studies have shown that children's play activities involve intense negotiations about how to play and with whom, in which relational positions, play hierarchies, and other aspects of the social order are at stake (Danby & Baker 1998; Evaldsson, 2004, 2005; Goodwin, 2006; Griswold, 2007). This means that ethnographic research on children's peer play provides a rich site for exploring how children in collaboration with other children actively construct their social world and their place within it.

Methodological Approach

This study uses a peer language socialization approach, integrating long-term ethnographic studies with a multimodal interactional analysis based on recordings of children's everyday activities, as a methodological approach (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011). The data are drawn from three separate ethnographic sites where children's cultural routines and peer language practices were observed and video-recorded over time and across spaces, on playgrounds in school and after-school settings (see Evaldsson, 2003, 2004; Evaldsson & Melander Bowden, 2018; Evaldsson & Aarsand, forthcoming). The separate fieldwork occasions provided rich ethnographic knowledge of the social, emotional, and linguistic creativity in children's peer

play and peer cultures (for more ethnographic details see analytic section). Through long-term ethnographic fieldwork it became possible to identify, access, and document on video the children's peer interactions in everyday play activities within different peer group constellations. Ethnographic fieldwork with children involves spending a great deal of time with them in situations in which there are often no other adults present and the children are in control of the activities (see also Corsaro 2018). In this way, the researcher gradually gets to know the children and how they organize their everyday lives, which in turn offers a deeper understanding of the interpretative procedures children employ in situated meaning-making. Doing ethnographic fieldwork with children is sometimes highly challenging, and also requires rigorous ethical considerations and consent from the participants, both adults and children (Corsaro, 2020). In the selected ethnographies the children and their parents, as well as the staff, agreed to participate. The children were also continuously informed during the fieldwork that they could decline to be video-recorded at any time. Additionally, the use of long-term ethnographic fieldwork along with video recordings provides great possibilities to involve children in the research process while building trust and creating long-term relationships with them.

The ethnographic analysis here is combined with a multimodal interactional approach to explore how children organize their play participation *in situ*ated game activities through the coordinated adjustments of assembling forms of actions (verbal and embodied) in a material environment (C. Goodwin 2000; Goodwin, 2006). In order to capture the dynamic and embodied ways in which children organize their peer group participation in the midst of play, the selected video recordings are transcribed following conventions within conversation analysis (Jefferson, 2004). The transcripts are combined with selected frame grabs from video recordings to capture some of the complexities of children's collaborative play participation in a socio-material environment. The applied transcription conventions are presented at the end of this article. The English translations are as close as possible to the Swedish verbatim records. To protect the participants' identities, all names are pseudonyms.

Micro Dramas and Collaborative Peer Play Performances

The analytic section will focus on children's peer play activities from a childhood perspective on children as creative producers of their own peer cultures; that is, in the actual doing of childhood. Micro-ethnographic studies based on video recordings provide a rich site for exploring the fast moving, innovative, and often, dramatic character of children's peer play interaction. The analyses will focus on how children within collaborative peer play performances create micro dramas that serve as cultural frameworks to, i) dramatize and transform experiences from the outside world; ii) playfully subvert play hierarchies and gendered orders; and iii) comment upon and unravel controversial issues in their social life.

Setting the Stage: Creating Play Hierarchies and Transforming Game Frames

In the first video-recorded episode three seven-year-old boys—Tom, Sam, and Per—participate in a game of table tennis on the playground (Evaldsson & Aarsand, forthcoming). The

three boys are classmates and two of them, Tom and Sam, are close friends who usually socialize with one another, while the third boy, Per, who has a disability status, usually spends his time alone on the playground. The selected episode draws from an ethnography based on video observations of Swedish middle-class children's everyday activities at school, at an after-school program, and in their homes.[1]

When we enter the first video extract the two boys, Tom and Sam, have been walking around the playground together acting out their imaginative play memberships as warriors in a pretend play of Astrid Lindgren's story *The Brothers Lionheart.* They now confidently approach the stage, walking side by side over to the table tennis table where the third boy, Per, is standing alone, holding a ball and two rackets in his hands (see Figure 1, Extract 1 lines 1–3). In the opening sequence the two boys set the stage for the game as a 'duel' (line 1) that then gradually is upgraded into a real "warrior duel" (line 9). Notable are the ways in the two boys (Sam and Tom) through their embodied actions, physical arrangements and their use of the available game artifacts (the rackets, the ball, and the table) transform the table tennis game into a competitive game framework of two against one.

EXTRACT 1: "Warrior duel"

1 This study was financed by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation, Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, and the Swedish Research Council as part of the larger research project Learning, Interactive Technologies and Narrative Remembering (LINT).

```
1   Tom  #Ka ka[n vi utmanar dig till en ↑DUELL
         #Ca ca[n we challenge you to a ↑DUEL
         #(Figure 1)

2   Tom        [((puts his upper body on the table
3        tennis table while looking in Per's
4        direction))

5   Sam  ((walks up, places himself to the right of
6        Per, tries to take one of the rackets))

7   Per  >Nej men<
         >No don't<
8        ((pulls the racket back))

         (1.5)
9   Tom  Till en rikTIG ↑KRI[GA:R DUELL
         To a reAL ↑WA[RRIOR DUEL

10  Sam              [du vågar inte de:
11                   [you don't dare that
```

The playful framing of the game as a "duel" is displayed through Tom's opening announcement, "Ca- can we challenge you to a duel" (lines 1–4). In addressing Per, Tom uses a deep playful register, voicing the pretend framework, and with a powerful body position he literally tries to take over the table tennis game, leaning over the table and gazing directly at Per who is standing on the other side (lines 1–4). Naming the game a "duel" and presenting himself and Sam as part of a collective set the stage set for a competitive game framework of two against one. In close collaboration, Sam, physically approaches Per trying to grab one of his rackets (lines 5–6). However, Per does not accept the invitation but rather takes a step backward, firmly holding the two rackets (line 7). In what follows, Tom intensifies the competitive and playful framework of the activity into "a real warrior duel" (lines 9). Sam now launches a playful in-role threat, openly challenging Per for not daring to participate in the game (lines 10). Thereby, a hierarchical relationship is set in which the targeted boy, Per, is cast as a potential coward for not daring to participate in a game duel while the others position themselves as brave warriors.

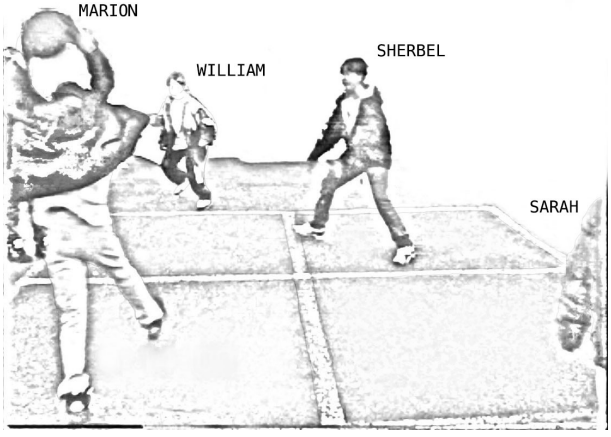
The collaborative and emergent performativity of the two boys' pretend play serves to transform an ordinary table tennis game into a micro drama. The two boys' collaborative performance is unpredictable, and contingent upon their ongoing turn-by-turn production (playful threats, subversion of fictive voices, recycling of powerful body positions, etc.) in ways that exaggerate and intensify the excitement of their collaborative peer play. Such collaborative performances are created in children's pretend play in an improvised manner, through what Sawyer (2002, p. 340) describes as "collaborative emergence". In staging the game as a "real warrior duel", the boys draw on authoritative figures from a well-known fictional story, *The Brothers Lionheart*, to create status and hierarchal positions while

strengthening within-group alliances. Outperforming another boy while having fun mobilizes what it means to be a "tough boy" in this peer group setting (Danby & Baker, 1998; Evaldsson, 2005). Thus showing how playful juxtapositions, subversions of genres and voices, and other performance elements are central in the co-production of a local (masculine) peer culture in which boys have fun at the expense of others. At the same time, it shows how particular children, like Per, who is excluded from the children's peer culture on a daily basis, is at risk of not managing to qualify for a membership (see also Goodwin, 2002; Svahn & Evaldsson, 2011).

Performing Gender and Challenging Relations of Power

The next series of extracts will demonstrate how a group of eleven-year-old girls stage a micro drama in which they play with, pull apart, and even juxtapose traditional gendered behaviors. The episode is from video recordings of a game of "boys against girls", which regularly took place on the playground in a multiethnic elementary school setting. The video recordings are drawn from one-year ethnographic study of intercultural friendship relations in a multiethnic school setting in Sweden (Evaldsson 2003, 2004). In this context I documented a peer group of girls and boys of Swedish-Syrian background, who engaged daily in same-sex and cross-sex foursquare games of "king out" on the playground. In the example, the children are participating in a game that was named by the children as "boys against girls". Two of the most physically skilled girls, Marion and Sarah, are on the girls' team, playing against two boys, Sherbel and William. The skilled girls dictate the game and take the lead with respect to the use of physical space and bodily moves such as slams. As will be demonstrated, the girls also set the limits for the boys' game performances, while transforming the boys' failing performance into a public event.

EXTRACT 2a: "Boys against Girls"

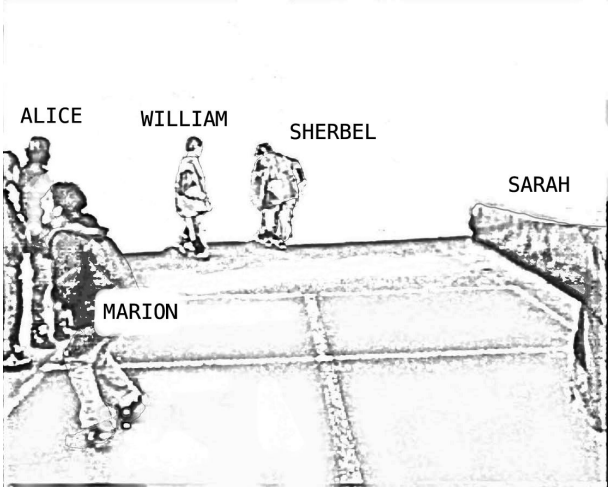


1	Sherbel	((studsar bollen,	((bounces the ball,
2		tar sats))	takes off))
3	Sarah	de e inga ↑låga (.)	you are not ↑allowed to
4		de e inga ↑såna	(.) throw like ↑that!
5		((pekar på Sherbel))	((points at Sherbel))
6	Sherbel	vad e de ↑DÅ ((tar	what can I do ↑THEN
7		sats)) Uh:: ((	((takes off)) Uh:
8		smashar bollen i	((slams the ball in
9		Marion's ruta))	Marion's square))
10	Marion	((fångar bollen, tar	((catches the ball,
11		sats, #kastar bollen	turns around, #slams the
12		i William's ruta))	ball in W's square))
13		#(Figure 2a)	#(Figure 2a)

After several attempts to renegotiate the rules for throwing (outside Extract 2a and on lines 1–5), Sherbel finally takes off and slams the ball with great force in Marion's square (lines 6–9). Although Sherbel tries to change the rules of the game to his own advantage, the targeted girl, Marion, does not miss the opportunity to respond and counter-challenge the boys (lines 10–12). After successfully catching the ball, Marion immediately takes off and slams the ball with force in William's square (Figure 2a, lines 11–13).

In response, William runs after the ball but misses catching it (Extract 2b, lines 16–18, Figure 2b). Now the two girls, Marion and Sarah, join in a shared outburst of laughter, while they happily turn their bodies towards the audience (Figure 2b lines 19–25,).

EXTRACT 2b: "Boys against Girls"



14	Sherbel	DU- DU- TA DE:::N!	YOU- YOU- TAKE I:::T!
15		((springer efter bollen))	((runs after the ball))
16	William	((springer efter	((runs after the ball
17		bollen, missar att	and fails to catch
18		fånga den))	it))
19	Sarah	Ha ha ha ha	Ha ha ha ha
20		((tittar på Marion,	((looks at Marion,
21		skrattar))	laughs))
22	Marion	[ha ha [ha ha=	[ha ha [ha ha=
23	Alice	[ha ha [ha ha=	[ha ha [ha ha=
24		((står på sidan,	((joins the girls
25		stämmer in))	from the line))
26	Sherbel	[ha ha [ha ha=	[ha ha [ha ha=
27		((deltar i	((joins the girls in
28		flickornas skratt))	their laughter))
29	Marion	=ha:n gick U::T!	=he: is OU::T!
30		((pekar på	((points at William))
31		William)))	
32	William	((lämnar spelet,	((leaves the square,
33		ställer sig i kön))	lines up))
34	Alice	HÄ::RLIGT MARIO:N!!	GREA::T MARIO:N!!
35		((klappar händerna))	((claps her hands))

The fact that the more skilled boy, Sherbel, runs after the ball but does not manage to help his playmate, William, intensifies the fun of the game, including the boys' failures and their difficulties in outperforming the girls (Figure 2 b, lines 14–15). The transformation into a

playful and humorous event is keyed through the girls' shared laugher and verbal outbursts that all are oriented towards making the boys' failures into a public event for the wider audience of children (lines 19–31, 34–35). In this way, an ordinary game of foursquare is intensified and transformed into a collectively performed micro drama. The playful framing maximizes the fun of the game, and transforms the boys' failing game performance into a public concern that engages all the children in the audience. Within this micro drama the winning girl (Marion) and the failing boy (William) are the central figures while the other children are transformed into an active audience. In this process, the boundaries between play and seriousness become blurred. By laughing at William's failure, the two girls mock-challenge and make fun of the boys while simultaneously performing and juxtaposing gendered relations of power in games.

The children's playful reactions to Marion's successful attempts to defeat the boys make gendered notions of boys as physical athletes highly ambiguous. The different reactions on behalf of the two boys, Sherbel and William, demonstrate in turn that not all boys fit into a traditional form of masculinity that assumes all boys to be tough, physical, and assertive (Thorne, 1993: 98). In this micro drama, the players (both girls and boys) use a range of collaboratively performed and improvised ludic techniques, including collusive negotiations of game rules along with laughing uptakes, verbal outbursts, mutual smiles, facial expressions, and exaggerated bodily movements to intensify the excitement of the game. By outperforming the boys and playfully juxtaposing power structures on the playground, the girls manage to play with and pull apart gendered stereotypes of girls as physically subordinate to boys in ways that subvert an existing social order and entertain others. In this activity, the girls' orientation towards competition, including advanced physical competencies and entertainment skills, is fashioned by a democratic ethos of gender equality in this school setting, where sports and physical education are accessible for both girls and boys. (see Evaldsson 2003; 2004)

The Controversial Side of Online Game Play

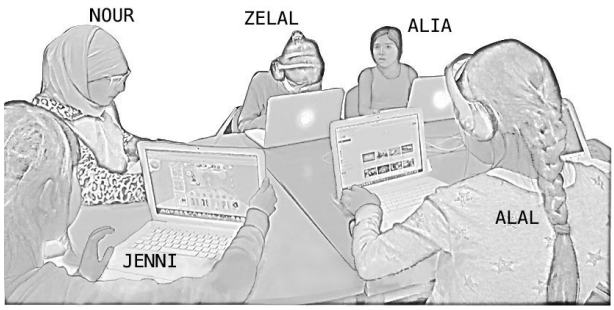
The last video-recorded episodes focus on how a group of school aged girls comment upon and unravel a controversial moral issue of hacking and stealing in online game play within their peer culture (see Evaldsson & Melander Bowden, 2018). They do this in a peer play context where their friendship, play, and self-expressions are reconfigured through their engagement with new media (Ito et al. 2010). Digital media and online communication are now a pervasive part of school-aged children's everyday lives and peer cultures at school, after-school and within the family (boyd, 2010).

Controversial online behaviors and actions related to what has been referred to as "the dark side of game play", such as cheating, stealing, and scamming, are common not only in the gaming world (Mortensen, Linderoth & Brown, 2015) but also on social networking sites among younger children (Ito et al., 2010). Such immoral practices are often condemned by adults, but are sometimes considered an aspect of expertise in children's social media (Kafai & Fields, 2013). The selected episode focuses on how a peer group of five girls stage a micro drama to unravel controversial online behavior involving character loss and stealing in gaming and social networking. The video recording is from a fieldwork in 2016 when, as part of a

larger project involving children's digital media practices[2], we video-recorded everyday peer play activities among children (8–9-year-old third graders) in a multiethnic after-school setting in Sweden. In this setting, both girls and boys engaged daily in a social network environment for kids called Momio, to play and chat with peers, establish social relations, and problem-solve (see Evaldsson & Melander Bowden, 2018).

In the first extract 3a, five of the girls are seated around the same table, each with a computer, busy playing Momio and chatting with one another online. At this point one of them, Alia, a newcomer to the game, makes an unpleasant online discovery, that someone has stolen all the belongings she has bought for her avatar (Extract 3a lines 1–10, Figure 3a):

EXTRACT 3a: "Online stealing"



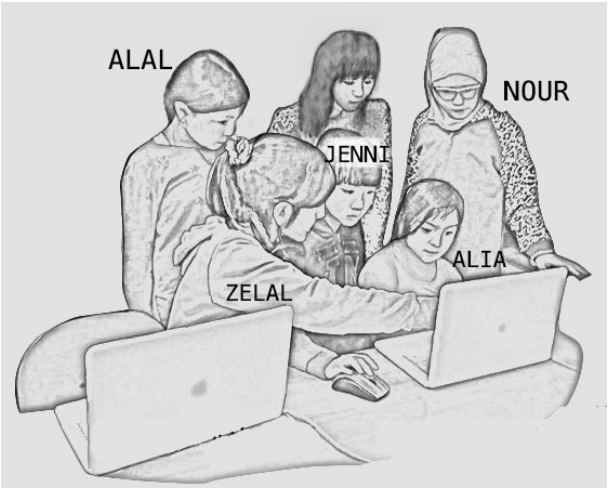
2 This study was financed by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation as part of a larger project on children's digital media practices in peer groups.

1	Alia	#↑HÖR↓ru. ↑Je:nnie.	#↑HEY. ↑Je:nnie. (.)
2		(.) fa:sen. ja har	da:mn. I've bought more
3		köpt mer än så här	than this (.)this is not
4		(.) de här är inte	even (.h)(.) something
5		en(.h)s (.) nåt som e	that is (.) F↑U::n. (.)
6		(.) K↑U::l.(.) nån	someone has taken xxx
7		har tat xxx för mej	from me ((shakes her
8		((skakar på huvudet	head, looks at the
9		tittar på skärmen,	screen, then at the
10		sen på de andra))	others))
		#Figure 3a	
11	Alal	(xx) kanske du har	Maybe you have lost them
12		tappat bort dom	thrown them in-n (.) the
13		kastat dom p-på (.)	bi::n (xx xx) bet
14		papperskorgen (xxx)	money:: and throw them
15		satsa pengar. och	away and you'll get-
16		kasta dom och du	
17		kommer å få-	
18	Alia	↑HÖR↓ru. nån har	↑HEY↓. someone has taken
19		tagit <al↑la> tiaror	<al↑l> the tiaras I've
20		ja har kö:pt.	bou:ght.
21	Nour	VA::?	WHA::T?
22	Alia	A:lla. alla-	A:ll of them- all-
23	Alal	men du köpte-	but you bought-
24	Zelal	((vänder sig, tittar	((turns around and looks
25		på Alias skärm)	at Alia's screen))
27	Alia	Ja har köpt nästan	I have bought almost a
28		hundra stycken	hundred pieces ((points
29		((visar på skärmen))	at the screen)) and it's
30		å de e bara de hä::r	just he::re "Saba is no
31		"Saba är inte längre	longer a part (.) of
32		med (.) i din	your group chat" ((reads
33		gruppchat" ((läser på	from the screen)) no:.
34		skärmen)) ne:j.	

Through an exaggerated theatrical stance, Alia announces that someone has stolen her online belongings (lines 1–10). The micro drama is staged through dramatic shifts in footing from the pretend/online world to the real/offline one. In the process, Alia intensifies the immoral character of the online game event of stealing by presenting herself as a victim of online theft as if it were a real event. However, at this point she does not manage to get the other girls' support. Only one of the girls, Alal, who is seated opposite Alia, responds (lines 11–17), while the others continue to communicate with one another online. It is only after Alia has repeated her reference to the incident twice (lines 18–20, 22) that another girl, Zelal, who is seated next to her, pays attention to what has happened (lines 24–25). The two girls now join in an attempt to find some observable clues to solve the mystery of Alia's missing online belongings by intensively scrutinizing her communication on the screen (lines 29–34).

In the discussions that follow, all the girls in the peer group become involved and operate as detectives to search for an actor who is responsible for the act of online stealing (Extract 3b). Compared to the first example, when Alia was alone with her problem, all the girls engage in unraveling the problem. At this point, they are gathered around Alia's computer to report the theft to the "police" on the network site (outside Extract 3b) when a friend invitation pops up on Alia's screen (Extract 3b, lines 08–10):

EXCTRACT 3b: "Online stealing"



08 09 10	Alia	#Kan ja skriva till henne "varför tog du mina (.)eh klä:der." #Figure 3b	#Can I write to her "why did you take my (.) eh clo:thes."
11	Alal	Hon vill va din vä::n	She wants to be your friend
12 13 14	Nour	De e Zelal, de e Zelal, Zelal ((tittar mot Zelals skärm))	It's Zelal, it's Zelal, Zelal ((looks at Zelal's screen))
15 16	Alal	Zelal vill va din vän	Zelal wants to be your friend
17 18	Jenni	↑Nä:: .hh de e Baris.	↑No:: .hh it's Baris.
19 20	Alal	Du vill va hans vä:n.	You want to be his friend.
21	Zelal	((tittar på Alias skärm))	((looks at Alia's screen))
22 23	Alia	>Ja,< (.) Dess me:r vänner dess ro:ligare	>Yeah,< (.) the mo:re friends the more fu:n
24 25 26 27	Jenni	Vill du va eh hennes e:- De här e: ((tittar mot Zelals skärm)) e-	Do you want to be uh her e:- this is uh: ((looks at Zela's screen)) uh-
28 29 30 31 32	Zelal	↑NÄ:: BLI INTE HANS VÄN, (.) bli inte hans ↑VÄ::n.((vänder sig snabbt, pekar på skärmen))	↑NO:: DON'T BE HiS FRIEND, (.)dont be his ↑ ↑FRIend. ((turns around quickly, points at the screen))
33	Jenni	Hennes.	Hers.
34 35 36	Zelal	↑Ne::j, de e Ba:ris. ((pekar på Alias skärm))	↑No::, it's Ba:ris. ((points at Alia's screen))
37 38	Jenni	Va:¿ ((tittar på Zelal))	What:¿ ((looks at Zelal))

When a person online, a female avatar, asks Alia to become her friend, Alia happily chants "the mo:re friends the more fu:n" (lines 22–23). The other girls initially support her attempts to confirm the invitation (lines 11–16). However, at this point Zelal, who is seated next to Alia, urgently interferes and repeatedly warns Alia against accepting the invitation: "NO DON'T BE HIS FRIEND" (lines 28–32). At the same time she points at Alia's screen, telling her that a

boy in their class named Baris is hiding behind the female avatar "No::its' Baris" (lines 34–36). In that way, Zelal manages to stop Alia from becoming a friend with the boy, who has taken on a disguised online identity as a female avatar and is engaging in taking over other children's avatars.

The episode shows the girls' collective moral agency, and how they help newcomers to network sites through collaborative communicative methods for unraveling controversial online issues such as scamming, cheating, stealing, hacking, etc. In the process, we see how Alia's online discovery of stealing is transformed to a micro drama where the other girls help her solve the mystery of the online acts of stealing and her missing belongings. In this process, the girls engage with and anticipate the knowledge networks at play to gain insight into the unpredictable and ambiguous features of online communication (Evaldsson & Melander Bowden, 2018).

Concluding Discussion

"But, when it comes to making theoretical statements about what play is we fall into silliness. There is little agreement among us and much ambiguity. Some of the most outstanding scholars of children's play have been concerned by this ambiguity" (Sutton-Smith, 1997, p. 296).

As demonstrated in this article, micro dramas serve as important frameworks for children to collectively address, play with, and pull apart some of the ambiguities and tensions they are exposed to in their everyday lives with peers and adults in educational settings. The children's staging of micro dramas has also more general implications of children's appropriation of aspects of the adult culture and how they make new contributions to it (Corsaro, 2020). The ambiguities related to hierarchical gendered relations and peer group hierarchies that invariably develop in school and after-school settings are reproduced in the children's framing of their play as both a playful and a serious activity in which they are in control. For example, the micro analyses of a routinely performed foursquare game of "girls against boys" showed how the girls used assembling embodied actions, along with a play object (a ball), to playfully comment upon and juxtapose hierarchical gendered relations of mainly boys as physical athletes (Extracts 2a, b). By outperforming the boys, the girls maximized the fun of the game and transformed the boys' failing performances into a public concern of entertainment that engaged all the children, including the audience.

The performative and embodied character or style of the children's peer play relates to Goffman's (1961, 1974) theoretical understanding of the dramaturgical and interactional framework of social life (see Aronsson, 20011; Goodwin, 2006). The dramatic and exaggerated manner in which the children instantiate micro dramas or stage-play, whereby intricacies of social interaction are commented upon, made fun of or challenged, offers possibilities for reinterpreting and even changing relationships. The framing of an ordinary table tennis game as a "warrior duel" presented the boys with several opportunities to stage a micro drama to outperform a subordinate and rejected peer, and to take control over the game (Extracts 1a, b). In the process, the boys' used assembled embodied actions to strengthen alignments of power while downgrading the third boy through playful threats and derogatory person depictions of him as a coward. Altogether, the micro dramas performed by the children

show theoretical convergence with Bateson's (1956) notion of play as keyed through a meta-message of "this is play", which signals to participants that playing is a paradoxical form of communication that includes contradictory and ambiguous meanings (see also Sutton Smith, 1997). As Bateson notes (1956, p. 70): "The paradox is doubly significant within the signals that are exchanged with the context of play, fantasy and threat". If we accept that contradictions and ambiguities are key components in children's play, we can recognize that ambiguities, in the sense proposed by Bateson, are important features of children's social life. In the process of playing, children learn that there is a difference between play and non-play, and what is pleasurable and fearful, risky and exiting, and that these relationships can be commented upon, challenged and even controlled by children.

The children's staging of micro dramas tells us a great deal about children's agency and how they collectively address and respond to ambiguities and tensions in their social life in the form of playful threats, teasing, bluffing, and cheating. For example, the girls' collaboratively performed responses to online stealing, cheating, and disguised identities in social networking artfully connected their serious concerns about challenging and controversial online issues to their ongoing concerns about friendship (Extracts 3a, b) (compare with boyd, 2010). As children experience various forms of ambiguities and tensions in social relations at school, after school, and in the family, it is not surprising to find that various aspects of social life, including asymmetries, ranking, and foolishness—but also trustworthiness, intimacy, and friendship—are commented upon and reinterpreted in children's peer play interaction, including children's experiences of their own relationships with one another.

Transcription Conventions

Adapted from conversation analysis (Jefferson 2004)

A::	prolonged syllable
[ ]	overlapping utterances
(.)	micropause, i.e. shorter than (0.5)
(2)	numbers in single parentheses represent pauses in seconds
AMP	relatively high amplitude
x	inaudible word
° °	speech in low volume
(( ))	further comments of the transcriber
((xx))	inaudible speech
↑	shifts into high pitch
↓	shifts into low pitch
?	rising terminal intonation
.	falling terminal intonation
=	latching between utterances
<u>out</u>	sounds marked by emphatic stress are underlined
haha	laughter
kom	talk in Swedish
schw	children's linguistic innovations
come	translation to English

The *English translations* in italics are as close as possible to the Swedish verbatim records. All names of the children in the selected examples have been substituted with fictional names linked to their diverse ethnic backgrounds.

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Supporting "Slow Renewal": Developments in Extended Education in High-Poverty Neighbourhoods in England

Kirstin Kerr

Abstract: This paper explores how a small but growing number of schools in England are gradually extending their roles to act as, what I term, agents of "slow renewal": supporting long-term change in children's complex family and community environments, through a series of strategically-aligned, small-scale, locally-bespoke actions, intentionally planned to bring about incremental change. An empirical illustration of one such school is presented and its core features explored via four core concepts: socio-ecological perspectives on children's outcomes, soft-systems change, assets-based development, and liminal space. Through this, the paper contributes a set of integrated conceptual principles on which schools working to support slow renewal can act and which challenge the values of market-driven education systems more generally.

Keywords: community schools, extended education, assets-based approaches, systems change

Background and Aims

This paper arises from a keynote presentation I gave at the World Education Research Association (WERA) International Research Network on Extended Education in 2019, where I was asked to consider future directions for the field. In doing so, I reflected on lessons drawn from an ongoing programme of extended education research in England, which I have led individually and with colleagues since 2006. In general, this has focused on how schools can extend their roles beyond their statutory duties to address wider social needs, and more specifically, on how schools serving high-poverty neighbourhoods might help to address barriers to good education and related outcomes, arising beyond their gates, in children's family and community contexts. A detailed justification for this focus has been provided elsewhere (Kerr, Dyson, & Raffo, 2014), premised on: (1) the stark concentrations of multiple interrelated inequalities and shrinking public services found in these areas, and (2) the opportunities for intervention which arise from understanding an area's dynamics.

This paper is concerned with these possibilities, and specifically, the small but growing number of schools, with strong connections to high poverty neighbourhoods, which are starting to develop what I call strategies for "slow renewal". I have coined this term to refer to schools which are: (1) making a long-term commitment to supporting change in children's complex, multi-layered, family and community environments, (2) aiming to improve children's outcomes over time, across all the domains in which it is important for them to do well–education, health, safety, housing, economic security, and community participation (Kerr & Dyson, 2016), and (3) are beginning to work through a sustained process of developing

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strategically-aligned, small-scale, bespoke actions, which are responsive to and understood as part of a neighbourhood's local dynamics, and are planned to lead to incremental change.

At the outset, it is also important to note that this focus is somewhat of an outlier in contemporary developments in extended education. It is distinct from important and growing bodies of research exploring the growth and impacts of extra-curricular academic tutoring (e. g. Bray, 2020, Pensiero and Green, 2017), and children's academic and social development outcomes from participating in varied out-of-hours activities, particularly for disadvantaged groups (e. g. Schüpbach, von Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017; Fischer, Steiner, & Theis 2020; Rollett, Lossen, Holtappels, & Tillmann, 2020). It does, however, draw on two established traditions which, particularly in the last decade, have lost prominence in the international scholarly literature, though remain strong in terms of advocacy. The first is the conception of extended schools as an anti-poverty strategy; to paraphrase Dryfoos (1994), if children from poor backgrounds come to school too hungry, too distressed and too unwell to learn, it is incumbent on schools to help ensure access to food, health and welfare services. Second is the idea that schools can help to revitalise poor neighbourhoods by acting to strengthen local infrastructures and support community development (Cummings, Dyson, & Todd, 2011; Morris, 1925; Warren and Hong, 2009). Schools which are working to support slow renewal provide an important link to these increasingly overlooked perspectives, while also helping to advance thinking around them (see also Lawson & Van Veen, 2016, as an important earlier contribution to this).

My purposes in this paper are therefore two-fold: (1) to provide a brief empirical illustration of what a school, working to encourage slow renewal, is doing in practice to extend its role, and (2) to begin to conceptualise core features of these emergent practices. The latter is particularly important as without this, the field will struggle to move beyond the presentation of one-off case studies and to enable the transfer of learning. This paper marks an important first step towards this, and I begin by briefly outlining the evidence base I draw upon, before addressing my main purposes in turn.

The Evidence Base

I draw here on iterative and cumulative learning from a 15 year research programme, which includes multiple exploratory and evaluative studies of national, local-government, and school-led extended education initiatives in England. Distinctively, it has enabled sustained relationships with a small number of schools (the longest spanning 10+ years), generating rich accounts of how their roles have been gradually extended. It is through close engagement with specific cases and comparative analysis across them, that the emerging features of schools supporting slow renewal have been identified.

These relationships have been underpinned by the principles of design-based implementation research (DBIR) (Anderson & Shutack, 2012; Fishman, Penuel, Allen, Haugan, & Sabelli, 2013; see also Kerr & Dyson, 2020, for a practice-based account). Importantly, DBIR assumes that: (1) interventions are not static, evolving iteratively through multiple cycles of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, (2) intervention leaders and researchers work in partnership, both bringing their expertise to bear and with researchers

ensuring ongoing critical scrutiny, and (3) the context where an intervention operates is an integral part of its design. In practice, this has involved using a wide range of methods as appropriate to surface and document: (1) the intervention’s strategies and actions and how these are intended to work, (2) how context shapes this, and (3) the intervention’s impacts. As well as strengthening specific interventions, DBIR is also intended to support more general theory development through an iterative process of cycling back and forth between interventions’ local theories, adapted to their particular contexts, and the more general principles underpinning transferable theories. In my work, the opportunity to work across heterogeneous sites has been important in supporting this.

In presenting an empirical case, I focus on Elmdean Community Academy (ECA; a pseudonym), which is in the third year of a DBIR partnership with Manchester University, detailing its evolving extended role. ECA is also an active member of a small UK-wide network of extended education and related initiatives which self-identify as working to support neighbourhood renewal, which I co-founded with a school in Manchester in 2016. I have chosen ECA as an illustrative case as it reflects the kinds of developments reported within the network which speak to slow renewal, while appearing more advanced than many.

ECA: An Illustrative Example

ECA is located in Elmdean (a pseudonym), an ethnically diverse town on the far outskirts of a major English city–not close enough to benefit from many of the city’s resources and opportunities, but not far enough away to sustain a clear independent identity and infrastructure. Recently, urban development spreading from the city has had significant impacts on Elmdean; for example, new homes have been built specifically to attract commuters. At the same time, the town appears to be becoming more polarised, perhaps more so in relation to class than ethnicity, though the Black Lives Matter movement may be shifting this dynamic. Alongside new developments, the depletion of local public services has seen the increasing the residualisation of Elmdean’s long-established, high-poverty neighbourhoods, exacerbating the challenges many residents may face.

ECA is located in Elmdean’s central retail area. Opening about 10 years ago it provides primary (4–11 years) and secondary (11–16 years) education, and non-compulsory kindergarten and post-16 further education, on one site, with around 900 pupils. ECA is also part of England’s academies and free schools programme (UK Parliament, 2019), where schools are funded directly by central government, independent of local government management, and have some freedoms over admissions processes, curriculum and staffing. ECA currently operates as a single school (i. e. it is not part of a multi-academy trust) and is rated Outstanding by Ofsted, the English schools inspectorate.

ECA’s pupil population reflects Elmdean’s increasingly complex local dynamics. It competes to attract pupils with other local schools and schools in the city, which include fee-paying schools and academically-selective state schools. While ECA’s Outstanding rating draws in some pupils from beyond Elmdean, some also choose to leave ECA for selective and high-performing city schools when opportunities arise. To counter the impacts of increasing gentrification, ECA also uses its freedoms to ring-fence a third of places for children who are

eligible for free school lunch and who typically come from Elmdean's poorest neighbourhoods. The result is that ECA has an ethnically and economically diverse mix of pupils, some who live locally and some who commute into Elmdean. Although attracting some more advantaged pupils, ECA has a pupil population with above average levels of economic disadvantage for schools in England.

Evolving in this context, ECA's extended provision is designed to be universally progressive; open to all, with the recognition that pupils facing the greatest barriers to achieving good outcomes in their home and community contexts may need greatest support. ECA's core extended offer includes many aspects familiar across the broad field of extended education. For example, it has afterschool sporting, dance, and drama activities and activities designed more specifically to support social development and well-being. These include opportunities for older pupils to gain sports coaching awards and to coach younger pupils, and an in-school counselling service with dedicated specialist staff and facilities.

Distinctively, over the last three years, ECA has sought to strengthen its provision for the most disadvantaged by establishing Elmdean Children's Hub. The Hub is a semi-autonomous organisation, sitting within ECA's broad management structure, with dedicated staff and a remit to develop support for children, their families and the local community, to address barriers to good outcomes arising outside school. Importantly, while Hub staff could simply have developed a menu of varied activities, or used statistical data on local outcomes to determine priorities and actions (for instance, addressing high levels of obesity in Elmdean by providing healthy cooking classes), they have sought instead to understand and respond to the challenges and opportunities experienced by those living and working locally. They have also made a conscious effort to ensure this is not tokenistic, and are investing, for example, in professional support for community organising to train staff to listen actively to community members and strengthen community-professional dialogue. Alongside this, well aware that local public services are struggling to meet demand, Hub staff have been mapping local service provision to identify gaps which need to be filled in some way.

The Hub's emerging strategy and actions continue to be informed by this diverse range of purposefully generated and regularly updated local intelligence, with its approach falling broadly into three main strands. First, it is working to address acute needs; for instance, family workers employed by ECA and based in the Hub provide vulnerable families with bespoke support and help to access specialist services as needed. Second, the Hub places a strong emphasis on empowering children, parents and wider residents and ensuring they are not unilaterally "done to" by professionals. For instance, rather than pursuing traditional parenting classes which aim to teach "better" parenting skills, it is investing in supporting parents to develop sustainable peer-to-peer support networks. It is doing this by offering safe and supported spaces with professional facilitation (for instance, recreational craft sessions) which enable parents to take increasing responsibility for determining and leading provision over time. The Hub's community organising activity is also helping local residents to explore how they can reclaim green spaces in Elmdean and ensure these are safe for community use.

Third, the Hub is working to strengthen Elmdean's infrastructure in other tangible and non-tangible ways. In some instances, it has invested in the direct delivery of services (for example, employing a specialist in ante- and post-natal care to support new parents) and plans to move to commissioning services in the longer term. It is also working to influence local development plans, for instance, arguing for the provision of affordable housing and community-use buildings. In the shorter-term, Hub staff and residents have been co-developing

plans to establish a community café in Elmdean, which is intended to be resident-led and supported by the Hub, but not located on the school site. This is to allow the café to be clearly "owned" and led by community members, while also creating a site where professionals can come to them, rather than this always being the other way round.

Although the coronavirus pandemic has disrupted such plans, it has catalysed a range of other developments. When schools in England closed in March 2020 and England was locked down, ECA was able to act much more quickly than local government to co-ordinate a multi-service response to the pandemic's impacts. It was able to learn quickly about how the situation was impacting on children and families, and all pupils and parents were contacted by phone at least once a week, with a family worker or other specialist staff phoning the most vulnerable families every day. The Hub's wider listening and community organising activities also continued using virtual conferencing software. Drawing on its existing links, the Hub was quickly able to convene a virtual meeting with 35 local services and organisations including charities, churches, local government officers, schools, and youth groups, so they could share thoughts about who and what they were most worried about and why, and explore how they could jointly respond. This resulted in the creation of three multi-partner working groups focusing on providing food and essentials, supporting mental health and well-being, and supporting access to financial information and advice. The Hub provided administrative support for these groups, identifying and coordinating further partners and resources, and ensuring cross-group communication and coordination.

ECA also led the "providing food and essentials" working group, supporting three local foodbanks to develop and use a single referral form to ensure a coordinated approach to allocating food to those most in need. It also adapted its free school meal service using its onsite catering facilities to provide daily meals for the families of 400 pupils, including pupils from three other Elmdean schools and 25 elderly people with serious underlying health conditions living locally. Alongside this, the "financial information and advice" and "mental health and well-being" working groups focused on creating community-accessible websites and information packs to provide general guidance and signposting to accessible services. Hub staff anticipate these will become increasingly important as the pandemic's longer-term economic impacts begin to be felt, especially as the aviation sector is one of the area's largest employers.

Transferable Principles

ECA's evolving approach is, of course, considerably more complex, messy, fragile and indeterminate than this brief account suggests. The challenges involved are considerable, ranging, for example, from having the time, capacity, and necessary relationships to access and listen to a wide range of lived experiences; to securing commitments to working in partnership (assuming appropriate partners can be found) and adequate funding; to very practical concerns–for instance, if the Hub's activities are to be widely accessible as intended, they cannot simply be scheduled to suit ECA's school drop-off and pick-up times as for ECA parents. Schools in less favourable positions than ECA–for instance, those struggling aca-

demically or managing significant budget deficits–are likely to face even greater and possibly insurmountable challenges.

While such challenges must be acknowledged, this paper remains focused on conceptualising how schools like ECA are extending their roles and on developing a series of robust, integrated, principles for schools working to support slow renewal, which could be transferred to other sites. If this can be achieved, it may strengthen imperatives to explore how the conditions needed to fully realise these principles can be fostered in different contexts. Reflecting on ECA's activities, I suggest that four concerns appear integral to developing a principled approach. These are: (1) adopting a socio-ecological perspective on children's lives, (2) working through soft systems change, (3) building assets, and (4) creating liminal spaces for innovation. For clarity, I will outline each concept in turn, briefly relating it to ECA's current approach, before drawing them together. Importantly, while the concepts are valuable in their own rights, it is the dialectal relationship between them, and the emergent properties resulting from their interconnections, which truly characterise schools working to support slow renewal.

A Socio-Ecological Perspective on Children's Lives

A socio-ecological perspective on children's lives invites an exploration of how children's outcomes are shaped by the environments in which they live and develop. Among the various models to explore this, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model is widely cited as a valuable heuristic device. This understands children's development as happening within a set of nested, interconnected systems and sub-systems, operating at multiple levels: individual (a child's personal characteristics, aptitudes and interests), micro (a child's immediate social environments), meso (the features of the physical, social and service infrastructures of the areas where children live), macro (national and transnational policies), and temporal (change over time). It also considers how these systems interact with and shape one another–for instance, how do national childcare policies shape parents' access to local employment opportunities and influence family functioning? As Dyson, Hertzman, Roberts, Tunstill, & Vaghri (2009) further explain:

> Children live, grow up and learn through their interactions with a wide range of interconnected environments–including the family, residential communities, relational communities, and the environment of child development services (such as the childcare centres or the schools that children attend). Each of these environments is situated in a broad socioeconomic context that is shaped by factors at the local, national, and global level. Whether children do well depends to a very significant extent on the 'nurturant' quality of these environments. (p. ii)

The question this raises is whether schools can extend their roles in ways which can strengthen the nurturant qualities of children's environments and disrupt the interactions between and within these which are likely to promote poor outcomes. That some children, schools and communities in disadvantaged circumstances nonetheless achieve good outcomes would seem to suggest such positive changes are possible, and that each has a role to play.

From this perspective, it is clear that in extending their roles schools cannot limit their focus to treating the acute symptoms of disadvantage as Dryfoos describes. They will also need to trace the interactions between children's interconnected environments which are likely to place them at risk of poor outcomes, and to consider where and how they might intervene in the underlying causes–and the causes of the causes (Marmot, 2016)–of poor outcomes,

whether directly, through co-developed responses, or indirectly via a partner. This way of thinking is, for example, already well-established in the field of public health, where it is widely acknowledged that actions to address poor health outcomes may be most effective in the longer-term if directed upstream–i. e. designed to intervene in complex etiologic pathways and to address the role of economic, political, and environmental health determinants within these (Bonner, 2018; Butterfield, 2017). From a socio-ecological perspective, strengthening the nurturant qualities of children’s environments is not, therefore, simply about introducing a range of disconnected activities under the banner of extended school provision, but of thinking strategically about the actions which are within the scope of schools and their partners (in which I include children, families, and wider community members, as well as professionals) which may achieve the greatest impacts over time–even if, initially, these appear only indirectly connected to children’s outcomes.

This also draws attention to the importance of thinking about fostering and sustaining nurturant environments as a long-term process, which has to respond to the impacts of past events, while working in the present and planning for the future. The concept of slow violence (Ahmann, 2018; Nixon, 2011) is of explanatory value here. This captures the idea that poor outcomes are the product of complex processes of gradual, cumulative change over time. For example, slow violence has been applied to accounts of neighbourhood decline which explore the gradual, recursive and multi-directional relationships between changing features in the environment: decline in industry, residents being less economically active, housing stock being poorly maintained, increased instances of crime and ill health, and so on (Pain, 2018). This analysis is important for schools extending their roles on two grounds. First, it clearly demonstrates that there is no single cause of decline or simple causal pathway leading to poor outcomes, and correspondingly, no single point of intervention or single intervention (or even suite of interventions) which could straightforwardly reverse this decline. Second, it shows that gradual change across multiple systems and environments is possible, and while slow violence focuses on negative change, change is, importantly, not a unidirectional process.

All this suggests schools could act in ways which are contrary to processes of slow violence, pursuing what I term “slow renewal”. In principle, schools and their partners, who are gradually developing a series of actions, informed by a growing understanding of the causes (and the causes of the causes) of poor outcomes, which are local in their scope, strategic in their intent, and incremental in their impacts, could start positively to reshape multiple aspects of children’s environments over time. While there are clearly significant limits to what they might be reasonably expected to achieve, they could, for instance, act to reduce risks and strengthen the protective factors within children’s environments, leading to changes for individuals, and cumulatively over time, perhaps across neighbourhoods.

All of these points speak clearly to ECA’s approach. For example, through the Hub, it has started to recognise importance of understanding how local environments shape children’s lives, and the need, therefore, to intervene in multiple aspects of those environments to bring about change. The Hub has placed a clear value on accessing, synthesising and responding to lived knowledge about local challenges and opportunities and is drawing on a diverse range of information to identify points where it–alone or with/through partners–might intervene upstream. This has led it to support actions which are distal to children’s outcomes and address underlying causes of poor outcomes (for instance, ensuring community access to financial advice, or arguing for affordable housing) as well as taking actions which are proximal to these.

A Soft-Systems Approach to Change

In thinking about how to act on a socio-ecological perspective, it is valuable to draw on notions of systems change, and in particular, to distinguish between hard and soft systems (Checkland, 1981, 2000). Hard systems can be thought about as a series of component parts to be manipulated to achieve pre-determined and clearly-defined outcomes. Engineering analogies are often used to emphasise that the system's components are each standalone entities, designed to make a specific individual contribution to the working of the system (Checkland, 2000). The difficulty in applying a hard systems approach to complex issues of disadvantage is that in treating poor outcomes in different domains (health, education, housing, and so on) as separate issues to be resolved by different "component" services and interventions, the complex interactions between these cannot be taken into account (Kerr, Dyson, & Raffo, 2014).

A soft systems approach, by contrast, focuses on understanding ways of engaging with and influencing the social world, and developing processes to enable this (Checkland & Scholes, 1990). A soft system is therefore much more fluid than a hard system in its operation and likely to be characterised by a lack of specificity and indeterminacy of outcomes (Checkland, 2012). An apt analogy for how a soft system works may, I suggest, be that of a search party. First, its development may be catalysed by an organisation taking a convening and co-ordinating, and monitoring and oversight role, however, its precise strategy relies on a wide range of partners, each with distinctive expertise and resources, working together to develop and refine different aspects of this. Second, it requires each partner to operate with an awareness of how their actions impact on others. At the very least, this is necessary to ensure they do not cut across one another, and more importantly, that they can complement and add value to each other's work and develop synergistic approaches. Third, the system may also work with a broad sense of the outcomes it ultimately hopes to achieve, within a series of broad parameters and ways of working, which will be continually refined as "the search" progresses. This also means that the system has to be suitably adaptive. It needs to work in ways which are sufficiently nimble to be responsive to the dynamic nature of the environment in which it operates and to emerging evidence about the impacts of its actions.

In strategic and operational terms, ECA appears to be developing its extended role by working broadly on these soft system principles. For instance, the Hub's starting point has not been to deliver a prescribed list of extended activities, or even to start with prescribed outcomes. Rather, it has sought to understand the systemic nature of challenges and opportunities in children's environments from multiple perspectives, and recognised that it needs to work with partners to influence these. It has also intentionally sought to alter the nature of its relationships with diverse partners, supporting them to take leading roles rather than assuming that ECA must always lead or provide services directly. Thus, rather than positioning itself to command and control partners in line with a self-determined agenda, ECA, and the Hub more specifically, appears increasingly to be playing a convening, coordinating and facilitating role. It is starting to find ways to align the work of different services and organisations so that they can build capacity and add value to one other. In addition, ECA's DBIR partnership with the university is helping to ensure that this is not leading simply to a wide range of loosely connected activity, but is moving gradually towards the development of a coherent, strategic, and adaptive system for working across children's interconnected environments.

Building Assets

There is a critical literature on the role of extended schools in meeting children's acute needs and in trying to strengthen community infrastructure. This suggests several troubling scenarios: (1) that extended schools encourage client dependency, disempowering those accessing services (Keith, 1999), (2) that schools often seek to engage parents and the wider community by creating opportunities for parents to support school priorities, without recognising, valuing or responding to their interests (Nakagawa, 2003), and (3) more generally, as seen in community development literature, that in trying to avoid taking a deficit-fixing role, professionals may simply assume communities have the knowledge and skills to transform their local environments, placing the onus on them to do so, while leaving them unsupported (McLeod & Emejulu, 2014; Nel, 2018).

To engage with these issues, it is valuable to draw upon thinking around assets-based community development (ABCD; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Initially developed to support the renewal of high-poverty neighbourhoods in the US, ABCD takes as its starting point "…what is present in the community, the capacities of its residents and workers, the associational and institutional base of the area" (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p. 9). It then provides a framework for mapping assets, categorising these as individual, associational, and institutional. Individual assets refer to residents' skills and talents, the contributions they have or can make to the community (for example, peer support roles), and any entrepreneurial activity which may contribute to strengthening a neighbourhood's economic infrastructure (for example, running micro-businesses). Associational assets refer to more-or-less formally organised resident-led networks and local associations, as well as professionally-led services. Institutional assets refer to visible, physical places and structures which typically house formal organisations and professional services. These institutions may also act to convene other assets, for instance people with different skills, resources and networks. This mapping framework is valuable in explicitly acknowledging the range of assets which may be developed within and across children's interconnected environments, recognising that these are not only located in, or the products of, professional organisations.

In the context of extended education, building assets cannot therefore just be about schools offering a wider range of out-of-hours activities or commissioning new services. It must also be about strengthening assets held by individuals and associational groups. This is unlikely to be achieved if schools consider their extended provision to operate primarily on a unidirectional, transactional basis where, as Keith (1999) suggests, schools see themselves as providing for dependent clients. Rather, it strongly suggests that communities need to be meaningfully involved in the development of extended offers over time (Warren, Hong, Rubin, & Uy, 2009), and that these need to be clearly connected to their environments and lived experiences.

Relating these points to ECA, it is already working to strengthen a variety of individual, associational and institutional assets, though undoubtedly could consider this more systematically. It is, for example, using its own position as an institutional asset to play a convening role, creating systems for bringing multiple assets together. Through mapping current service provision, it has sought to identify and begin to fill gaps in the existing local assets-base in this respect, where it is well-placed to do so. Importantly, it is also working to support the development of individual and associational assets as seen, for example, in its work with vulnerable parents to facilitate peer-to-peer support, in the community café plans, and in

community organising activity. In doing so, ECA appears to be consciously trying to shift existing power relations to encourage greater reciprocity and mutuality between professionals and community members.

More generally, assets-building activities, and professionals' capacities to intervene in service infrastructures, convene partners, access resources, and generally drive developments, have to be understood as integral parts of the same system and be integrated within any process of change. Whatever the limits of its current approach, ECA appears clearly to understand that building assets is as much a soft process of convening, co-ordinating, partnering, and building new kinds of relationships, as it is providing services.

Creating Liminal Spaces

That schools and their partners will need to work in ways which challenge more established practices runs throughout the preceding discussion. A final concept, of liminal space (Shortt, 2015), is helpful in considering this. In general terms, a liminal space can be defined as a space (whether physical, organisational, social or temporal) which sits: "in direct comparison to dominant spaces; those spaces that are defined by mainstream uses, that characteristically have clear boundaries and where the practices within them are interwoven with social expectation, routines and norms" (Shortt, 2015, p. 634).

While there is some debate about how much freedom liminal spaces may actually allow, in principle at least, they create some scope to suspend established management and accountability arrangements and to allow for different ways of working (Whitworth, Torras I Calvo, Moss, Amlesom Kifle, & Blåsternes, 2016). For instance, there are examples from the field of management studies of how large businesses enable problem solving and innovation by bringing employees from different divisions together to work in a temporary space, outside the constraints of their day-to-day practices, to undertake specific cross-cutting projects (Lam, 2010).

The literature also commonly suggests that liminal spaces are necessarily transitory (Wood, 2012, Shortt, 2015). Over time, those spaces which endure will acquire their own boundaries, expectations, routines and norms, becoming dominant spaces in their own rights within local systems. Given this, it is also valuable to consider the relationship between liminal space and the achievement of sustainable change over time. While spaces for innovation are essential to catalyse change, a system of sustainable slow renewal has to be able to embed innovative developments into everyday provision, so that they can become an established part of wider ways of working. This is clearly seen in business contexts where, for instance, products developed in liminal spaces are then moved into an organisation's mainstream systems.

All of this suggests three challenges for schools extending their roles to support slow renewal, namely how to: (1) create and protect liminal spaces to enable innovation, (2) embed and sustain innovations as part of core business, and (3) maintain new and more equitable relations as innovations are embedded and possibly scaled-up. By developing the Children's Hub, ECA has arguably begun to explore these issues. Although the Hub sits within the school's overall management structure, it has been positioned to act outside the constraints of performative mechanisms for scrutinising school performance, but still benefits from the stability and basic resourcing afforded by the school. This has allowed it to start working in

ways which are responsive to local knowledge rather than external targets, to take on convening and coordinating roles and begin to shift power relations, and to act on the underlying causes of poor outcomes. Also important, is that the Hub structure allows ECA to protect its long-term commitment to slow renewal. If, for instance, ECA needed to focus on raising attainment in the short-term, it would not necessarily have to compromise the Hub's work to do this, as the Hub can, in large part, stand alone. However, it may also be that the more established the Hub becomes, the more challenges it may face in maintaining its liminality. For instance, if it begins to commission services, it will have contractual power over service providers and will have to work out how to manage this without recreating reductive accountability arrangements.

A Dialectal Relationship Between Principles

It is important that the principles set out above do not stand alone, but enable slow renewal through their interconnection. For instance, the creation of liminal spaces can enable new ways of working and new relationships, which can support soft system developments, which can enable and embed activities to develop a neighbourhood's assets base, all informed by socio-ecological analyses of challenges and opportunities in children's interconnected environments. Just as with slow violence, there is no single set of linear relationships between these principles. They work together with the development of shared understandings, values and purposes, and trust and reciprocity, at the core of the interconnections between them.

This also emphasises the importance of change over time. Working on these interconnected principles is likely gradually to change the ways in which all those involved think and the actions they then take. Slow renewal is not therefore simply a process of people changing the environment, but of also simultaneously changing themselves in relation to, and as part of, the changing environment. However, this also brings with it a constant need to (re) negotiate the balance between competing interests and demands, and the Hub and ECA, in playing convening and oversight roles, will be central to this in Elmdean. While the ideal long-term direction of travel may be towards ensuring opportunities for meaningful co-construction between varied partners, across all aspects of systems change, the difficulties in moving towards this cannot be underestimated.

Towards a Principled Approach for Slow Renewal

In this paper, I set out to illustrate and conceptualise how schools, which I have characterised as working to support slow renewal, are gradually extending their roles to intervene in children's complex environments. Through this, I have identified a series of strongly interconnected and transferable conceptual principles which appear central to understanding how schools can act as agents of slow renewal. In summary, these require schools to:

- Act on a socio-ecological understanding of children's lives. They need to strengthen the nurturant qualities of children's interconnected environments by: (1) mitigating the acute symptoms of disadvantage, and (2) identifying and intervening in the underlying causes

(or causes of the causes) of poor outcomes which are within their sphere of influence–whether directly, or through working with or through partners.
- Build assets in ways which support the development of nurturant environments. This is not simply a case of providing additional resources, but also requires a move from a unidirectional and transactional model of professionally-led extended provision, to one characterised by increasing reciprocity and mutuality.
- Create liminal spaces. Creating and protecting spaces outside dominant practices, in which new ways of working and new relationships can be developed, appears essential.
- Achieve change through a soft systems approach. Schools need to establish robust working processes which embody the principles above and which DBIR can help to develop and document. Schools' abilities to help convene and coordinate multiple partners and assets is likely to be central.
- Make a long-term commitment to change, acting on the interconnected principles above. To act as an agent of slow renewal is gradually to develop and embed a series of small, but strategic, coherently aligned and focused changes, to enable incremental and sustainable change, over extended timescales.

It is important to note that schools acting on these principles may at first appear to be developing a fairly standard range of extended activities–parent recreation activities, a community café, and so on. However, scratch the surface, and clear distinctions between schools intentionally working to embody the principles above, and those which are not, will emerge. To give an example, England's last national extended school initiative, which ended in 2010, required all schools to offer a varied menu of extra-curricular activities, holiday and out-of-hours care, parenting support, signposting to specialist services, and adult education and community leisure activities (Department for Education and Skills, 2005). Critiques of its underlying rationale noted that policy makers appeared simply to assume that a broad range of activity would lead to improvements across an equally broad range of outcomes, with no clear explanation as to how or why this would occur (Dyson & Raffo, 2007). Furthermore, schools then often bought in a disconnected range of decontexualised, standalone activities to satisfy policy requirements, effectively treating extended provision as a hard system of component parts. This is fundamentally different to what I have outlined.

In bringing the paper to a close, I want to be very clear that I am not arguing that all schools serving high poverty communities need, or have the capacity, to pursue a strategy of slow renewal. Such strategies may not be needed where there are strong local government systems and services in place. Some schools may find they recruit pupils from such a wide area that it is simply not feasible to engage in pupils' wider environments in this way. Even where such an approach is needed, it only needs one organisation to be the central convenor for a local strategy of soft-systems change. Indeed, in some places, this need not even be a school (see Kerr & Ainscow, 2017, for an example of a housing association playing this role and partnering with schools).

With these caveats in place, the ECA case and others like it suggest that with the opportunities and imperatives to do so, schools and their partners can be uniquely placed to develop long-term strategies to mitigate the effects of poverty and related disadvantages on children's outcomes in high-poverty neighbourhoods. Again to be clear, I am not suggesting they can substitute for high-quality public services and nor should they be obliged to try. But they do have an important role to play, as ECA's ability to co-ordinate a response to impacts of

the coronavirus pandemic perhaps most clearly shows. This also clearly illustrates how schools like ECA actively see themselves as embedded in local systems, and their commitment to working with others who are also part of those systems, not least other schools. While schools like ECA are of course benefitting from taking a convening role, gaining status and influence as well as access to new partnerships and resources, their actions are far from being exclusively for their own gain. Importantly, as trust is built over time, particularly between local schools, reciprocal benefits can increasingly be shared (see Kerr & Ainscow, 2017, for an example involving 17 schools working as a Family Zone).

This leads to my closing reflection. That schools like ECA are extending their roles in ways which may support slow renewal says something important about their values and how these sit within the wider school system. Rather than investing in a Hub, ECA could, for example, choose to strengthen its market position by changing its admissions arrangements and investing in new on-site teaching and learning facilities to attract more advantaged learners. Instead, however imperfect its emerging approach, it has chosen to invest in a complex and indeterminate process of systems change, far beyond its comfort zone and statutory duties, because ultimately it believes that by doing so it can make the greatest contribution to tackling ingrained inequities. The interconnected principles outlined in this paper may therefore be considered both as a contribution to the field of extended education and as a challenge from the field to the dominance of competitive market place values in school systems. They reveal something about the kinds of values and ways of working school systems may need actively to embody if schools are truly to help overcome seemingly intractable inequities.

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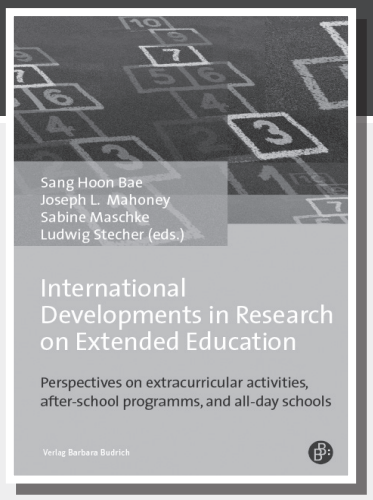

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