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Editor's Preface

A total of three papers were published in this issue. We are very thankful of contributions.

The first article concerns extended education services in Switzerland. Authors, Regula Windlinger and Laura Züger, revealed that in order to improve the quality of extended education services it is important to improve working conditions of the staff. From their research, we learn that it is of importance to create an environment where work engagement can be enhanced by paying more attention to health and motivation of the staff.

The second article relates to private supplementary tutoring in Denmark. Two authors, David Thore Gravesen and Sidse Hllvig Mikkelsen, investigated private tutoring as a child rearing strategy through qualitative research. According to their research, parents' wealth and wishes may greatly influence their children's lives. The study suggests that paying attention to children's stress, pressure, competition, and grades may create performance culture and affect children's lives. In recent year, private tutoring has become a worldwide research topic. A great number of studies have been conducted in this area. IJREE is looking forward to seeing contributions.

The last paper deals with a very interesting topic called 'playful participatory research'. Bruce Hurst, the author, provides us with insight and information about playful approach suggesting that play and research are as not entirely distinct and separate but instead as intersecting and mingling in complex and multiple ways. He also suggests a very meaningful question, whether there is a place for playful research in extended education settings and if there are any benefits.

We thank all authors and anonymous reviewers for their valuable works.

Sang Hoon Bae

Job Demands, Job Resources and Well-Being of Staff in Extended Education Services in Switzerland: A Longitudinal Study

Regula Windlinger, Laura Züger

Abstract: Extended education services are expanding in Switzerland. Their quality depends on the working conditions and well-being of staff. This study examined the relationships between job demands, job resources and well-being using the job demands-resources (JD-R) model. 655 staff members from 113 extended education services from three Swiss cantons participated in the three-wave study. Overall, staff reported low levels of job demands and high levels of resources except for autonomy. Results provided support for the motivational and health impairment processes proposed by the JD-R model, although not consistently for both measurement intervals. The findings highlight the importance of focussing on working conditions, especially when extended education services expand in the future.

Keywords: Job Demands-Resources model, job characteristics, staff well-being, extended education

Introduction

High quality extended education depends largely on skills and competencies of staff (Schüpbach, 2016; Vandell & Lao, 2016). To work professionally, apply these skills and competencies, engage with the children, and provide a supportive environment, staff must be in a workplace that fosters their motivation and well-being. Working conditions influence the perception of job demands and resources at work and these in turn are connected to staff well-being (Viernickel, Voss, Mauz, Gerstenberg, & Schumann, 2013). Staff well-being is seen as "individuals' positive evaluations of and healthy functioning in their work environment" (Collie, Shapka, Perry, & Martin, 2015, p. 746). Healthy and satisfied employees perform better, have a higher commitment and less turnover intentions (Rudow, 2017). This is good for the children, as they benefit from lasting and trusting relationships with staff (Bloechliger & Bauer, 2016). Furthermore, research in schools shows that teachers' well-being is related to student outcomes (e. g. Arens & Morin, 2016).

So far, we do not have any substantive knowledge about levels of job demands and resources in Swiss extended education. Moreover, studies investigating effects of job demands and resources with a longitudinal design are lacking. The present study aims to fill that gap. To better understand and to investigate how aspects of the working environment have an impact on the well-being of employees in extended education, we use the Job demands-

resources (JD-R) model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017, see Figure 1). This model explains how job demands and job resources affect outcomes by combining a health impairment and a motivational process. The motivational process is driven by resources, which lead to work engagement. Work engagement, in turn, is related to positive personal and organisational outcomes, such as commitment or job satisfaction (Lesener, Gusy, & Wolter, 2019). Job demands on the other hand can have a negative effect on health-related outcomes, especially when resources are low. Being exposed to high job demands over time depletes employees' resources, which leads to emotional exhaustion. Emotional exhaustion is the core component of burnout and is related to negative health-related outcomes over time (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017).

Therefore, understanding the working conditions of extended education staff and their connection with staff well-being helps to improve the quality of these services. Hence, this study aims to analyse (1) the perceptions of extended education staff in three Swiss cantons regarding the levels of a range of relevant job demands and job resources and (2) the relationships between job demands, job resources and positive and negative indicators of well-being over time.

Context of the Study: Extended Education in Switzerland

In Switzerland, many extended education services have been established and/or expanded their services in recent years (Schüpbach, 2014). These extended education services are workplaces of teachers and other educational staff with a range of different qualifications in education plus a large proportion of staff with a background outside education. To date, little is known about their characteristics and working conditions.

In the Swiss federal system, the cantons have primary responsibility for education (Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education, 2018). Accordingly, the organization of Swiss extended education services (and thereby the extent to which they are integrated into schools) depends on the regulations of cantons but also on the initiative of the municipalities. This means that services are very heterogeneous even within the country (Schüpbach, 2019). The services are open to children and adolescents from the age of 4 (school entry) to the age of 16 (end of compulsory schooling), but not all services provide for all age groups. The extent of services offered by different providers varies greatly. All services offer at least lunchtime care (which includes lunch) on some days. Some also offer after-school and/or before-school care. The focus of the extended education services is mostly on social competencies and supervised recreation. Many also offer homework support. The services are often located within the school but can also be located elsewhere, depending on the infrastructure of the school, the municipality, but also on who the provider is (Schüpbach, 2019).

Review of the Literature

Research on working conditions in extended education – especially with a longitudinal design – is limited. There are studies that investigate aspects of working conditions, like infrastructure (Boström, Hörnel, & Frykland, 2015), or staff development (Vandell & Lao, 2016), mostly as part extended education quality. As research connecting working conditions and well-being of staff in extended education is rare (e. g. Rudow, 2017), we also draw on studies from early childhood education and care.

Job Demands and Resources of Staff in Extended Education

Staff in extended education value the contact with the children and cooperating with team members (Forrer & Schuler, 2010). Studies from early childhood education and care in Switzerland and Germany (Bloechliger & Bauer, 2016; Schreyer, Krause, Brandl, & Nicko, 2014; Viernickel et al., 2013) corroborate this and show that relevant job resources include having interesting and varied tasks and the interaction with the children in general. Having a discretion over when and how to fulfil the work tasks (autonomy or control) is another resource connected to staff well-being in early childhood education and care (Blöchliger & Bauer, 2018; Koch, Stranzinger, Nienhaus, & Kozak, 2015). Additionally, staff benefit from receiving social support in their daily work, therefore team social resources and leadership quality are essential. Knowing one's duties and responsibilities, i. e. role clarity, is another important resource, as a lack of this can contribute to burnout (Goelman & Guo, 1998).

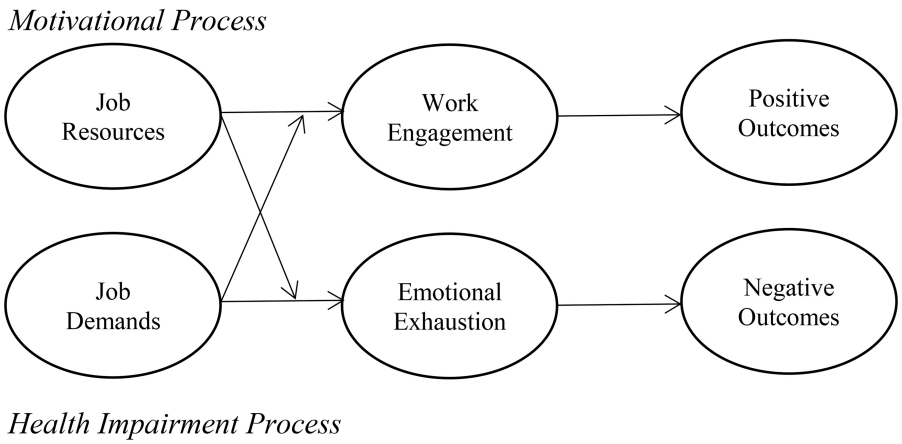
Rudow (2017) investigated working conditions of educational professionals in all-day schools in Berlin, where extended education and instruction time are integrated into an all-day schedule. The study showed that time pressure and workload, e. g. due to inadequate staffing, qualitative demands (such as complex work tasks), environmental factors such as noise, non-ergonomic working conditions and unsatisfactory infrastructure are the main job demands. These demands can lead to the experience of stress and fatigue and a higher risk of burnout (Rudow, 2017).

Job Characteristics and Staff Well-Being

Job resources have a motivating effect and help to successfully deal with job demands (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017). Working in a resourceful environment fuels work engagement, "a positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is characterized by vigor, dedication, and absorption" (Hakanen, Schaufeli, & Aloha, 2008, p. 225). In the second step of this motivational process, work engagement relates to positive outcomes such as commitment. In contrast, being exposed to job demands for longer periods can lead to emotional exhaustion, and further to negative health-related outcomes, such as psychosomatic complaints (health impairment process). These two processes – motivational and health impairment – are the core of the JD-R model (see Figure 1), which has been a frequently used model in research in the field of occupational health psychology (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017). Nevertheless, longitudinal research of this model is limited but necessary to assume causal relations (Lesener et al., 2019). In a meta-analytic review of longitudinal studies, Lesener et al. (2019) confirmed

the assumptions that job demands predict burnout and job resources predict work engagement. They conclude that "the JD-R model is an excellent theoretical basis to assess employee well-being for a broad range of organisations" (Lesener et al., 2019, p. 76). We are not aware of any studies using the JD-R model with a longitudinal design in extended education, but there are studies from school contexts which mostly provide strong empirical support for the model (e. g. Dicke, Stebner, Linninger, Kunter, & Leutner, 2018). There is one cross-sectional study that applied the JD-R model to staff in after school programs which showed that increased job demands predicted increased job stress (Affrunti, Mehta, Rusch, & Frazier, 2018). Other studies from the area of early childhood education and care connect job characteristics with staff motivation and well-being, e. g. showing that staff working under good conditions report higher commitment (Schreyer & Krause, 2016) and that job resources are related to health and job satisfaction (Vincent-Höper, Gude, & Kersten, 2016). Conversely, job demands, such as noise-exposure (Koch et al., 2015), low control and reward and a high workload (Blöchliger & Bauer, 2018) were associated with increased risk of burnout. Overall, the studies show that staff in childcare report comparably high levels of burnout (Rudow, 2017; Schreyer et al., 2014), but at the same time they are relatively satisfied with their work (Schreyer & Krause, 2016).

Figure 1. The Job Demands-Resources Model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017; Lesener et al., 2019)



Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study aims to answer the following two questions:

1. What are the perceptions of extended education staff in Switzerland regarding the levels of a range of relevant job demands and job resources?
2. What are the relationships between job demands, job resources and positive and negative indicators of well-being over time?

Based on results of research into early childhood education and care as well as extended education, we assume to find high levels of job demands. Other than that, it is hard to presume which job resources and job demands are the important ones in extended education in Switzerland. To that effect, the first research question is an explorative one.

For the second research question, we expect a confirmation of the relationships over time between job demands, job resources and indicators of well-being consistent with the JD-R model, that is the health impairment process (hypotheses a and b) and the motivational process (c and d):

Hypotheses: There are positive time-lagged relationships between

a) job demands and emotional exhaustion,
b) emotional exhaustion and psychosomatic complaints,
c) job resources and work engagement,
d) work engagement and affective commitment.

Methods

Study Design

A longitudinal design was used with three measurement points, each separated by 6 months. Participants received a link to an online questionnaire via E-Mail or if preferred a paper and pencil questionnaire in the post. Each participant was assigned a personal ID code to pseudo-anonymize the data. Data was collected between October 2017 and December 2018.

Participants

Data stem from a sample of 655 staff members in 113 extended education services in three Swiss cantons. We started the sampling with a list of all services in the three cantons and stratified it by type of service and canton. Each stratum was put into random order and we contacted the heads of the services to ask if they wanted to participate in the study together with their staff members. In total we had to contact 202 services to reach our goal of sampling at least 25 % of each stratum. The 113 services correspond to 28 % of all the existing services in the three cantons (as of Summer 2017). 50 services provide a full-time service, which includes before-school care, lunchtime care and after-school care from Monday to Friday. The others provide at the least lunch-time care on two days a week and a varying range of before-school, lunchtime and/or after-school care on 1 to 5 days a week.

Of the 655 staff members 88 % are female and 11 % male (1 % didn't indicate their gender). The ages range from 16 to 74 years (M=43.25, SD=13.42). 25 % are qualified teachers, 28 % have another educational qualification (e. g. a vocational level diploma in childcare), 42 % have a qualification outside education and 4 % hold no formal qualification. Only 16.4 % of the staff members work more than 30 hours per week, 13.3 % work between 20–30 hours, 25.9 % work between 10–20 hours and 37.1 % of the staff members work less than 10 hours per week in the extended education service. 43 % have another job/employment (15 % as teachers).

Sample Attrition

Of the 655 participants from the first wave, 528 (81 %) also participated in the second and 441 (67 %) in the third wave. Compared to participants who participated in all three measurement waves, those who participated only in wave 1 or waves 1 and 2 were slightly younger, reported less affective commitment, skill variety, and work engagement. A higher proportion of men dropped out. There were no differences between the two groups regarding the other job demands, job resources or outcome variables.

Measures

This study was part of a larger project on staff and working conditions in extended education funded by the Bern University of Teacher Education (PHBern, see Windlinger & Züger, 2020). All constructs were measured at each measurement point and all measures were in German.

Job Demands

Task-related uncertainty was assessed with 3 items (example item: "How often do you get contradictory orders?"; T1 α=.79, T2 α=.80, T3 α=.82) and time pressure with 4 items ("How often does it happen that you go home late because of too much work?"; T1 α=.79, T2 α=.80, T3 α=.80) from Semmer, Zapf & Dunckel (1995); Qualitative overload was measured with 3 items from Udris & Riemann (1999; "I have to do things for which I am not adequately qualified or prepared"; T1 α=.76, T2 α=.77, T3 α=.76). The answer scale for these job demands ranged from *never/very rarely* (1) to *very often* (5). Environmental factors were assessed with 6 items that were adapted from Vincent-Höper, Gude & Kersten (2016; e. g. "How strongly do you feel burdened by noise?"; T1 α=.76, T2 α=.73, T3 α=.79), the answer scale ranged from *very little* (1) to *to a great extent* (5). For the longitudinal analyses the means of the four scales served as manifest indicators for the latent variable job demands. Reliability was acceptable with T1 ω=.74; T2 ω=.75; T3 ω=.75.

Job Resources

All job resources were assessed on scales ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very much* (5). Autonomy was measured with 6 items from Bond, Flaxmann & Loivette (2006; "I can decide when to take a break"; T1 α=.80, T2 α=.80, T3 α=.79); Skill variety was assessed with 2 items from Morgeson & Humphrey (2006; "The job involves a great deal of task variety"; T1 α=.81, T2 α=.84, T3 α=.83). Scale means of these two resources were used as indicators for the latent variable task-related resources.

Role clarity was measured with 5 items from Bond, Flaxmann & Loivette (2006; "I am clear what my duties and responsibilities are"; T1 α=.84, T2 α=.80, T3 α=.80); Leadership was assessed with 3 items from Udris & Riemann (1999) and 2 items from Grebner et al. (2010; "The leader is interested in the well-being of his/her subordinates"; T1 α=.87, T2 α=.90, T3 α=.89); Participation was measured with 3 items from Doden et al. (2014; "I can participate in organisational decisions"; T1 α=.78, T2 α=.84, T3 α=.84); Team social resources were measured with 7 items from Schreyer et al. (2014; "We collaborate effectively as a team"; T1

α=.88, T2 α=.91, T3 α=.91). Means of these four variables were used as indicators for the latent variable social resources. Reliability was acceptable with T1 ω=.77; T2 ω=.80; T3 ω=.80.

Health Impairment and Motivational Process:

Work engagement was measured with 9 items from the Utrecht work engagement scale (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2003; "I feel happy when I am working intensely"), the answer scale ranged from *never* (0) to *always* (6). Means of the three subscales (vigour, dedication, and absorption) served as indicators for the latent variable. Reliability was high with T1 ω=.93; T2 ω=.94; T3 ω=.94.

Emotional exhaustion was measured with 8 items from the Oldenburg Burnout Inventory (Demerouti & Bakker, 2008; "After my work, I regularly feel worn out and weary"), the answer scale ranged from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (4). To serve as indicators for the latent variable the items were combined into 3 random parcels. Reliability was good with T1 ω=.84; T2 ω=.83; T3 ω=.84.

Outcomes

Psychosomatic complaints were assessed on a scale from *never* (1) to *constantly* (5) with 10 items (adapted from Igic et al., 2017; Vincent-Höper et al., 2016; "How often did you suffer from the following in the last 6 months: headaches"). The 10 items were combined into 3 random parcels that served as indicators for the latent variable. Reliability was acceptable with T1 ω=.73; T2 ω=.77; T3 ω=.76.

Affective commitment was measured with 3 items from Allen & Meyer (1990; "I enjoy discussing my organization with people outside it"), the answer scale ranged from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Reliability was good with T1 ω =.83; T2 ω = .87; T3 ω = .82.

Control Variable

Working hours at T1 (average working hours per week) was used as a control variable, as most staff members worked part-time with varied working hours.

Strategy of Analysis

To answer the first research question, descriptive statistics for the individual job demands and job resources were calculated. For the second research question, data was analysed by means of longitudinal structural equation modelling (SEM). This latent variable approach allows to control for measurement error and to test for longitudinal measurement invariance to ensure that measurement properties of latent variables are stable over time (Newsom. 2015). By including autoregressive paths in the model, a latent variable at T2 is predicted by the same variable at T1, therefore, a cross-lagged path (effect of another variable at T1 on the variable at T2) indicates the effect of the predictor controlling for the prior level of the construct being predicted (Selig & Little, 2012). Analyses were done in Mplus 8, using a robust maximum likelihood estimator (MLR) to deal with missing data and non-normal indicators. The clus-

tering of the data (persons nested within services) was taken into account by using the "type=complex" option (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017). We started by calculating a series of confirmatory factor analyses for the latent variables and then for each measurement model. Scalar longitudinal invariance was achieved for all constructs (not reported here, available from first author). As indicators of model fit we used the comparative fit index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), both with values ≥.95 (≥.90), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) with values ≤.06 (≤.08) indicating good (adequate) fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

To test for the longitudinal relationships as proposed by the JD-R model, we followed a stepwise approach by calculating and comparing a series of nested models, this allows to compare the hypothesized model with alternative models with different directions of effects : (1) stability models with autoregressive paths for each construct from T1 to T2 and T2 to T3 and synchronous correlations between the variables at each time point (2) direct effect models that included the stability model plus additional cross-lagged paths representing the hypothesized relationships e. g. paths from job demands to exhaustion and from exhaustion to psychosomatic complaints, (3) reversed causation models that included the stability model plus additional cross-lagged paths which were the opposite of those in the model before (e. g. paths from exhaustion to job resources and from psychosomatic complaints to exhaustion) and (4) reciprocal models that combined the structural model with the additional paths from the direct effect and the reversed causation models. To compare the fit of the nested models, we calculated the Satorra-Bentler-scale chi-square difference statistic (see Newsom, 2015).

Results

Research Question 1: Job Demands and Resources

Descriptive statistics from the three measurement waves (see Table 1) show that staff perceived the job demands consistently as relatively low. On average, staff experienced task-related uncertainty, time pressure, qualitative overload and environmental factors between *very rarely* and *rarely.* The highest mean was found for time pressure. Compared to a representative sample of Swiss employees from various professions, in our sample time pressure, qualitative overload and task-related uncertainty are lower (Galliker et al., 2018).

On average, staff rated the levels of resources at all three waves as quite high, with means > 4 on 5-point scales, except for autonomy. Skill variety and role clarity were high, and staff reported good team social resources and a high leadership quality. Participation was rated higher than in a sample of Swiss employees from various professions (Grebner et al., 2010).

Table 1. Job Demands and Job Resources: Descriptive Statistics

	T1		T2		T3	
Variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Job demands						
Task-related uncertainty	1.86	.69	1.90	.71	1.95	.75

	T1		T2		T3	
Variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Job demands						
Time pressure	2.32	.84	2.36	.82	2.46	.85
Qualitative overload	1.54	.57	1.57	.59	1.62	.62
Environmental factors	2.01	.69	2.05	.63	2.14	.74
Job resources						
Autonomy	3.20	.82	3.18	.79	3.21	.78
Skill variety	4.14	.83	4.04	.86	4.02	.80
Role clarity	4.54	.50	4.52	.50	4.50	.52
Leadership	4.26	.70	4.13	.79	4.09	.79
Participation	4.02	.74	3.93	.82	3.88	.80
Team social resources	4.25	.58	4.12	.70	4.07	.73

Note. T1: *N* = 628 – 637; T2: *N* = 488 – 498; T3: *N* = 412 – 414.

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities and Correlations between the Study Variables

	M	*SD*	*ω*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. job demands T1	1.93	0.52	.74									
2. task-related resources T1	3.67	0.67	[a]	-.32**								
3. social resources T1	4.27	0.48	.77	-.56**	.42**							
4. work engagement T1	4.24	1.02	.93	-.34**	.51**	.45**						
5. emotional exhaustion T1	1.84	0.49	.84	.53**	-.28**	-.35**	-.44**					
6. psy-som complaints T1	1.99	0.57	.73	.35**	-.16**	-.17**	-.25**	.51**				
7. commitment T1	5.69	1.10	.83	-.29**	.43**	.44**	.56**	-.34**	-.15**			
8. job demands T2	1.96	0.52	.75	.75**	-.25**	-.51**	-.33**	.47**	.37**	-.29**		
9. task-related resources T2	3.61	0.68	[a]	-.23**	.72**	.37**	.49**	-.24**	-.13**	.36**	-.31**	
10. social resources T2	4.17	0.55	.80	-.48**	.32**	.72**	.38**	-.36**	-.20**	.36**	-.63**	.40**
11. work engagement T2	4.19	1.02	.94	-.32**	.46**	.38**	.78**	-.39**	-.22**	.44**	-.36**	.54**
12. emotional exhaustion T2	1.86	0.51	.83	.44**	-.26**	-.32**	-.37**	.66**	.42**	-.31**	.49**	-.29**
13. psy-som complaints T2	1.97	0.61	.77	.31**	-.11*	-.12**	-.19**	.41**	.75**	-.12**	.31**	-.10*

	M	*SD*	*ω*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14. commitment T2	5.49	1.25	.87	-.28**	.33**	.37**	.46**	-.30**	-.13**	.57**	-.33**	.44**
15. job demands T3	2.03	0.56	.75	.69**	-.18**	-.46**	-.30**	.43**	.32**	-.25**	.75**	-.22**
16. task-related resources T3	3.62	0.65	[a]	-.23**	.64**	.38**	.47**	-.22**	-.16**	.34**	-.28**	.74**
17. social resources T3	4.14	0.56	.80	-.44**	.33**	.70**	.37**	-.31**	-.13*	.34**	-.51**	.39**
18. work engagement T3	4.11	1.04	.94	-.31**	.42**	.38**	.75**	-.39**	-.26**	.43**	-.33**	.47**
19. emotional exhaustion T3	1.94	0.53	.84	.50**	-.20**	-.30**	-.33**	.61**	.42**	-.26**	.48**	-.23**
20. psy-som complaints T3	1.97	0.62	.76	.34**	-.08	-.12*	-.21**	.46**	.79**	-.16**	.35**	-.14**
21. commitment T3	5.35	1.27	.82	-.25**	.34**	.38**	.39**	-.29**	-.14**	.50**	-.28**	.41**
22. working hours T1	16.21	12.72		.23**	.15**	-.15**	.09*	.18**	.13**	.09*	.34**	.10*

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
10. social resources T2												
11. work engagement T2	.42**											
12. emotional exhaustion T2	-.40**	-.43**										
13. psy-som complaints T2	-.19**	-.22**	.47**									
14. commitment T2	.46**	.52**	-.32**	-.15**								
15. job demands T3	-.51**	-.27**	.43**	.29**	-.29**							
16. task-related resources T3	.38**	.48**	-.25**	-.14**	.37**	-.32**						
17. social resources T3	.77**	.38**	-.31**	-.11*	.40**	-.58**	.47**					
18. work engagement T3	.38**	.81**	-.44**	-.29**	.47**	-.37**	.55**	.48**				
19. emotional exhaustion T3	-.32**	-.36**	.71**	.46**	-.30**	.56**	-.24**	-.34**	-.48**			
20. psy-som complaints T3	-.16**	-.23**	.46**	.81**	-.17**	.36**	-.17**	-.16**	-.31**	.53**		

	M	*SD*	*ω*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21. commitment T3	.36**	.42**	-.30**	-.16**	.60**	-.31**	.41**	.44**	.50**	-.34**	-.19**	
22. working hours T1	-.20**	.06	.26**	.21**	.01	.28**	.06	-.14**	.02	.30**	.20**	-.01

Note. psy-som=psychosomatic; *ω*=McDonalds Omega; [a] *ω* cannot be calculated for latent variable with two indicators, but the modelling of resources as two factors (social resources, task-related resources) was supported by comparing different models (not reported here, available from first author).
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Research Question 2: Longitudinal Analyses

Longitudinal Analyses: Health Impairment Process

To investigate the health impairment process, relationships between job demands, emotional exhaustion and psychosomatic complaints were analysed. Descriptive statistics (Table 2) show that the staff, on average, reported low levels of job demands, exhaustion and psychosomatic complaints.

The stability model (M1) showed a good data fit (Table 3). Rank order stabilities over time were high for all three variables ($.79<\beta<.90$; $p<.001$). For the cross-lagged relationships between the three measurements, the direct effect model (M2), the reversed effect model (M3) and the reciprocal model (M4) all showed a better fit with the data than the stability model (M1). Comparing the two models with the best fit (M4 and M2) revealed that the reciprocal model did not fit better than the direct effect model (M2), hence the direct effect model was the best fitting model (as it is more parsimonious and within the models the same significant effects were found). Figure 2 shows the direct effect model (M2) with the cross-lagged effects – as expected in the health impairment process – of job demands at T2 on emotional exhaustion at T3 and of emotional exhaustion at T2 on psychosomatic complaints at T3. No significant effects were found between T1 and T2 though. Therefore, results provide partial support for hypotheses a and b.

When including working hours at T1 as a control variable, the cross-lagged effects of the direct effect model remained significant and the model fitted the data well: $\chi^2(415)=602.58$, $p<.001$, CFI=.976, TLI=.973, RMSEA=.027. Working hours was significantly related to T1 job demands ($\beta=.31$, $p<.01$), T1 emotional exhaustion ($\beta=.20$, $p<.01$) and T1 psychosomatic complaints ($\beta=.18$, $p<.01$).

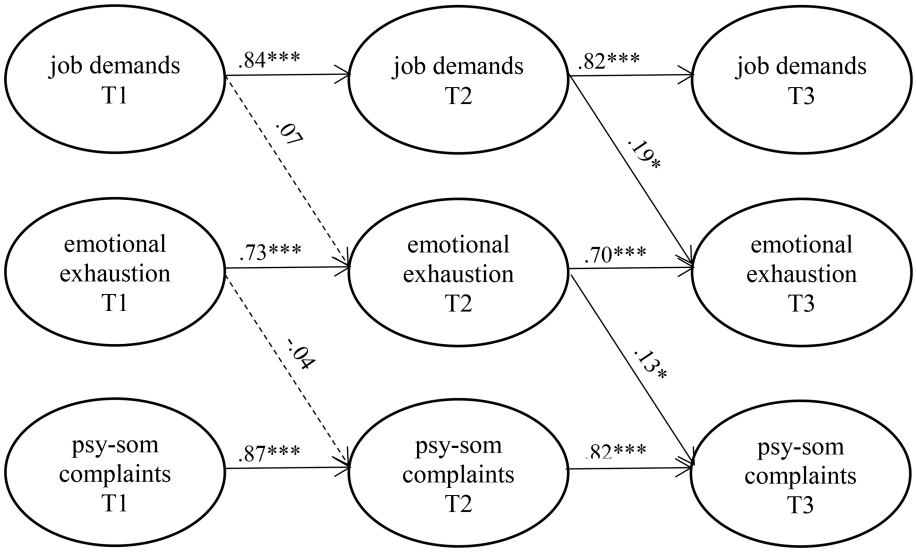
Table 3. Goodness of Fit Statistics for the Longitudinal SEM Models

	Model fit				Model comparison[a]	
Structural models	*χ2* (df)	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	Model	*Δχ2* (df)
Health impairment process						
M1: Stability model	551.52 (392)	.980	.978	.025		
M2: Direct effect model	534.53 (388)	.982	.980	.024	M2 vs M1	15.42 (4)**
M3: Reversed effect model	540.81 (388)	.981	.979	.025	M3 vs M1	10.62 (4)*
M4: Reciprocal model	526.74 (384)	.982	.980	.024	M4 vs M1	23.83 (8)**

	Model fit				Model comparison[a]	
Structural models	$\chi 2$ (df)	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	Model	$\Delta\chi 2$ (df)
					M4 vs M2	7.81 (4)
Motivational process: task-related resources						
M1: Stability model	366.31 (234)	.984	.981	.029		
M2: Direct effect model	349.54 (230)	.985	.982	.028	M2 vs M1	12.79 (4)*
M3: Reversed effect model	358.52 (230)	.984	.981	.029	M3 vs M1	7.83 (4)
M4: Reciprocal model[b]						
Motivational process: social resources						
M1: Stability model	572.30 (388)	.981	.978	.027		
M2: Direct effect model	556.97 (384)	.982	.980	.026	M2 vs M1	12.73 (4)*
M3: Reversed effect model	570.28 (384)	.981	.978	.027	M3 vs M1	1.96 (4)
M4: Reciprocal model	556.08 (380)	.982	.979	.027	M4 vs M1	15.60 (8)*
					M4 vs M2	0.63 (4)

Note. [a] Models were compared using the Satorra-Bentler-Scaled chi-square difference statistic. [b] due to convergence issues there are no fit indices for the reciprocal model. CFI = comparative fit index, TLI = Tucker-Lewis index, RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Figure 2. Health Impairment Process, Direct Effect Model (M2).



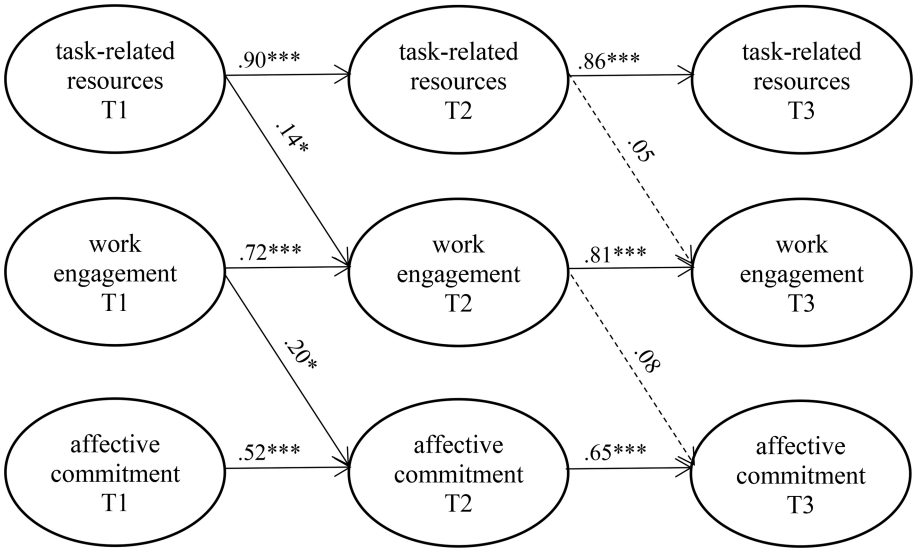
Note. N=655. Standardized estimates shown. Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. For clarity of presentation, manifest indicators, synchronous covariances between variables and autocorrelations between identical manifest indicators are not shown.
psy-som=psychosomatic.
*p<.05; ***p<.001.

Longitudinal Analyses: Motivational Process

To investigate the motivational process, relationships between job resources, work engagement and commitment were analysed. Descriptive statistics (Table 2) show that staff reported higher levels of *social resources* than *task-related resources.* On average, staff reported to often feel engaged at work and to feel committed to their organisation, although there is a lot of variability in these measures, as indicated by the relatively high standard deviations. The stability models (M1 for the model with task-related and for the model with social resources) fitted well with the data (Table 3). All variables had high rank-order stabilities over time ($.65<\beta<.88$; $p<.001$), indicating that individuals' relative standings on the construct has hardly changed over time (Selig & Little, 2012). Comparison of models showed that the direct effect model (M2) was the best fitting model. In the model with *social resources* there was only one significant cross-lagged effect, namely the effect of work engagement at T1 on affective commitment at T2 ($\beta=.20$, $p<.05$). Figure 3 shows the direct effect model (M2) with *task-related resources:* task-related job resources at T1 predicted work engagement at T2 and work engagement T1 predicted affective commitment at T2. No significant effects were found between T2 and T3. Hence, we found partial support for hypotheses c (for task-related resources) and d.

When including working hours as a control variable, the model showed acceptable fit with the data: $\chi^2(256)=846.60$, $p<.001$, CFI=.927, TLI=.914, RMSEA=.060. Working hours was significantly related to T1 task-related job resources ($\beta=.25$, $p<.01$) and T1 work engagement ($\beta=.11$, $p<.05$).

Figure 3. Motivational Process, Direct Effect Model (M2).



Note. N=655; Standardized estimates shown. Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths. For clarity of presentation, manifest indicators, synchronous covariances between variables and autocorrelations between identical manifest indicators are not shown.
*p<.05, ***p<.001.

Discussion

Knowing that quality of extended education depends on staff well-being, we examined job demands and resources in extended education and investigated the relationships between these job characteristics and positive and negative indicators of well-being over time. This study is the first to provide knowledge about levels of job demands and resources of staff in extended education services in Switzerland and evidence for longitudinal effects on staff well-being.

Job Demands and Resources

Results consistently show – over the three measurement waves – relatively low job demands and relatively high job resources of staff in extended education services in Switzerland. Staff reported to rarely experience task-related uncertainty, time pressure or qualitative overload and a low impact of environmental factors such as noise. At the same time, perceived levels of most job resources (skill variety, role clarity, leadership, team social resources and participation) were high. The results concerning levels of demands and resources are therefore not consistent with our expectations based on previous research. As previous research stems from all-day schools in Germany and from early childhood education and care, we could assume that working conditions in Swiss extended education services are comparably better. This is a premature conclusion, as other factors may play a part, such as working hours of staff. Indeed, our results show that experienced levels of job demands depend on the working hours, that is staff who work longer also report higher job demands. It is plausible that staff who only work for a few hours at a time, such as during lunchtime care, do not perceive demands as high, because they can deal with them easily during a relatively short period of time. Similarly, they might rate resources such as leadership or team social resources high, because they enjoy the company of the others and conflicts rarely arise during such short working hours. Currently a large proportion of staff in Swiss extended education services work part-time, often with low hours, which could serve as a protection against strain.

In contrast to the high levels of most other resources, autonomy was rated lower, especially time-related autonomy (e. g. deciding when to take a break), a result that is not uncommon in childcare work (Bloechliger & Bauer, 2016). Working hours are largely set by the opening hours of the service and the presence of the children. Also, there is a certain amount of routine work and staff often have to react flexibly depending on the situation and the needs of the children.

Health Impairment and Motivational Processes

Currently, job demands, as well as emotional exhaustion and psychosomatic complaints are at low levels for most staff in extended education in our sample from three Swiss cantons. It is important to try and keep these levels low, as our results showed that job demands can lead to emotional exhaustion and emotional exhaustion can lead to psychosomatic complaints over time. The results of the longitudinal analyses confirmed (although not for all possible paths) the relationships that we expected and that were proposed by the JD-R model for the health impairment process. Staff who experienced more demands at T2 reported a higher level of

emotional exhaustion six months later, controlling for the level of exhaustion at T2. Likewise, experiencing more exhaustion at T2 predicted more psychosomatic complaints six months later.

Regarding the motivational process, our results show that staff in extended education are engaged at work and have a high affective commitment overall. Further, there was a prospective effect of work engagement on affective commitment: people who reported higher levels of work engagement at the first measurement showed higher affective commitment six months later. Work engagement was influenced by the level of job resources (in the first, but not the second time lag), though here we only found evidence for *task-related resources* (and not for social resources) to be connected to work engagement over time. Staff in extended education who have more autonomy regarding their work and a greater skill variety at T1 were more engaged in their work six months later. This points to the fact that it is important to try and find ways to increase the autonomy and skill variety of extended education staff (see also Sonnentag, 2017). Developments in the field, such as bringing extended education services and schools closer together, could be helpful. If formal, non-formal and informal learning, that is teaching and extended education offerings are connected, e. g. in all-day schools, then this opens new opportunities for extended education staff to take on new and different tasks (Böhm-Kasper, Dizinger, & Gausling, 2016).

Overall, we found evidence for the motivational and health-impairment processes, but not consistently for both measurement intervals. This could be due to differences in the time lags. While the lags both lasted 6 months, the first interval (T1 to T2) is situated within the school year (autumn to spring) when things probably run fairly smoothly. The second interval (T2 to T3, spring to autumn) includes the end of one and start of the next school year, which involves re-organizing schedules and processes and integrating new children into the services. This difference might make the first interval more suitable to detect the motivational process and the second to detect the health impairment process.

Limitations and Future Research

It is important to understand the limitations of the current study. First, dropouts (compared to participants who participated in all three waves) reported less affective commitment, skill variety and work engagement. It is therefore possible that our results are slightly positively biased. Second, our data was self-reported and may therefore be susceptible to common method bias. However, the specific effects (direct but not reverse effects) in the longitudinal models are not likely due to common method variance. Additionally, using latent variables allowed to analyse the relationships between the constructs free of measurement error and the confirmatory factor analyses for the measurement models showed that the constructs were distinct (Schumacker & Lomax, 2010). Nevertheless, future studies should try and include more objective measures such as number of children present as an indicator of a job demand (see also Bakker & Demerouti, 2017). Third, even though we included a range of job demands and resources based on the literature reviewed, other factors might play a role for staff well-being, such as salary levels or appreciation (from parents, the society), both of which are low in childcare (Bloechliger & Bauer, 2016). Fourth, generalizability of our results are limited, as the field of extended education is heterogenous in different countries and even within Swit-

zerland, so more research into job characteristics and well-being of staff in extended education in other Swiss cantons and other countries is needed.

Conclusion

While the situation regarding job demands and resources of staff in extended education services in the three observed Swiss cantons is currently quite good, an increase of staff working hours can lead to a higher perception of demands which can lead to health impairment over time. It is therefore important to continuously assess and improve working conditions and ascertain that job demands do not rise and resources stay high when extended education services expand and need more full-time staff. Apart from the focus on quantitative expansion, extended education needs a focus on qualitative expansion (Schüpbach, 2014) for the benefit of the children but also for the benefit of the staff.

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"It's not about the grades!" On shadow education in Denmark and how parents wish to help their children get ahead

David Thore Gravesen, Sidse Hølvig Mikkelsen

Abstract: This article is about shadow education in Denmark. Based on qualitative interview data with families that purchase private supplementary tutoring, we analyse how this tutoring is related to child-rearing strategies in the families. With theoretical inspiration from Annette Lareau, we analyse the parents' involvement in their children's education as aspects of *concerted cultivation*. With the concept *parentocracy,* we shed light on the role parents' *wealth* and *wishes* play in their children's educational life. Finally, we look to contemporary educational youth research and the concept *performance culture*, to address implications such as stress, pressure, competitiveness, and a strong focus on grades among students in Danish upper secondary education.

Keywords: Shadow education, private supplementary tutoring, child-rearing strategies, youth education, inequality in education

Introduction

In recent decades, the use of private supplementary tutoring, especially in East Asia, has intensified and is now worldwide a part of many parents' and students' educational choices (Bray, 2013). In the hope of improving their academic achievements and pass exams, students who attend fee-free public schools sign up for private, fee-based tutoring. The phenomenon is called *shadow education*, as it mimics, or shadow, formal schooling. The practice is popular at all levels of schooling, especially in North America, West- and Central Asia, Europe, and Africa (Bray, 2013; 2020). In the Scandinavian countries, private tutoring has not drawn much research attention - though it may have substantial policy implications. It is a private market for education growing (more or less) unregulated, in the shadows, where only the service providers and their users know much about it. In this article, we will discuss the societal implications, and reflect on whether shadow education reduces inequalities in education - or whether it increases the gap between high and low achievers, with the socioeconomically strongest pupils getting ahead (again)?

This article is based on newly initiated qualitative research, where we examine the scope of shadow education in Denmark and how it affects the daily lives in Danish families, including the child-rearing strategies parents choose. We ask the following research questions: *Which role does private supplementary tutoring play in child-rearing strategies? And which personal and societal implications, if any, do parents and students see private supplementary tutoring have?*

This article is an extension of a prior work we conducted (Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021), in which we reflected on the fact, that in Denmark, shadow education is growing at a slower pace than in many other parts of the world. That work was primarily based on historical

literature and we implied that due to a solid tradition of democracy, welfare and scepticism towards competition in the Danish society, the conditions for growth in the private tutoring business is limited. With this article, based on interviews with Danish families that purchased private tutoring, we wish – from a qualitative perspective - to further examine the shadow education phenomenon in Denmark.

The article has five sections. In the first section, we introduce the background and aim of the project, as well as a status on Danish and international research on private supplementary tutoring. In section two, we present our methodological approach, followed by section three, in which we concretize our theoretical framework and analytical take. In the fourth section, we bring our analysis, in which we investigate our research questions by examining our empirical findings theoretically. The analysis is structured around three categories; respectively *the choice*, *the time* and *the money.* Finally, we present our conclusion in which we discuss implications and perspectives on further studies.

Section 1. Background, aim, and other research on private supplementary tutoring

The background of this article is a growing research interest in private supplementary tutoring in Denmark. Quantitative comparisons show that Denmark is among the countries with the lowest use of so-called *shadow education*, with participation rates -over the last three decades - well under, or just around, 10% (Baker et al, 2001; Southgate, 2009; Entrich, 2020). However, during the last 5-6 years, the private tutoring market in Denmark has developed and grown faster than before (Egmont Foss, 2019; Christensen & Williams Ørberg, 2015; Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021). This development follows an international tendency of a general intensified use of fee-paying out of school tutoring (Byun, Chung, & Baker, 2018). Using data from the 2012 Programme for International Student Assessment Byun et al. (2018) show that approximately one third of all 15-year-old students in 64 countries across the world use private supplementary tutoring.

Although the phenomenon is not new in Denmark, according to statistics, and private tutoring companies enter the Danish educational stage at a fast rate, there is very little research analysing and discussing the market and its users (Christensen, 2020; Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021). In his research paper *From Homework Support to Learning industry?,*[1] Søren Christensen discusses how private supplementary tutoring in Singapore used to focus solely on grades and exams, but today includes pedagogical principles that emphasizes personal development and holistic values (Christensen, 2019). This, we believe, is important in trying to understand the rise of private tutoring services in a Danish context, as international research also emphasize that the specific local contexts of families and education are important in understanding the use and parental involvement in private tutoring (Park, Byun, & Kim, 2011). Historically, Denmark has had a strong focus on unity, equality, democracy and a child-centred, holistic approach in schools (Mikkelsen, Degn, & Dorf, 2018; Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021). In the Danish welfare society, and among Danish parents, there is scepticism towards competition and inequality in education (VIVE, 2000). The idea of the Danish primary and lower secondary school system, dating back 200 years, is the notion that students

1 [In Danish: *Fra lektiehjælp til læringsindustri?*]

from different backgrounds meet in (what could be translated to) *the unity school*[2] where they, ideally, are given the opportunity to reach their fullest potential, regardless of social, economic, religious, racial, and ethnic background (Petersen & Krogh-Jespersen, 2017). In 2011, Mark Bray noted that Northern Europe seemed least affected by the global rise of private tutoring (Bray, 2011; Christensen, 2019), due to a stronger tradition of Scandinavian schools *"adequately meeting their students' needs*" (Bray, Kwo & Jokic, 2015). Today, with the emergence of a more competitive society globally, and the emphasis on education as an important parameter of success and prosperity nationally and on an individual level, the opportunity for private education in the Danish society has been established (Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021). Accordingly, recent school reforms focusing on increased testing, the introduction of grade requirements in upper secondary education and a general acceleration of formal learning demands (Gravesen & Ringskou, 2018; Görlich, Pless, Katzenelson & Graversen, 2019) also pave the way for an expansion of the shadow education phenomenon in Denmark. Providers of private tutoring challenge the traditional understanding of education, creating new structures of power in the Danish educational system (Andersen, 2019). On the basis of a narrative analysis of interviews with parents, the Danish researcher Anna-Lea Byskov Andersen discusses whether investments in private supplementary tutoring can be interpreted as being inventive and resourceful acts of parent-support or rather the opposite? She finds it hard to answer. From one perspective, one can argue that being able to buy such services for your children demonstrates (economic) resources and the will to act on a problem. On the other hand, not being able to help your child yourself - due to the lack of time or insufficient knowledge - could be considered un-resourceful - though it shows some sort of resourcefulness to do something about it.

Barker (2018) finds that private tutoring in Denmark is primarily used among socio economic privileged families from affluent urban areas. This way the growing marketization of academic support and education in Denmark may reinforce the inequality among students from different socio economic backgrounds, an inequality that is and has been an important goal in Danish educational policy to defeat (Retsinformation, 2021). Correspondingly, international research shows that private supplementary tutoring can be crucial when it comes to educational inequality, as the opportunity to purchase the support is most likely dependent of the students' socio economic status. This way socioeconomic status in families is strongly linked to participation in private academic tutoring (Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016; Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; Jung & Lee, 2010; Matsuoka, 2015).

In this article, we examine parental motivations and strategies in order to understand how parents experience private tutoring - and why they prioritize it.

Section 2. Methodology

Methodologically, this article is based on four qualitative interviews in two Danish families that have purchased private supplementary tutoring. Two interviews were carried out with parents; and two interviews with their daughters[3]. All four interviews were conducted in September/October 2019 in one of the largest cities in Denmark. In family 1, the mother Rita

2 [In Danish: Enhedskolen],

3 To secure anonymity, all names and places have been changed. In the analysis, we refer to family 1 and 2. In family 1 we call the mother Rita and her daughter Liliian. In family 2 we call the mother Paula and her daughter Sandy.

and her husband are both medical doctors, and they live in a relatively affluent area a few kilometres from the city centre. At the time of the interview, their daughter Lilian, was in her first year of gymnasium (upper secondary education). In family 2, the mother Paula is a manager in retail, and the family lives in a hip area near the city centre. Sandy, the daughter, was in 8th grade of lower secondary education at the time of the interview. Officials from a Tutoring Company on the Danish market helped us reach the families, and they were contacted by email. The interviews were carried out in the homes of the respondents, which gave us a sense of their home environment. The sample in this study is fairly small, and we regard it a pilot study in which we have initiated beginning qualitative explorations of a small, but emerging research field in Denmark. American sociologist Mario Luis Small emphasizes that "*the strengths of qualitative work come from understanding how and why, not understanding how many"* (Small 2008: 8). Accordingly, our ambition was to explore *why* parents and their children choose to purchase supplementary tutoring, and *how* they feel about it, as opposed to studying *how many* families that choose such services. We conducted the interviews using semi-structured interview guides (Kvale, 1997; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008; Brinkmann, 2012). By doing qualitative research and by conducting semi-structured interviews, we did not attempt to get objective and hard facts, but rather find a pathway to our informants' experiences and understandings of their situation.

When carrying out interviews in qualitative research, the relationship between the researcher and the informant is essential (Hastrup, 2010), because this type of knowledge-production is conversational, narrative, linguistic, contextual, and inter-relational in nature (Kvale, 1997). According to Staunæs & Søndergaard (2005: 54), the complexity of doing qualitative interviews is due to the fact that face-to-face encounters are characterized by dialogue, reflexivity, sensitivity, flexibility, and creativity. To give room for such elements, our interview guides were open-ended, and we did not follow them strictly or instrumentally. Rather, we would pose a question, and then follow the informant's narratives and experiences, often with follow-up questions.

Section 3. Theoretical framework and analytical take

Theoretically, when we analyse the private tutoring in the families as elements of child-rearing strategies, we are inspired by sociologist Annette Lareau's work and her concept *concerted cultivation* (Lareau, 2003). Lareau developed the term to describe middle-class parents' efforts to strengthen their children's talents and skills, by extensively supporting their schooling and leisure time activities. In the analysis, we also visit a newly developed sociological term dealing with parenthood; *enriching intimacy* (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011), also based on Lareau's conceptualization. When trying to grasp the families' choices and views, we use Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *social reproduction* and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 2004; 2007; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2006) in our understanding of the stratified circumstances that underlie the parents' and their children's private supplementary tutoring strategies. Moreover, we look at two concepts: *Parentocracy* and *performance culture*. The first concept was introduced by Philip Brown in his article: *'The Third Wave': education and the ideology of parentocracy* (1990) and it concerns the marketization of education and how it affects parents' attitudes to schooling. The notion of a *performance culture* causing stress, competitiveness and a stronger focus on grades among contemporary

Danish youth, is presented by the two Danish youth researchers Noemi Katznelson and Arnt Vestergaard Louw (2018).

Analytically, we are informed by Staunæs' and Søndergaard's notions of being sensitive towards the complexity of one's material (Staunæs & Søndergaard, 2005). Staunæs and Søndergaard stress that dialogue, rather than consensus, between researcher and material is crucial. The analytical challenge lies in the balance between being informed by one's research questions and prior knowledge, and making room for new, uninspected, and different takes and turns that arise in the interview dialogues. We experienced this challenge exactly, when we worked our way through the interview data. When listening to our interviews and coding the transcripts inductively, three main issues stood out. In the following section, we turn those issues into three empirical categories; *the choice*, *the time* and *the money*, and let them structure the analysis and lead to the subsequent discussion. Although we took on an inductive approach when examining our transcripts, and accordingly searched for new relevant literature to build on in our analysis, one could argue that we also worked deductively, as our understanding of inequality in education and our prior readings of Lareau and Bourdieu were well established before we even took contact to the informants, that shared their perspectives in the study. In that sense, one could say we did not work *either* inductively *or* deductively, but rather abductively. In the following section we will see how some of our findings conform to established knowledge and theory, while other findings represent new understandings of the shadow education phenomenon in Denmark.

Section 4. Analysis. The choice, the time, the money

The Choice. "...it's not about the grades!"

When the two mothers explain their reasons for purchasing private supplementary tutoring for their daughters, they say something in their daughter's schoolwork was challenging and needed a little extra attention. In both cases, the struggle was caused by specific subjects. Rita, the mother in family 1, explains that when Lilian, her daugther, was away for 10th grade at a boarding school in England, she struggled with chemistry to the extent, that they did not know if she would pass her exam.

Rita: *"Well, we tried it [private supplementary tutoring] twice. The first time, our youngest daughter was in school in England, and honestly, she just wasn't at the level of the English students. She hardly understood what was going on around her, so we had to provide her with some basic knowledge that we couldn't actually help her with … it was chemistry, and she really didn't understand the basics. She hadn't learned it in her primary school back home… things like the periodic system… it was too much, and she just couldn't manage it all…"*

Rita clarifies, that they purchased the tutoring, which then took place when Lilian was home for a holiday period during her year abroad. The short time made the course intense, and the mentor, who came to the house, made a great impact and, consequently, things improved. Now, back in Denmark for her first year of upper secondary education [in Danish: gymnasium], Lilian's view of chemistry is a completely different story.

Lilian: *"I just feel, now that I am in gymnasium, it really just helped me so much (...). Now I think it's awesome, because I get it…"*

When interviewing Paula, the mother in family 2, she explains that also her daughter, Sandy, struggles with a specific subject; math.

Paula: *"…she performs well academically… average, I guess. Nevertheless, perhaps she is overlooked or unnoticed at times, because over there [at the public school], they have a very heavy group of students who need a lot of support…"*

When Paula introduced her daughter, Sandy, to the idea of private supplementary tutoring, Sandy was sceptical. The parents made the decision, but it helped Sandy to accept it, when her parents said another girl in her class also received tutoring. In the beginning, Sandy did not want to talk too much about it, and they still do not share it with many people. "*She is only 14 years old, (…) she just wants to do what everyone else does…"*, Paula explains, stressing that "*it's not about the grades!*" Rather, she says, it is about helping Sandy feel good about math, thereby protecting her overall well-being and self-confidence. It is about "*daring to raise your hand in class",* as Paula puts it.

Rita, the mother in family 1, agrees with Paula that self-esteem and well-being are the most important factors. When asked what she considers the most crucial as a mother to a teenage daughter, she reflects;

Rita: *"what's the most important thing? …that she is happy and content… that she feels, she is capable of doing what she is doing… that she is capable of all the things she does!"*

Though both mothers stress that their choice to buy private supplementary tutoring is not based on academic ambitions on their daughters' behalf, they still recognize that today, education is very important when plans for the future and career aspirations move closer. This touches on general questions regarding Danish parents' understanding of education and why the rise of private supplementary tutoring in Denmark has happened at a much slower pace than what we witness in many other countries. In another paper, we reflected on the explanations for this fact (Mikkelsen & Gravesen, 2021), suggesting that with a solid, historical emphasis on democracy, equality, and child-centred approaches in Danish school- and leisure pedagogy, in addition to parents' scepticism towards competition in education, the conditions for a private tutoring market have been poor. However, as we illustrate in this article, winds may be changing here, too.

The scepticism towards competition in education among Danish parents (VIVE, 2000) might affect how parents conceive the private supplementary tutoring industry. At least in our data, we see that feelings and attitudes towards private tutoring, competition, and the present-day focus on grades and performance in education are accompanied by ambivalence. Rita, the mother in family 1, declares that purchasing private supplementary tutoring is "*embarrassing by some means"*, because she finds it intrusive, pushy and contrary to Danish ideologies of education.

Rita: *"I don't speak too much about it… because, you know, it is quite expensive!… it can cause some envy, I think… it's not something I speak too openly about… if people ask, I will tell them about it, but I won't go on talking about it at work… (…). It's okay to help your children with their homework, because everyone does, but buying the help is a completely different project!… Then, we refute norms, standards and ideologies, I think… But then again, it had me thinking… what else would I want to spend my money on? I would rather do this than go and buy a new shirt. I would much rather spend it on education."*

At some point Lilian, Rita's daughter, is also sceptical about the private tutoring, as she sees it as a symbol of the performance culture that she and her peers confront in their everyday lives. Lilian says there is a great deal of pressure, and often students in her class are afraid to ask questions out of fear of presenting themselves in an unfortunate way. Such an environment can be stressful, and Lilian says the great thing about having a private mentor is allowing yourself to ask all the questions, you want. Sandy, the daughter in family 2, also experiences

pressure, when parents, family and teachers ask her what she wants to do when she grows up. Term marks and grades are part of her school in 8th grade, and though Sandy likes grades, she also feels the pressure coming alongside with them.

Naturally, having to perform is a part of going to school, and always has been. However, contemporary educational youth research documents, that a permeating *performance culture* is emerging in upper secondary education institutions in Denmark (Katznelson & Louw, 2018). When students internalize a performance-oriented attitude, they tend to focus a lot on grades, and on how to get good grades.

"A performance-oriented student will be product-oriented and busy identifying - and trying to live up to - teacher- and school expectations and fixed standards for knowledge presentation and -production. In addition, the student will be concerned with how to perform in comparison with others." (Katznelson & Louw, 2018: 14)

The students' focus on grades is often ambivalent. They want them, and fear them (Katznelson & Louw, 2018: 33). Students also express that too much focus on grades will affect their learning, because one becomes more concerned with performing well in the eyes of others, especially teachers, than by learning something.

The time. Just another structured after-school activity?

In her influential contribution to our understanding of classed parental strategies, *Unequal childhoods*, American sociologist Annette Lareau notices "*social class differences in children's life experiences can be seen in the details of life"* (Lareau, 2003: 35). Indeed, Lareau's work shows in great detail how parents' attitudes to their children are very different, not least based on how involved parents are with their children. Rita and Paula easily fall into the category of mothers who engage in a process of *concerted cultivation*, which Lareau uses to describe middle-class parents' parental strategies aimed at strengthening their children's talents and skills through adult-structured activities in their after-school hours.

During the first year of contemporary Danish Gymnasiums, there is a specific exam called *general language understanding*. Ahead of the course and the exam, Lilian and her mother Rita discussed how to understand the assessment, and did some research on the internet to find more information. It was difficult for them, and it is clear from the interview with Rita, that she was very involved and spent a lot of time trying to figure out what to do.

In Kari Stefanson's and Helene Aarseth's (2011) inspiring paper *Enriching intimacy: the role of the emotional in the 'resourcing' of middle-class children*, in which they partly build on Lareau's work in *Unequal childhoods*, Stefanson and Aarseth reflect on the emotional bonding between parents and children and the intimacy they share through their mutual activities and involvement with each other in daily life. Sharing the same enjoyment may be seen as passing on cultural capital from one generation to the next, which is also a key aspect of Lareau's discussion on inequality. This is a view she shares with work by Pierre Bourdieu and his colleagues (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2006, Bourdieu, 2004; 2007). In Lareau's words;

"Still, there is no question that we live in a society characterized by considerable gaps in resources or, put differently, by substantial inequality. (Lareau, 2003: 8)

In our data, we see many examples of how resources are passed on from the mothers to the daughters. Often, a shared intimacy and interest in specific cultural aspects of their lives are forming the concerted cultivation.

According to Rita, '*Lilian is not a humanist*', and hence, Rita believes, Lilian needs support during the above-mentioned *general language understanding* course and exam. In the interview, it is obvious that Rita enjoys academic discussions with her daughter. Furthermore, Rita explains that sometimes she reads the novels in Lilian's curriculum, and often spends a lot of time supporting Lilian with her homework and discussing school-related issues. Accordingly, Lilian says sometimes she feels that her mother puts pressure on her, possibly because Rita enjoys schooling and learning herself.

Apart from doing homework, Lilian speaks of other leisure-time activities she likes to spend time on. In general, she has an active and sometimes hectic leisure life. Her mother is very aware and supports her daughter - with one exception; Lilian works in the local supermarket, and Rita thinks it is "*brain-dead*", as she puts it. "*I offered her the money*"", she laughs, "*but she likes to earn her own!"*. Lilian is also engaged in a triathlon club, and she trains three times a week. Her father is a triathlete too, and training is a thing they share. Lilian participates in local tournaments, and with three weekly trainings and competitions sometimes on weekends, it adds up to a busy schedule.

In family 2, Sandy also lives a fairly busy life. Her mother Paula is very enthusiastic about Sandy participating in structured leisure activities, and during her childhood, she has attended many activities, e.g. badminton, dance classes, and choir. Currently, apart from her afternoon part time job helping out in a local kindergarten, the private supplementary tutoring is her primary structured leisure activity. While being tutored, Sandy is allowed a pause from badminton. When asked why participating in structured leisure activities is so important, Paula explains that the social relationships in such groups are important for her children's well-being. "I did three types of sport", Sandy explains. And her father being a musician, she has musical skills and sang in a choir for years.

As illustrated, both Lilian and Sandy lead busy every-day lives. Private supplementary tutoring, it seems, is something they consider an option among other traditional structured after-school activities to choose from – and pay for. But perhaps comparing traditional after-school activities, such as sports and arts, with private supplementary tutoring is like comparing apples to oranges - comparing formal and compulsory activities with informal and voluntary activities?

The money. "It's an investment!"

Purchasing private supplementary tutoring is expensive, and in both families, the costs have been the subject of discussions. Nonetheless, both mothers explain that they see it as an investment. When asked if her husband agrees, Rita replies:

Rita: *"Yes! And this is also why we sent her to England. Because, when you get some education, it gives you opportunities, it gives you some skills… it gives you the ability to cope in life… (…). You become resilient, you develop coping strategies, and if things fail, you just have to try again, and again, and again… there is something about coping in life, when you are educated. And that is what we want to spend our money on…"*

Paula is also aware of the cost, and with Sandy's brother away on an elite football boarding school, the family had to consider their budget.

Paula: *"It's not something that worries us… we did consider before, though… and when I had to make the final decision, I definitely saw that it was a lot of money… but again, as long as it's within the budget. It could be a boarding school or whatever. It's not something we think about… (…). It's a choice, we made (…). It's something you invest in, it's expensive… it's like horseback riding classes… very expensive, too!"*

The daughters are also very aware that their parents provide the means for the tutoring activities. Indirectly, Lilian notes that you pay for the ability to ask all the silly and stupid questions without fearing it will affect your grades. She is also aware of the abstractness of it - as you will never really know what you get.

Lilian: *"If you buy an expensive bag, people can see that you bought an expensive bag. You can carry that bag for many years… whereas, when you pay about 300 Danish kroner for an hour of tutoring… (…), you do not know what the effect will be!"*

That Danish parents, to a greater extent, are willing to pay for their children's educational thriving and success, brings to mind Philip Brown's concept *parentocracy.* In 1990, Philip Brown published an important article, in which he launched the idea of the 'third wave' in the socio-historical development of British Education (Brown, 1990). In the article, Brown introduced the related concept *parentocracy* as a way to characterize crucial changes towards higher degrees of marketization and free choice for parents in education.

"To date, the 'third wave' has been characterised by the rise of the educational parentocracy, where a child's education is increasingly dependent upon the wealth and wishes of parents, rather than the ability and efforts of pupils." (Brown, 1990: 66)

To this day, Browns reflections seem utterly relevant, not least within the scope of the analyses presented in this article. According to Brown, the distribution of knowledge, power, and life chances ought to be a political question, rather than one answered by the free play of market forces (Brown, 1990, p. 80). The question of social reproduction, and the role of the state and the educational system in that regard, is a concern Brown shares with important parts of Bourdieu's work, and, as we have discussed in this article, also with Lareau.

Rita, Lilian's mother, emphasizes that Lilian is very aware of the financial cost and, consequently, wants to do her absolute best to make the tutoring a success. Sandy is also conscious of the money involved, and she has a clear sense of what her parents are paying for:

Sandy: *"I know my parents really want this… they want me to be happy, get good grades and a better education… and then you just feel like OK, this is actually important! …this is not for fun; it's not free of charge… (…). When it is so expensive, you know that they [the mentors] are actually professionals that can handle it."*

With parents that are willing to invest not only money, but also time and energy in the wellbeing of their children, share discussions related to issues in school, leisure life and future aspirations, Sandy and Lilian are members of a privileged group of students, who experience such support from their home environments. As a consequence, the girls are likely to feel entitled and contented when future challenges arise. According to Lareau a sense of entitlement is a consequence of the child-rearing strategy *concerted cultivation*, thriving among middle-class parents (Lareau, 2003: 31). This sense of entitlement is part of the unequal distribution of resources that characterise our stratified societies. Not all children are born into families able to finance private supplementary tutoring. As a result, as the tutoring market expands, educational inequality is not only moulded in the formal educational system, but also in the leisure sphere.

Lilian, the daughter in family 1, is very aware of this societal implication, calling it a vicious spiral that students, who may actually need the support and supplementary tutoring the most, are probably the ones whose parents cannot afford it. Eventually, this spiral could enhance inequality in education. Because in a parentocracy, to keep Brown's concept and wording, a child's education depends on the *wealth* and *wishes* of parents. Such monetary realities affect the power structures and social reproduction educational policy makers have

known (and tried to combat) for decades. In that light, it seems relevant to keep a critical eye on the growing tutoring business and develop further studies on the phenomenon. On the other hand, private supplementary tutoring could be an excellent (and equalizing) opportunity that under-privileged families can rely on to impede the traditional forms of social reproduction and imbalanced transfer of cultural capital between generations. All it takes, it seems, are financial priorities and an openness to buying educational products on a free market.

Section 5. Conclusion

In this article, we posed two research questions; *Which role does private supplementary tutoring play in child-rearing strategies? And which personal and societal implications, if any, do parents and students see private supplementary tutoring have?*

Our analysis indicates that private supplementary tutoring, and the performance culture it is a part of, may have personal as well as societal implications. Stress among students (Katznelson & Louw, 2018: 71-75), product-orientation, competitiveness, and a stronger focus on grades are all elements of the performance culture. Those elements make a positive environment for companies that provide private supplementary tutoring in Denmark. And, accordingly, the rise of private tutoring activities may increase the gap between social classes in the country, as the well-off families are able to purchase tutoring to help their children overcome challenges in school, thereby getting ahead of the game in education.

However, with so little research on the phenomenon in Denmark, we do not yet know enough about the mechanisms at play. The empirical data underlying our analysis does not deliver sufficient or comprehensive answers. But generalizability and objective facts were never the intention of qualitative research (Small, 2008; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008; Bertaux, 1981). What we *can* do, though, with our qualitative interview data and the related analysis, is point to feelings, attitudes, as well as identify some of the ambivalences that may not have be visible before. Accordingly, for future theoretical and empirical research and indeed for policy recommendations, it would be preferable to build argumentations and analysis on larger sample sizes in qualitative studies.

On the basis of our coding process, we focused our findings and correlated analysis on three main issues; *the choice*, *the time* and *the money*. Firstly, when parents choose to purchase private supplementary tutoring, they do so because their children are struggling with specific subjects in school. However, the parents say it is "*not about the grades*", but rather to protect their children's wellbeing and self-confidence. This illustrates an interesting contradiction. We would like to follow up on this in future studies. Secondly, we focused on the time perspective of private supplementary tutoring. Parents are aware of their children's busy schedules, and the sacrifices they must accept when spending time on being tutored. Often, parents and their children discuss schooling and enjoy many common areas of their everyday lives. Such emotional interrelating is termed *enriching intimacy*, and we see many examples of that in our data. Thirdly, we looked at the financial aspects for families in choosing private supplementary tutoring. Parents discuss prices and priorities with service providers. The children are aware of the cost, and are eager to make the tutoring process successful.

Throughout the analysis sections, we organized our reflections on personal and societal implications around two theoretic concepts; *parentocracy* and *performance culture*. Private supplementary tutoring is a growing business in Denmark, and hence Brown's concept from

1990 is relevant and important. The *wealth* and *wishes* of parents become crucial, when traditional understandings of education as a public domain is challenged. Furthermore, our analysis illustrate that with the rise in private tutoring activities, our traditional understanding of children's leisure sphere could be challenged. To a growing number of children and young people, educational activities are now 'corrupting' (strongly put) the after-school hours that used to be filled by other activities - based on informality and voluntariness. Accordingly, contemporary youth research documents an emerging performance culture among students in upper secondary education. Related implications are stress, pressure, and a product-orientation causing a strong focus on grades and competitiveness among peers.

These implications raise questions about inequality in education. Bourdieu and Lareau impacted our understanding of social reproduction and cultural capital, and now, with a growing private market offering private tutoring services in Denmark, new aspects can be added to the necessary reflection and analysis.

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Exploring Playful Participatory Research with Children in School Age Care

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Abstract: Participatory research methods that focus on children's right to form and express views about research topics have grown in popularity in recent decades. It is less common for play to have a central role in participatory research. This article provides an account of a small, participatory research project conducted in a School Age Care setting in Melbourne, Australia where play had a more central role in the method. The decision to embed the research in a play-based setting contributed to a fluid, playful research environment where play and work became entangled in complex ways. This article draws on poststructural theories to make sense of what happened during the research. It contemplates whether there is a place for playful research in extended education settings and if there are any benefits.

Keywords: Extended education, school age care, participatory research, play, Foucault

Introduction

Participatory research methods with children have grown in popularity in recent decades (Gallagher, 2008). Participatory methods involve children in research by making available roles to them as informers, data collectors and sometimes designers and analysers, roles that have traditionally been occupied by adults (Clark & Moss, 2001; Lundy, McEvoy, & Byrne, 2011). Rationales for participatory research frequently draw upon Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), that children have a right to form and express a view, a right that extends to having a voice in research (Alderson, 2008). Participatory research can also be informed by an emancipatory desire to correct a historical inequity, which commonly positions children as the objects of study by adults (Gallagher, 2008; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

Participatory researchers have applied a variety of approaches in extended education. Some researchers invite children to contribute their views via conversation (Klerfelt & Haglund, 2015), whereas others use visual media such as photography, map-making, slide shows, drawing and collage to give children choice over how they express their views (Hurst, 2020; Elvstrand & Närvänen, 2016; Smith & Barker, 2000). Participatory methods are a good philosophical match with extended education settings in cultures such as Sweden where children's civic participation has greater cultural acceptance (Elvstrand & Lago, 2019; Haglund, 2015) or Australia where it is supported by government policy (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations, 2011). Less common in participatory methods is attention to play. Whilst researchers might sometimes adopt methods they hope children will find fun, play is rarely employed as a means of investigation.

This article investigates one participatory research project conducted with a small group of children in their first year of primary school at a School Age Care (SAC) program in

Melbourne, Australia. SAC is an important and under-researched extended education setting that provides care, leisure and education for children in the hours outside school (Hurst, 2020; Cartmel & Hayes, 2016). In 2017, approximately 364,000 Australian children aged 5 to 12 years attended SAC (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Depending on operating hours, children can spend up to 5 hours per day in SAC making it a significant site of play and learning.

In this project, play was a central feature of the research method. The research activities were embedded in a play-based SAC setting, presenting the research as one of several play options available to children. As the research progressed, it became increasingly playful, disrupting many of the conventions traditionally associated with research. This article presents a poststructural analysis of two vignettes from the conduct of the research. The analysis explores an approach where the work-like activities of research and children's play became entangled and intersecting. This playful approach to participatory research had multiple implications for a range of matters relating to assent processes, terminologies and distinctions between research and play. This purpose of this article is to consider possible connections between work and play during research with children and whether there is benefit in playful, participatory research methods, particularly in play-based extended education and early childhood settings.

Play and Playfulness in Research with Children

Play is synonymous with childhood and considered the primary activity that children engage in during free time (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). Its centrality in children's lives is reflected by it being accorded the status of a 'right' in the UNCRC (United Nations, 1989). Play is also fundamental to extended education curriculum in Australia and other locations such as Sweden (Hurst, 2019; Bae, 2019). Despite its perceived importance, play is not often considered in research methods with children.

Play is discussed in research literature in a variety of ways. One common theme is that research activities can be successful if children consider them "fun" (Punch, 2002b). Enjoyable research activities are believed to ease the labour of participating in research (Punch, 2002a) or make it more desirable to children (Punch, 2002b). Researchers commonly choose activities like photography, drawing and puppetry that they hope children will find fun. Whilst fun and enjoyment are considered characteristic of children's play, it is debatable whether fun research activities possess other elements of play, such as being freely chosen, controlled by children or intrinsically motivated (Lester & Russell, 2014; Eberle, 2010). Also, whilst some activities assumed to be fun, they may not always succeed. Play is a slippery concept to define and what is considered fun can differ across individuals (Smith, 2009).

Fewer researchers adopt methods that aspire to incorporate play beyond providing fun activities. Koller and San Juan (2015) adopt 'play-based' interviewing using dramatic play with dolls to facilitate interviews. The method has other play-like characteristics, in that it is imaginative, and children could choose activities. In another study, Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019) add other dimensions of play, using arts-based activities that are em-

bedded in a play-based, early childhood setting. They presented research activities as one of the play options available to children, who moved freely between options.

Research approaches such as those used by Koller and San Juan (2015) and Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019) attend to the right to play in ways that go beyond providing activities that are simply fun. They offer possibilities for researchers who seek a more central role for play in research approaches. The approach adopted in this study was most like that used by Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019) whose research resonated with my own experiences in this project, which I will explore in more depth later in this paper.

Method

This was a qualitative research project conducted at a SAC setting in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne Australia. Ethics approval was granted by The University of Melbourne and approval to undertake research in SAC was received by the Victorian Government. The participants were a group of 7 children aged 5 to 6 years in their first year of school. To assist with anonymity, participants given pseudonyms.

The project was conceived as a children's research 'advisory group', based on a methodology proposed by Lundy, McEvoy and Byrne (2011) who argue that with support, young children are capable of participating in the development of research projects and interpretation of data. The participants in this study were invited to contribute to the development of an online survey for SAC practitioners and the subsequent analysis of the survey data. The survey aimed to provide insights into practitioners' views about programming for young children.

The survey was developed in two phases. The first phase involved four consultation methods to gain an insight into the participants' views about providing SAC. The names of the consultation activities were negotiated with the children and discussed later in the article. The first activity was 'drawing research' where children could draw pictures of things both in and out of SAC that were important to them (Clark & Moss, 2001). The second activity, photo elicitation or 'photo research' was similar in that children were asked to photograph elements of SAC they considered important (Clark & Moss, 2001). A digital camera was used on the basis that children were familiar with the technology and could work independently (Yamada-Rice, 2017). Visual methods support children to form their ideas about research questions and are well suited to young children who might lack confidence in verbal communication (Clark & Moss, 2001; Yamada-Rice, 2017). The third activity was 'box research', where I asked children to rank photographs I had taken of play spaces and resources from their SAC. I also included images of other activities, such as digital play, that were not available at the research site but common in other SAC settings. Children could rank photographs as 'like', 'dislike' or 'unsure' (Punch, 2002a). There was also 'talking research' or interviews, which typically occurred after one of the first three activities, where I invited children to talk about their drawing, photograph or rankings. This combination of methods acknowledged that children communicate in a variety of ways and can choose how they communicate (Clark & Moss, 2001; MacNaughton & Smith, 2009).

After the consultations, the children's data was used to produce a draft survey. In the second phase, I sought participants' feedback on the draft survey through semi-structured interviews, which enabled me to be open to, and explore, unexpected views about the survey questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Participants could give feedback individually, pairs or groups.

Play was an important element of the research, in terms of how it was located and presented. Like Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019), each day I sat at a designated 'research table' with one consultation activity chosen for that day. Activities were co-located in the SAC space alongside the participants' normal SAC play experiences so that participants could move easily between the two. This contrasted with previous projects I have done where interviews were conducted away from the distraction of play spaces (Hurst, 2015, 2020). Being located in the program space meant that non participating children from sometimes joined in research activities although they contributed no data.

Play was also important with respect to gaining participants' assent, which was sought for all research activities. Some participants completed a children's assent form designed for the project. Others instead were asked for verbal assent at the beginning of each consultation activity, describing the activity to them, asking if I could keep their art works, record our conversation, and remind them of how the data would be used. These conversations about assent were audio recorded. Participants could choose at any time to leave research and return to play, which is one way that children withdraw consent (Smith & Coady, 2019). Interpreting the decision to play in preference to research as withdrawal of assent seems critical in research in play-based extended education settings like SAC.

In addition to the consultation data, ethnographic field notes were recorded in a diary. Ethnography is suited to understanding children's participation as capable social actors in social settings (James, 2001). Field notes often focused on what felt like significant moments where children were active in shaping and re-shaping the method and that captured the essence of how this research was conducted (Fujii, 2015; James, 2001). The long-term nature of ethnography is also well suited to capturing the indvidualised exercises of power that are assumed in a poststructural theorisation presented in this paper (Britzman, 2002; Christensen, 2004).

The analysis in this paper explores data from the first phase of the research, that being the four consultation activities conducted with children to develop a draft survey.

Theorising Poststructurally About Playful Research with Children

As this project unfolded, I became interested in the role of play in the research. Whilst I had positioned research activities alongside play, I still envisaged that the two would be distinct from each other. I had anticipated that play's primary role was as an alternative to research and a way to withdraw assent (Smith & Coady, 2019). However, one factor I encountered was that normal program activity was visible, noisy and exciting, and often drew participants away from the research. What resulted was a fluid, dynamic research environment with children moving frequently between play spaces and often very playful consultation activities, blurring distinctions between the two.

As the project progressed, I was trying to make sense theoretically of what the participants and I were experiencing. How might two seemingly distinct activities intermingle in this way and why did it feel discomforting? In Western, modernist knowledge systems, play and work are often positioned as distinct and dichotomous (Cannella, 2008: Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). Work, including research, is seen as the business of adults, purposeful and productive. Play is instead defined by its lack of these qualities, something that is the business of children, frivolous and non-productive (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). The work/play binary is a complex social production emerging from language, romantic and developmental theories of childhood, and social practices that divide between work and leisure and adulthood and childhood (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). However, binaries such as work and play are social constructions that mask their lived complexities (Derrida, 1997). Play and work are not opposite or separate. Adults also participate in play (Cannella, 2008; Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). Play is also recognised as a site of learning for young children, positioning it both as purposeful and educational rather than trivial (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010). Children's play is not restricted just to designated spaces. Children can find play opportunities in the most work-like spaces (Lester & Russell, 2014). This unsettling of binary understandings of work and play allows me to contemplate that as experienced in this project, play and work/research are not always opposite and separate.

Rojek (1995) draws on Foucault's theories of power and knowledge to trouble the work/play binary further. Rojek asserts that the freedom considered characteristic of leisure and play is compromised by identity work. Leisure and play can rarely ever be free because subjects engage in constant self-surveillance and questioning, constructing their identities in relation to dominant social norms. Am I wearing the right clothes and how do I look? Is this activity suitably for my age or gender? Am I being environmentally or socially responsible? Should I be at work instead of play? Children's play can also be made less free by the work of self-monitoring against social norms related to gender, social class and age (Hurst, 2020). Children's play in SAC is also entangled with acts of waiting and emotional labour (Hurst, 2019). Rojek's (1995) analysis raises the possibility that play and work are never opposite, and that play is unavoidably infused with work-like elements. Power is distributed throughout societies and individual subjects are never free of self-surveillance (Foucault, 1977). Consequently, identity work also takes place not just during play but during all activities, including research.

The analysis that follows explores two anecdotes from the first, consultation phase of the research. Each of these anecdotes were moments where distinctions between research and play seemed entangled. The analysis draws on poststructural theories relating to binary oppositions and Foucault's theories of power/knowledge to provide an understanding of how play and work/research were experienced as this research unfolded. I aim to contemplate that participatory research with children, a work-like activity, can also have playful elements, and that this play does not have to be frivolous or problematic but can have a meaningful role in research methods and the production of knowledge about extended education.

Findings

Entangling research and play during 'photo research'

I learned early in this project that using this approach, research and play could not be separated. The consultation activities were in close proximity to regular SAC play experiences, and children were supported to move freely between the two.

One occasion where I experienced the fluid, entangled relationship between research and play was during a 'photo research' session with Max Speed, a 6-year-old who attends SAC two days a week. I was looking forward to doing photo research with Max. He was often more willing than other participants to engage in research. Research with Max felt comfortable and aligned with my original expectations of what the research would be like. He followed instructions closely, enthusiastically talked about his photos and sometimes asked to repeat activities. Foucault's theories help me to understand the comfort I experienced researching with Max. When subjects align with norms they feel less visible which helps to maintain normative social categories (Foucault, 1977). The roles Max and I adopted felt recognisable as "objective researcher" and "knowable participant", historically dominant roles that are emblematic of enlightenment knowledge systems and research traditions (St Pierre & Pillow, 2000). Often practitioners would stand and observe when Max and I were working, watching the 'expert' researcher in action. In contrast, when researching with other children I worried that I looked like somebody who was 'just playing' and wondered how practitioners viewed that more playful iteration of researcher. My desire to be seen as more productive and recognisable as a researcher in these situations is an example of the identity work that subjects engage in to render play more work-like (Rojek, 1995).

Often during photo research with Max, other participants and non-participating children watched on, asking questions about the camera, offering opinions or if they could participate. Initially, I tried to resist the entry of others into the research space. It contradicted conventional approaches to interviewing that prefer quiet, uninterrupted spaces where participants can form views without influence (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Instead, photo research sometimes functioned like a focus group with multiple voices and perspectives. The input of others does not invalidate the data produced during research. It instead means that Max's views may have been formed differently than if he had been isolated during interviewing.

Opening research activities to others had implications for how participants provided assent to participate. Observing Max's research seemed to help some participants develop a clearer understanding of research tasks before deciding whether to participate. Three participants asked to conduct research after having observed Max or others. This approach to assent is supported by (Lundy & McEvoy, 2012) who suggest that co-construction by researcher and participant is a valuable way for children to learn about research methods. It is unlikely this approach to assent would work in the same way without the free movement between research and play spaces.

One afternoon I was doing photo research with Max and I began interviewing him about his first photograph. Just as we commenced, Isabel aged 5 years entered the space.

Isabel. Bruce the animal show's on today.
Bruce. I'll be there in 5 minutes is that okay?
Isabel. 3 minutes!
Bruce. 5 minutes because I'm talking to Max Speed, we're doing photographs today.

Five minutes later Isabel called out.

Isabel. 'Bruce' your time is up. Your time is up….The baby lions.

Isabel spent most afternoons in what children and practitioners called 'Steiner', a space with wooden construction materials, plastic zoo animals and dinosaurs. Isabel often led play in Steiner, directing other children to create enclosures for animals, design animal 'shows', and provide pre and post-natal care for baby animals. In this engagement, Isabel engages in negotiation, asking me to end research with Max and relocate to Steiner. Isabel aligns with the heteronormative women's role of 'carer' (Walkerdine, 1990), insisting that I help care for the baby lions and join the play.

In this vignette, play and research intersected and overlapped in multiple ways. Isabel's playful entries drew my attention away from Max, disrupted the formal feel of the research and making it less work-like. Whilst I physically remained in photo research, I became more connected to Steiner through conversations held with Isabel and looking across the room to happenings in the animal show. I also engaged in self-monitoring, silently reminding myself that a 'good' researcher would be solely focused on Max. It is an example of how, in this project, play and research were never opposite or separate. My work was made more playful by engaging with Isabel's interventions. Her play was rendered more laboured by the work of drawing me into the space. Max instead worked to align himself with the role of knowable research participant.

Isabel's actions can also be understood as a resistance to the work-dominated role I assumed with Max. Resistances are one way individuals construct social categories and knowledge (Foucault, 1980). I experienced many other forms of resistance. LaLa, a 6-year-old, silently avoided me if she didn't want to research. Emily, a 5-year-old, stopped answering my questions if she wanted to return to play. There were also the Baby Dragons, a role that Emily and Isabel sometimes assumed during play. Baby Dragons were loud and disruptive, communicating only in 'baby dragon' language. Sometimes when I invited Emily and Isabel to research, they transformed into Baby Dragons, making conversations about research difficult. Expressing a desire to play is one way children withdraw assent (Smith & Coady, 2019). Drawing on Foucault, resistances are multiple and shift across individuals and contexts (MacNaughton, 2005). Seeing resistances as multiple allows researchers to be attuned to the multiple ways children withdraw consent.

Negotiating research terminologies

This play-based approach also had implications for how the research was defined and spoken of. Although I had endeavoured to take a more playful approach to the research, I still found myself slipping into binary constructions of play and research with my thinking, speech and actions. I privileged more formal activities with participants like Max because they felt more productive and purposeful. These ways of working also aligned with my own normative understandings about what research 'should' look like (Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson, 2019). This influenced how I categorised and responded to other children's participation. I sometimes caught myself delaying engagement with participants who sought more playful interaction. Knowledge is formed through localised exercises of power around dominant discourses (Foucault, 1980). Each interaction where I enacted a preference for more work-like

forms of research, I was engaged in the production of knowledge that work/research is more adult, serious, productive and valuable than play, something that is child-like, frivolous and non-productive (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010).

One such moment significantly changed the terminology the children and I used to speak about research. Most days, two 6-year-old boys, Poop and Toilet would enter research activities and ask me to draw with them, something I had done early in the project to develop rapport. Initially I regarded most of this drawing as "just play", having little value as a means of producing useful data. Once data collection commenced, I was less likely to accept invitations to draw, and told Poop and Toilet that I needed to research. In response to my rejections, Poop and Toilet started referring to our drawing as "drawing research". Their reframing of drawing as research was an application of power that compelled me to question my understandings of what constituted research and an example of what Foucault (2019, p. 298) terms "the strategies by which individuals try to direct and control the conduct of others". By tagging drawing as 'drawing research' Poop and Toilet disrupted it's binary positioning as a low status activity. I began adopting the practice and tagged other activities as "research". Photo elicitation became known as "photo research", the ranking activity as "box research" and interviews as "talking research". Adopting this terminology seemed to increase participation in research activities. Participants like Isabel and Emily who were reluctant to participate in "interviews" were more open to engage in "talking research".

The co-constructed terminology had multiple effects. It compelled me to confront the binary conception of research and play that I entered the project with and the belief that only "purposeful" questioning would yield useful data. I opened myself to Poop and Toilet's view that playful activities can be forms of research and therefore sources of useful data. Foucault's theories allow contemplation that truth can be multiple (MacNaughton, 2005) and therefore understandings about what are "good" ways to research with children can also be multiple. By stepping outside the work/play binary, I was able to consider that there can also be playful forms of research including drawing. This resulted in more time spent drawing and a greater sense of comfort researching this way. I recognised that research took multiple forms, engaging differently with each child and in ways that varied across days, activities and within activities. Interactions with Max were usually longer, felt more "serious" and focused on the day's planned activity. With Isabel, Poop and Toilet, interactions were usually more playful, spontaneous and less serious. Each participant defined research differently. Whilst Poop and Toilet regarded drawing as research, Max could be resentful of my engagement in more playful activities. Becoming open to multiple forms of research/play was important methodologically. Universalised ways of working with children can be inequitable, marginalising those outside the mainstream (MacNaughton, 2005). Early in this project, participants like Poop, Toilet and Isabel contributed little data because they did not enjoy the work-like feel of the activities. As I adopted more playful forms of research, these participants engaged more actively.

In their play-based research, Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019) describe a similar transformation, describing how they let go of the desire to maintain control over the conduct of research. In letting go, they propose that researchers open themselves up to the "small acts of listening" that can emerge during playful research with children (p. 20). Accepting Poop and Toilet's re-framing of drawing was my own moment of letting go. I realised that conversations during drawing research or Steiner could provide valuable insights into participants' views. For me, it also meant letting go of the research/play binary and a con-

ception that saw formal, work-like research activities as the only source of useful data. Letting go enabled me to find value in all my interactions. Conversations during playful research produced occasional nuggets of insight. Whilst less frequent than those produced when asking more scripted questions, they were very important in the development of the survey. The small acts of listening proposed by Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019) left me more open to the children's concerns rather than my own preoccupations leading to encounters with data that I do not think would have emerged from more conventional participatory approaches. Listening to the participants during play felt different to the more formal interviews I conducted with Max and in other projects. The role seemed closer to that of companion or what the pre-school participants in Myers' (2019, p. 25) study call "being (with us)". I do not want to romanticise this research as something "better". The work was slow, required patience and relaxed timelines. Playful research seems to demand letting go of timelines and welcoming the suspension of time that accompanies children's play (Lester & Russell, 2014).

Conclusion

This was a small, qualitative research project conducted at a single Australian SAC setting. Consequently, the findings are limited to the setting and participants. Children's play was important in the method. The research activities were presented to children as one of the activity choices available to them, therefore embedding them in the play-based curriculum structure. Children exercising their right to play whenever they wished was also the primary means by which children would withdraw assent. Despite embracing the right to play, I had hoped that children would mostly choose to participate in research when presented with the opportunity. What instead occurred was that most participants chose to play rather than research. My initial response was to focus my attention on the participants most eager to research and spend less time with those who preferred to play.

Privileging children who chose to research reinforced dominant discourses that position research, a work-like, adult-dominated institution as more valuable, binary opposite of play (Grieshaber & McArdle, 2010), something that ran counter to my original aspirations. As this project progressed, I came instead to view play and research as not entirely distinct and separate but instead as intersecting and mingling in complex and multiple ways. Once embedded in the play-based structure, participants moved freely between research and other play experiences. Nobody was ever entirely in play or in research. Some children who weren't research participants viewed me as an object of play and placed themselves in and out of the research, bringing a playful element to research activities. Despite my efforts, my attention was often in multiple places. When researching, I found myself drawn to playful activity in other parts of the room. When involved in more playful forms of research, I engaged in self-monitoring about whether I needed to appear more like a conventional researcher, something that added labour to the play (Rojek, 1995). I also added other work-like elements to everybody's play. When in Steiner or doing drawing research, I was constantly on alert for useful data, or opportunities to question participants about their views. Poststructural theories and their attention to fluidity and multiplicity allow me to recognise that binary opposites like research/play are social fictions and the productions of language (Derrida, 1977). This re-

search suggests that when participatory research with children is embedded in play-based extended education settings, that playful iterations of research are inevitable.

This playful approach had several methodological implications. Embracing drawing and other forms of play as valid types of research resulted in more participants engaging in the project, therefore contributing a wider range of views. Participants' data emerging from playful research often differed from that provided in more formal activities. One of the perceived values of participatory research is that children's voices disrupt adult-centric views of the world. The surprising and unexpected were more common during playful research engagements, at times unsettling my own understandings of the research setting.

However, this playful approach was not without complications. Researching embedded in a play-based program meant that working without distractions was almost impossible. Non-participants entered research spaces, commenting on activities, or contributing to interviews. This created a focus group like feel in interviews. Rather than view this as a shortcoming, it should be seen as a feature of the approach, where child participants and researcher co-construct knowledge with a shifting cast of others. This approach was also very useful in that children were able to observe research activities in action which helped them form a view about whether to participate.

This research also has implications for the consultation work practitioners do in SAC and play-based extended education settings as part of their pedagogical planning (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations, 2011). This is commonly seen as the work of adults and separate from, albeit about, children's play. Consultation work often bears the hallmark of Western research traditions where "objective" practitioners collect observations, artefacts and data from discussions with children (Cannella, 2008). Consultations with children can have a work-like feel, often taking the forms like group meetings. If, as suggested by Blaisdell, Arnott, Wall, and Robinson (2019), practitioners also "let go" of work-like documentation processes, it might open them to more playful forms of consultation with children. As discovered in this research, more playful consultation might be more engaging for children and produce a wider range of views with the potential to transform SAC provision.

There is little research exploring playful participatory research, the possibilities it creates and possible benefits. Consequently, there is a need for more investigation into playful research approaches, particularly in play-based extended education settings. Playful acts by children need not be seen as a threat to quality research and have the potential to provide other ways of understanding children's perspectives on extended education.

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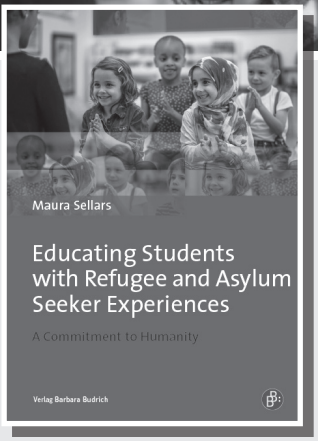

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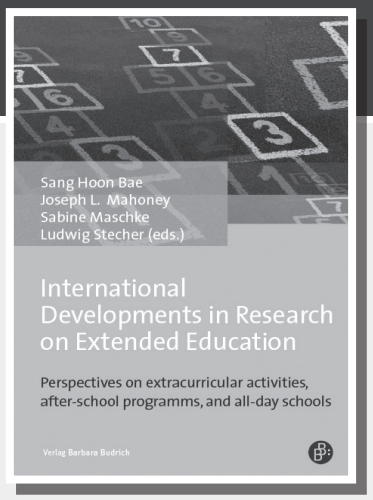

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