

# IJREE

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## Special Section

**Nanine Lilla, Marianne Schüpbach, Jennifer Cartmel** • Professionalizing the Extended Education Workforce

**Bruce Hurst, Kylie Brannelly, Jennifer Cartmel** • The Production and Performance of Workplace Hierarchies in Australian Outside School Hours Care

**Markus Sauerwein, Annalena Danner, Franziska Bock, Till-Sebastian Idel, Gunther Graßhoff** • Qualified and Unqualified Staff in German All-day Schools. An Exploratory Overview

**Lena Glaés-Coutts** • “It Shouldn’t Be Something You Have to Create on Your Own.” Personal Practical Knowledge Construction and Professional Learning For Teachers in Swedish School-Age Educare

## General Contributions

**Karen Hemming, Stefan Hofherr, Sabine Hartig** • Patterns of Participation in Organized Leisure Activities of Young People in Low and Middle Secondary Educational Tracks in Germany

**Angus Gorrie, Caitlin Jordinson** • Using Theories That Pertain to Space and Geography in Australian Outside School Hours Settings: Playworkers Perspectives

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## Editor's Preface

Readers of the *International Journal of Research on Extended Education (IJREE)*,

Amidst the dynamic evolution of education, the pivotal role of extended education in shaping the growth and development of youth remains steadfast. The burgeoning domain of extended education has garnered global scholarly attention, underscored by its profound significance. Within this scholarly milieu, IJREE stands as a steadfast conduit, providing scholars with a robust platform to disseminate insights and expedite the advancement of research.

In this volume, we present a curated compilation of five papers, wherein three papers for our special section meticulously curated under the astute guidance of guest editors Nanine Lilla, Marianne Schüpbach, and Jennifer Cartmel. Aptly titled “Professionalizing the Extended Education Workforce,” this special section delves into the thematic core of our endeavor, further enriched by the enlightening introductory commentary by our esteemed guest editors.

Within the special section, the first paper authored by Bruce Hurst, Kylie Brannelly, and Jennifer Cartmel meticulously dissects “Workplace Hierarchies in Australian Outside School Hours Care.” The study illuminates the intricate dynamics influenced by workplace and sector hierarchies, impacting the uptake of professional standards among participants. This revelation holds vital implications for the sustainability, perception, and professional development of the OSHC workforce.

The second paper in the special section, “Qualified and Unqualified Staff in German All-day Schools,” authored by Markus Sauerwein, Annalena Danner, Franziska Bock, Till-Sebastian Idel, and Gunther Graßhoff, meticulously scrutinizes personnel groups within all-day schools. This exploration reveals the scarcity of knowledge surrounding lay staff in the professionalization discourse. The authors unravel the intricacies of lay pedagogues, bridging a critical knowledge gap and enriching discussions on all-day schooling professionalization.

The final contribution authored by Lena Glaés-Coutts focuses on “Personal Practical Knowledge Construction and Professional Learning for Teachers in Swedish School-Age Educare.” Amidst the dual roles within compulsory education and school-age educare, this study sheds light on teachers’ journey in shaping their personal professional knowledge. Through incisive narrative interviews, the study advocates a systematic approach to fostering a comprehensive framework.

Turning to the general contribution section, this issue houses two articles. The first paper authored by three German scholars, Karen Hemming, Stefan Hofherr, Sabine Hartig, delves into “Patterns of Participation in Organized Leisure Activities of Youth in Low and Middle Secondary Educational Tracks in Germany.” This study underscores the pivotal role of organized leisure in positive youth development, fortified by Latent Class Analysis on quantitative data, uncovering distinct activity participation patterns.

The second article by Angus Gorrie and Caitlin Jordinson, “Using Theories Pertaining to Space and Geography in Australian Outside School Hours Settings,” artfully delves into playwork benefits within Outside School Hours Care (OSHC). The authors demystify four theoretical standpoints, illuminating their impact on OSHC settings and resonating with educators and children alike.

As the editor-in-chief, I extend my profound gratitude to the remarkable authors whose contributions enrich this issue. Special commendations are reserved for our dedicated guest editors, whose diligence and dedication have fortified this collection. It is through your unwavering commitment that our journal flourishes, solidifying its stature as an invaluable forum for scholarly discourse and progress.

With utmost appreciation,

Sang Hoon Bae, Editor-in-Chief

## Professionalizing the Extended Education Workforce

Guest Editors: Nanine Lilla\*, Marianne Schüpbach\*\*, Jennifer Cartmel\*\*\*

For some time, the question of who is working in the field of extended education and what training these people have, i. e. the “professionalism perspective”, has been on the minds of researchers in extended education (cf. Bae & Stecher, 2019, p. 129).

In many contexts around the world, staff working in extended education settings often come from a variety of disciplines, which do not necessarily prepare for work within the field of extended education. In Germany, for instance, extended education staff (working in all-day schools) vary “from specialists with professional pedagogic training to employees with non-educational background” (Böhm-Kasper, Dizinger, & Gausling, 2016, p. 30). Activity leaders in afterschool programmes in the United States are characterised as young and relatively new to their jobs, often with limited formal training in the principles of (extended) education, who are on a temporary stopover on their way into other careers (Vandell & Lao, 2016). Cartmel and Brannelly (2016) describe the Australian extended education workforce in outside school hours (OSH) services as having the highest rate of under-qualification within the care and education sector with large numbers of staff who do not hold formal qualification and also are not expected to work toward any formal qualification. Often, fixed-term contracts and high turnover of staff working in the extended education offerings make it nearly impossible to implement further training programmes. Even in Sweden, where there are higher education institutions offering a three-year programme for leisure-time pedagogy, only one in five staff members holds such a certificate and two out of five have no relevant training for working with children (cf. Hjalmarsson & Odenbring, 2020).

At the same time, working in the field of extended education, engaging with children and youths of diverse backgrounds and being responsible for supporting their development and learning, is demanding and staff professionalism is an important condition for the provision of high-quality programmes (Larson et al., 2015; Vandell & Lao, 2016).

Based on the notion that professionalism in extended education involves complex sets of capabilities, skills, and attitudes Schüpbach and Lilla (2020) proposed five domains of professionalism for staff working in extended education: 1) reflectivity and discourse, 2) professional awareness, 3) collaboration and collegiality, 4) diversity management, and 5) personal mastery following the EPIK model by Paseka, Schratz, and Schritteser (2011), which was developed to reflect the broad components of educational professionalism originally expected of teachers.

Against this background and in view of an increasing shortage of skilled workers, which will also affect the education sector in general, and specifically the extended education sector

\* Freie Universität Berlin

\*\* Freie Universität Berlin

\*\*\* Griffith University

in the future, there is a great need for the discourse on professionalism in extended education to be continued, ideas and programmes to be developed and implemented and measures to be taken.

In this regard, this Special Section on **Professionalizing the Extended Education Workforce** follows up on the Main Topic “Extended Education: Professionalization and Professionalism of Staff” in Volume 4 of *IJREE – International Journal for Research on Extended Education* published in 2016 (cf. Schüpbach, 2016) aiming at taking up and continuing the discourse presenting different perspectives on how to promote professional development in a rapidly growing sector.

The first contribution “The production and performance of workplace hierarchies in Australian Outside School Hours Care” by Bruce Hurst, Kylie Brannelly, and Jennifer Cartmel sharing about how they have examined the introduction of a set of professional standards for extended education workforce. In the second contribution “Qualified and Unqualified Staff in German All-day Schools. An Exploratory Overview” by Markus Sauerwein, Annalena Danner, Franziska Bock, Till-Sebastian Idel, and Gunther Graßhoff. the team makes some comparisons between what is known as lay pedagogues or unqualified staff and qualified teachers. The third contribution ““It shouldn’t be something you have to create on your own” Personal practical knowledge construction and professional learning for teachers in Swedish school-age educare” by Lena Glaés-Coutts discusses how the teachers construct their personal professional knowledge as teachers in extended education.

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# The Production and Performance of Workplace Hierarchies in Australian Outside School Hours Care

Bruce Hurst\*, Kylie Brannelly\*\*, Jennifer Cartmel\*\*\*

**Abstract:** Outside School Hours Care (OSHC) provides play, leisure, care and education for significant numbers of Australian children. As government has become increasingly involved in the regulation of OSHC, the sector has become increasingly professionalised. OSHC practitioners are active participants in quality improvement processes and increasingly likely to have qualifications. Despite its growing social importance, there is little research about the OSHC workforce. This article draws on a research project conducted with OSHC practitioners who participated in a professional development program that introduced a set of professional standards for practitioners. The research investigated how participants engaged with the standards after completion of the program and demonstrated that uptake of the professional standards was complicated by workplace and sector hierarchies. Participants were less likely to use the standards for service leaders and short-term, casualised workers. These hierarchies formed in complex ways around dominant discourses that underestimate care and leisure work and position OSHC as a secondary consideration for school management. The findings in this research have important implications for the sustainability of the OSHC workforce, how it is perceived and how it engages with professional development programs.

**Keywords:** Outside School Hours Care, School Age Care, Extended Education, Workforce, Foucault

## Introduction

Outside School Hours Care (OSHC) services play a critical role for Australian society and increasing numbers of families. Whilst OSHC has mostly served a care function since the early 1980's, its other purposes have changed over time (Cartmel, 2007; Hurst, 2019). The Australian Government currently sees OSHC as having multiple purposes, providing children and their families with play, leisure and custodial care that contributes to children's learning and development (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021; AGDE, 2022). As the social functions of OSHC have changed, so too have the tasks that OSHC workers perform and therefore how they are perceived as professionals. This paper concerns itself with the professional roles available to OSHC workers and their workplaces. It draws on recent research conducted by Cartmel et al (2020) with a group of OSHC workers from Queensland, Australia who participated in a professional development program that introduced a set of professional standards for workers (The Standards) developed by the Queensland Children's Activities Network (QCAN). The purpose of the research was to investigate how participants had engaged with the program and

\* **Corresponding author:** University of Melbourne, [ian.hurst@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:ian.hurst@unimelb.edu.au)

\*\* Queensland Children's Activities Network

\*\*\* Griffith University

The Standards. As well as providing insights into the effectiveness of the program, the analysis of the research data provided fascinating insights into workplace hierarchies that form around dominant discourses in OSHC. This purpose of this article is to investigate these hierarchies, which appear unique to OSHC and consider their implications for how workers engage with The Standards and their investment in staff development and training.

### Changing Contexts in Outside School Hours Care in Australia

OSHC is a significant site of care, play and learning for large numbers of Australian children. In June 2017, 363,700 per day attended OSHC. Attendances favour children in the lower age range. Approximately 20.5% of 6 to 8-year-old children attended OSHC in 2017, compared to only 9% of 9 to 12 year-olds (ABS, 2018). Irrespective of its importance there is little peer-reviewed research investigating OSHC (Moir & Bunker, 2022; Simoncini, Cartmel & Young, 2015; Cartmel & Hayes, 2016; Cartmel & Grieshaber, 2014).

OSHC provision has undergone constant change. Recreational after school activities in Australia have existed for over 100 years (Cartmel, 2007), but growth in the amount and importance of OSHC began in the 1970 s and 1980 s with increasing participation of women in the workforce (Cartmel, 2007; Brennan, 1994; Simoncini, Cartmel & Young, 2016). OSHC provision has increased substantially over the last 30 years, driven by increasing workforce participation (Baxter et al., 2014; Winefield et al., 2011). The size of the OSHC workforce more than doubled between 1997 and 2013 and grew another 52% between 2013 and 2016 (Australian Government Productivity Commission, 2014; Australian Government Department of Education and Training, 2017).

OSHC serves multiple purposes that have shifted over time and is valued differently by a range of stakeholders (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021). Parents primarily use OSHC for the custodial care it provides in the hours after school. Similarly, Government places significant value on the custodial care function of OSHC and its role in supporting workforce participation (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021). Whilst adult perspectives dominate considerations about the purpose of OSHC, it is critical also to consider the perspectives of children. A growing body of research suggests that children value OSHC primarily for providing play, leisure and friendships (Bell & Cartmel, 2019; Cartmel & Hayes, 2014; Hurst, 2020, 2019, 2015). Since the Australian Government's regulatory reforms of early childhood education and OSHC in 2009, OSHC has increasingly been understood as a complementary site of education that supports children's development (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021). The Australian focus on play, leisure, care and education is most similar to the forms of extended education provided in Nordic countries (Bae, 2018).

These changing purposes have likely been informed by the increasing regulation of OSHC, which has been subject to a succession of regulatory programs over the last 25 years, beginning with the voluntary National Standards in 1995, which were focused on health and safety. In 2004, OSHC joined early childhood education and care services in the national quality assurance scheme and then the National Quality Framework (NQF) in 2009. The NQF encompasses a suite of reforms including national benchmarks provided by the National Quality Standard (NQS), national health and safety laws and also a curriculum framework, My Time, Our Place Framework for School Age Care in Australia, which is specific to OSHC provision (ACECQA, 2019). My Time Our Place in particular marks OSHC's shift in purpose

towards education, with the document having an identifiable focus on children's learning and development. My Time Our Place also introduced the use of the term 'educator' to describe people who work in OSHC (AGDE, 2022). This is a significant shift from previous regimes where workers were more likely to be known as 'carers' or 'nice ladies' who look after the children (Cartmel, 2007).

The increasing regulation and changing purposes of OSHC has direct implications for workers, who are subject to increasing administrative workloads to satisfy regulatory requirements (Cartmel & Grieshaber, 2014). No longer just responsible for providing activities and a safe environment, educators are required to provide substantial documentation as part of their regulatory obligations. In addition, the NQF also mandates minimum qualifications for staff. These factors inevitably lead to changes in how the role is understood not just by workers but also others associated with the service. It suggests that there has been an increasing professionalisation of OSHC over the last 25 years. However, the realities of how educators see themselves as professionals, or if others see them in this way are likely more complex. It is important to note that this discussion needs to be considered in light of the absence of research into professionalism in OSHC.

OSHC is commonly regarded as a low status occupation with a range of factors that contribute to its status (Cartmel et al, 2020). There is a dominant view in the community that OSHC merely provides care (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021). It is possible that the use of the word 'care' in the name of the service contributes to this perception (Cartmel & Hayes, 2016). Moss (2006) argues similarly suggesting that early childhood workers, who are also seen mostly as care providers, are seen merely as 'technicians' rather than teachers. This evidenced in particular by how OSHC is perceived within schools. There is often a hierarchy within schools where other school staff sit above OSHC workers (Cartmel, 2007; Pálsdóttir, 2012). This can also contribute to power imbalances between school principals and OSHC coordinators that marginalise OSHC services (Cartmel, 2007). How OSHC is valued by principals is critical in governing access to space and resources (Gammage as cited in, Cartmel & Grieshaber, 2014) and the quality of programs for children (Haglund and Boström, 2020). Many services operate in spaces shared with other school activities, which also speaks to their low status. The low status of OSHC is also exemplified by a workforce that is subject to poor pay, insecure work arrangements and limited prospects for career advancement (Simoncini and Lasen, 2012). There is little evidence that the policy reforms centred around the NQS have resulted in early childhood, and by extension, OSHC becoming more desired occupations (Gibson et al., 2020).

This combination of factors and the rapid expansion in the number of services are implicated in OSHC's difficulties recruiting and retaining qualified workers. OSHC services have to compete with other forms of early childhood education and care for workers, which typically pay more than OSHC for similar roles (Education Services Australia, 2021). Whilst the expansion of OSHC has resulted in an increase in the number and diversity of roles, OSHC still struggles to be attractive to workers. These challenges have been made worse by the COVID19 pandemic (Education Services Australia, 2021). Australia's national, state and territory governments have developed in partnership with sector representatives a 10-year National Children's Education and Care Workforce Strategy (Education Services Australia, 2021). The strategy is a long-term plan that seeks to address staff shortages in OSHC and early childhood education and care services. The strategy highlights the significant staffing challenges in OSHC and reinforces the importance of studies like the one described in this article.

This paper reveals some of the complexities that trouble OSHC's status as a profession. It is increasingly accepted that qualified, supported staff are important in providing high quality care and education for children and meeting regulatory demands (Cartmel & Grieshaber, 2014). However, the realities and history of OSHC in Australia contribute to a situation where professional roles in OSHC have little status.

## Project and Methodology

A full day professional development program was conducted with a group of OSHC workers employed as service leaders in 2018. The program sought to introduce the leaders to an initiative called The Professional Standards for Educators (The Standards) (QCAN, n.d.; Cartmel et al, 2020). The Standards were developed by the Queensland Children's Activity Network (QCAN), the peak representative body for OSHC in the Australian state of Queensland. QCAN developed The Standards to try and capture what professional practice looked like for OSHC practitioners at 4 different career stages, commencing with 'Foundation' for new educators and culminating with 'Lead' for service leaders. The Standards were developed in consultation with sector representatives to better represent what contemporary professional practices look like in an Australian context (QCAN, n.d.). It was hoped that the service leaders who participated in the program would return to their workplaces and use The Standards as a resource to guide professional development of all members of their teams, including themselves and others in leadership roles.

A previous QCAN program, the *Core Knowledge and Competency Framework*, suggested that competent, knowledgeable and committed leaders are needed for successful introduction of new professional frameworks in OSHC (Cartmel & Brannelly, 2016). It was also hoped that The Standards would contribute to a clearer, shared understanding of what professional practice in OSHC looks like and therefore improved OSHC for children.

A small, qualitative research project was conducted to gain an insight into participants' engagement with The Standards after the program (Cartmel et al, 2020) that answered the following questions:

1. How did participants use The Standards in their work?
2. What factors impacted on participants' ability to use The Standards

The project was based on a methodology proposed by Guskey (2016), which uses a combination of qualitative methods to try and provide deep understandings of the effects of professional development in educational settings. Guskey's model consists of 5 phases of increasing complexity and duration beginning with learning about participants' first responses to the professional development and the knowledge they gained. The latter phases seek more detailed knowledge about how knowledge was applied in the education setting, and ultimately what benefits resulted for children (Guskey, 2016). In the first phase of this project, all training participants completed a survey on the day of the training to share their initial impressions. This article reports on the second phase, which occurred approximately 12 months after the training, with a smaller sample of 9 service leaders who participated in an

online semi-structured interview to provide insights into their initial engagement with The Standards (Guskey, 2016). Phases 3 to 5 have yet to be undertaken.

Interviews were conducted and recorded via the web application Zoom. Zoom was selected on the basis of convenience for the participants who sometimes lived and worked large distances from the researchers. Participants were asked how, or if they had used The Standards since the professional development, and what factors had helped or made it harder to implement them. Semi-structured interviews ensured that the researchers addressed the same topics with all participants whilst also allowing the flexibility to pursue topics that appeared significant but were unexpected (Patton, 2015). The 83 leaders who participated in phase one of the research were invited to do an interview, with 9 agreeing. This approach to sampling was taken to provide participants would be information-rich sources who could provide deep understandings of engagement with The Standards after the original professional development program (Emmel, 2013; Patton, 2015).

The analysis presented in this paper draws upon the interview data from phase 2. Each interview was transcribed, coded and subject to inductive thematic analysis, an approach suited to analysis of qualitative interviews to identify the major topics of concern to participants (Terry et al., 2017). Interview questions focused on if and how The Standards had been used, any effects resulting from their use, and any factors that helped or hindered with implementation. Coding was conducted in phases like those proposed by Terry et al. (2017). The initial, familiarisation phase involved reading transcripts to form an overall impression of interviews and how participants had engaged with The Standards. Initial coding involved labelling statements relevant to the research question. Codes were refined over repeated engagement with transcripts and then grouped into themes that captured a shared concept or concern. These themes were constructed and refined through repeated engagement with the transcripts and discussion across members of the research team (Terry et al, 2017). This approach facilitated analysis that reflected the concerns of participants, whilst highlighting any unexpected themes. It is an unexpected theme that will be explored in the remainder of this paper, that being the presence of workplace hierarchies. These hierarchies were a significant factor in how practitioners took up and implemented The Standards.

### Power, Knowledge and the Formation of Workplace Hierarchies

The analysis that follows in this paper draws on the theories of Michel Foucault, which helped to understand the hierarchies that participants described and how they experienced them. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) addresses social hierarchies in a number of ways. He details how hierarchical structures have emerged as a way of governing the activities of individual subjects in social institutions like schools. Hierarchies are disciplinary technologies that distribute disciplinary power and maintain workers in sanctioned activities and productive states (Foucault, 1977). One feature important to this analysis is Foucault's conception of power, which he sees not as top-down but as distributed throughout the social body and its institutions. Under a Foucauldian conception, workers' discipline is maintained not just by supervisors but also by the worker themselves (Foucault, 1977). Self-disciplining by workers was one of the dominant themes in this analysis.

Foucault's theories also provided a way of understanding how the hierarchies described in this analysis might have formed. Hierarchical structures are formed around dominant dis-

courses and social norms that reflect what a society both values and problematises (Foucault, 1977). This allowed connections to be made between Australian cultural understandings about OSHC and caring professions more broadly and the lived realities of OSHC workplaces. The multiplicity implicit in these theories was also valuable. Foucault (1980) describes how truth can shift across time and contexts. This permitted contemplation that the hierarchies described could be unique to OSHC in a contemporary Australian context and differ across services. This theoretical orientation also makes possible a transformation. Davis et al. (2015) argue that examining discourse and power using poststructural theories make possible a rethinking of early childhood education and care. Given the similarities between how OSHC and early childhood are conceptualised in Australia, it seems reasonable to consider discourse and power when investigating OSHC leadership. Foucault's theories permit contemplation that OSHC workplace hierarchies and their implications are not inevitable, but able to re-imagined in ways that support better outcomes for children and workers.

## Results and Discussion

This research investigated participants' responses to questions about how they had engaged with The Standards and what factors impacted on their capacity to implement them. The most significant factor that emerged in participants' interviews related to workplace hierarchies. Participants spoke of themselves and colleagues in ways that suggested hierarchical organisation of roles within their services, with some attracting greater cultural capital and power. This research revealed two different types of hierarchies that operated in the participants' OSHC settings.

The first type of hierarchy related to the sorts of formal organisation structures within participants' OSHC settings. It is unsurprising that organisational hierarchies would be a factor in participants' accounts. Hierarchies are a taken for granted structure in Australian workplaces. Employment conditions for OSHC and other children's education and care settings, reward workers with higher status with greater levels of responsibility and pay (Fair Work Ombudsman, 2021). The majority of OSHC settings have a more highly paid Coordinator or Director responsible for the overall conduct of the service including supervision of other staff members, typically known as educators. In organisations that operate multiple services there can exist other higher-level roles such as regional managers and supervisors with responsibility for multiple services. The terminology for these various roles can vary across services. In this analysis, workers in leadership roles with responsibility for staff supervision and service direction will be referred to as 'leaders'. Other workers who do mostly contact work with children will be referred to as 'educators', consistent with Australian terminology. It is important to recognise that positions have diverse structures. In addition to management responsibilities, some leaders may also have contact work with children. All 9 participants were classified as leaders and described how they implemented The Standards in hierarchical ways.

This research also revealed a second type of hierarchy was not as expected as the first. This second hierarchy related to workers who are employed on a part-time and casual basis.

The majority of OSHC workers are part-time and casual. Six participants described how employment status was a factor in how they used The Standards.

The following discussion explores these two hierarchies in more detail. It aims to describe these hierarchies and the complex forms they take, but also provide insights into their implications for implementation of a professional development program like The Standards.

### Hierarchies based upon Leadership Responsibilities

The first hierarchy was one based on the allocation of leadership responsibilities. In one of the clearest trends, leaders were inclined to see The Standards as most relevant to educators rather than themselves. Only two participants indicated that The Standards were used to guide the performance of leaders. This speaks to a hierarchical division within these services, where the Standards are only considered necessary for workers in the least powerful roles, which in early childhood education and care settings and therefore OSHC are likely the educators (Urban, 2008). This resonates with Foucault's (1977; 2001) proposition that the formation of categories falls mostly on subjects who are least powerful. Assigning The Standards only to educators marks them as a group who require greater monitoring and governance. It positions educators as the least skilled, least experienced and most in need of improvement.

Hierarchised social categories make possible the ranking and production of knowledge about the least powerful workers (Foucault, 1977) and was a feature of leaders' practices. All nine participants described techniques like professional development plans and mapping documents, all of which involve the production of detailed knowledge of educator's performance mapped against prescribed benchmarks. The practices described were not entirely 'top down' where leaders have control over educators. Both educators and leaders participated in their categorisation and positioning within hierarchies. The interview data contained multiple examples of all workers participating in the ranking and production of knowledge about themselves and others.

We're going to be brave too with our educators and everybody that is in the service and tell them straight in a non-judgmental room where they're learning and say, 'Hey, we think that this would be a good opportunity for you to focus in this area and improve yourself, one bit by one bit (Participant 5).

We got the staff to go away and to reflect on themselves and their practices and decide where they thought they might sit on the scale within The Standards. They then have a one-on-one interview with myself where I asked them to explain to me why they think that they're sitting there and how they going. Prior to that, I will also sit down and read through and make some decisions around where I think the staff are sitting on that scale (Participant 1).

Participants 1 and 5 describe processes where leaders and educators actively produce knowledge about educator performance. The most common practice was self-reflection, employed by all participants, where educators were required to measure their own performances against The Standards and place themselves on the rating scale provided. The techniques described by participants are not surprising. Individualised performance management techniques like this where workers and their supervisor assess against a central set of benchmarks like The Standards is common in other types of early childhood education and care services (Sims & Waniganayake, 2015; Osgood, 2006). It also makes possible the self-

discipline of workers and monitoring of output (Foucault, 1977). The processes described by educators were also expected as they are a design feature of The Standards. The participants' accounts do not really provide any insights into whether the hierarchical self-assessment built into The Standards is an effective way to improve educator performance. In early childhood education and leadership, despite their prevalence, there is yet no demonstrated benefit from such approaches (Nuttall et al., 2018). The value of self assessment is an important question that requires further consideration and research.

That leaders applied The Standards to educators but not themselves was somewhat unexpected. The Standards were designed to provide benchmarks for service leaders as well as educators, which prompts consideration of why participants did not apply them to themselves. Whilst it is possible that leaders considered themselves 'above' educators and not in need of the Standards, it needs to be considered that there might be other reasons. One possibility might relate to the question of who might perform the work of assessing leaders? The answer might lie in something that has long been accepted in Australian OSHC but is rarely researched, that being that OSHC is of little concern to management entities like school principals and parish priests, those to whom leaders commonly report. As Cartmel (2007) explains, OSHC leaders often have problematic relationships with school principals and management entities who dismiss OSHC as low status and a minor concern. This suggests an additional hierarchical relationship between management body and leader, but one underpinned by different assumptions and therefore judged differently. If a management body conceptualises OSHC as of low importance it makes it less likely they would take interest in The Standards or use them as a performance management tool.

This suggests the possibility of two distinct hierarchies within OSHC services. In one, leaders sit above educators requiring them to engage with The Standards using self-governance to produce effective workers. In the other, service leaders sit below a school principal or other management entity and governed not by The Standards but some other means not identified in this research. As proposed by Davis et al. (2015), leaders in early childhood education and care settings are just as constrained by power and discourse as educators, just in different ways.

Foucault's theories help to understand how these two hierarchies can sit alongside each other within a single setting. The low status of OSHC is a dominant discourse in Australian culture (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021, Cartmel, 2007). However, the way that this discourse is enacted in the use of The Standards by educators, leaders and school and service management can be multiple and contextual. This research suggests it was considered appropriate for leaders to know about and use The Standards to measure and monitor educator's professionalism. In contrast, school management, who commonly sit outside the OSHC service, might instead prefer to remain distanced from a tool designed for a low-status occupation and minor concern.

### Hierarchies based on Employment Status

The other important hierarchy revealed by the analysis related to part-time and casual educators. Part time and casual educators make up the greater proportion of the OSHC workforce. In 2016, the majority of OSHC workers were employed part time with 68% working 19 hours or less per week. Only 10.3% of workers were employed for 36 or more hours per week

(Australian Government Department of Education and Training, 2017). Similarly, a decade earlier in 2006, over 50 % of OSHC workers were employed for 10 hours or less per week, and only 4 % of employees worked full-time hours (McNamara and Cassells, 2010). Whilst statistics such as these have only been collected intermittently, the composition of the OSHC workforce and its reliance on part-time workers appears to have changed little over the last decade.

In the previous section, it was detailed how The Standards were used mostly by leaders to govern the performance of educators. However, not all leaders believed The Standards to have value for all types of educators. Six leaders proposed that part time employment was a barrier to successful implementation of The Standards.

The career educators, the career childcare people, they get it, they want to be here, they are keen to improve, they understand and acknowledge the philosophies behind The Standards, they are prepared to come in for that extra hour to work out, go through programming in great detail and so forth, but then, you get another cohort who will look at us almost cross-eyed when we talk about this sort of thing, but you know. They rank after school care. So look, afterschool care work equals playing handball for an hour, getting out all the outdoor equipment, playing madly in it, and then going home at five o'clock, before it all has to get put away (Participant 2).

In this quote, Participant 2 alludes to the existence of another hierarchy within their service that forms around an educators' employment status and corresponding views about OSHC. They suggest that educators fall into two categories, those that are 'career' educators and those who are just 'passing through'. These participants share a belief, that career educators see OSHC more positively, as providing more than just care. This is an act of positioning that establishes a hierarchy where 'true' OSHC people are valued more than 'outsiders'. For many interviewees, this hierarchy was expressed through their investment in staff development.

I'd probably wait to see if that educator would be coming back in a more, you know, long term permanent capacity and then I would put that extra work in (Participant 6).

Participant 6 explains that it may not be worth investing time and money in the development of casual educators. Social categories and knowledge about them form in localised settings around dominant discourses (Foucault, 1977). Participants 2 and 6 provide examples of how, acting on a shared understanding that short-term staff are less committed to OSHC, positioning long-term staff ahead of others to privilege access to organisation resources and The Standards. This finding resonates with research into casual workers more broadly outside OSHC. Being a casual worker can have implications for the quality of professional relationships individuals can form (Allen, 2011). Casual workers can also be less visible in work settings and perceived as lower status and less deserving of the same conditions as other workers (Tweedie, 2013).

However, as proposed in earlier discussion about a leader/educator hierarchy, it is suspected that the long/short term worker hierarchy is also more complex than first appears and similarly informed by a broader cultural discourse that understands OSHC as 'just care' (Cartmel & Hurst, 2021). This is made clear in the earlier quote from Participant 2 and also the following quote from Participant 6.

I thought long and hard about implementing the Standards, but as they're uni (university) students with all their uni stuff and their prac (practical placements) and all of that and because they do professional standards as part of their university training it... I wasn't sure that they would actually see the value and the extra time and effort to be able to do that. Two of them are leaving in a few week's time, another lot will be leaving in 12 months time. So I think it depends on the makeup of your workforce, that you have at your centre.

If they're going to be long term employees, then it would be much more practical and useful than those that are just sort of filling in. Well, they're still doing their job and doing the right thing, but it's not their career (Participant 6).

Participant 6 explains their belief that many of their short-term, casual educators do not regard OSHC as their primary concern. This view was expressed by 6 of the participants. Casual workers are often young and undertaking study that prepares them for other careers in teaching or related disciplines. In 2016, 17.4% of OSHC workers were studying towards a bachelors degree (Australian Government Department of Education and Training, 2017). Working in OSHC and child care carries less cultural status than working in other educational settings such as school teaching (Cartmel, 2007). This complicates what appears to be a simple hierarchical relationship that values long-term over short-term, casual workers. Leaders like Participant 6 believe short-term educators to be a group who are destined for work in higher status professional roles such as school teachers. A similar dynamic operates in early childhood education and care where workers use early childhood roles as a path to more highly paid jobs (Gibson, 2013; Moss, 2006; Cumming et al., 2015). Therefore, whilst assigned a lower status within an OSHC setting, short-term educators can have greater cultural capital in the future outside OSHC. Views such as that expressed by Participant 6 seem to be that young, casualised educators are seen as future, high-status workers biding their time in OSHC until their 'real' careers start. As such they might be treated with suspicion that they do not share the belief that OSHC is an important setting for children, a foundational principle of The Standards. This results in a contradictory hierarchical arrangement where short-term educators can be simultaneously seen as having high cultural status but also problematic and less worthy of investment. This is complicated further by the realities that casual workers are often the most vulnerable (Kelly, 2016).

## Conclusion

The analysis presented in this paper shows that there are multiple hierarchies in operation in some Australian OSHC settings that influenced use of QCAN's Professional Standards for Educators. In one hierarchy, service leaders used The Standards to monitor and improve the performance of educators but not for themselves despite The Standards being designed for those in leadership roles. The reasons that leaders exempted themselves were not revealed by this analysis. It is possible that some leaders are in a different hierarchical relationship with management bodies, commonly school principals, who dismiss OSHC as secondary and therefore might perceive little value in The Standards (Cartmel, 2007). These hierarchies were further complicated by revealing that many leaders position short-term educators as 'less' than long-term educators, justifying a lack of investment on the belief that short-term educators will inevitably move on to other roles. Similarly, the low social status of OSHC described by Cartmel & Hurst (2021) also complicates this hierarchy by suggesting that seemingly low-status short-term workers might simultaneously enjoy higher cultural status by virtue of future careers in teaching and other professions.

This raises the question of what this means and why it might be important. QCAN developed The Standards on the basis that they had benefit for OSHC settings and particularly for the children who attend them, by providing aspirational, measurable benchmarks for

workers of different levels. The hierarchies described here acted as barriers to implementation of The Standards, resulting in under-utilisation for service leaders and short-term staff. Recently, QCAN developed a new, separate set of standards, specifically for service leaders. It seems reasonable to expect that these complex hierarchies could also influence engagement with these new standards and other forms of professional development. Further research would help to understand whether workplace hierarchies act as a barrier to their uptake and implementation. This has potential implications for the play, leisure, care and education provided for children. Further research into workplace hierarchies in OSHC would help to understand these complex relationships and how they might be disrupted.

The long/short term worker hierarchy also has implications for the sustainability of the OSHC workforce. The OSHC sector has grappled with shortages of qualified workers since the implementation of the NQF in 2007, which is reflected in its reliance on students and other transient worker. Staffing shortages have been exacerbated further by the COVID19 pandemic (Education Services Australia, 2021). It is reasonable to contemplate whether the reluctance to invest time and resources in short-term workers documented in this article makes it less likely that workers studying to work in other fields will remain to build careers in OSHC. If so, this would be a lost opportunity. Many of these students will ultimately gain degree-level qualifications with the potential to make valuable contributions to OSHC.

When considering the findings of this research, there is a tension that needs to be grappled with. The Foucauldian stance taken in this analysis troubles social hierarchies and the applications of power that produce them. However, the focus of this research, The Standards are by design, normalising. They provide benchmarks and standards against which OSHC workers are asked to discipline themselves and others. Whilst there are problematic aspects to systems of 'quality' like The Standards (Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 2007) it would be simplistic to dismiss The Standards for those reasons. The Standards are a rare attempt to capture what pedagogical practice looks like in Australian OSHC, something that potentially benefits workers, children and families. Although hierarchical in their conception, The Standards are not solely responsible for the hierarchies explored in this article. Drawing on Foucault (1977), The Standards are an expression of broader cultural norms and hierarchical structures that circulate Australian culture. They are also reflective of a sector that is increasingly governed by neoliberal systems of regulation and self-assessment (Sims & Waniganayake, 2015). It does however prompt consideration of whether there might be other ways to understand and express the complex and important work OSHC educators and leaders do, something that would help to disrupt that cultural discourses that problematically position OSHC and all of its workers as low-status.

This was a small research project that only provided glimpses into the operation of power in OSHC workplaces and how they are structured and function. The sample size was small and only drew on the views of service leaders, which limits the transferability of the findings. It ignores the perspectives of other significant actors, in particular educators, short-term educators and management bodies. There would be great value in seeking multiple perspectives on how OSHC is both understood and managed. Additionally, this analysis on hierarchies emerged as something of a surprise in research into the use of a professional development tool. This highlights a need for future research directly addressing workplace structures. Deeper knowledge of this sort might assist representative organisations like QCAN in supporting OSHC workers navigate complex workplaces and power relationships to implement improvement more effectively.

We believe that the benefits of the poststructural analysis conducted in this paper should extend beyond academic researchers and readers. Davis et al. (2015: 144) argue that post-structural theories empower early childhood leaders to “make visible how power, knowledge and truth intersect to limit and/or provide opportunities for early childhood educational leaders and recognize, engage with and challenge the gendered and raced social and political construction of knowledge and identity”. My Time Our Place, the curriculum framework for OSHC in Australia also explicitly identifies poststructural theories as being of importance for OSHC workers (AGDE, 2022). Consideration should be given to how OSHC leaders and educators can be supported to also deploy these ideas in their work. Doing so would allow them to do the work of unmasking the hierarchies in operation in their service, the discourses that inform them and how they constrain their opportunities to work in the best interests of school age children in the hours before and after school.

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# Qualified and Unqualified Staff in German All-day Schools. An Exploratory Overview

Markus Sauerwein<sup>\*</sup>, Annalena Danner<sup>\*\*</sup>, Franziska Bock<sup>\*\*\*</sup>, Till-Sebastian Idel<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>, Gunther Graßhoff<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>

**Abstract:** In Germany, three groups can be identified who work in all-day schools and take on pedagogical tasks in extended education: Teachers, pedagogical staff, and staff without a pedagogical qualification (lay pedagogues). While the professionalisation debate on teachers and pedagogical staff already exists, there is a lack of knowledge on lay staff. In this article we consider the group of lay pedagogues. Findings from existing studies explore in more detail the expertise that personnel bring into all-day education.

**Keywords:** professionalisation, extended education, lay pedagogues

## Introduction

Similar to many other countries, the field of extended education – especially in the context of after-school care<sup>1</sup> – is growing in Germany since the beginning of the 21st century (Bae, 2019; Stecher, Maschke, & Preis, 2018). Extended education in Germany is organised through child and youth services and/or schools. The children and youth service institutions could be public or independent (e. g. church, local institutions or clubs). While in the eastern part of Germany, the children and youth services are in most cases responsible for offering and organising extended education, respectively in the form of after-school care, it is in the western part the schools. However, even mixed forms with shared responsibilities and collaborative programs with partners outside school exist and in practice the different institutions cooperate with each other (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2020; Eßer, Graßhoff, Krinninger, & Schröer, 2022). Furthermore, the attendance extended education could be compulsory or voluntary for the students (Schuepbach & Lilla, 2020). Even within one school several organisations of extended education could be observed. Beyond schools and children and youth services, the local (sports) clubs and other out of school institutions are involved in the care of school children in the community (Schuepbach & Lilla, 2020; StEG-Konsortium, 2019), like football clubs, music schools, the local gardening club.

The discourse about extended education care for school children is closely related to the expansion of (so-called) all-day schools (Fischer & Klieme, 2013; Fischer, Theis, & Züchner, 2014; Steinmann, Strietholt, & Caro, 2018). In the recent twenty years, a large body of

\* **Corresponding author:** TU Dortmund, markus.sauerwein@tu-dortmund.de

\*\* TU Dortmund

\*\*\* Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg

\*\*\*\* Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg

\*\*\*\*\* University of Hildesheim

1 We use the terms after-school care and out of school care synonymously to extended education. However, extended education describes more a context which also includes extracurricular activities as a part of after school care. Along with Bae (2019) we use extended education as an “umbrella term”.

research concerning all-day schools and extended education emerged and even some of the research conducted in Germany is available in English. Most of the research concern effects on students' performance and the reduction of inequalities (Fischer et al., 2014; Steinmann et al., 2018) or social behaviour (Sauerwein, Theis, & Fischer, 2016) and the cooperation between teacher and staff offering extended education (Böhm-Kasper, Dizinger, & Gausling, 2016). However, little is known about the qualifications and the professionalisation of staff offering extracurricular activities. Furthermore, there is a lack of knowledge about the numbers of staff who are involved in extended education. This is of great importance because from 2026 there will be a legal entitlement for after-school care (Graßhoff & Sauerwein, 2021). This is linked to a further expansion of the infrastructure of extended education as well as to an increased need for personnel, which can hardly be covered by staff with a pedagogical qualification alone (Graßhoff & Sauerwein, 2022; Rauschenbach, Meiner-Teubner, Böwing-Schmalenbrock, & Olszenka, 2021). Recent estimates suggest a need for an additional 50,000 to 100,000 professionals, depending on the take-up of the legal entitlement for after-school care (Bock-Famulla, Girndt, Vetter, & Kriechel, 2022). The goal of this paper is to provide a focus on lay pedagogues, unqualified staff. First, it should be noted that in the literature on existing approaches to professionalisation, there are hardly any formulated requirements for the group of lays. Second, it can be seen that the employees at all-day schools are qualified in different ways. This diversification is particularly evident among lay staff. In a further step, the article deals with two studies in more detail in order to be able to make first statements about the relation between qualifications and the pedagogical orientations of the lay persons and the knowledge about quality.

## Staff in Extended Education

As far as we know, in Germany there is no systematic and comprehensive inventory of the personnel involved in all-day education. For the primary school sector based on analysis of available official data, it is estimated that around 96,000 people work in all-day programmes (schools and/or institutions belonging to children and youth service) (Autorengruppe Fachkräftebarometer, 2021). However, staff employed through cooperation partners is not recorded as well as the staff involved in institutions that are not directly cooperating with schools. At primary schools, 85% of the pedagogical staff can be classified as professional. They have a degree from a vocational training, university or other qualification. This group consists mostly of early childhood teachers with a vocational training degree (70%). The remaining 15% of the qualified staff have an academic degree from a university or a university of applied sciences. Around 14% of staff who work in extended education are without a recognised pedagogical qualification (Autorengruppe Fachkräftebarometer, 2021). Similar the child and youth service statistics show that 87% of the professionals working in all-day care have a relevant university or vocational degree (Autorengruppe Kinder- und Jugendhilfestatistik, 2021). For North Rhine-Westphala (the most populous federal state in Germany) there are more detailed statistics available. The staff without relevant pedagogical vocational training provides the largest number of hours (94 hours at primary schools), followed by educators with 75 hours. Social workers provide only 37 hours and teachers only 13 hours (Altermann et al., 2018). Taken this together, it seems possible that qualified staff (teachers, early childhood teachers, social workers) is involved in extended education offered

in schools and are the largest group. However, the professionals do not spend the whole working time in pedagogical interactions with children. They also have to attend team meetings, organise the after-school care etc. Probably, therefore, the children have significantly more contact with unqualified staff.

### Professionalisation in Extended Education

This raises the question of what kind of skills, competence or more general what profession is required in high quality extended education. There are no administrative or political requirements in this respect. After school care and/or extended education in Germany belongs to the youth welfare system and/or the education system (school). The responsibilities between both systems often overlap, especially in the case of after school care and/or extended education. The youth welfare system (e. g. Böllert 2018) covers a wide range of services: From kindergarten and youth clubs/centres to residential care. While a qualification (social work or early childhood teacher) is necessary for this work, there are no corresponding requirements for the field of extended education. Also, when extended education is organised by schools, teachers are only partial involved, and other staff work here. The question of the necessary competencies can therefore initially only be approached from a theoretical perspective. Following Shulman (1986) in competence-theoretical approaches, a distinction is made between general pedagogical knowledge, (school) subject knowledge, subject didactic knowledge and knowledge about the subject curriculum (Baumert & Kunter, 2006). Ideas of extended education can hardly be found in (political) descriptions of competences for teachers. The focus here is clearly on teaching and references to extended education are faded out. However, the statement of the Conference of Ministers of Education in Germany (Sekretariat der Kultusministerkonferenz, 2019) lists competences that are not exclusively assigned to teaching. These are for example perceiving barriers and impairments of students and influencing their individual development, as well as cooperating with parents (and other professions) for this purpose. The teaching of values and norms is also mentioned, as well as support in conflict resolution.

Schuepbach and Lilla (2020) also refer to five domains of professionalism from a teacher's perspective on how to go beyond teaching. "The domains consist of complex sets of capabilities, skills and attitudes that are interconnected and partly overlapping" (Schuepbach & Lilla, 2020, p. 65). These domains are reflectivity and discourse, professional awareness, collaboration and collegiality, diversity management and personal mastery.

Teachers are involved in offering extracurricular activities. Early childhood teachers (which isn't an academic qualification in Germany), social workers (social pedagogies) and staff without an educational training or studies make up by far the majority of the occupational groups involved in extended education. In the German-speaking literature concerning social work, in particular, competence theory approaches with the underlying idea of standardising knowledge and skills, as well as the idea of evidence-based practice, are viewed critically (Otto, Polutta, & Ziegler, 2009). It is argued that standardised knowledge can hardly be used in complex and multi-layered practice situations. Accordingly, ideas of social technological control in the sense of direct instructions for practitioners are rejected (Dewe & Otto, 2010). These ideas display similarities with the work of Schön (1988) (who is certainly better known

in an international context). Schön also argues that the complexities and uncertainties of practice “escape the canons of technical rationality” (Schön, 1988, p. 6).

There are hardly any concrete formulated criteria in the literature on the pedagogical requirements for extended education. At best, transfers can be made here, based on theoretical and conceptual assumptions. Referring to Shulman (1986) there must be some general pedagogical knowledge of high-quality extended education offers. Furthermore, going along with Schön (1988) reflecting skills and orientations can be outlined as significant. To what extent these criteria can be observed in practice is unknown. In view of the high number of unqualified staff in extended education (in Germany), it is necessary to find out whether they have knowledge about the quality of all-day offers and whether they have reflective skills. Considering that some are probably working in after school care/ extended education for several years, it can also be argued that, in addition to an academic or vocational education, professional practice can also contribute to qualification (e. g. Steiner 2013).

## State of Research

The impact of extended education is closely related to their quality (Fischer & Theis, 2014). There is a broad consensus that pedagogical staff should recognise children’s needs, stimulate autonomy, and organise the after-school care program which should include several activities for children of different ages (Fukink & Boogaard, 2020). As well the social and cognitive development of children is addressed (for Germany see: Fischer, Elvstrand, & Stahl, 2022; Fischer & Klieme, 2013; Sauerwein et al., 2016). In the recent years a growing interest in children’s perspective of after-school care could also be observed (Lehto & Eskelinen, 2020; Loureiro, Grecu, Moll, & Hadjar, 2019). Fischer et al. (2022) claim that “Quality of extended education should foster children’s well-being and development; therefore, it is necessary to investigate and take into consideration their needs and experiences” (Fischer et al., 2022, p. 285). However, as mentioned before, in all-day schools staff without a pedagogical qualification are often employed (Fischer et al., 2020). Stecher et al. (2018) similarly describe “[t]he quality of pedagogical interaction is ensured based on a profession for which a degree in education is required” (Stecher et al., 2018, p. 76). On the contrary, Steiner (2013) mentions that expertise is also acquired through professional experience. Staff without a pedagogical qualification – lay pedagogues – is a heterogeneous category. Some of them attend trainings; some have been working in the field of extended education for several years while others are novices. Politically and conceptually – discussed under the label “Educational landscapes” (German: “Bildungslandschaften”) – it is also unclear whether extended education should only be provided by professionals. Opening up to the social space means that lay pedagogues should also bring their expertise into the school, be it as a football coach, a baker or a collective of artists (Coelen et al., 2022; Spies & Wolter, 2018).

Be that as it may, the issue of qualification of the staff is discussed in the context of extended education but empirical knowledge is rare. The few studies at hand taking staff qualifications into account show positive correlations between academic education and positive social behaviour (Gottfredson, Cross, & Soulé, 2007) or the quality of extracurricular activities perceived by children (Cross, Gottfredson, Wilson, Rorie, & Connell, 2010). Accordingly, “staff members who were highly educated, well trained, and employed long-term appeared to observers to be more skilled in providing youth services” (Cross et al., 2010,

p. 378). Staff turnover, which is attributed to poor pay and part-time positions, is discussed as a problem. Affrunti, Mehta, Rusch, and Frazier (2018) discuss the issue of job stress for staff and point out the need for resources to reduce stress and increase the quality of extended education. There are also positive correlations between the quality perceived by the young people and the relationship work (assessed by staff) as well as teamwork (cooperation) and efficiency (Kuperminc et al., 2019).

## Research Questions

The qualification of the staff seems to be significant for the quality of extracurricular services. Conversely, there are also arguments that can be used to justify the use of non-pedagogically qualified staff, so-called lay pedagogues, at least in part. The extent to which qualified educators differ from lay pedagogues is largely unclear. Likewise, the dichotomy of qualified – not qualified does not seem to catch up with the complexity of practice. However, there is a lack of concepts that propose an alternative differentiation.

Hence, in the following section, we will answer two research questions. First, we are interested if the qualification can explain differences in the pedagogical orientation and the knowledge about quality of extracurricular offers. Second, we will develop an alternative approach, which considers the heterogeneity of staff in extended education and explore in more detail the expertise that the staff brings to all-day education.

To answer these two questions, we will refer to two research projects, the LAKTAT<sup>2</sup> and JenUs<sup>3</sup> study. To answer the question concerning differences between professional and lay pedagogues we use data collected in a pre-test of a project which aims to collect the pedagogical orientations of staff involved in extended education (LAKTAT – <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/454196803>). Here we follow a quantitative approach.

Looking for a deeper understanding of the expertise that the staff brings into extended education from outside school, we refer to data from the JenUs Project, an ethnographic study which was conducted in four secondary schools in Germany with different school tracks types (High School/Gymnasium and Middle Schools/Realschule).

### Study I – Differences Between Qualified and Not-Qualified Staff

The questionnaire was sent out online in the first quarter of 2022 via E-mail to those interested in further training in the field of extended education (Danner & Sauerwein, i.E.). In sum 124 staff, who are involved in all-day schools, answered the pre-test questionnaire for the LAKTAT project. 54% of the respondents have a vocational or university pedagogical degree (early childhood teacher, social work); 46% have no formal pedagogical qualification.

2 The project is conducted by the University of Oldenburg, University of Hildesheim and TU Dortmund. It started in 2021 and is funded by the DFG (German Research Foundation), Project number: 454196803.

3 The project is conducted by the University of Bremen and the University of Hildesheim and was funded from 2016 to 2020 by the DFG, Project number: 315317689.

### Independent Variables

Beyond the pedagogical qualification, we asked the staff how many years they worked in the field of extended education/ all-day school ( $M = 7.78$   $SD = 5.48$ ) to consider the experience the staff gather in practice (see Steiner, 2013). To control for a potential influence of different understandings and/or traditions in education between cultures (e.g. Heisig et al., 2020; Hagemann & Jarausch 2014) we control for migration background. 17 percentage of the staff have a migration background (born abroad themselves or to one of their parents). Similar parenting styles differ between generations (e.g. Gracia 2020) and therefore we control for age. The age ranges from 20 to 66 years ( $M = 48$   $SD = 8.69$ ). Especially in the case of non-qualified staff, culture and generation could have an influence on the pedagogical orientation, because no qualification change the pedagogical orientations. Therefore we control for both. To avoid computation errors, gender could not be considered in the later regression analysis, because 92 per cent of the participants claimed to be female.

### Dependent Variables

The pedagogical orientation was measured by an analogue scale. The participants were presented with opposing statements about their day at the all-day school. They had to use a slider to decide whether they were “child-oriented” or “school-oriented” (0= particularly child-oriented | 10= particularly school-oriented) (see Table 1). In other words, low values represent a child-orientated, high values a school-oriented attitude of the respondents.

**Table 1.** *Child-orientation/ School-orientation*

	Mean	SD	N	$\alpha$
child-orientation	4,18	1,39	107	school-orientation
The extended education should be connected to the interests of the children.	3,65	1,81	107	Extended education is intended to compensate for school deficits.
In extended education children should have fun.	3,60	1,93	107	In extended education the subject matter is to be deepened.
I see children as independent actors.	4,72	1,91	107	Children need adults to guide them.
I think it is good that children attend all-day programs.	4,76	1,96	107	Parents should rather take care of their children themselves.
Scale	4,18	1,39	107	,708

SD= standard deviation, N= participants

Additional computed information is presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.** *Fit Values School-orientation*

Scale	$\alpha$	chi-square	SRMR	TLI	CFI	RMSEA
School-orientation	0,708	0.07	0,03	0,86	0,92	0.12

SRMR = Standardized Root Mean Square Residual; TLI= Tucker-Lewis Index; CFI= Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation

The knowledge about the quality of extracurricular activities was recorded via an open question. Therefore, the participants were asked to: “Please describe what you consider important in the concrete implementation of an offer in a few key points. Please name 6 central quality dimensions”.

These answers were evaluated with the TM package in R (Feinerer & Hornik, 2018). One point could be scored for each named quality dimension. In line with the literature (Fischer et al., 2022; Fischer & Theis, 2014; Sauerwein & Fischer, 2020), we defined structure, (cognitive) activation, autonomy support, participation, everyday orientation and recognition as central quality dimensions. Related terms were also coded as correct. For example, it was sufficient if the participants named independence, voluntariness, experience of competence, and self-worth to reach the “point” for autonomy support. Only 97 participants answered this open question. The score ranged between 0 and 4 (Mean .95 SD .67).

## Results

The results in Table 3 must be read in two directions because participants were forced to choose between school or child orientation (see also Table 1). Negative regression coefficients mean a child orientation, while positive regression coefficients indicate a school orientation. Results of the regression analysis show that qualified staff is more child than school orientated ( $b = .660$   $p < .05$ ). The work experience, age or migration background has no significant influence on the pedagogical orientation. However, the model explains only a low proportion of variance ( $R^2 .058$ ).

**Table 3.** *Regression School-orientation*

	b	SD	Beta	p	Confidence interval 95%	
					lower	upper
Qualified Staff	-.660	.296	-.235	.029	-1.249	-.071
work experience	-.004	.030	-.014	.906	-.063	.056
Age	.003	.018	.020	.861	-.033	.040
Migration Background	.076	.374	.022	.839	-.667	.819
N	91					
R <sup>2</sup>	.058					

Concerning the knowledge about the quality of extracurricular activities, it first must be mentioned that we have only 61 cases left. The regression analysis shows a positive connection between qualified staff and the knowledge about the quality of extracurricular activities; however, the results are not significant ( $b = .408$   $p > .05$ ). The work experience does not influence the knowledge about quality as well as age and migration background. Furthermore, the model explains only a low proportion of variance ( $R^2 .059$ ).

**Table 4.** *Knowledge about the Quality of Extracurricular Activities*

	b	SD	Beta	p	Confidence interval 95 %	
					lower	upper
Qualified Staff	.408	.303	.174	.183	-.198	1.015
work experience	-.007	.038	-.026	.846	-.084	.069
Age	.026	.019	-.185	.176	-.012	.064
Migration Background	-.033	.373	-.012	.929	-.779	.713
N	61					
R <sup>2</sup>	.059					

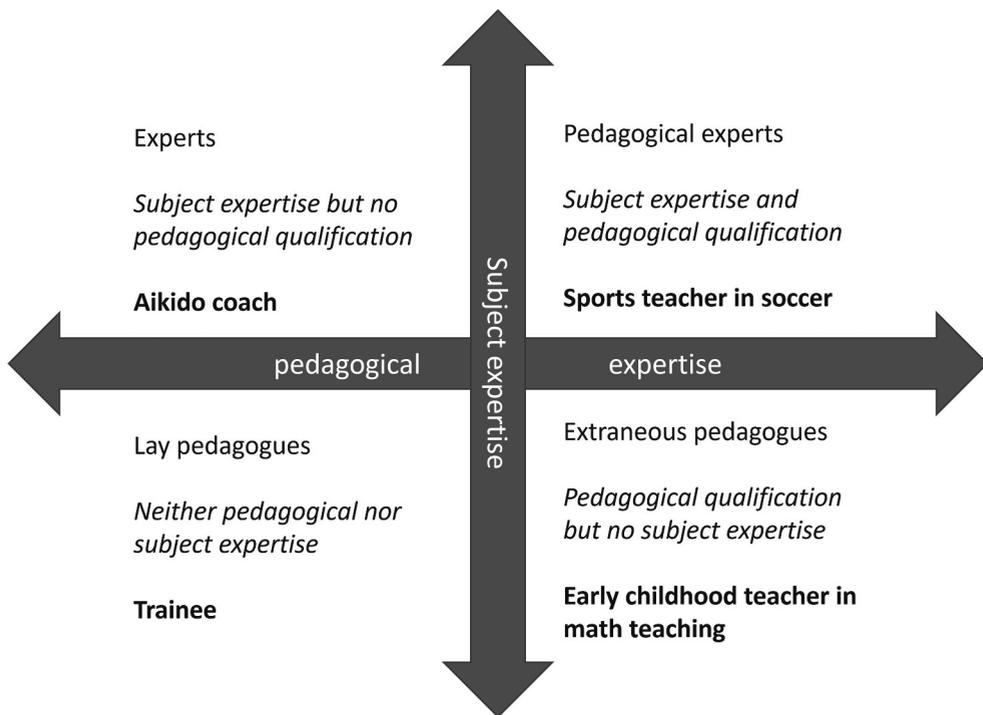
#### Study II – Ethnographic Perspectives

In the JenUs project, different methods were combined to obtain a multi-perspective view of the all-day programs and an intensive look at extracurricular activities. Semi-structured interviews with school leaders and all-day school coordinators took place and an explorative ethnography was carried out in all extracurricular programs. Based on this data, four programs were finally selected for in-depth participant observation over a period of several weeks. Observations within the four secondary schools took place within one school term; the data was analysed in coding procedures using the grounded-theory-method (Charmaz, 2014).

The long-term participant observation was used to capture the interaction between the students and lay pedagogical staff. In addition to the observations, interviews were also conducted with these lay educators. The results of the study indicate that the heterogeneous personnel are classified in terms of their qualification and subject expertise (Graßhoff, Haude, Bebek, Schütz, & Idel, 2019; Graßhoff, Haude, Idel, Bebek, & Schütz, 2019).

In the field of extended education, a content-related expertise (subject expertise) plays a relevant role – beyond the qualification. In the ethnographic observation in the extracurricular offers, the subject expertise appeared sometimes even more relevant than a pedagogical qualification. For example, if children attend a climbing, chess or aikido offer, the abilities of its staff in these activities become relevant. Along with this, a matrix of professionalism and expertise in extracurricular activities could be described (Figure 1). The pedagogical expertise is plotted on the x-axis, the subject expertise on the y-axis. The aikido coach would thus have subject matter expertise but no pedagogical knowledge, the sports teacher or the experiential/outdoor educator would have both subject matter and pedagogical expertise. The early childhood teacher who provides homework support would have pedagogical expertise but no subject expertise, and the trainee would have neither subject expertise nor pedagogical expertise.

**Figure 1.** Matrix of Professionalism and Expertise in Extracurricular Activities



The observation of the activities shows different ways of the staff without pedagogical qualifications. Some try to imitate the role of teachers and are strictly oriented towards the school rules. They are punishing and imposing sanctions on students, sending them out of the room and often to the school leader’s office. Others, in contrast, were categorized as a “symbolic distancing” from school. In this case, the staff without vocational qualification refused to take pedagogical responsibility and the role of a teacher or an educator. Students are left to their own devices and educational situations are not structured. However, this is not done for pedagogical reasons, for example, to encourage personal responsibility and initiative. The situations observed in this way can be described as chaotic due to a lack of pedagogical skills.

### Discussion and Conclusion

The number of children who attend extended education in the form of after-school care and/or all-day schools is growing. Until 2029 there will be a legal entitlement for after-school care for every child in Germany. However, there is a lack of qualified staff to ensure the after-school care now, and this lack will grow till 2029.

The empirical knowledge about qualifications and professionalisation in extended education is rare. Studies at hand indicate that staffs' qualification is significant for the quality of extracurricular activities (Cross et al., 2010) and quality of extracurricular activities in turn is related to the effects of extracurricular activities (Fischer & Klieme, 2013). Our findings based on the analysis of a pre-study of the LAKTAT confirm differences between staff with qualifications and lay pedagogues in relation to a stronger child orientation. However, we find no difference in knowledge about the quality of extended education with regard to the qualifications of the workforce, however our results show in general a low knowledge about the quality of extended education.

Probably staff, whether qualified or not, work more based on their intuition and subject experience (see. Fig 1). This could be underpinned by the idea of educational landscapes (Coelen et al., 2022). Schools open into the social space and integrate different people based on their content-specific expertise – as football coach, gardener etc. The reconstructions in the JenUs project confirm this hypothesis and show that the subject expertise is more relevant than the pedagogical qualification in the extracurricular offers.

Furthermore, Steiner (2013) also mentioned that expertise could also be acquired through professional experience. But according to our LAKTAT study, only work experience has no influence on child-orientation or the knowledge about the quality of extracurricular activities.

Looking to the future, two issues seem significant. Till 2029 there will not be enough staff for all-day schools. This is certainly also due to the fact, that all-day schools/ extended education have hardly been considered in the training of social workers, early childhood teachers and (elementary school) teachers, although they have been established in Germany for at least 20 years. Pilchowski (2022) shows, for example, that all-day schools are hardly mentioned in the module handbooks in social work degree programs – it is only childhood education that this is done. Probably this also explain that qualification have no impact on knowledge of quality of extracurricular activities. Extended education and/or after school care should be systematically implemented in academic and vocational qualification. Secondly, further training can and should be offered for the not-qualified staff, which is already working in the field of extended education. The consequence will be, to develop special trainings for employees in all-day schools to qualify on-the-job. That allows qualifying the “experts” who have subject knowledge but don't have pedagogical knowledge.

Yet our findings should be interpreted with caution. We only have data from a first pre-study, which could also have a selection bias. Together with the experience in the JenUs project and the further development and expansion of extended education all over the world, we can point out the relevance for more research in the subject of qualification of staff for extended education. This could be a chance for further professionalisation in extended education, but the lack of qualified staff could also drive a de-professionalisation. Our research shows that the question of professionalisation and the expansion of extended education is not a choice between Scylla and Charybdis. Rather, it is about finding a professionally meaningful balance between qualified staff and people who bring their experience from outside the school into the school. The challenge is undoubtedly to counter the replacement of qualified staff with cheaper non-qualified staff.

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“It shouldn’t be something you have to create on your own.”

Personal practical knowledge construction and professional learning for teachers in Swedish school-age educare.

Lena Glaés-Coutts\*

**Abstract:** Teachers who work in school-age educare (SAEC) in Sweden possess a variety of educational qualifications. They hold a dual role working as teachers both within the compulsory program and school-age educare. This dual competence requirement means that their professional needs are unique and often different from that of their colleagues who only work in the compulsory school system (Berglund, Lager, Lundkvist and Gustavsson Nyckel, 2019). They reside in a complex context when it comes to opportunities for constructing their personal professional knowledge. Considering that already in 2021, the government announced the creation of a national professional learning program (Regeringen 2021), it is essential to understand what type of professional learning is deemed needed by the SAEC teachers themselves. Through narrative interviews with SAEC teachers, this study aims to map an understanding of how the teachers construct their personal professional knowledge as SAEC teachers. The main research question in this study is:

*How do SAEC teachers describe the role of professional learning as part of creating and developing their personal professional knowledge?*

The findings indicate a need for a systematic approach to recognize the qualification of experienced teachers and create a framework for professional learning opportunities for all teachers in SAEC.

**Keywords:** School-age educare, extended education, professional development, personal professional knowledge construction, teacher.

## Introduction and Literature Review

One of the complexities of teacher professional learning (PL) is that it contains both elements of the micro (the teachers) and the macro (schools and governments) systems (Borko and Putnam, 1997; Opfer and Pedder, 2011). In Sweden, there is an added challenge to these multifaceted aspects for the teachers who work in school-age educare. Teachers who work in the extended education program, known as school-age educare (SAEC), have a wider variety of educational backgrounds than teachers within the compulsory school. This reflects how both the work itself and the qualifications for the work have changed over the years. As professionals in the compulsory school system, the teachers working in school-age educare in Sweden, often find themselves “betwixt and between” the roles that the teachers in the compulsory school and preschool inhabit (Ackersjö, Lindqvist and Nordäng, 2019). Being part of the compulsory school system, they occupy a dual role of working both within the

\* Linnaeus University

compulsory program as well as the school-age educare program. This dual competence requirement means that their professional needs are unique and often different from that of their colleagues in the compulsory school system (Berglund, Lager, Lundkvist and Gustavsson Nyckel, 2019). This means that their work is situated within a context that reflects a more complex approach to PL. Ludvigsson and Falkner (2019) refer to school-age educare teachers as positioned in a “borderland” in the educational landscape as the teachers must navigate the two educational systems.

The SAEC teachers work in collaboration with preschool and compulsory school teachers (Skolverket 2022) and are responsible for the before- and after-school educational program. Today, the school-age educare centers employ staff who are educated as leisure time pedagogues, school-age educare teachers, early childhood educators, and other staff with other educational backgrounds. From 2019, a successful completion of a three-year university degree in Extended Education is, however, required to be licensed as a teacher in school-age educare. As part of the degree, they are also qualified to teach an aesthetic subject (music, art, physical education etc.) in the compulsory program. The major challenge faced is how to create PL for a section of teachers whose qualification and educational background has significantly changed over time. It is a complex but relevant question for the profession itself. The field of extended education is a growing area of interest in both Sweden and other countries that have extended education systems. However, most studies have focused on the effect extended education has on student achievement (Klerfelt, Ljusberg, Hippinen Ahlgren, 2020) rather than the PL needs of the teachers. The field of extended education remains very much an under-researched area in education and currently, no study has examined the PL needs of SAEC teachers.

## A Brief Overview of School-age educare in Sweden

School-age educare is a non-compulsory section of the Swedish school system. Students ages 6–13 have the right to be enrolled in the school-age educare program, which is to a great deal subsidized by the government. The SAEC program is voluntary and available year-round with a focus on socialization, recreation and education for students aged 6–13. While it is not compulsory, a full 84% of students aged 6–9 attend the SAEC program as part of their school day (SOU 2020:34).

The teachers in SAEC work in different capacities both within the compulsory and the SAEC program. The title used to describe them has traditionally not been *teachers*, but *pedagogues*. While the Swedish language makes a distinction between the title *pedagogue* and *teacher*, these terms are usually seen as synonymous in English. Similar to extended education programs in other countries, the Swedish system reflects its society and represents the idea of society’s need to provide safe places for young children when parents are working. As a government institution, it reflects and promotes the values of the society within which it operates. The Swedish program evolved from being a place for children of the working class where they could learn practical skills to the 1960 s after-school centers known as *fritidshem*; (leisure home centers), to today’s school-age educare centers (Klerfelt, Ljusberg, Hippinen Ahlgren, 2020). The more recent shift to include a focus on pedagogy and teaching implies a more direct connection to compulsory school, which is also reflected in the latest term *school-age educare* (Skolverket/ Swedish National Agency for Education, 2022). The origins of

extended education in countries such as Germany, Russia, Denmark and Sweden can be traced back to the end of the 1800 s when their main purpose was to provide children with a meal and protect them from child labour and violence. The development of extended education grew and developed over the years in response to economic and political needs. As society's emphasis on children's rights and wellbeing grew, a strengthening of those rights was reflected in the implementation of the new and different forms of child-care institutions in society (Klerfelt, Ljusberg, Hippinen Ahlgren, 2020). In the 1990 s, extended education went from having been governed by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs and being independent of, or loosely connected to, the compulsory school system, to becoming integrated into the public school system (Hjalmarsson and Odenbring, 2020). This change took place around the same time that the phrase *life-long learning* became part of the school policy language (Gustafson Nyckel, 2020). School-age educare was included in the Swedish School law in 2010 and received its own section in the national curriculum in 2016.

This shift from a foundation based on social pedagogy, emphasizing care and citizenship, to teaching and learning meant that the education and qualification of those working within the extended education system changed. While providing care and raising democratic citizens are together with the education part of the SAEC mandate, the inclusion of SAEC in the curriculum denotes a focus on the supplementary educational role of this institution. Sweden now has a three-year university education for teachers in the school-age educare system as well as a licensing procedure that is the same for all teachers. Thus, the professional title for those working in this part of the Swedish educational system has now moved from *pedagogue* to *teacher*.

## Professional Learning and Practical Professional Knowledge

Viewed in a holistic sense, teacher PL means that teachers' whole selves are taken into account "as both their personal and professional lives bring significance to the meaning of the teaching act and the learning which results" (Day, 1999, p. 206). It further means that the very nature of teacher professionalism is deeply personal and grounded in the teacher's identity which stems from their personal professional knowledge (Mockler, 2020). One of the reasons why some professional development is not effective is this failure to consider teachers' experience, which in turn plays a major role in their motivation to engage in PL (Guskey, 2010). There is a myriad of important aspects to consider when defining PL that are relevant to the teachers, such as the context, the duration, the content of collaboration available, as well as the opportunity for reflection.

PL that stretches over an extended time is not only preferred by the teachers themselves; it leads to sustainability in changed teacher learning and practice (Avalos, 2011; King, 2014; Timperley et al., 2007). When teachers are given sufficient time to collaborate, dialogue and reflect, they grow both their personal and practical knowledge. Teacher collaboration itself is vital in the knowledge construction of teachers' professional wisdom. Working collectively and having the opportunity to belong to a network of learners promote the learning of the individual teacher and extend support for all teachers involved (Webster-Wright, 2009; Zehetmeier et al., 2015). The collaboration may look different for different venues, but the key component to learning is the interaction, action, and reflection inherent within these PL

opportunities. These practices provide “the experience of acting in complex practical situations” (Zehetmeier et al., 2015. p. 163).

Reflection is an essential quality of learning. Reflective practice can take place both by individuals examining their own practice or as part of a structured learning element of a collaborative learning opportunity (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988). Reflective practice links the act of reflection with continuous learning (Schön, 1987). Learning with others emphasizes the social aspect of knowledge construction and creates the possibility for practical application of what is learned and reflected upon (Korthagen and Vasalos, 2005). As well, teachers need to acquire and develop content subject matter knowledge, procedural knowledge, strategic and pedagogical knowledge. These all require different approaches to PL (Kennedy, 2016). One of the most important facets of authentic PL is the teachers’ potential to choose what is relevant to their personal professional knowledge.

When teachers are mandated to attend PL (either through their schools or school boards) or when they experience it challenging to find the professional learning they need, it limits their ability to develop their personal professional knowledge and may lead to a disconnect between what they are seeking and what is available (Day, 1999; Judah, 2006; Kooy & Colarusso, 2014). It is also important to remember that in mandated PL, transferring or developing new knowledge into the teachers’ actual daily practice is viewed as problematic and does not necessarily lead to improved personal practical learning (Webster-Wright, 2009).

## Aim and Research Questions

School-age educare teachers grow and develop their personal professional knowledge in both formal and informal ways. One of their challenges is that the formal PL opportunities available to them remain mostly directed toward the teachers who work in the compulsory section of the Swedish school system. To meet the growing responsibility that SAEC teachers have, it is therefore essential to understand how they can develop their practical and professional skills so they can both meet the multiple needs of the students they serve as well as their assignment of complementing both the preschool class and compulsory school program. The Swedish government recognizes that the most important resource in school and preschool class is the people working there. In their statement on November 3, 2021 (Regeringen, 2021) they announced that they had appointed a special investigator to review whether the right for students to participate in SAEC should be extended. This means that the need for well-educated professionals in SAEC is more crucial than ever. To understand the impact that this will have on the people working in SAEC it is essential, to begin with an analysis of the current situation in our schools; what kind of professional learning do they feel is needed to strengthen their personal professional knowledge? As there does not exist a professional learning accreditation system in Sweden, the most relevant way to examine this question is by asking the professionals themselves. We know the importance of considering their experience and motivation for PL to be relevant and effective (Gurskey, 2010). Through narrative interviews with school-age educare teachers, this study aims to map an understanding of how the school-age educare teachers view the role of PL as an aspect of developing and improving their personal professional knowledge.

The emphasis of the study is on the personal perceptions of the teachers and how they talk about PL as a support for their professional practice. For this purpose, the main research question in this study is:

How do SAEC teachers describe the role of PL as part of creating and developing their personal professional knowledge?

## Research Methodology

### Theoretical framework

Located within a social constructivist paradigm, this study is informed by the understanding that knowledge is at its deepest communal (Palmer, 2007) and that it is in the interaction with others that knowledge construction takes place. As such, teacher PL can be viewed as part of the journey of constructing and reflecting on the theoretical stances a teacher finds including the understanding that teachers gain in their profession. This research is based on the understanding that there is a “close relationship between narrative, experience and views teaching and learning as a continuous reconstruction of experience” (McIntyre Latta and Kim (2009, p.139). Just as Connelly and Clandinin (1988) construct the teachers’ personal curriculum as a metaphor for curriculum and teaching, this study posits that teachers’ personal experiential history can be viewed as a way of understanding their PL, both past, current, and future needs. As their constructed knowledge can be seen as revealed in their past experiences, the concept of viewing teachers’ PL through their lived experiences has been used as a vehicle to explore patterns related to their experiences. To view the connection between their narratives and their experiences this study draws upon the concept of Huberman’s construct of teacher’s professional life phases (1998). In the first years of teaching, the teachers seek out help to develop and strengthen their professional identity and efficacy in the classroom. While in the mid-years of their profession, their needs shift to managing changes in their role and identity and focus on the tensions and transitions that are part of seeking to manage the challenges to both their work-life tension and motivation. The last few phases reflect a continued focus on motivation while at the same time, containing a strong sense of commitment, agency, and self-efficacy (Huberman, 1998). Huberman, and later Day (2012), used the ideas of professional life phases as a way of envisioning teachers’ professional development and approaching the dynamic nature of their learning. In this study, to sidestep any type of oversimplification, or over-characterization, of the teachers’ PL, as they describe it, their narratives will be placed in the holistic context of their telling. The understanding of the narratives is built on the belief that “experience is the primary agency of education” (Eisner in Connelly and Clandinin, 1998, p. ix).

### Method

The study uses one-on-one narrative interviews, which are similar to semi-structured interviews, and uses open questions. The interviews took place over the time of a little more than a year from 2018–2019 and were mostly conducted in one-on-one settings. One session of a

group interview at a school-age educare was done. The strength of using narrative interviews as a method is that it will allow a privileged insight into the daily lives of the teachers, and thus provide a window into the needs for PL in their profession. Through the use of narrative analysis (Earthy and Cronin, 2008) the narrative from the interview is examined to provide an interpretation of how the teachers talk about their understandings of their PL and development as relevant to their role as SAEC teachers.

The interpretation of the term narrative analysis spans a variety of both collection and analysis. It is important to highlight that the emphasis of this study is on the personal perceptions of teachers in SAEC and how they construct their narratives when discussing the role that PL has in crafting their personal practical knowledge (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988). The concept of narrative in this study refers to the talk that teachers do in the interviews which represents the story they tell of their experience. Thus, it is used to capture the everyday form of information that is familiar to the teachers (Creswell, 2013). To gain a better understanding of, not only the field of professional development in SAEC but, the needs of those who work there, the main research question explores how the teachers describe the role of PL in creating and maintaining their personal professional knowledge.

## Participants

Originally fourteen participants with various qualifications and experience in SAEC were invited to this study. Eight of the participants had worked five years or less and six of them had been active in the field for longer than fifteen years. The data from one participant in the group interview was removed from the study as there was not enough information collected in the interview to allow for analysis, leaving the study with thirteen participants in the final analysis.

The data was then grouped into two; those who had worked for less than five years and those who had worked for more than fifteen years. It thus became evident that there might be an alignment with the education programs they had taken. From 1993 a three-year program was in place but before that, a two-and-half-year program led to the certificate of Fritidspedagog (Leisure-time home pedagogue). From 2011 onwards the School-age educare teacher program is on an undergraduate level. Within each degree, there exist several variants of the composition of the programs, however, for the purpose of this study, only the title and year of completion are recorded (Appendix 1). No one in the stage 5–15 years volunteered for the research and this further led to the groups corresponding more directly to the two types of professional exams within the field. The omission of this group will limit the conclusions that can be drawn for SAEC teachers as a whole but will still allow for analysis of the early and late-career teacher's input. As the selection was based on the teachers' voluntary choice to participate, one might describe them as self-aware and highly motivated teachers who are willing to share their experiences with a researcher.

## Data collection

The invitation was extended to teachers belonging to a professional network for SAEC teachers and was also placed in a SAEC teacher Facebook group. Through a snowball effect,

other school-age educare teachers invited some participants through recommendations. One of the participants created the focus group by inviting all the SAEC staff in their school to join the study. Most of the interviews took place face-to-face, but a few, due to the Covid-19 restrictions, were conducted via Skype or Zoom. The participants were given guiding questions ahead of time in order to reflect on them or suggest other areas for discussion. The recording was done either by a recording app on the interviewer's phone or through the recording mechanism of Skype or Zoom. Notes were taken during and after the interviews to complement the recordings. The recordings were stored securely and were only accessible through a password.

### Data analysis

Analysis of narrative interviews is closely entwined within the process of data collection itself as it includes more than mere descriptions. The interviews were transcribed verbatim in Swedish and then constructed into narratives by the researcher creating a storyline with a chronological structure. During this process, care was taken to reflect on the role the interviewer played in the re-creation of the narratives and recognize the influence of the assumptions by the researcher (Mishler, 1991). The story that the teachers constructed in the interview is seen as a selective reconstruction of their experience and this reconstruction is the basis from which the analysis takes place. It is therefore important to remain aware of the narrative as representative of their experience and thus regard this creation in itself as valid. By approaching the interview text in this matter, it helps identify significant aspects of the individual narrative (Earthy and Cronin, in Gilbert, 2008). The narratives were analyzed through iterative coding where the identification of important phases and patterns led to the creation of themes, which were then applied to the narratives again to create codes used for the analysis of the narratives. The findings were then compared and contrasted. All quotes from the participants have been translated into English by the researcher.

### Ethical considerations

The study followed the ethical guidelines as outlined by the Swedish Research Council (2017). All identifying information about the participants has been anonymized. Through translation of the quotes, these are not searchable in the original language. All participants were informed of the ethical guidelines, such as the anonymization of their identities, that were adhered to in the study and signed a consent form to that effect before the interviews took place.

## Results

### Personal professional knowledge construction: Choosing the path

During the interview process, the teachers with fewer years of experience were more apt to answer the guiding questions directly, while the experienced teachers used the questions more

like a stepping stone to telling their stories. This meant that the researcher's interaction with them reflected different types of responses in the building of the narrative and this may have encouraged different types of vocabulary in their stories. However, it was clear that when talking about their profession, the language the teachers chose to use in their narratives gave an understanding of the role it plays in the social construction of their professional identity (Earthy and Cronin, 2008) but more importantly it revealed what is important to them in their professional development. The language that the teachers used in describing their journey towards their profession revealed a distinct difference between how the more experienced and the newer teachers talk about their profession. While they all had different and individual stories of how they found themselves teaching in SAEC, some clear patterns emerged.

None of the teachers who had worked less than five years indicated that SAEC had been their first choice after high school. Several of them had experience in other jobs such as the army, media industry, sales, or the service industry.

I studied media in high school. Then I did my conscription service and ended up in the army for a bit. Then I worked in the industry for a few years... *(then)* I met people through martial arts where many of them were teachers. I met someone who was studying to become a SAEC teacher, and he really enjoyed it. (Mark)

Several of the participants used the phrase “by accident” or “by chance” when they described their path to becoming SAEC teachers. Their decision was often influenced by either talking to others who worked at SAEC or by finding a way to combine their love of creativity or physical education with an opportunity to teach. Some tried the job on by doing supply work before committing to the undergraduate program and expressed a sentiment that trying out the profession this way gave them a better understanding of what the job entailed.

Several of them had other teaching programs in mind, like a preschool teacher or physical education teacher. Mostly because of the marks requirements for entry into those programs they chose the SAEC program instead as the entry requirements were often lower.

For me, it was by accident. I was going to study to become a high school teacher, in Physical Education. But there was a problem with transferring marks from high school... When I started studying *(to become a SAEC teacher)* I fell for it during my first practicum. I thought it was so much fun. (Samuel)

Well, I was going to be a preschool teacher, or so I thought, but they required English B and I didn't have that, so I supplied (in pre-school). Someone told me that SACE didn't require English B, so that turned out well. They also had Physical Education *(as part of the program)*, which I like. (Lotta)

Their language reflected a search for something, however, common among this group was how they quickly felt that this was what they wanted to do early on in the program and the feeling of being in the right place. They described how during their teacher education they had studied alongside students in both the compulsory program and the pre-school program, something they felt had both advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage pointed out was the opportunity for collaboration, as they all dealt with the same students during the school day. The most prevalent disadvantage mentioned was the fact the uniqueness of SAEC was often obscured and specific realities from SAEC were not brought up or brushed over quickly in programs that included both preschool and compulsory school students.

Their stories revealed how, after graduating, they all quickly found employment in SAEC. It is interesting to note that only a few of them currently teach the subject (in the compulsory school program) for which they are qualified, and some even teach a different aesthetic subject rather than the one they studied at university. The reason they gave for choosing not to teach their subject was mostly a lack of planning time, where they felt they

were asked to do two jobs but were only given planning time for one. This was quite dependent on where they were employed, and their stories revealed that the principal had a large role to play in the planning of both assignment and preparation time.

Listening to the experienced teachers, it was clear that they used a different language in describing why they chose to become SAEC teachers, where their vocabulary focused on the joy of working with students. Unlike their younger colleagues, the SAEC teachers who had been active in the field for a long time talked about having been focused on working with youths and students even right after high school.

I have always liked working with children. When I finished high school... I started supply teaching at a preschool right away. (Margret)

I studied the youth and children program in high school, that was the name then, for two years. First, I thought it was younger children I wanted to work with ...then it was working with the older children that I found most satisfying. (Joannie)

One participant talked at length about the impact of the relationship he formed with his own daycare provider, and how he has kept regular contact with the woman who cared for him as young until her recent passing at 90. He described her as his role model and one of the reasons he wanted to work with students. In all their narratives, they communicated their deep interest in working with students and how this became their main motivation for seeking out a career in SAEC.

While the more experienced teachers placed the students at the center of their career choice, this does not mean that the younger teachers did not have a child-focused approach to their work. You can certainly hear their joy of teaching the students when they talk about their work. Instead, it most likely reflects the reality of the job market and the societal values at the time they finished high school.

### Personal professional knowledge construction: Continuing the journey

As can be expected, those who had worked longer had a more varied experience of PL opportunities and have also had a chance to reflect on what kind of PL has sustained their professional identity and agency over the years. They have been able to delve deeper into their profession while seeking to sustain their motivation and commitment to their work (Huberman, 1998). This was found in their stories as well.

In comparison, the teachers still in their first five years of teaching were focused on developing and strengthening their competency as well as a sense of professional identity and efficacy (Huberman, 1989). They talked about searching for a balance in their work which is reflected in their description of trying to define their role in comparison with the teachers in the compulsory school and the teachers in the preschool program. They spoke about not being seen as “real teachers” and instead of being seen more as additional support or resource personnel, more like educational assistants than teachers.

We do not want to be just “additional support”. That is our big challenge. You have to be able to advocate for yourself quite a lot and motivate why I am more than educational support (*for the classroom*). (Marvin)

To improve their ability to advocate for their role, they have participated in different types of PL opportunities seeking to strengthen both their professional skills and agency. The participants with less experience talk about their search for PL through networks and social media

as well as through reading books and articles. What they looked for most was to develop skills that relate to their daily practice. The participants spoke of wanting a balance between theory and practice and valued hands-on learning with real-life practical applications. One teacher portrayed lectures with practical hands-on activities as the most meaningful as they helped her see the connection with the curriculum document. As they are still new to the role, the participants spoke passionately about the university courses in their teacher program that they had found helpful and relevant to them now that they are in the field.

They rejected a monolithic view of learning and did not like workshops where there is an assumption that all students are the same and need the same things or that all teachers needed the same PL. Instead, they emphasized the need to individualize PL, as everyone came with different experiences. Some commented on positive experiences where they were given time to choose how they wanted to develop their own PL and emphasized the need for sufficient time to do so as well.

I can feel that if when you are asked to take responsibility for your PL, you are not given the time to do so. We had “trust-time” (*time that you could choose to use as you saw fit*) ...two hours per week. (Fanny)

They spoke also about the need for individualization as it gave them the decision-making power to decide what kind of PL they needed based on the needs of the students they were working with.

All participants, regardless of experience, described participating in employer-mandated PL and they defined it as uneven. A considerable part of the mandated PL focused mainly on the compulsory school teachers’ role. As this type of PL is mainly situated in the classroom setting, the participants commented on the fact that the needs of the teachers in the compulsory school are not always the same as those working in SAEC.

For the teachers who had been working for more than fifteen years, one thing that was evident in their stories was their passion for learning: their own learning, others’ learning, as well as the learning of the students. Their commitment to learning and developing their skills as SAEC teachers was supported by the large variety of professional development they have been engaged in over the years as well as in the vocabulary they used to describe their learning:

... it was completely magical ...it was a great program and the courses... the outdoor education was FANTASTIC! (Margret)

Like their younger colleagues, the experienced participants participated in employer-mandated PL. They have all taken university courses that qualified them to teach various subjects, from academic subjects such as reading and mathematics to practical subjects such as woodworking and technology. Several of them spoke of wanting to deepen their understanding of outdoor education and adventure learning. A few of them have even completed a master’s degree, committing to studying their field at a higher level with a focus on expanding their knowledge of theory, as well as practice, in the field. Both groups had attended and led workshops, and been part of conferences, study circles and book groups- all to develop their knowledge and skills in the school-age educare pedagogy.

Like other professionals when they become experienced in their field, teachers are often asked to take on a leadership role and this was true for the participants in this research as well. They chose to become involved in advocating for the profession both through the union and other avenues. They spoke of becoming role models for their younger colleagues and acting as

supervisors for student-teachers studying to become SAEC teachers, and most had earned a supervision certificate from the universities. One had taken principal qualification courses but had decided not to go into administration.

When I started, the principals, I think, had a different role than they have today. A lot has changed... it made me hesitate... I went to an interview, but I felt that (*as a principal*) you get too far away from the pedagogical aspect, and I was not quite ready to take that step. (Ingrid)

This sentiment of wanting to be immersed in pedagogical learning at SAEC was also expressed by another participant who was qualified as a compulsory school teacher. Having qualifications in compulsory school, she was offered a job as a classroom teacher. She accepted this job but quickly discovered that her heart was in school-age educare and returned to SAEC after a few years teaching in the classroom environment.

A clear consequence of their commitment to developing their professional competency is that a majority of the experienced participants now work with providing PL for other SAEC teachers. Recognized for their experience, these teachers are leading PL for their colleagues as this is part of their assigned duties, either in the school or in the school district. Others have embarked on creating the PL they found missing in their own professional development.

I applied for a grant to develop PL for school-age educare teachers. In collaboration with my school board and a university, I started up network groups for the school district ...and those networks held up later as well. So, we still build all our PL on those networks and the collegial conversations between teachers (*that take place there*). (Linda)

The experienced SAEC teachers also belonged to different types of networks and appreciated the collegial aspect of sharing experiences. PL in network settings was highlighted as an authentic arena for discussion and debate and ran like a thread through all participants' conversations. The experienced teachers described networks that varied in both size and permanence. Some of them were organized by their employers, while others were created for a specific purpose, such as the implementation of the new curriculum. Both the early career and experienced teachers mentioned the university-organized network for teachers in SAEC, to which they belonged. Their descriptions reflected an appreciation of being part of a community of practice where they were allowed to share and reflect together with other SAEC colleagues (Author, 2020).

### Personal professional knowledge construction: Finding PL opportunities

All the participants spoke of the lack of relevant PL opportunities; however, they did highlight some they found helpful in building the knowledge they were seeking. A major provider in the PL scenario in Sweden today, *Sveriges Lärare*, offers a variety of opportunities for teachers to build their professional knowledge. *Sveriges Lärare* is the largest union for teachers working in SAEC and provides resources and opportunities for this educational group. Their website provides information on current issues and upcoming PL events, courses, lectures, and resources specially tailored for those working in SAEC (*Sveriges Lärare*, 2023).

The Swedish National Agency for Education (Skolverket) is also a provider of PL for SAEC teachers, mostly through web-based courses and as a searchable database for conferences and courses. The courses are presented in modules and are mostly designed to be taken together with a group of co-workers. One of the challenges brought up by the teachers in the

study was the inconsistency with which these courses have been implemented by the principals.

The participants instead identified the various networks they belonged to as a relevant way to learn. Learning together with others in the same role was one of the reasons for preferring learning in a network setting and most of them had participated in local networks.

A different way of connecting with others, especially the younger teachers spoke of, was through the use of social media sites. While some discussed using literature for keeping up on the latest research or learning new skills, most of them highlighted social media sites as both sources for inspiration and facts. Blogs by other educators, YouTube videos and a variety of Facebook groups for SAEC teachers were mentioned. The Facebook groups acted both as information sources and as networks with others in dialoguing around current issues. Besides looking for relevant PL opportunities, all acknowledged that they often had to spend both their own time and/or money on PL that they deemed as relevant to their personal professional knowledge.

### Personal professional knowledge construction: Looking toward the future

For all the teachers in this study, much of what they looked for in developing their personal professional knowledge was directly connected to the questions around their daily work with students. What they were seeking, and what some of them created, were opportunities for authentic learning that guided their knowledge around those questions. The importance of networking with other SAEC teachers was often brought up and was seen as valuable. One suggestion was to be able to attend networks as school teams and not merely as individual teachers, as this would allow for communal knowledge construction through reflections and sharing as a group, both at the network meetings and later at the workplace.

A prevalent element found in the narratives was a critical stance towards both employer and government-created PL. Talking about the possibilities that exist in these PL opportunities, the SAEC teachers also highlighted a major problem; those in charge of PL implementation do not appear to have a good understanding of either the program or the teachers' role. The narratives of the SAEC teachers conveyed the deliberate choices they made in pursuing learning that they felt they needed, not what was mandated. They chose PL that was close to their practice, what they said they needed to do their job better, based on professional questions and their problems of practice.

In their search for relevant PL, the experienced teachers looked for recognition of both their experience and qualifications. Not surprisingly all of them have chosen leadership in some form. They highlighted the barriers they had encountered in constructing their professional knowledge: one being unable to complete a master's degree- which further stopped them from being able to teach at the university level. As some of their degrees as pedagogues did not include an undergraduate thesis paper, they could not apply to the master's programs at Swedish universities, and it would require supplementary courses to do so. Only one had persisted in finishing this route. The other PL that they have taken over the years was not recognized in the application process. The equivalence process was both arduous and time-consuming, which has led to most of them finding other avenues to grow their professional practice.

The experienced teachers whom the employer had assigned the duty of PL developers talk about the vagueness of this role. Those who have had the freedom to develop their assignments themselves were secure in that role, while those who have been assigned this role express an uncertainty of what exactly is expected of them:

I fumble a bit here, and I have not received any answers...what is expected of me as the developer of PL? Sometimes I feel a bit frustrated. (Margret)

Like their colleagues who have worked for less than five years, the experienced teachers emphasized the importance of working in a team with other qualified SAEC teachers. In many schools, they were the only licensed SAEC teacher leading the team of other staff. Working as the only qualified teacher at their school or division was described both as “boring” and challenging, as it did not develop their professional knowledge in the way they had hoped for. They highlighted the importance of being supported by each other and not always having to drive the changes by themselves.

It is difficult to drive these (*initiatives*) by yourself. It is something that requires much energy and time. It is very difficult to do this on your own. You need many teachers to be able to drive this at a high quality. (Mira)

When they could not find what they were seeking, they either looked for other arenas, such as involvement with the teacher’s union, or actively created opportunities for what they viewed as a need- not only for themselves but for others. This type of advocacy was not always uncomplicated and their frustration with what they see as a lack of vision for SAEC teachers’ PL was clearly reflected in their stories. Much of their frustration was directed toward the leaders of the schools.

I think it is tragic, that when it comes to learning there is no regulated organized time for PL; it is completely up to the employer to choose to develop those employed in SAEC or not. (Linda)

## Conclusions

The narratives of the teachers in this study revealed how their background and experience are important elements of how they perceive what type of PL is relevant and authentic to them. In answering the research question of how these SAEC teachers described the role that professional learning had in creating and developing their personal professional knowledge, this study revealed not only the challenge of the offers available in the professional learning field itself but mostly how diverse the needs of the SAEC teachers are. The results of the study found a distinct alignment with the professional life phases (Huberman 1988).

The study found that SAEC teachers early in their careers, like the teachers in Huberman’s research (1989), were seeking professional learning that guided them in sustaining a strong sense of work identity, self-efficacy, and effectiveness in their work. Their quest was for both procedural and content knowledge, strategies, and hands-on learning (Kennedy 2019). They asked for a strong focus on the practical aspects in both formal and informal learning opportunities. Learning from others, sharing practices and experimenting were highly valued elements in the learning they were seeking (Kyndt, Gijbels, Grosemans, and Donche, 2016).

Similarly, the experienced teachers voiced a need for both sustaining their motivation and commitment while also seeking career advancement opportunities (Huberman 1993). Their

narratives revealed how the learning they were seeking needed to reflect their own teaching reality and the context in which they are operating. (Author, 2019). While the need for personalization and choice was important for them, they often did not find what they were looking for and instead ended up creating PL opportunities that they then shared with others. In this way, it appeared that they could grow their agency while at the same time finding what they needed to build their professional practical knowledge (Calvert, 2016). The younger teachers expressed similar frustrations with finding relevant learning. They turned to the communities found on social media or in networks. Voices from both groups emphasized the collaborative approach to learning, of belonging to a community of learners and expressed that they value the communal aspect of learning in networks and the interactional component of knowledge construction involved (Webster-Wright, 2009; Zehetmeier et al., 2015).

The changing policy and requirements SAEC teachers have experienced in the last decade are perhaps part of why they might find that their personal professional knowledge construction needs differ from their compulsory school colleagues. While choice is an important element in relevant PL, in this study it emerged as a two-edged sword where it both benefits and disadvantages the teachers in their search for authentic PL. While they value being able to make choices in their PL they are equally frustrated by both the lack of direction and availability in this rather “messy” landscape of what is available for them to build their professional practical knowledge in the field.

While not outright rejecting the mandated PL from their employers, they found this kind of PL problematic. The content in these sessions was mostly tailored to classroom settings. As the participants work in both SAEC and the compulsory school program, the information was sometimes relevant to them. However, it lacked an interpretation of how some of this information translates to the non-classroom setting of SAEC. The participants asked for PL that specifically addressed how to build their practical personal knowledge for SAEC. The curriculum states that SAEC is to complement the learning in both the compulsory school and preschool class programs, thus the teachers need this knowledge (Skolverket, 2011 p.22). This study found a clear deficit in the PL that addressed the mandate of SAEC when it comes to the students learning. This leads to a disconnect between their mandate as teachers and their need for PL that develop their personal professional knowledge (Day, 1999; Judah, 2006; Kooy & Colarusso, 2014.) Moreover, the mandated PLs were often “one-shot workshops” with a one-size-fits-all approach (Mockler, 2020) that did not give them time to reflect, either on their own or with colleagues (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988), which was unlikely to lead to a change in their personal practical knowledge or daily practice (Avalos, 2011; King, 2014; Timperley et al., 2007). The voices of the teachers in this study echo the findings from Little (2012) that “more typically, teachers experience professional development (PD) as episodic, superficial, and disconnected from their own teaching interests or recurring problems of practice. (Little 2012, p. 22 in Mockler, 2020).

### Future studies

While the authenticity of using a narrative study has the advantage of giving an in-depth view into the perceptions of the SAEC teachers in this study, the study represents a smaller sample of the field itself. Therefore, a larger study would be able to provide a more expansive picture of the professional learning field for SAEC teachers in Sweden. This would hold the possi-

bility to lay the groundwork for determining the development of professional learning for SAEC teachers that are both personally relevant and essential in developing professionalism in the field itself.

## Discussion

The teachers' voices tell us that there is great potential to build this workforce and an amazing possibility to have the SAEC program staffed with teachers who truly can complement and compensate the education that the students receive through the preschool class and compulsory school program (Skolverket, 2022). What is missing is a systematic approach to both providing and recognizing as well as organizing the qualification in PL for SAEC teachers. This is particularly true for experienced teachers who are seeking or creating their own opportunities even as they feel uncertain when formally assigned to leadership positions. It also makes it challenging for the newer teachers as there is no clear path to constructing their practical professional knowledge; no guide of what is recognized or valued within the profession. One of the suggestions in the 2015 report *Improving Schools in Sweden: An OECD Perspective* (OECD 2015) was to create a National Institute for Teacher and School Leader Quality, as a step to "develop standards, models and frameworks for initial education and continuing professional development" (p. 112).

A framework for continuing PL for SAEC teachers would go a long way to provide a roadmap. A comparison can be drawn to the Ontario school system where accreditation of both initial and continuing teacher learning is evaluated through The Qualification Evaluation Council of Ontario: QECO (Author, 2019). This organization accredits and evaluates PL for teachers in the province through a formal process. Accredited courses known as Additional Qualification courses (AQ) are delivered through Ontario universities, colleges, school boards, teachers' unions and other organizations such as Indigenous Education Coalition (IEC) and are all approved by the Ontario College of Teachers. The AQ system is directly linked to the salary structure of teachers' contracts, and successful completion of these courses can move individuals up the salary grid (Author, 2019). While the Swedish educational system differs in several aspects, one of them being that teachers negotiate their salaries individually, there is strength in having a system for organizing and recognizing professional learning in a formal matter. In a memorandum, the Ministry of Education in Sweden announced that it is sending a professional program consisting of a national structure for professional learning out for consultation. This proposed program would consist of two parts, a national structure of professional development and a national merit system (Regeringen U2021/03373). While it is a recognition of the need for a common understanding of the importance of professional learning, there is no mention of whether it would include SAEC teachers. The consultation process would have to consider the multifaceted aspects of professional learning and will undoubtedly present challenges, one being the inclusion of SAEC teachers to strengthen the learning for the students in the Swedish school system. Other professional learning, both formal and informal, would remain an essential part of teacher learning, however, a framework that recognizes the PL that SAEC teachers lead and participate in would enhance, strengthen, and improve their status and recognize their importance in

the Swedish educational system. To enable the SAEC teachers to construct their personal professional knowledge both structure and recognition are needed, as clearly articulated by this participant:

I think it should be every teacher's right to continuous professional learning. It should not be something that you have to create yourself, but it should be part of the system...it must be part of the structure of the system. (Linda)

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### Appendix 1. Participants

Teacher (pseudonym)	Years of experience	Job title
Karl	1	School-age educare teacher
Fanny	2	School-age educare teacher
Marty	3	School-age educare teacher
Samuel	4	School-age educare teacher
Lotta	4	School-age educare teacher
Marvin	4	School-age educare teacher
Mark	5	School-age educare teacher
Mira	17	Fritidspedagog
Margret	22	Fritidspedagog and compulsory primary teacher (Preschool class – grade 3)
Linda	22	Fritidspedagog
Otto	23	Fritidspedagog
Ingrid	31	Fritidspedagog
Joanie	32	Fritidspedagog

# Patterns of Participation in Organized Leisure Activities of Young People in Low and Middle Secondary Educational Tracks in Germany

Karen Hemming\*, Stefan Hofherr\*\*, Sabine Hartig\*\*\*2

**Abstract:** Organized leisure activities are an important component of learning with a great potential for positive youth development. The available research has grown in the past decade but is still lacking differentiated analysis of specific activity determinants and longitudinal designs. Based on retrospectively collected quantitative data ( $n=1,547$ ) at the end of low/middle secondary schools in Germany (9th/10th grades), this study explores patterns of organized activity participation over the school years using LCA (Latent Class Analysis). Four latent classes could be identified on the basis of eight manifest activity determinants: *None-Actives*, *Minor-Actives*, *Multiple-Actives*, and *Committed-Actives*. Sociodemographic indicators as well as social, cultural, and economic capital predict the assignment to these classes.

**Keywords:** organized leisure activities, non-formal education, patterns of activity participation, LCA, disadvantaged young people

## Introduction

Adolescence is a turbulent phase of life in which a variety of changes and demands need to be coped with. In addition to formal education in school, participation in non-formal education in leisure time can play a significant role in helping youth cope with these challenges and, hence, for positive youth development (Farb & Matjasko, 2012). Important settings for non-formal education are organized leisure activities in which youth participate regularly over an extended period of time and which are led by an activity leader. Examples of such activities are playing sports in a club or learning to play a musical instrument (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Young people use organized leisure activities to pursue their interests and to experience and develop self-determination and responsibility. Organized leisure activities can be seen as an important component of learning, which ties in with young people's interests (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Metsäpelto & Pulkkinen, 2014). The potential of non-formal activities goes even beyond the teaching of formal skills. For example, extracurricular educational processes are important for the acquisition of vocational goal orientation and determining future pros-

\* **Corresponding author:** City of Leipzig, karen.hemming@gmx.de

\*\* German Youth Institute

\*\*\* German Youth Institute

pects of young people (Denault, Ratelle, Duchesne, & Guay, 2018; Hemming & Reißig, 2015).

Based on the resource model of coping with life (Fend, Berger & Grob, 2009) as a heuristic frame, organized leisure activities are understood as a developmental context for positive youth development. Accordingly, organized leisure activities are on the one hand affected by social background indicators (e.g. forms of capital; Bourdieu, 1983) and on the other hand can have positive effects on personal and social resources as well as coping with developmental tasks (Hemming & Tillmann, 2023).

The state of research shows that primarily achievement-oriented, socioeconomically better-off young people participate in organized leisure activities, a trend that can be associated with social selectivity (Lareau, 2002; Perrson, Kerr, & Stattin, 2007). At the same time, extracurricular educational processes can help to reduce the link between social background and academic achievement (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Currently, numerous studies exist that address the relationship between social background and the use of organized leisure activities (e.g., Goshin, Dubrov, Kosaretsky, & Grigoryev, 2021; Meier, Hartmann, & Larson, 2018; O'Donnell, Pegg, & Barber, 2019). But the available research is not very differentiated and there is a lack of specific analyses examining activity usage of young people over a longer period of time in order to trace changes and development (Gniewosz, Zimmermann, Langmeyer-Tornier & Alt, 2018).

Also, generally, research on non-formal educational processes in organized leisure activities is still limited. Even though this small but diverse and interdisciplinary field of research has developed substantially over the past decades (e.g., Farb & Matjasko, 2012; Fischer, Steiner & Theis, 2019; Modecki, Blomfield Neira, & Barber, 2018; Suter & Györi, 2021), the focus lies mostly on cross-sectional analysis and leisure contexts from a more general perspective. As is known, it is hardly possible to adequately capture learning processes in non-formal settings from a social science perspective (Moskaliuk & Cress, 2016). According to Dux and Rauschenbach (2016), these can only be surveyed indirectly through their effects on young people. Therefore, it is important to capture specific determinants, which characterize the engagement of young people in organized leisure activities more precisely (Busseri & Rose-Krasnor, 2009). Besides the type of activities (e.g., sports or music), specific activity determinants like breadth, variety, and intensity are noticed in current studies however they have mostly been considered individually so far (e.g., breadth and intensity: Busseri & Rose-Krasnor, 2009; Denault & Poulin, 2009) and there are only few studies that comprehensively consider different determinants (e.g., Urban, Lewin-Bizan, & Lerner, 2010; Fischer et al., 2019; Sauerwein, Theis & Fischer, 2016). Yet, there are also studies that work with classification analyses (see chapter “Analysis”) to identify and illustrate patterns in leisure time activities of young people. In these “classification” studies, however, only a few determinants of organized activities are included specifically. To our knowledge, there is no overview of existing studies that use classification analyses to identify activity patterns.

Accordingly, this paper follows three objectives: (1) to give an overview of studies that deal with “classification analyses” in the context of patterns of leisure time activities of young people, (2) to explore patterns of organized activity participation based on retrospective empirical data and specific determinants during school years, and (3) to describe those patterns in the context of social background characteristics to identify selective processes.

## Determinants of Activity Participation

The variety of organized leisure activities is large; there are numerous forms and contents of offerings at different locations. In addition to the offered content, continuity and intensity of these activities vary as well as other characteristics – we understand them as “determinants”. Whether and how organized leisure activities can have a positive developmental effect depends on them. However, existing studies usually consider only selected determinants (e.g., Agans et al., 2014; Denault & Poulin, 2016; Modecki et al., 2018). Furthermore, activity patterns (resulting from differences in activity determinants) can be described as characteristics that develop over time (Denault & Poulin, 2009). Thus, in order to identify activity patterns of young people, it is important to analyze different participation determinants over a longer period of time. Based on conceptual considerations on relevant characteristics determining positive effects of organized activity participation (Bohnert, Fredricks & Randall, 2010; Stecher & Maschke, 2013; Hemming & Tillmann, 2023) the following determinants were taken into account for this paper:

Mahoney et al. (2002) argue that the effects of organized activities are particularly influenced by the relationship with the activity leader. Organized activities open up the possibility of building relationships with adult caregivers outside of school and the home (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003), which can be particularly important for disadvantaged youth. Accordingly, the activity leaders take on an important role: through them, young people experience complementary support and care. The relationship can be understood as a kind of mentoring (Mahoney et al., 2002; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000).

In addition, young people’s experiences vary depending on the breadth of the activities, their intensity, and their duration (Fischer et al., 2019). More intensive and longer activity participation provides more opportunities for gaining knowledge and skills as well as for transactions with activity leaders and peers (Denault & Poulin, 2009). The breadth of different activities allows for more diverse experiences and relationships that can promote positive youth development (Agans et al., 2014; Denault & Poulin, 2009). On the other hand, too many activities can also lead to rather negative effects (“overscheduling”; Fredricks, 2012). Accordingly, there is a need for studies surveying duration, breadth, and intensity (Agans et al., 2014).

Positive, joyful engagement in the activities is another prerequisite for their developmental potential, accompanied by perceived self-determination of activity performance (Denault & Poulin, 2016; Mahoney & Cairns, 1997). When responsibility is assumed in the activity in the form of a specific role or function (e.g., children’s coach, volunteering), this can have particularly positive developmental effects (Braun, 2014).

Finally, the quality of offers proves to be central for positive effects in terms of school performance and motivation, although quality is difficult to measure (Denault & Poulin, 2016; Fischer & Theis, 2014).

In the context of activity determinants, social disadvantages related to different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1983) become evident – especially cultural capital, in form of educational, incorporated cultural practices or possessions (e.g., books, paintings) play a major role (Goshin et al., 2021; Hemming & Tillmann, 2023). Young people in low and middle educational tracks and from educationally deprived family backgrounds are less likely to participate in organized leisure activities than their better-off peers (Meier et al., 2018; O’Donnell

et al., 2019). Also, economic capital plays a role: Urban, Lewin-Bizan, and Lerner (2010) showed that young people with a lower socioeconomic status remain active less continuously, change their activities more frequently, and drop out more often. Last but not least, social capital in form of good family relationships can foster activity participation (Hemming & Tillmann, 2023). Accordingly, access of young people with less capital resources is limited (Meier et al., 2018). Nevertheless, socially disadvantaged young people can particularly benefit from experiences in extracurricular educational contexts because they have a greater need for support (Hille & Schupp, 2015; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000).

International studies on organized leisure activities originate from different national contexts; so transferability of findings must be questioned (Metsäpelto & Pulkkinen, 2014), in this case for Germany. Despite different contexts, the framework conditions of activities are still comparable. These are (mostly) voluntary, regular activities in a specific domain, carried out by an activity leader with a focus on developing a specific skill. This applies to leisure activities that take place mainly in school context (U.S.) and to those that take place primarily outside of school, such as in clubs (Germany). Different articles argue accordingly for a transferability (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Perrson et al., 2007).

## Research of Studies on Leisure Activity Patterns

In pursuit of the first objective, an overview of recent German and international studies on “leisure activity patterns” using different kinds of classification analysis will be presented, although not in the form of a systematic review, as this would exceed the scope of the empirical nature of our paper. The conducted research used keywords like *leisure patterns*, *extracurricular activities*, and *organized leisure activities* to search databases such as *ResearchGate* and *Tandfonline*. One of the first identified studies to classify leisure time behavior of young people was the German study “What do children do in the afternoon?” (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, 1992), which presented a table showing the variety of leisure time behavior and places of residence. Further studies, albeit only a few, followed in the next two decades (2000s, 2010s). A total of 13 studies (published in 15 papers) were found, whereby only English- and German-language publications were considered. *Table 1* provides an overview of studies that have analyzed and classified patterns of leisure behavior and activity participation of children and youth based on empirical data. Regarding the national contexts, we found studies from Germany (5), the U.S. (3), Spain (1), and the Netherlands (1). Three studies (Blomfield & Barber, 2011; Feldman & Matjasko, 2007; Larson, Hansen, & Moneta, 2006) were not included in the table since they formed leisure types based on a conceptual basis and not based on empirical data; however, their types are similar to those mentioned in *Table 1*.

**Table 1.** Overview of Recent Studies on Leisure Activity Patterns

Study Country Relevant References	Design & Methods for identifying activity patterns/classes	Description of patterns/classes	Analyzing strategy
AID:A Growing up in Germany today Germany Reference: Geier, 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=3,475; cross-sectional</li> <li>- Ages 12 – 17</li> <li>- Representative sample</li> <li>- Factor analysis on leisure activities</li> <li>- Cluster analysis</li> </ul>	<p>1) Younger, domestic adolescents with restrained media use: low social class slightly over-represented // 2) Active, family-oriented adolescents with low educational orientation: mainly lower social class // 3) Active, education-oriented all-rounders: Overrepresentation of higher social classes/high educational track // 4) Less active, media-oriented youth // 5) Older, consumer and party-oriented youth</p>	<p>1) Explorative 2) Broad understanding of leisure time 3) Focus on content of activity 4) Given set of activities</p>
Medikus: Media, Culture and Sport Germany Reference: Grigic & Züchner, 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=4,931; cross-sectional; ages 9 – 24</li> <li>- Based on AID:A study</li> <li>- Based on summarized activities (sports, music, performing &amp; visual arts, media)</li> <li>- LCA</li> </ul>	<p>1) Uninvolved: more parents with low or middle cultural capital // 2) Highly active: high cultural capital // 3) Active in organized sports and in informal music and arts activities</p>	<p>1) Explorative 2) Broad understanding of leisure time 3) Focus on type of activity in general 4) Given set of activities</p>
Shell Youth Study Germany References: Deutsche Shell, 2010/2015/2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=2,558; cross-sectional, ages 12 – 25</li> <li>- Representative sample</li> </ul>	<p>1) Sociable youth: partying, sports, family &amp; friends, more older youths // 2) Media freaks: computer games, videos, internet, more masculine // 3)</p>	<p>1) Explorative 2) Broad understanding of leisure time 3) Focus on content of activity 4) Given set of activities</p>

Study	Design & Methods for identifying activity patterns/classes	Description of patterns/classes	Analyzing strategy
Country			
Relevant References			
<p>– Based on 8 dimensions of leisure characteristics (creative, family, sports...)</p> <p>– Factor &amp; cluster analysis</p>	<p>Family-oriented youth: more female // 4) Creative leisure elite: book reading, arts, engaged in projects, more upper class</p>	<p>1) Explorative/hypotheses</p> <p>2) Understanding of leisure</p> <p>3) Determinants of activity</p> <p>4) Basis for classification</p>	
<p>STEG: Study on the development of all-day schools, different publications</p> <p><u>Germany</u></p> <p>References:</p> <p>*Arnoldt, Furthmüller, &amp; Steiner, 2016;</p> <p>**Sauerwein, Theis, &amp; Fischer, 2016</p>	<p>* n=1,901; longitudinal (retrospective)</p> <p>– Survey in last year (9th/10th grades)</p> <p>– Indicators: frequency and thematic/temporal grouping of activities (calendar instrument)</p> <p>– Hierarchical cluster analysis</p> <p>** n=5,278; longitudinal (2005/2007/2009)</p> <p>– Survey in 5th/7th grades</p> <p>– Grouped activities: academic, cultural, sports, media // LCA</p>	<p>*1) No expanded leisure profile // 2) Diverse and culturally influenced leisure profile // 3) Musically and socially oriented leisure profile // 4) Sports-centered leisure profile: more boys</p> <p>**1) Out-of-school: engaged in activities out of school // 2) Highly active // 3) Culturally oriented // 4) Jocks: sports, meeting friends, cultural activities, higher socioeconomic status // 5) Less active</p>	<p>1) Explorative</p> <p>2) Organized activities</p> <p>3) Focus on content and frequency of activity</p> <p>4) Open questions on activities</p>
<p>The potential of leisure time</p> <p><u>Germany</u></p> <p>Reference:</p> <p>Harring, 2011</p>	<p>n=520; longitudinal</p> <p>– Youth from 5th to 13th grades</p> <p>– School-based</p> <p>– Factor analysis of leisure activities</p> <p>– Hierarchical cluster analysis</p>	<p>1) Peer-oriented all-rounders: heterogeneous range of activities in connection with peer relationships // 2) Passive media freaks: consoles/computer games, rarely activities outside, more male // 3) Limited leisure users: family context, few activities, more female, high-percent-</p>	<p>1) Hypothesis-led</p> <p>2) Broad understanding of leisure time</p> <p>3) Focus on content of activity</p> <p>4) Given set of activities</p>

Study	Design & Methods for identifying activity patterns/classes	Description of patterns/classes	Analyzing strategy
<p><u>Country</u>  <u>Relevant References</u></p>			
<p>4-H-Study of positive Youth Development                      USA                      Reference:                      Agans et al., 2014</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=927; longitudinal; ages 12 – 17, waves 3 – 8</li> <li>- Youth from 7th to 12th grades</li> <li>- Activity items recoded into dichotomous index “depth of participation”</li> <li>- LCA</li> </ul>	<p>age migration background // 4) Educated, elite leisure-time creators: highly qualified institutions, more female, more without migration background // 5) Organized: highly organized/structured activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Consistent pattern of participation (a) consistent membership in high-participation class b) consistent membership in class with lower participation) // 2) Inconsistent participation patterns</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Hypothesis-led</li> <li>2) Organized activities</li> <li>3) Focus of trajectories of participation across multiple activities</li> <li>4) Given set of activities</li> </ul>
<p>MADICS: Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study, different publications                      USA                      References:                      *Bartko &amp; Eccles, 2003;                      **Peck, Roeser, Zarrett, &amp; Eccles, 2008</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* n=1,004; cross-sectional; ages 16 – 17</li> <li>- Representative sample</li> <li>- 11 activities valued (sports, reading, homework...)</li> <li>- Cluster analysis</li> <li>** n=1,060; longitudinal; waves 3 – 6</li> <li>- Survey started in 9th grade</li> <li>- Cluster analysis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* 1) Sports: sports, more time with friends // 2) Uninvolved: little time in leisure activities, more parents with low education level // 3) Volunteer // 4) High involved: active in many categories, more parents with high education level // 5) Work: paid employment, less active in other activities</li> <li>** 1) Sports // 2) Sport-school // 3) Sport-volunteer // 4) Sport-work // 5) High-engaged // 6)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Explorative</li> <li>2) Broad understanding of leisure time</li> <li>3) Focus on content and frequency of activity</li> <li>4) Given set of activities</li> </ul>

Study Country Relevant References	Design & Methods for identifying activity patterns/classes	Description of patterns/classes	Analyzing strategy 1) Explorative/hypotheses 2) Understanding of leisure 3) Determinants of activity 4) Basis for classification
MSALT: Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions USA References: Raymore, Barber, & Eccles, 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=954</li> <li>- Survey in last high school year and threeyears later</li> <li>- Longitudinal (used waves 6 and 7)</li> <li>- Based on 12 leisure activities (sports,volunteer work, watching TV...)</li> <li>- Cluster analysis determined type of paths</li> <li>- between the 2 time points and thefrequencies for each path</li> </ul>	<p>School // 7) Volunteer // 8) Work // 9) Low engaged</p> <p>1) Risky leisure pattern: doing things "just for kicks" // 2) Positive active leisure pattern: range of socially valued activities e.g. clubs // 3) Active formal &amp; informal leisure pattern: more men, formal: volunteer work/ religion/ clubs/ organizations, informal: time with friends/ sports/reading/ family/ playing instrument, TV // 4) Diffuse leisure pattern: no activities with high scores (exception: young women in religious activities) // 5) Home-based leisure pattern: more female, time with family, reading, TV // 6) Jocks leisure pattern: more male, time with friends, sports, watching TV</p> <p>1) The street-computer area: time outside, sport, computer games // 2) The cultural area: cultural activities, more female, younger // 3) The cultural and youth-cultural area: mainly socially oriented youth cultural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Explorative</li> <li>2) Broad understanding of leisure time</li> <li>3) Focus on content and frequency of activity</li> <li>4) Given set of activities</li> </ul>
Young Adolescents' Leisure Patterns, 2001 Netherlands Reference: Zeijl, Du Bois-Reymond, & Poel, 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=927; cross-sectional</li> <li>- Ages 10 - 15</li> <li>- School-based</li> <li>- Based on 15 unorganized leisureactivities</li> <li>- Factor analysis</li> </ul>	<p>1) The street-computer area: time outside, sport, computer games // 2) The cultural area: cultural activities, more female, younger // 3) The cultural and youth-cultural area: mainly socially oriented youth cultural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Explorative</li> <li>2) Unorganized activities</li> <li>3) Focus on content of activity</li> <li>4) Given set of activities</li> </ul>

Study	Design & Methods for identifying activity patterns/classes	Description of patterns/classes	Analyzing strategy
Country Relevant References	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- n=3,002; cross-sectional</li> <li>- Ages 15 - 34</li> <li>- Community-based</li> <li>- Preprocessing of categorical indicators with multiple correspondence analysis</li> <li>- Cluster analysis</li> </ul>	<p>activities (going out, time with friends) and cultural activities (music making, writing) // 4)</p> <p>The youth-cultural and street-computer area: individually driven youth-cultural activities (watching TV, listening to music, hanging out), street &amp; computer activities</p> <p>1) Social leisure pattern: few activities, more social activities // 2) Omnivorous leisure pattern: more activities than average, mainly cultural activities, more female // 3) Entertainment leisure pattern: more men // 4) Religious leisure pattern: lowest score in frequent leisure habitus, attendance at religious services</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Explorative/hypotheses</li> <li>2) Understanding of leisure</li> <li>3) Determinants of activity</li> <li>4) Basis for classification</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Hypothesis-led</li> <li>2) Broad understanding of leisure time</li> <li>3) Focus on content of activity</li> <li>4) Given set of activities</li> </ol>
EJC: Catalan Young People's Survey Spain Reference: López-Sintas, Ghahraman, & Pérez Rubiales, 2017			

As this overview shows, most studies that have performed a classification analysis either based it on a broader understanding of leisure time, which means that they do not only focus on organized activities but also on general leisure time without planned activities (e. g., Geier, 2015; Grgic & Züchner, 2013), or focused on the content of the activities (e. g., Deutsche Shell, 2019; Peck et al., 2008) and not specifically on activity determinants, an exception being Agans et al. (2014) and Sauerwein et al. (2016). In addition, longitudinal analyses are underrepresented. Most studies used factor or cluster analyses for analyzing patterns (e. g., Deutsche Shell, 2019; Geier, 2015; Raymore et al., 2001), while in a few cases LCA is applied (e. g., Agans et al., 2014; Sauerwein et al., 2016). The identified classes are nevertheless comparable. Even though most analyses are based on the content of the activities (e. g., Harring, 2011; López-Sintas et al., 2017), it becomes evident in the classes that the differences tend to be found between the intensity, variety, and continuity of leisure activities. For instance, in AID:A (Geier, 2015), leisure patterns include intensity and variety, even though the analysis was based on the content of the activities, with patterns like “Active, family-oriented adolescents with low educational orientation” or “Less active, media-oriented youth”. Also, most studies reveal the effects of social origin in the assignment to the identified patterns (e. g., Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Deutsche Shell, 2019), which illustrates the importance of analyzing activity determinants explicitly.

Accordingly, our classification study works with retrospectively collected empirical data throughout the school years, which equals a longitudinal design. Furthermore, we do not focus on the content of the activities but on specific activity determinants. Since this is an explorative approach, we have applied Latent Class Analysis (LCA) as an explorative method for classification.

## Research Questions and Hypotheses

The state of research shows that both specific activity determinants and social background indicators play an important role for organized leisure activity participation and should be considered in detail. Accordingly, the empirical part of the paper aims at exploring activity patterns based on determinants of participation in a German sample of young people in low and middle secondary educational tracks. To do so, breadth, continuity, intensity, enjoyment, relationship with the activity leader, self-determination, as well as competitive orientation and taking responsibility in the activities are considered as determinants (*Table 2*). The identified activity classes are subsequently related to predicting social background indicators: social, cultural, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1983), as well as gender, migration background, and educational track (Hemming & Tillmann, 2023). The following research questions are answered:

1. Which activity participation patterns can be explored based on different manifest activity determinants?
2. How are these activity classes predicted by social background indicators?

Based on the state of research, we assume that (A) the individual determinants used to explore patterns of participation are correlated and interact with each other (Busseri & Rose-Krasnor,

2009; Denault & Poulin, 2009), which becomes clearly evident in the identification of individual patterns, and (B) social background indicators are correlated to activity participation (Meier et al., 2018) and, thus, will predict the identified patterns (Sauerwein et al., 2016; Fischer et al., 2019).

## Methods

### Design & Sample

For the study,  $n=1,547$  students were surveyed with a standardized questionnaire in their final school year (9th/10th grade, 2019/20) in two federal states of Germany (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt). The study was conducted in low and middle secondary schools (German *Hauptschule/Realschule*) and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation; project number 396942483). The adolescents were aged 14–19 ( $M_{\text{age}}=15.84$ ,  $SD=0.75$ ), girls were slightly overrepresented (51.5%), 6.2% were foreign born. 90.2% attended the middle secondary and 9.8% the low secondary educational track. Only 22.8% came from an academic household in which at least one parent had graduated university.

## Measures

### Determinants of Participation

Based on the method of Life History Calendar (LHC; Freedman et al., 1988, Furthmüller, 2016), participation in organized leisure activities during school years was measured with a specifically developed calendar instrument (Figure 1). The method of LHC was designed to facilitate and support the memory of past events by using the structure of a calendar table (Freedman et al., 1988).



**Table 2.** Measures for determinants of activity participation

Determinants	Description	Range
Activity specific determinants (included in LCA)		
Breadth	Number of different activities (Based on item: “What activities did you practice?”)	1 – 10
Continuity	Max. Length (in school years) of participation in one activity (Based on item: “In what grade did you practice the activity?”)	1 – 10
Intensity	Max. Intensity per week (Item: “How many times a week did you practice the activity?”)	1: 1x 2: 1 – 2x 3: >2x
Self-determination	Choice of activity either by the young person or by another person (Item: “Who chose the activity?”)	0: another person 1: self
Enjoyment	Max. Enjoyment of the activity (Item “How much did you enjoy doing the activity?”)	1 – 5
Global determinants across all activities (included in LCA)		
Competitive orientation	Competitive orientation (Item: “Did you practice any of your activities with a competitive orientation? (e.g. competitive sport)”)	0: no 1: yes
Relationship with activity leader	Sum index of 5 items on the relationship (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Example item: “If you have a problem, can you discuss it with your Activity Leader?”)	0 – 5
Taking responsibility	Item: “Did you take a responsible position or hold a special function in one of your activities?”	0: no 1: yes
Additional determinants not included in LCA		
Location	Activity location in the school or outside the school	inside school only (0/1) outside school only (0/1) both locations (0/1)
Activity domains	Type of activity was coded as one of three domains (sports, music/culture, other), according to the open-ended activity statements in the questionnaire	1 domain (0/1) 2 domains (0/1) 3 domains (0/1)

Social Background Indicators

*Cultural capital* in the family is differentiated according to three dimensions, as these have different effects on leisure engagement (Tarazona & Tillmann, 2013). *Incorporated cultural capital* is captured by a sum-index of seven shared cultural activities with parents (e.g., “Your parents talk to you about politics” yes/no; range 0–7; Reißig, Tillmann, Steiner, & Reck-

siedler, 2018). *Institutionalized cultural capital* is operationalized via the academic educational background of the parents (yes/no; Reißig et al., 2018). *Objectified cultural capital* is captured via the item book ownership (“Approximately how many books are there in your home?”; low/high).

*Social capital* is captured by an index of the quality of relationships with parents (e.g., “I get along very well with my mother”; 5 items, range 1–5 on a Likert Scale; Reißig et al., 2018).

*Economic capital* is captured by the highest parental ISEI (HISEI) (International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status; range 11–90; Ganzeboom, Graaf, & Treiman, 1992).

In addition, further indicators are included as control variables: gender (male/female), migration background (foreign-born/born in Germany), and educational track (low/middle secondary education). All social background indicators are included in the person data set.

## Analysis

Statistical classification analysis (e.g. Latent Class Analysis (LCA), Cluster Analysis) identifies and assigns categories to a collection of data to allow for more accurate analysis. LCA is an exploratory statistical method for identifying unobserved or latent classes among respondents (Weller, Bowen, & Faubert, 2020). In the underlying equation, conditional probabilities of membership in different latent classes (given observed categorical indicators) are calculated for every respondent. The respondents are assigned to the latent class with the highest conditional probability. These probabilities are based on conditional probabilities of the observed indicator pattern, given different latent class memberships and latent class sizes (Rost, 2004).

Our LCA uses eight observed indicator variables to identify these subgroups. The indicator variables contain the above described aggregated values for activity participation (Table 2). For including them in the LCA, the metric indicators *Breadth*, *Continuity*, and *Relationship with activity leader* were recoded into three categories of similar size each containing about one third of respondents. These similar category sizes facilitate iterative latent class estimations. The indicator *Enjoyment* has a skewed distribution with 62.8% of respondents in category 5. Thus, it was recoded into a dichotomous variable, differentiating between very high enjoyment and lower enjoyment. The other indicators were already suitable for including into LCA: *Intensity* (3 categories), *Competitive Orientation/Self-determination/Taking responsibility* (dichotomous).

LCA assumes that observed answer patterns on indicating variables can be explained by different latent class memberships. Respondents of the same latent class should have similar answer patterns, while respondents of different classes should differ. Since LCA is an exploratory approach, the number of classes has to be determined by the researcher. We calculated ten models, which divided respondents into one to ten different latent classes. For each model, two fit indices were obtained: the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) and the Akaike information criterion (AIC). These information criteria contain the likelihoods and number of parameters and can be used to compare model fits of different complex models. Lower BIC and AIC values indicate better model fit, see Table 3 (Fahrmeir, Kneib, & Stefan, 2007).

**Table 3.** Comparison of Fit Indices for one-to-ten-class Solutions

Number of latent classes	BIC	AIC
1	7160.413	7134.275
2	<b>6918.498</b>	6860.994
3	6939.444	<b>6850.574</b>
4	6975.064	6854.828
5	6992.003	6856.084
6	7027.534	6865.476
7	7061.108	6872.913
8	7041.041	6863.300
9	7069.368	6870.717
10	7091.041	6876.707

Notes: Lowest BIC and AIC values are in bold type.

The models with two and three latent classes showed the best-fit indices. We compared both solutions and decided on the more differentiated 3-class solution. This way, the low to moderately active young people could be separated better. We added a fourth class of *Non-Actives* afterward, consisting of respondents that showed no activity participation at all (Table 4). These cases were excluded from the LCA because they had zero activities in *Breadth* and subsequent missing values in all indicator variables describing these activities.

To examine further discovered differences between classes in complementary activity determinants and social background indicators (capital indicators and sociodemographic variables), analyses of variance (ANOVA) were computed.

In addition, the predictive value of social background indicators for membership in different classes was examined using multinomial logistic regression models. Therefore, metric indicators (e.g., *Relationship with parents*) were standardized and categorical indicators (e.g., *Book ownership*) were dichotomized.

## Results

### Description of Activity Classes

Table 4 gives an overview of the four identified classes including *Non-Actives*, *Minor-Actives*, *Multiple-Actives*, and *Committed-Actives*, and the respective values in the eight manifest indicators.

**Table 4.** Manifest Determinants of Activity Participation by Identified Latent Class (n=1,547)

Determinants		Non-Actives (11.0%)	Minor-Actives (25.3%)	Multiple-Actives (38.8%)	Committed-Actives (25.0%)
Breadth (number of activities)	1	n/a	51.2%	20.8%	20.0%
	2		33.0%	27.5%	23.8%
	3 or more		15.9%	51.7%	56.2%
Continuity (max. years)	1 – 3	n/a	56.2%	33.3%	9.8%
	4 – 6		24.6%	36.2%	33.0%
	7 – 10		19.2%	30.5%	57.3%
Intensity (max. weekly frequency)	1x	n/a	30.1%	18.3%	7.7%
	1 – 2x		48.9%	49.0%	33.5%
	>2x		21.0%	32.7%	58.8%
Competitive orientation	No	n/a	82.1%	85.7%	36.5%
	Yes		17.9%	14.3%	63.5%
Enjoyment	little or medium (1 – 4)	n/a	93.8%	0.0%	5.9%
	very high (5)		6.2%	100%	94.1%
Relationship with activity leader	little/medium (0 – 3)	n/a	74.0%	63.5%	20.5%
	high/very high (4 – 5)		26.0%	36.5%	79.5%
Self-determination	another person	n/a	17.3%	0.0%	2.1%
	Self		82.3%	100%	97.9%
Taking responsibility	No	n/a	98.0%	100%	25.7%
	Yes		2.1%	0.0%	74.4%

Notes: n/a=not applicable, gray=highest value/s per row; original range of determinants (Table 2) in brackets

Subsequently, results of the ANOVA are presented in *Table 5*. Therefore, capital indicators, sociodemographic variables, and additional determinants that characterize leisure-time engagement more precisely (activity locations/ activity domains; *Table 2*) are analyzed regarding differences in mean scores between the latent classes.

**Table 5.** ANOVA: Forms of Capital, Sociodemographic Indicators, Additional Determinants by Identified Latent Classes (n=1,547)

Indicators		Non-Actives (0) M	Minor-Actives (1) M	Multiple-Actives (2) M	Committed-Actives (3) M	F/p	Post-hoc Scheffé (significant group differ- ences <sup>1</sup> )
Additional activity determinants							
Location	school (0/1)	n/a	0.18	0.07	0.01	37.532***	12/13/23
	out of school (0/1)		0.25	0.16	0.09	24.877***	12/13/23
	both (0/1)		0.56	0.77	0.89	223.395***	12/13/23
Domains (sports, music/culture, others)	one (0/1)	n/a	0.75	0.51	0.53	107.317***	12/13/23
	two (0/1)		0.23	0.41	0.35	26.045***	12/13
	three (0/1)		0.03	0.09	0.12	14.759***	12/13
Sociodemographic indicators							
Gender	0(male)/1(female)	0.44	0.46	0.61	0.46	11.730***	02/12/23
Foreign born	0(no)/1(yes)	0.13	0.04	0.08	0.04	7.157***	01/03
Educational track	0(low)/1(middle)	0.79	0.90	0.92	0.92	10.134***	01/02/03
Cultural capital							
Incorporated c.c. (shared cultural activities with parents)	0 – 7	3.58	4.34	4.54	4.84	28.451***	01/02/03/13/23
Institutionalized c.c. (academic background of parents)	0 (no)/1 (yes)	0.17	0.22	0.21	0.28	3.240***	03 <sup>+</sup> /23 <sup>+</sup>
Objectified c.c. (number of books)	1 – 5	1.98	2.24	2.44	2.59	14.589***	01 <sup>+</sup> /02/03/12 <sup>+</sup> /13
Economic capital							
HISEI	11 – 90	42.94	48.75	46.97	51.37	8.350***	01/03/23

Indicators		Non-Actives (0) M	Minor-Actives (1) M	Multiple-Actives (2) M	Committed-Actives (3) M	F/p	Post-hoc Scheffé (significant group differences <sup>1</sup> )
Social capital							
Relationship with parents	1 – 5	3.58	4.34	4.54	4.84	28.451***	01/02/03/ 13/23

Notes: n/a=not applicable, gray=highest value/s per row, <sup>1</sup> number of groups with significant ( $p < .05$ ) differences are named (e.g., '12' means significant difference between group 1 and group 2), \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , +  $p < .10$

In the following section of the paper, the classes are described based on the information in *Table 4* and *Table 5*.

### Non-Actives

This class includes young people who did not engage in any organized leisure activity during their school years and represents 11.0% of the sample. They are more often male, from a low educational track, and foreign-born. They have lower levels of all forms of capital, with the differences being most evident in cultural capital: fewer shared cultural activities with parents, less academic background, and their families own fewer books. Likewise, they have less economic and social capital to fall back on than their peers in the active classes.

### Minor-Actives

In this class, youth tend to avail themselves of few activities in their school years. They have less continuity and intensity in any activity and feel less enjoyment. Their activities are hardly competitive-oriented and the relationship with the activity leader is described as average. They rarely take on any responsible roles, and their degree of self-determination is lower than in the other groups. *Minor-Actives* often use only one activity location, mainly what the school offers. They are mostly active in only one domain, usually sports. *Minor-Actives* are more likely not to be foreign-born and have lower values in all forms of capital than other active groups, particularly having less access to cultural capital in the form of shared cultural activities with parents and fewer books in the family.

### Multiple-Actives

Young people in this class are active on many levels. They hold a middle position between the *Minor-* and *Committed-Actives* regarding breadth, continuity, intensity, and the relationship with the activity leader, but, with a lower competitive orientation than the *Minor-Actives* and no responsible tasks. Multiple-Actives have chosen at least one of their activities themselves and feel maximum enjoyment about at least one activity. They tend to be active in more than one domain and use both school and out-of-school activities. They are mainly young women in the middle educational track. They have higher levels of most forms of capital than *Non-*

*Actives* and *Minor-Actives*, but still lower than *Committed-Actives*, in particular less institutionalized cultural, economic, and social capital.

### Committed-Actives

The majority of this class practiced three or more activities continuously and intensively in their school years. This high breadth, continuity, and intensity is accompanied by high competitive orientation and a strong commitment to assuming responsibility. Young people in this class describe the best relationship to their activity leaders while also perceiving high enjoyment and self-determination. In addition, a wide variety of activity locations and domains are used. *Committed-Actives* are mainly in the middle educational track and not foreign-born. They have the highest capital background and, thus, good access to supportive cultural, social, and economic forms of capital in their families.

### Social Background Predictors of Latent Classes

After identifying and describing the patterns, the predictive value of social background indicators for assignment to different latent classes is further analyzed using multinomial logistic regression models with *Non-Actives* as the base category (Table 6).

**Table 6.** Multinomial Logistic Regression of Social Background Indicators on Latent Class Membership (*Non-Actives* as base category)

	Minor-Actives	Multiple-Actives	Committed-Actives
<b>Sociodemographic indicators</b>			
Gender (male)	0.872 (0.189)	0.433*** (0.090)	0.789 (0.173)
Foreign-born (yes)	0.274** (0.128)	0.645 (0.244)	0.317* (0.145)
Educational track (middle)	1.346 (0.429)	1.754 (0.546)	1.419 (0.476)
<b>Cultural capital (c.c.)</b>			
Incorporated c.c. (shared cultural activities with parents; standardized)	1.476*** (0.174)	1.572*** (0.177)	1.877*** (0.228)
Institutionalized c.c. (at least one parent with academic background)	0.829 (0.248)	0.812 (0.234)	0.973 (0.290)
Objectified c.c. (more than 100 books in the household)	0.957 (0.231)	1.301 (0.299)	1.197 (0.289)
<b>Social capital</b>			
Relationship with parents (standardized)	1.047 (0.108)	1.307** (0.132)	1.306* (0.144)
<b>Economic capital</b>			

	Minor-Actives	Multiple-Actives	Committed-Actives
HISEI (standardized)	1.281* (0.155)	1.058 (0.122)	1.269 (0.155)
Constant	2.784** (0.961)	4.165*** (1.399)	2.380* (0.858)
n	1,358		
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.041		
Hosmer–Lemeshow test	26.745		

Notes: Exponentiated relative-risk ratios; standard errors in parentheses; \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001

The multinomial model confirmed that all forms of capital as well as gender and migration background significantly predict latent class membership. Only the educational track does not contribute independently to the explanation when controlling for the other indicators. The direction of the relationships is consistent with the differences in the latent classes described above. Young women are more likely to be *Multiple-Actives*, and foreign-born students are less likely to be *Minor-Actives* or *Committed-Actives* than *Non-Actives*. Incorporated cultural capital is the strongest predictor of participation: young people are more likely members of all three active classes instead of the base class *Non-Actives*, the more they share cultural activities with their parents. Social capital in the family is positively associated with membership in *Multiple-Actives* and *Committed-Actives*: The better the relationship with their parents, the more active and committed do young people participate in activities. In addition, economic capital is important: The higher the HISEI of both parents, the more likely students are to be assigned to *Minor-Actives* than *Non-Actives*.

The explained variance is acceptable, because Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> in logistic regressions generally takes lower values than R<sup>2</sup> in linear models (Smith & McKenna, 2013). The Hosmer–Lemeshow test is nonsignificant, indicating a good model fit (Fagerland & Hosmer, 2012).

## Discussion

The present study offers an important contribution to the analysis of non-formal educational processes in adolescence. On the one hand, the study provides a well-founded overview of research on studies identifying activity patterns in the leisure behavior of young people. On the other hand, activity patterns are empirically explored on the basis of different activity determinants. In this way, the study meets the demand for including specific activity characteristics instead of merely the type of activity in the analyses (Busseri & Rose-Krasnor, 2009). Also, the quasi-longitudinal design addresses the desideratum for longitudinal research on organized activity participation in adolescence (Gniewosz et al., 2018). The extent of social disparities in non-formal education processes is revealed by including social background variables.

The results demonstrate that determinants play an important role in characterizing activity participation and are strongly correlated with each other. Here, similar to previous studies,

four activity patterns can be identified, which differ according to *Breadth*, *Continuity*, and *Intensity* (Agans et al., 2014; Peck et al., 2008). Particularly, longitudinal studies on the breadth of participation show that adolescents who participate in several cultural or athletic activities have positive developments in their prosocial and cooperative behavior (Sauerwein et al., 2016). However, developmental effects can also be limited or even show negative effects (overscheduling-hypothesis; Fredricks, 2012), especially regarding school related outcomes. Thus, in future research, the identified activity patterns need to be analyzed regarding their effects on developmental outcomes to evaluate their positive potential.

Among other determinants than *Breadth*, *Continuity*, and *Intensity*, the *Relationship to the activity leader*, *Enjoyment*, *Self-determination*, and *Taking responsibility* emerge as equally or even more important determinants for the differentiation, which to our knowledge have not been considered in other studies so far in classification analysis. Assumption (A) can be confirmed, that the determinants are correlated and interact with each other. However, the four patterns differ not only in the eight manifest variables, but moreover in terms of activity location, and used activity domains (another indicator of breadth), illustrating the interdependence of determinants once more. Thus, the determinants influence and reinforce each other and therewith condition activity participation over the school years. It can be assumed that poor experiences with activities at primary school age might well lead to lower engagement in further schooling. Accordingly, Hemming and Tillmann (2023) showed that activity participation in secondary school is strongly determined by participation in primary school.

The results also confirm assumption (B) that social background indicators predict the assignment to latent activity classes. As expected, the identified latent classes differ depending on the sociodemographic variables gender, migration background, and educational track, as well as social, cultural, and economic capital (Harring, 2011). Here, as in other studies, the strong effect of incorporated cultural capital becomes evident (Tarazona & Tillmann, 2013). Shared cultural activities in the family are the most important prerequisite for diverse and engaged activity participation of young people. Thus, disadvantaged young people lose out twice: they lack cultural stimulation at home, and they experience less stimulation in their free time because they engage less in organized activities. The results show that social selectivity exists not only in formal, but also in non-formal education (Urban et al., 2010). This reinforces existing inequalities and does not sufficiently utilize the opportunities and potentials of equalizing effects of non-formal education.

Limitations and future perspectives: (1) The study focuses on low/middle education. Since leisure activities correlate strongly with the attended educational track (Geier, 2015; Urban et al., 2010), this results in a limited perspective. The same applies to the limited variance in the social background indicators. However, this allows for analyzing the influences independently of the selective effects of high educational attainment. (2) The study relates to Germany only. Further studies should examine the transferability of the results to other national contexts. (3) Moreover, within Germany itself, only two federal states were considered. It should be examined further whether there are regional characteristics in organized activity participation and in its relationship to the social origin that go beyond known differences between urban and rural regions. (4) We used a quasi-longitudinal design and collected information on organized leisure engagement retrospectively. Retrospective collections of activities are distorted by memory gaps. Especially subjective evaluations like the relationship with the activity leader can be distorted by present evaluations and are not time

constant, but change over school years (Hascher & Hagenauer, 2011). However, by using the method of LHC, recall errors were reduced and reliability of data increased (Freedman et al., 1988). Nevertheless, future studies should be designed longitudinally, especially in the analyses, even if this entails higher research costs. (5) Quality of activities is an important indicator not only for positive developmental outcomes but also regarding selective processes of participation. Due to difficulties in operationalization, it could not be included in this paper but needs to be taken into account in further studies.

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# Using theories that pertain to space and geography in Australian Outside School Hours settings: Playworkers perspectives

Angus Gorrie\*, Caitlin Jordinson

**Abstract:** This practitioner paper explores the positive impact playwork could have for Australian OSHC (Outside School Hours Care) environments and in turn, educators and children. Through a discussion of four theoretical perspectives pertaining to physical space from a playworkers perspective, the authors show how developing a conceptual understanding of these can support Australian OSHC settings nurture a place for play. With a focus on affordance theory, compound flexibility, liminality and psychogeography, this paper breaks down these theories and posits their practical applications within an OSHC setting.

**Keywords:** Outside School Hours Care (OSHC), playwork, affordance, psychogeography, liminality, liminal spaces, compound flexibility

## Introduction

Throughout this paper, we will explore how Australian OSHC educators can create an environment conducive to play through an understanding of how space stimulates and cues play for children. As playwork practitioners working in an Australian OSHC, we understand that the physical environment of a play space is critical for children to engage in optimal play opportunities. As playwork practitioners, we facilitate play for plays sake, without alternative agendas in mind and thus, it is important to be critically aware of our own individual impact on the space. By combining the theories of affordance, compound flexibility, liminality, and psychogeography, OSHC educators will have a deeper understanding of how they can facilitate a space and place, both theoretically and in practice, that will invite play. These theories will also inform OSHC educators on the importance of their presence in the space and how they can support children and the play process, without input of alternative adult agendas into their own practice or the children's play. This paper will analyse through theory and practical application how OSHC educators can apply this within their own framework (National Quality Standard and My Time, Our Place) (ACECQA, 2018) (DEEWR, 2011), whilst still emphasising the duty to consider their own individual influence and responsibility to their respective play spaces. Although the authors acknowledge OSHC educators face challenges of perception and aesthetic, this paper considers how the optimal environment for play can still be achieved.

First, we must consider the role of both an OSHC educator and a playworker. Outside School Hours Care (OSHC) is a service provided in Australia for children in primary school (5–12 year olds) that require additional care arrangements before school, after school or during the school holidays. Most primary schools across Australia have some variation of this

\* Griffith University

service however, this paper will refer to it as OSHC. Typically, there is a variety of individuals who undertake the roles in an OSHC setting. Generally, the role is known as an educator. However, there are also 'playworkers' present in some services across Australia. These playworkers are typically still labelled as educators. The authors of this paper are playworkers that work in an OSHC that uses playwork to govern their practice. This is not common amongst the Australian OSHC sector.

Australian OSHC educators hold a significant role in the workings of our contemporary Australian society, especially with the increase of formal care arrangement usage (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The OSHC sector in Australia is legislated by a National Quality Standard which includes the use of the My Time Our Place Framework for Australian School Age Care (ACECQA, 2022). The National Quality Standard contains seven Quality Areas which guide programs, as well as health and safety, and administrative standards. The Educators' Guide for My Time Our Place states that educators "are responsible for the interactions, experiences, routines and events, planned and unplanned, that occur in a school age care environment designed to foster children's wellbeing, development, and learning." (Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, 2012). Although educators are solely present for children, the requirements of frameworks and legislation place significant pressure on the OSHC educator workforce to foster learning outcomes, document practice, while also upholding responsibilities such as mandatory reporting and being competent first aid responders. The My Time Our Place framework holds intentions to keep children's play at the forefront however, this can often be lost in the interpretation of the framework (Gorrie, 2022; Newstead, 2019).

Since the beginning of the adventure playgrounds movement in the 1940 s, playworkers have worked to define their role and their purpose with children. Allen and Nicholson (1975) stated that for an Adventure playground, "a leader of the right type was the key to success" but later said "there was no tradition to go on; no one knew what sort of person the leader should be or what he was expected to do." Lady Allen (Allen and Nicholson, 1975), also spoke about how "good leaders, with an instinct for following the children's interests, are born, not made...". This insight into the role of the playworker depicts how intuitive and complex the role can be. Since these initial observations by Lady Allen, the Playwork Principles have been developed. The eight Playwork Principles that govern the practice of playwork interweave the responsibilities and practices expected by playworkers, rooted in support, facilitation, advocacy, responsiveness, intervention, and reflection with the children always at the forefront (PPSG, 2015). Further, Brown (2015) has indicated the practice of the playworker is to remove barriers to play and to create flexible environments for children.

The inability for a universally accepted definition of playwork creates difficulty for the workforce, especially when justifying and explaining their practice to other fields. Newstead (2019) discusses the ongoing issues with the unclear professional role of a playworker, highlighting that the inability for a role and responsibilities outline has led to a decline in the holistic approach of the practice. Further, there are multiple interpretations of the Playwork Principles, sprouting practices claiming 'playwork' (Newstead, 2019). Despite this, playwork in all its holistic, intuitive practice exists within many settings such as OSHC.

When comparing the role of a playworker and an OSHC educator, much of the language and intention is the same however, OSHC educator roles can often be dictated more by frameworks and legislation than being responsive to the child. As playworkers, we see the value of playwork and the theories discussed in the following section as being applicable in an

OSHC. Playworkers can create a place for children to play in the most natural way without the influence of agenda-driven adults.

OSHC educators who are playworkers need to be equipped with and be able to articulate the conceptual understanding of how to manipulate and support the physical environment at the OSHC. This is important so they can justify how their practice is in alignment with the National Quality Standard and My Time Our Place frameworks. Due to the intuitive nature of playwork, these understandings can be articulated if educators who are playworkers combine theoretical knowledge and their ability to understanding the holistic process of play with how the physical environment influences it. The following sections contain descriptions of four theoretical perspectives – affordance, compound flexibility, liminal spaces and psycho-geography and how they are viewed in practice in our OSHC setting.

### *Affordance: In Theory*

Affordance theory is a critical aspect of space, the analysis of what it offers or even suggests. James Gibson stated that

The affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill. The verb to afford is found in the dictionary, the noun affordance is not. I have made it up. I mean by it something that refers to both the environment and the animal in a way that no existing term does. It implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment. (Gibson, 1979, p. 127).

Gibson (1979) discusses affordance as an ecological niche which characterizes the suitability of the environment for the observer or user, or their ability to make it suitable. For an example, consider from adult perspective chairs set up in room. How they are set up, in a circle, rows, or stacked against the wall with dim lights and a disco ball spinning, all create a unique affordance. It is the same room, with the same chairs, but with a different presentation, that then offers or suggests something entirely different (Armitage, 2019). From the perspective of affordance as it relates to play, a flat rectangular sporting field offers very little affordance. It is perfect for a niche of playing a sporting game or running around, but is suitable, or able to be made so by very few others.

### *Affordance: In Practice*

As an OSHC educator utilising playwork, affordance is an important concept. It can be discussed as a group of educators and considered before children are in the space, the latter evolved and improved through documentation and critical reflection. Documentation of a fluid way of viewing affordance and what affordances a play setting offers is critical, as it must meet many niches, to follow the evolving needs of individual children as they change their perceptions of affordances (Gibson, 1979). This fact alone is why loose parts are a favoured resource for playworkers, as they can be adapted, manipulated, and if not suitable, made suitable by the children that use them (Nicholson, 1971). The perceived chaos or mess of unused loose parts is also something that screams affordance, as the resources are begging to be made into something. So, to critically reflect on your space as an educator may be to ask objectively, what does the space offer? Does this meet the children's interest? Are they able to change and modify the space to make it more suitable? It is important to note that space alone

won't satisfy wholeheartedly the practical side of affordance so educator practice is also critical. Educator practice from a playwork perspective must give children space, time, and independent mobility in order to actualise the affordance (Kyttä, 2004). If practice is restrictive, regardless of space and resources, the child's interest become stunted to the educator's subjective opinion and individual niches cannot be realised.

### Compound Flexibility: *In Theory*

Compound flexibility refers to the interrelationship between a child, the environment, and the way this interrelationship grows and develops (Brown & Webb, 2005). Fraser Brown, states

This is not a simple interaction but a complex process wherein, flexibility in the play environment leads to increased flexibility in the child. That child is then better able to make use of the flexible environment and so on. There is massive child development potential in a play setting (Brown, 2003, p. 56).

Brown's (2003) definition highlights that the overall compounding flexibility of the space is attributed to firstly, the play space. A flexible play space, which includes the playworkers, allows a child to be flexible with the play in which they engage. Bob Hughes (2001; 2002; 2006) posits 16 play types, each type with unique evolutionary functions needed for the development of humans, and all require a level of compound flexibility to be successful throughout the child's play. The physical environment is critical to this flexibility between child and their development, but so is the way in which a playworker allows a child to interact with it. In consideration of the play types, flexibility should also be viewed as more than the physical space and resources, as this is useless if children cannot interact in a flexible and evolving manner.

Brian Sutton-Smith (1997) referred to one of the functions of play as adaptive variability, a biological function which reinforces an organisms variability covering the actual to the possible (p. 231). This adaptive variability is successful for OSHC settings, as they have capacity to provide significant chunks time and space for genuine play that is freely chosen, personally directed, and intrinsically motivated, as guided by the Playwork Principles (PPSG, 2015). Simon Nicholson (1971), in his theory of loose parts, stated that "In any environment both the degree of inventiveness and creativity, and the possibility of discovery, are directly proportional to the number and kind of variables in it" (Nicholson, 1971, p. 30). The variable nature of resources to which Nicholson (1971) refers, ensures OSHC settings have the ability to compound ideas and adapt functions of resources over a prolonged period of time.

### Compound Flexibility: *In Practice*

Compound flexibility is a concept that OSHC educators need to consider, due to the frequency and length of time that many children spend in their play space. The responsibility is of significance when it is considered that an inflexible environment may conversely be detrimental to children's flexibility and successful development.

Unlike a novel playground, many children will reside in their respective OSHC setting for up to seven years of their childhood life. The challenge lies in ensuring that the play space can continue to provide flexible opportunities for children, and in an environment that can lack adaptive variability, this is potentially impossible. This is where loose parts come in as an ideal

resource, vital in supporting the potential for flexibility to compound in play. Although not a requirement, many playworkers use loose parts as a standard resource for this reason. If OSHC educators use loose parts to increase adaptive variability, this will allow for compounding flexibility to occur between the child, playworker, and space, and encourage varied affordance in how children can interact with them. In our own OSHC environment, it has been demonstrated that loose parts are a key part to maintaining a flexible and adaptable space.

### Liminal Spaces: *In Theory*

Liminal space and liminal spatial qualities are an important aspect of any ludic space, and need to be considered due to the rich play they cue. Liminality that occurs of a play area, is a condition that generates myth, legend, story-telling and make believe play (Turner, 1974). In this threshold realm, children tackle play that involves origins, emergence, trials, rituals, initiations, and release ideas of the type that transcend body and form (Nuttal, 2012). The Latin word ‘Limen’ translates to the word threshold. Thus, it is not surprising that children harness this threshold realm (between real and fantasy) to engage in rich make-believe play, which is often serious in nature. Despite its serious nature, the freedom that educators or playworkers give liminality allows play to exist and maintain in its threshold state (Spariosu, 2015).

Liminal spaces can be interpreted and delivered both in physical embodiment and intangible practice mechanisms. For example, liminal spaces may include the nooks and crannies where children can create entire worlds. Liminal features could include a statue hidden in a thicket or a tree stump shaped like a creature about which children build stories, narratives, and folklore. Practice that supports liminal spaces and nurtures liminal play is often displayed through the process of ‘stepping back’ to give time and space for worlds to be born (Stephenson, 2009). As frivolous as make-believe play may appear to adult eyes, it is an extremely important aspect of play for children to effectively tackle rites of passage, as they experience primary emotions such as anger, fear, disgust, and ‘play’ with them (Spariosu, 2015; Sutton-Smith, 2017). In this way, children learn, in adaptable and modifiable scenarios, ways to cope with these very emotions. It is critical that educators viewing liminal play in the space offer children this opportunity, lest the first time they experience these emotions they are not ‘play’ but ‘real’.

### Liminal Spaces: *In Practice*

The facilitation of liminal spaces and liminal play in OSHC is arguably quite simple from a geographical perspective and slightly more complex from a supervision perspective. Historically, children have had far more freedom to move freely between areas, explore, and delve into the edges of space and they are far more likely to seek out pockets where their imaginations can thrive (Armitage, 2001). It is important that the children can and are encouraged to explore edges, as these places are usually the ones (unlike the sporting field or fixed metal playground) that offer undefined purpose (Wilson, 2010). Undefined spaces foster imagination and creativity through divergent thinking, allowing children to appropriate what is available into what they need (Robinson, 2008). From a geographical perspective, this is

seemingly simple to achieve. However, children should be able to access these spaces and edges without educator interference. From a supervision perspective, this can be challenging for OSHC educators, as there are concerns over adverse behaviour, injuries, conflict, and other supervision and duty of care requirements.

This is where the resourcing of an environment and the space can overcome the need for educators to be far away and out of sight for children to engage in these liminal play frames. The ability for children to build dens, caves, cubbies, castles, and homes speaks deeply to their human need for privacy and secrecy (Leichter-Saxby, 2009). Children occupying dens of their own creation can be mere meters from a playworker who is acutely aware of what is happening and yet be, in the child's mind, a million miles away. Thus, the authors encourage educators to allow children to play on the edges and consider developing the edges of their play spaces, thinking about the corners to go around, the underneath of hedges, and the inside of dens. Critical reflection and implementation of varied liminal spaces may encourage liminal play in a context suitable to meet regulatory OSHC standards and frameworks and may increase the affordance the space offers.

### Psychogeography: *In Theory*

The theory of psychogeography was largely utilised by anarchists and Marxists as a way of articulating urban design and its nature of freedom and expression (Plant, 2002). Guy Debord (1995) defines psychogeography as “the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals” (Debord, 1955, p. 23). Playworkers have adapted this idea for the facilitation of the playground, and the authors suggest that this can be seen in the notion of “consciously organised or not,” with playworkers becoming quite conscious and intentional within their organisation of the geographical environment. As with Debord's definition, the authors suggest that playworkers often subjectively view and aid children through their play with emotions, and this consideration of emotion and behaviour of individuals within the space may suggest the impact the psychogeography has for that individual child.

Whether it is the explicit design and construction of play equipment, the structures and fences, the chaotic natural elements (such as trees, gradients, shaded corners, waterways), permanent pre-existing constructs (nearby roads, concrete walls, surrounding buildings), a playworker should be cognisant that these all have a psychogeographic effect on all parts of children's play. Conscious organisation of the space that can be manipulated allows for critical reflection to determine whether modification of adverse elements is required, whether the psychogeography is positively affecting play, and an appreciation for everything in between.

### Psychogeography: *In Practice*

Psychogeography is an important consideration during the planning of an existing OSHC play space, as this analyses its nature and potential evolution. Playwork Principle 5 states that the role of the playworker is to support all children and young people in the creation of a space in

which they can play (PPSG, 2015), and for OSHC educators, it is also our responsibility to understand children and their unique dispositions within our service.

Understanding psychogeography allows educators to create and support conditions where children can play, especially as this is more deeply rooted than the physical space alone. Harnessing this knowledge gives clues for educators to adapt the way space is offered and understand that features in it may be more conducive to stimulating children. An example is that children may be stimulated to moving from a metaludic state into play, causing a play cue issue or response (King, 2020; Sturrock & Else, 1998). From a psychogeographic perspective, educators can appreciate this might not be a physical cue (an object or other child), but rather a cue to play from a feeling, an emotion, a pre-existing experience, or a mere hint manifesting in *déjà vu*, daydreaming or whimsy.

When these four theories are used in conjunction and applied directly into a play space, there are many benefits that have been demonstrated. Such benefits include but are not limited to; enhanced cognitive and problem solving skills (Manwaring & Taylor, 2006); enhanced oral language development (Kanowski, 2021); reduction in adverse behaviour, due to greater flow state engagement (also an optimal learning state) (Gorrie, 2021); reduction in injuries during play (Wood & Leichter-Saxby, 2018); supporting inclusion and therapeutic play (Gorrie & Uдах, 2021; Sturrock & Else, 1998); increased physical activity encouraged with access to 'loose items' (Willienberg, et al., 2009); reduction in the likelihood of obesity (Harrison & Jones, 2012); supporting the regulation between primary and secondary emotions (Cartmel, Uдах, Gil & Prause, 2019; Ekman, 1999); reducing the likelihood of childhood anxiety and depression (Gray, 2011); supporting multiple learning intelligences regardless of predisposition (Gardner, 1993); the enhancement of the creative mind (Ariel, 2002; Nicholson, 1971). An example of this, as witnessed by the authors, was the creation of a liminal pocket of space by the children alone using pallet walls, tarps, and rope to create a shaded corner. This was sectioned off and only accessible from one side of the liminal space, affording the creation of liminal play. This play frame explored real life narratives including the design of 'house', families, and a safe place, which compounded as the child was able to build upon their ideas both physically (manipulating the resources) and in their mind. The space that was created was protected by large scale scrutiny and the child appeared relaxed, then able to dip deep into imaginary play. Following this child finishing their place and moving on, the educator manipulated the space to include different resources and a different affordance. Later, this space was reimagined by a different set of children and through the flexibility of the space, and the children, new play including a funeral and a graveyard was created in the same liminal space. Combinations of all four discussed theories are common in the play space the authors work due to these theories being known, and not implemented as an afterthought.

As playworkers, our priority is play facilitation for the sake of play, as outlined in the Playwork Principles. However, in our practical experience as playworkers in an OSHC, it is valuable to highlight the benefits and outcomes of playwork, and the theoretical consideration of physical environment in a dialogue form that allows us to advocate for play over adult agendas in a way that school faculty and other key stakeholders can mutually appreciate. The advantage of these benefits is that they are often a direct result of a carefully considered physical environment, which promote children to engage in intrinsically motivated, freely chosen, and personally directed play.

One of the ideas that we will posit in this paper is that an in-depth understanding of playwork theory and practice has the potential to arm OSHC educators with the ability to articulate the complexities of space facilitation and intentionality. Space, and the facilitation of space that supports, encourages, and even cues play, has long been a consideration of primacy for playworkers rather than direct involvement in the play itself. It is probably no coincidence that several contributors to the playwork movement had minds committed to advocating for children and their play, but were also professionally concerned with design, facilitation, and use of space. From Danish landscape architect Carl Theodore Sorensen’s creation of the first “junk” adventure playground, to English architect and artist Simon Nicholson’s development of loose parts theory, and English landscape architect Lady Allen and her enormous advocacy of the adventure playground, a meshing of play and design consideration have long been embedded in the playwork world (Allen & Nicholson, 1975; Lambert & Pearson, 1974; Nicholson, 1971). So, what do OSHC educators have to gain from applying a deep understanding of space and place to their practice? Consider the wise words of experienced playwork practitioner Jack Lambert (1974) who suggested that it is far better to have physical controls to guide and support play, rather than ‘human ones’ revolving around, telling children what they can do, where they can do it and how. However, in the world of OSHC educators who are framework bound to provide child-led experiences, develop agency and interests of children, and develop reciprocal and respectful relationships, these playwork notions seem extremely synonymous.

### In Consideration of Space

The previous paragraphs introduce concepts to aid OSHC educators in reimagining their space potential and give theoretical dialogue to arm them in supporting their practice. A deeper understanding of space not only allows an educator to better support and facilitate play through ludelic improvement (ludelic meaning play-expanding), but also allows them to effectively plan, execute and critically reflect on their practice (Palmer, Wilson, & Battram, 2007). This understanding also supports an educator’s ability to articulate how they are meeting and exceeding the National Quality Standards in all seven areas (ACECQA, 2018). Table 1 below gives an example of how this may be evidenced in documentation for a Quality Improvement Plan associated with the National Quality Standard (ACECQA, 2022).

**Table 1.** *Mapping how understanding spatial theories links to the National Quality Standards(ACECQA, 2018)*

Quality Area	Descriptor	Supporting Practice
Quality Area One	Educational program and practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="598 1519 1133 1659">A deeper understanding of spatial issues allows an educator to identify and respond to how children use space. This ensures ongoing planning remains child-centred and that child directed learning is identified holistically rather than ma-</li> </ul>

Quality Area	Descriptor	Supporting Practice
Quality Area Two	Children's health and safety	<p>nipulated for adult agenda (supporting NQS element 1.1.2, 1.2.3).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educators can effectively and responsively scaffold ludelic opportunity spatially by knowing which areas are being used, why, how, and the additional resources potentially required to further expand play opportunities (supporting NQS element 1.2.2).</li> <li>• Educators can effectively engage with the planning cycle spatially before, during, and after children are present. This enables complex and meaningful critical reflection of spatial use and the ludic ecology (supporting NQS element 1.3.1, 1.3.2).</li> <li>• Educators have detailed dialogue to engage with parents and the community, and are able to articulate and demonstrate intentionality, and seek collaboration (supporting NQS element 1.3.3).</li> <li>• Educators, through detailed understanding of space and resources, can work towards ensuring opportunities for relaxation and rest are met, regardless of predisposition (quiet areas, shaded areas, nooks that fast play flows around etc) (supporting NQS element 2.1.1).</li> <li>• Educators have an in-depth understanding of the space and how children engage with it. This allows for optimal risk benefit analysis and dynamic risk assessment, eliminating hazards, and mitigating chance of injury or harm (Gill, 2021) (supporting NQS element 2.12, 2.2.1, 2.2.2).</li> </ul>
Quality Area Three	Physical environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledgeable Educators who are actively engaged in and with their space are able to ensure equipment is for purpose, and children's structures are safe, both when children are present and not (supporting NQS element 3.1.1, 3.1.2).</li> <li>• Educators engaged in and with their space can ascertain equipment, areas, and play cues to suit a wide range of predispositions and a wide range of children (supporting NQS element 3.2.1, 3.2.2).</li> </ul>
Quality Area Four	Staffing arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educators who are organised and supported with a common language of theory and practice can better support children's play, leading to learning and development (supporting NQS element 4.1.1).</li> <li>• Educators who are organised and supported with a common language of theory and practice can work collaboratively and challenge each other's</li> </ul>

Quality Area	Descriptor	Supporting Practice
Quality Area Five	Relationships with children	<p>varied perspectives through critical reflection (supporting NQS element 4.2.1).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• By harnessing the environment to engage children through play rather than focusing on post-incident behaviour management, there is far less chance of authoritative and negative interactions between children and adults (Lambert &amp; Pearson, 1974) (supporting NQS element 5.1.1).</li> <li>• Environmental features that are manipulative allow for compounding flexibility, and support collaboration between children and their peers. This enhances opportunities for children to learn from and teach each other (Brown, 2002) (Gorrie &amp; Udash, 2021) (supporting NQS element 5.2.1).</li> </ul>
Quality Area Six	Collaborative partnerships with families and communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Through shared understanding of theories that support space and children’s play, educators will be more effective and confident in supporting families to understand the intentions and planning of the service (supporting NQS element 6.1.3).</li> <li>• With the support of Educators, environment is a significant contributor to many aspects of inclusion (supporting NQS element 6.2.2).</li> <li>• By understanding space and environment through a playwork lens, educators can collaborate with families and the wider community to directly contribute to design, resourcing, and participation of the space (supporting NQS element 6.2.3).</li> </ul>
Quality Area Seven	Governance and leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overarching theoretical understanding, specifically pertaining to the importance of spatial consideration, can inform the service philosophy (supporting NQS element 7.1.1).</li> <li>• Through a deeper understanding of space and environment, clearer expectations of roles and responsibilities can exist within the team (supporting NQS element 7.1.3).</li> <li>• Critical reflection of space and environment, and pedagogical perspectives helps to achieve overall quality improvement of the service (supporting NQS element 7.2.1).</li> <li>• Educators possessing a shared language of theory and practice, in regard to space and environment, assist the Educational Leader to provide meaningful and high quality documentation (supporting NQS element 7.2.2).</li> <li>• Approaching space and environment from a theoretical perspective supports the development of</li> </ul>

Quality Area	Descriptor	Supporting Practice
		professionals, their practice, and allows for knowledge based KPIs to support evaluation (supporting NQS element 7.2.3).

## Discussion

For educators and playworkers alike, the obligation to consider the creation of physical space exists in both the OSHC National Quality Framework and Playwork Principles respectively (ACECQA, 2018; PPSG, 2015). However, the OSHC workforce must also see beyond the space and not view it as something that exists in a bubble. Thus, deeper thinking and application of the theories explored above should not be overlooked by OSHC educators seeking to create a space for play. It is important for educators to consider that the ‘creation of space’ is as much about intangible conditions of that space as the tangible, as discussed throughout the theories of affordance, compound flexibility, liminal space and play, and psychogeography.

For this role of OSHC educator, consider the power these theoretical ideas can give in advocating for play in their space and the best possible outcomes for children. Playgrounds could cease being thought about in terms of primary colours, cost benefit ratios, age range suitability and which flat rectangular piece of land will make for the easiest install. Rather, playgrounds and the entire space they occupy, can be considered in how they best produce the ideal conditions for play. Theories give educators the capacity, dialogue, and articulation to champion ideas that playwork theorist, Gordon Sturrock, suggested gave a playworker the ability to act as a shaman, working within a subtle “otherness” at the liminal edges of the psyche (Nuttal, 2012). Thus, it is important that educators utilise theory to support practice around their space, and to present as the professional, as this is needed when working with other stakeholders.

It is also important for OSHC educators to consider their own individual impact on the affordance, compounding flexibility, liminality and psychogeography. These aspects of space go beyond tangible geography and encroach the mind. In play, children share a certain gestalted mutuality, what Sturrock and Else (1998) refer to as a ‘ludic third’. Adults in a space with children run an unavoidable potential of allowing their internalised subjective materials to encroach on and possibly adulterate children’s play experience (Sturrock & Else, 1998). However, educators with a deeper understanding of the theories discussed in this paper, can be aware of their presence and its effect on the affordance of not only how a space presents but also how a child may engage with it; how, despite the flexible nature of the resources, an adult allows a flexible response from the child; how merely the presence of an adult has potential to disrupt liminal potential of a play frame; and how they can affect the psychogeography through creation of their mood, expectation, and disposition. Careful consideration must be given to these factors, as they are subtle, nuanced, and may not present as overt attempts at authority, but rather through body language, mood, disposition, comfortability, and the existing relationship between educator and child.

Ultimately for an educator, the theories presented in this paper are intended to assist in the creation of spaces where the experience and psychological connection for children is not an afterthought. Educators developing a deeper understanding of their role with a holistic playwork lens will encourage child-focused decision making and engagement to the benefit of the children and their individual play opportunities. An increase of spatial consideration, whether set up through the resources in the environment or the subtle movements and guidance of educators, has the potential to allow further opportunities for children to explore their world in a way that makes sense to them.

One of the first challenges an Australian OSHC educator whom desires to use a playwork lens to modify and harness space for optimal potential, is that OSHC space is typically located on a school site, and is often shared space. This shared space situation leaves a lot out of the direct, or at least permanent control of OSHC educators and adds a multitude of additional agendas to the play space. This further complicates how OSHC educators utilise space, as OSHC often is relegated to a perspective of inferiority or lacking professional esteem (Cartmel, 2007). Smith and Barker (2000) stated, regarding school faculty, that they “considered themselves to be more powerful than the playworkers who were officially in charge” (p. 253). The reciprocity required to bridge this gap has come from the OSHC sector. One example of this is The Professional Standards for Educators, which has been created to enhance the professionalism of OSHC as an industry (QCAN, 2018). To further bridge the gap between school faculty and OSHC, the research benefits of loose parts and playwork could be used. A successful application of the theories to creating the physical environment in an OSHC would provide the best play opportunities for children. Theoretical based practice will also give OSHC services the ability to develop reciprocal relationships with school faculty by allowing them to articulate their intentionality and knowledge clearly.

This understanding of theories in relation to space needs to be understood across the board. Without an understanding of these theories, issues could arise with the perception of the educators practice and an inability for educators to justify this. This lack of knowledge can lead educators to fall into an outcomes-focused practice that disengages children from their freely chosen and intrinsically motivated play. There is future research needed to focus on the impact of an educator and their practice within an OSHC setting, specifically regarding space, and research is needed to study the impact a permanent space would have for OSHC services.

## Conclusion

Playwork has the potential to have a significantly positive impact for Australian OSHC physical environments and children if a theoretical understanding of physical space is developed and applied by educators. Educators with a conceptual understanding of the theories discussed above and their ontology in practice will be able to justify their professional practice, will allow greater capacity to critically reflect on practice and play space, and encourage holistic play opportunities for children. The authors acknowledge the challenges that educators face within their role in an OSHC of perception and with other stakeholders, which needs to be addressed with research and evidence for educators and services alike. Educators with a conceptual understanding of the theories discussed will ideally be able to

advocate for play over adult perceptions and agendas with a strong and clear evidence base. Playwork practice, with the consideration of affordance, compound flexibility, liminality, and psychogeography, will provide educators with the tools to achieve an optimal play space and environment for children. Furthermore, a playwork approach to space by educators within OSHC can meet, if not enhance links to the NQS and thus be a base for exceeding practice.

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## Contributors

*Franziska Bock*, M.A., PhD student, Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, Institute for Pedagogy. Main research interests: Professionalization, pedagogical orientation, habitus, sequence-analytic habitus-reconstruction. Address: Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Ammerländer Heerstraße 114–118, 26129 Oldenburg, Germany.  
E-mail: franziska.bock@uol.de

*Kylie Brannelly*, Queensland Children's Activities Network. Main research interests: Outside school hours services, policy management of children's services, workforce development, action research. Address: 66 Woodend Rd, Woodend, Queensland, Australia. Zip. 4305.  
Email: kylie@qcan.org.au

*Jennifer Cartmel*, Griffith University, School of Health Sciences and Social Work. Main research interests: Outside school hours services, workforce capacity building, children services policy and curriculum, critical reflection, intergenerational practice. Address: Griffith University Logan campus, University Drive, Meadowbrook, Queensland, Australia. Zip. 4131.  
Email: j.cartmel@griffith.edu.au

*Annalena Danner*, M.A., PhD student, TU Dortmund. Main research interests: All-day school, professionalization, multiprofessionality, mixed methods, latent class analysis. Address: Fakultät Erziehungswissenschaft, Psychologie und Bildungsforschung Institut für Sozialpädagogik, Erwachsenenbildung und Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit Emil-Figge-Straße 50, 44227 Dortmund.  
E-mail: annalena.dannner@tu-dortmund.de

*Lena Glaés-Coutts*, Linnaeus University, Faculty of Education, Växjö Sweden. Main research interests: School-age educare, Teacher professional learning, Leadership. Address: SE 351–95, Växjö  
E-mail: glaes\_coutts@hotmail.com

*Angus Ian Gorrie*, Main research interests: playwork, play, play types, evolutionary playwork, recapitulative play, Australian outside school hours care. Address: 47 Wild Street Wynnum Brisbane QLD Australia 4178.  
E-mail: Angus.ian.gorrie@gmail.com

*Gunther Grasshoff*, University of Hildesheim, Professorship for Social Pedagogy at the Institute for Social and Organizational Pedagogy. Main research interests: Child and youth welfare, all-day school, migration. Address: University of Hildesheim, Universitätsplatz 1, 31141 Hildesheim, Germany.  
E-mail: grasshof@uni-hildesheim.de

*Sabine Hartig*, German Youth Institute. Main research interest: non-formal education, youth transitions, social deprivation. Address (Private): Meckelstr. 24, 06112 Halle, Germany.  
E-mail: hartig@dji.de

*Karen Hemming*, City of Leipzig. Main research interests: educational monitoring, non-formal education, youth transitions, social deprivation, highly competitive activities and their developmental effects. Address (Private): Hafenstr. 5, 04179 Leipzig, Germany.  
E-mail: karen.hemming@gmx.de

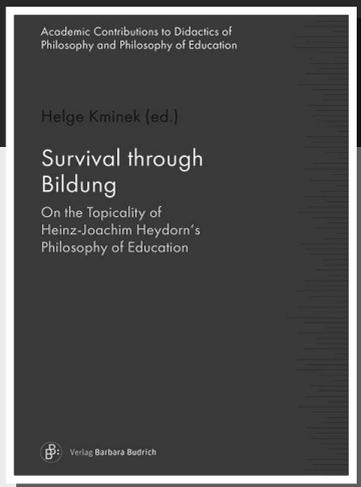
*Stefan Hofherr*, German Youth Institute. Main research interests: non-formal education, migration, youth transitions, violence at schools. Address: German Youth Institute, Nockherstr. 2, 81541 Munich, Germany.  
E-mail: hofherr@dji.de

*Bruce Hurst*, University of Melbourne, Faculty of Education. Main research interests: Participatory research methodologies with children, outside school hours services, workforce preparation for children's service, policy, curriculum and practice in children's services. Address: University of Melbourne, Grattan Street, Parkville, Victoria, Australia. Zip. 3010.  
Email: ian.hurst@unimelb.edu.au

*Till-Sebastian Idel*, Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Faculty I – Educational and Social Sciences, Institute of Education. Main research interests: Transformation of school, teaching and pedagogical professionalism, qualitative teaching and school research, theories of teaching and school. Address: Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Ammerländer Heerstraße 114–118, 26129 Oldenburg, Germany.  
E-mail: till-sebastian.idel@uol.de

*Caitlin Jordinson*, Main research interests: playwork, play, child and youth development, OSHC(Outside School Hours Care), trauma, ASD, ADHD. Address: PO BOX 3005 Yeronga 4104  
E-mail: cat.jordinson@gmail.com

*Markus Sauerwein*, TU Dortmund, Professorship for Theories and Empirics of Social Work. Main research interests: Social work and school; education equity and participation, all-day school, youth in international comparison, professionalization in the context of all-day education, mixed methods. Address: Fakultät Erziehungswissenschaft, Psychologie und Bildungsforschung Institut für Sozialpädagogik, Erwachsenenbildung und Pädagogik der frühen Kindheit Emil-Figge-Straße 50, 44227 Dortmund, Germany.  
E-mail: markus.sauerwein@tu-dortmund.de



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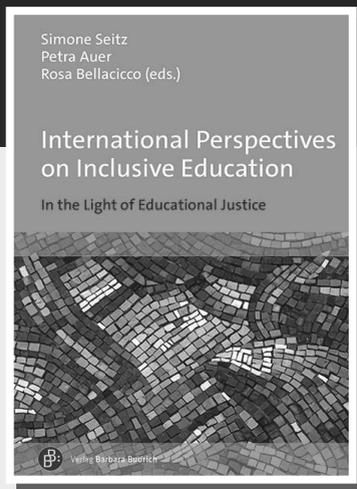
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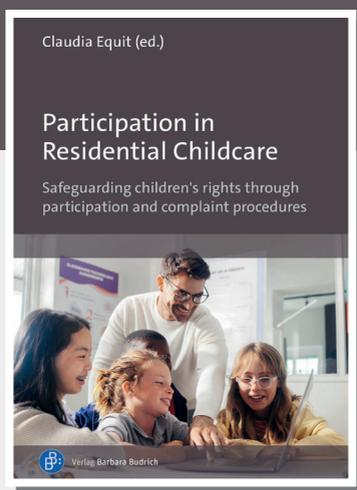
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Claudia Equit is a professor of Social Pedagogy, Pedagogy, in particular Comparative Youth Welfare Services Research at Leuphana University Lüneburg, Germany