

# IJREE

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## General Contributions

**Pariece Nelligan, Daniela DiGiacomo, Phebe Chew, Julian Sefton-Green, Kylie Pepler, Sam Mejias** • Exploring the Long-Term Impacts of Out-of-School Arts Participation Among Marginalized Youth

**Michelle Jutzi, Thomas Wicki, Barbara Stampfli** • Towards a Holistic Model of Extended Education in the Public School System: Three Schools on the Way to Integrated All-Day Schools

**Anneli Hippinen Ahlgren** • Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Written Educational Plans in the School-Age Educare Setting

**Lars Wallner, Magnus Jansson** • Transformations of Digital to Analogue – Children Bringing Popular Culture Artefacts and Media into Swedish School-Age Educare

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## Editor's Preface

The WERA Task Force Global Research in Extended Education conference was successfully held at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia, from September 11 to 14. Centered on the theme *Bricolage: Research Methodologies and Perspectives in Extended Education*, the event brought together scholars, policymakers, and practitioners from across the globe to present their research findings and engage in vibrant discussions. We believe that the conference served as an important platform for advancing knowledge and practices in the field of extended education. In recognition of the outstanding research presented, the conference organizers proposed a special issue of the journal to feature selected papers from the event. We, as the editorial board, are excited to include several of these exceptional contributions in this issue.

During the conference, the newly established Global Extended Learning and Development Association (GELYDA) hosted an insightful session on the interconnection of research, policy, and practice, with global experts contributing to the dialogue. The formation and active operation of both WERA TF and GELYDA manifest the growing global interest and collaboration in extended education, which is promising for the future of both academic scholarship and practical implementation. IJREE will continue to work closely with these organizations to further research and knowledge sharing in this dynamic field.

In this 2024–1 issue, we are proud to present four rigorously reviewed and accepted papers.

The first paper offers a systematic review of the benefits of participating in Out-of-School Time (OST) arts programs, with a special focus on marginalized youth. This interdisciplinary research, authored by six scholars from diverse fields including art, education, information science, and health sciences, expands the scope of extended education research. The study highlights the significant impact of OST programs on marginalized populations, offering critical insights for future studies.

The second paper, authored by three Swiss researchers, examines the evolution of the holistic approach to children's learning in three integrated all-day schools from 2020 to 2022. Through a qualitative longitudinal study, the authors reveal the complexities of non-linear organizational development and emphasize the need for continuous strategic revision. Their findings suggest the importance of staff commitment to integrating care and instruction, with challenges posed by limited time for developing a pedagogical culture.

The third paper, by Anneli Hippinen Ahlgren, investigates how Swedish School-Age Educare (SAEC) teachers' pedagogical content knowledge is reflected in written educational plans. The study illustrates how these plans transform content into teaching situations and activities, while also revealing how children's influence is embedded in both the content and as a strategic element in teaching.

The final paper by Lars Wallner and Magnus Jansson also focuses on Swedish SAEC. The researchers explore how children use digital popular culture as boundary objects within the SAEC environment. Their findings show how children's engagement with digital media is transformed into analogue activities—such as drawing and dancing—and how these activities foster social relationships by allowing children to express and share their interests. These results have important implications for the continued development of extended education, the use of digital media, and the practices of SAEC educators.

The publication of the 2024–1 issue was slightly delayed due to the rigorous peer review process, which maintained the high standards we are committed to. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to the reviewers who, despite their busy schedules, provided thorough and thoughtful feedback, and to the authors who dedicated immense effort to their research. We also encourage those authors whose submissions were not selected for this issue to revise their papers based on reviewers' feedback and resubmit. It is certain that with further refinement, these papers will make significant contributions to the field in the future.

On behalf of the editorial team, we extend our deepest appreciation to all who contributed to this issue. We look forward to continued collaboration and scholarly exchange in the evolving and dynamic field of extended education.

Sincerely,

*Sang Hoon Bae, Editor-in-Chief*

International Journal for Research on Extended Education (IJREE)

## Exploring the Long-Term Impacts of Out-of-School Arts Participation Among Marginalized Youth

*Pariece Nelligan<sup>\*</sup>, Daniela DiGiacomo<sup>\*\*</sup>, Phebe Chew<sup>\*\*\*</sup>, Julian Sefton-Green<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>, Kylie Peppler<sup>\*\*\*</sup>, Sam Mejias<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>*

**Abstract:** The benefit of participating in Out-of-School Time (OST) arts programs has been widely documented in studies that often reflect impact over short timeframes. Youth arts organisations often bear extraordinary claims about the impact of programs, and the value they hold especially in the lives of those who face difficult social circumstances. This paper reports the findings of a systematic review examining the long-term impacts of participating in arts-based OST programs with a particular focus on the experiences of marginalized youth. It provides a nuanced account of the field from the viewpoint of various research disciplines and develops an understanding of how researchers and/or program evaluators approach the challenges of long-term data collection in the face of time and resource constraint. Our review provides an overview of the way arts participation is measured and the types of subjective impacts that emerge as a result. Consequently, we develop a more comprehensive understanding of what constitutes arts education and learning in contemporary life, and a record of the types of impacts that generate change from a long-term perspective.

**Keywords:** Arts education, out-of-school time learning, youth programs, marginalized youth, long-term impact

### Introduction

Out-of-School Time (OST) arts programs have existed for at least 50 years. They typically serve young people from poor(er) and socially marginalized communities, offer education in a diverse range of arts disciplines after school, at weekends and/or during school holidays, and are funded usually outside of mainstream education (Durlak et al., 2010; Halpern, 2002; Malone, 2018). Some young people from more affluent backgrounds access private arts provision often in the form of one-to-one teaching (e.g., musical instruments) but also group classes in dance or theatre for example. This review seeks to determine the degree to which OST youth arts programs, particularly those that cater to marginalized youth sustain impact

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over time. We focus on marginalized youth because OST youth arts programs tend to target marginalized youth, and so programs take the form of intervention or remediation programs structured around engaging young people in arts practices. It is grounded in the view that any analysis of the long-term impact of programs that provide access to the arts to low-income families broadens a vision of education research and can therefore expand the notion of what are commonly recognised as learning or educational outcomes.

In general, societies appear to value arts participation and the positive role it plays in the lives of young people. Arts programs in communities across the globe offer opportunities for children and youth to learn new skills, expand opportunities and develop a sense of self, wellbeing and belonging. Weitz (1996) argues that the most distinguishing aspect of youth arts programs is their ability to take advantage of the capacity of the arts and the humanities to engage students, and that this engagement imparts new skills and encourages new perspectives that begin to transform the lives of at-risk children and youth (Weitz, 1996). Mansour et. al., (2018) report that socially excluded youth who participate in community arts programs feel happier and more confident, reducing feelings of isolation. They argue that both receptive (attendance) and active arts participation (involvement) are related to mental health and life satisfaction; however, it is active arts participation that is the stronger predictor of these outcomes. Catterall (2009) argues that participating in arts-based activity does not only lead to academic success and the development of prosocial behaviours but also increased community involvement, volunteerism, and political participation. Although he finds that young people from under-resourced communities benefit significantly by participating in arts-rich schools seen by improvements in college attendance, grades, employment, and level of higher education, he goes on to also argue that arts participation encourages some young people to form and hold community and political values as well. Henderson, Biscocho, & Gerstein (2016) and Robinson, Paraskevopoulou, & Hollingworth (2019) [discussed below] demonstrate the way in which socio-political consciousness is developed through OST youth arts participation, with the arts being a mechanism by which to feel empowered and to communicate political thoughts and actions.

We examine existing research on youth arts participation for evidence of impact and the way arts education is experienced over the long-term. Consequently, we develop a more comprehensive understanding of what constitutes the long-term impact of education and learning in contemporary life and the role of the arts both to achieve this understanding and to act simultaneously as a domain for the exercise of such impact. We thus begin by asking the following two questions:

1. In what ways has the long-term impact of youth arts participation been measured in the articles reviewed, and how does the impact of participation emerge in the lives of marginalized youth?
2. What claims are made for the long-term value of such provision?

We define *long-term* as at least two years beyond participation in youth arts programs; *impact* as measurable social, cultural, educational and psychological change (Rapp-Paglicci, Ersing, & Rowe, 2006). We further specify that impact can take the form as either *intrinsic* such as that which is inherent in arts experiences or *instrumental* such as cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioural, health, economic or education outcomes (McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras, & Brooks, 2001, p. xi). *Out-of-School Time youth arts programs* is defined as arts participation in activities such as (dance, drama, music production, poetry/spoken word, visual arts) that



occurs outside formal school settings (Rapp-Paglicci, Ersing, & Rowe, 2006). ***Marginalized youth*** are defined as young people that experience or have experienced discrimination and structural disadvantage (Ngo, Lewis, & Maloney Leaf, 2017) predominantly in the form of class, race, gender and sexual inequality. Specifically the groups represented in the literature included Black, Indigenous and people of colour (BIPOC) communities (Betts, 2006; Erstad & Silseth, 2019) low-income families (O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2016; Wright, Alaggia, & Krygsman, 2014) and/or young people “at risk” of or experiencing criminality (Rapp-Paglicci, Ersing, & Rowe, 2006) and/or social injustice (Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Nielsen & Sørensen, 2019).

McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras, and Brooks, (2001) state that very few good evaluations of OST arts programs exist and, very few if any, are longitudinal in scope. They argue that where some evaluation of arts programs exists, the focus tends to be on the structural features and/or process features of programs, with a particularly strong focus on relationships and social skills (McArthur & Law, 1996). This review provides insight into the way the field of youth arts research has in some ways redressed this bias. We synthesise the findings of existing OST arts program research to assert that impact is indeed long-term, instrumental and/or intrinsic, and indicative of change through social, cultural, educational, and psychological outcomes.

Conducting long-term research is challenging for researchers as well as organisations. Sample attrition and a loss of connection with program alumni impacts data collection as does funding (Rapp-Paglicci, Ersing, & Rowe, 2006). Youth arts organizations are under pressure to evidence performance and lasting impact in order to: 1) refine programming and services so that the quality of provision meets the needs of their communities; 2) bring attention to the valuable role they play in the lives of those they engage as well as to encourage those they do not; and 3) support ongoing applications for funding (Poyntz, Sefton-Green, & Fitzsimmons Frey, 2023). We consider this review as a step toward defining the field of OST youth arts education and promoting the benefits of participation in OST youth arts programs in ways that go beyond the immediacy of short term findings.

## Method

Our literature search began in October 2020 when we reviewed several databases including Academic Search Complete, Scopus and Web of Science, Humanities source, SocINDEX, SocWork abstracts, ERIC, and Education source for peer-reviewed academic journal articles as well as the US AEP (Arts Ed Partnership) database. We chose these databases because they contain research into the impact of education and learning in OST youth arts programs from various disciplinary perspectives such as health, psychology, education, and social work. We applied the following key word and Boolean phrase searches to these databases.

Database	Keyword searches and Boolean operators
Academic Search Complete, Scopus, Web of Science	((long term “effects” OR outcomes OR impacts) AND (youth OR young people) AND (disadvantage)) AND (arts OR arts programs OR community programs)

Database	Keyword searches and Boolean operators
	(longitudinal OR qualitative OR narrative OR life history) AND (community OR non-formal OR youth (programs)) AND (“effects” OR outcomes))
	(qualitative OR narrative) AND (“long term “effects””) AND youth
	((“life history” OR narrative) AND (youth programs OR community programs)) AND (“effects” OR impact))) AND qualitative)
All of the above plus Humanities Source, SocINDEX, SocWork abstracts	“long-term “effects” of arts programs“
	((“(long term”) AND (“effects”) AND “community arts programs”)) OR “youth programs”))
	((community arts AND (disadvantage)) AND (youth programs)))
	(“longitudinal AND/OR “effects””) AND community arts OR programs) AND youth AND marginalization
	(impact) AND OST) and arts programs))
	((life course) AND ((youth) AND (“effects” OR impact))
	((retrospective longitudinal) AND ((“arts participation”) AND (“at-risk youth”)))
	((“effects”) AND (OST OR after-school OR non-formal)) AND (youth programs))
	youth+“long term “effects””+programs or services or interventions
ERIC and Education Source	(learning) AND (youth development) and (longitudinal)
	((“long term “effects””) AND (“out-of-school time”) AND learning)) OR “non-formal learning”))
Google Scholar	“long-term “effects”” AND “non-formal learning”

A search of the literature published between 1995 and 2021 yielded a total of 683 articles. We focused on articles published after 1995 as this time marks an increase in academic focus on OST programs as fields of research and the growth of research into the “creative economy” propelled by Florida’s (2002) work on the ‘creative class’. It also marks a time of increased interest in positive youth development as is seen in the work of Brice Heath and McLaughlin (1994).

The titles and abstracts of the 683 articles were screened according to a list of inclusion and exclusion criteria. We examined titles and abstracts for any references to OST arts programs, long-term impact and/or longitudinal evaluation. At the cessation of the title and

abstract screening only 298 articles remained for full-text review screening. These articles were measured against the following inclusion and exclusion criteria: the degree to which arts practice was the focus of program design; the timeframe within which data was collected beyond participation but not inclusive of participation (two years); and the target population of the program, namely marginalized youth aged between 9–25 years. Of the 298 articles, 81 were excluded under the premise of ‘wrong focus’ meaning arts education was not the sole focus of the study; 37 were excluded on the grounds of ‘wrong study design’ which focused on policy impact as opposed to subjective change or impact; 35 were excluded because of ‘wrong time scale’ meaning data was collected in two years or less, and 34 were excluded for presenting ‘insufficient empirical data’ including a heavy reliance on anecdotal evidence or a low level of empirical evidence. 11 were handbooks or text books with a focus on theory; 7 were book chapters and so provided insufficient information about the context and method of the research, and 11 were reports that featured secondary sources of research only. 23 presented evidence of “cultural” program participation with only a low level of arts participation embedded within program delivery. 5 reported on adult populations (above 25 years) and 19 on non-marginalized populations, and 23 did not focus primarily on OST youth arts settings so were excluded under the premise of “wrong setting”. At the conclusion of this process, only 11 studies remained.

## Results

The eleven articles in this review are categorized under four themes in the following proportion: three articles discuss academic and/or employment outcomes (Betts, 2006; Erstad & Silseth, 2019; O’Donnell & Kirkner, 2016); one article discusses concepts of self and identity (Nielsen & Sørensen, 2019); three articles discuss increased socio-political consciousness and civic engagement (Henderson, Biscocho, & Gerstein, 2016; Robinson, Paraskevopoulou, & Hollingworth, 2019; Ngo et al., 2017); and finally, four articles focus on improved sense of wellbeing and behavior (Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Spiegel et al., 2019; Wang, Mak, & Fancourt, 2020; Wright, Alaggia, & Krygsman, 2014). Below is a summary of the articles discussed in detail in the next section. The work of Soep (2002), DeLuca, Clampet-Lundquist, & Edin (2016) and Macleod (2009) will be used to theorize or further support the findings of studies under review.

Author/s	Title	Target population	Timeframe	Art focus
Betts, 2006	Multimedia Arts Learning in an Activity System: New Literacies for At-Risk Children	Low-income	Six years	Digital media, multimedia, and design
Erstad and Silseth, 2019	Futuremaking and digital engagement: from everyday inter-	Not focused on minoritized grouping but sample is	Mediated future projections of self through creative expression	Creative activities involving new technology: gaming, k-

Author/s	Title	Target population	Timeframe	Art focus
	ests to educational trajectories	racially and ethnically diverse		pop, and Lego robotics
Fauth et al., 2007	Does the neighborhood context alter the link between youth's after-school time activities and developmental outcomes	Low-SES primarily White, high-SES primarily Latino, and high-SES Latino/Black neighborhoods	6 years	Performing arts including cheerleading and also band, theatre, drama, dance, choir, visual art
Henderson et al., 2016	Community Youth Engagement in East Palo Alto: A Study of the Youth Arts and Music Center Initiative	Latinx and Black youth from low-income families	Unclear – sources span 5 years	Filmmaking, music and writing
Nielsen and Sørensen, 2019	Youth on the edge of society and their participation in community art projects	Experiences of abuse, homelessness, criminal activity, early school leaving, substance abuse, social exclusion, mental illness, refugees	4.8 years captured through retrospective accounts and follow up interviews	Music, visual arts, photography, theatre
Ngo et al., 2017	Fostering Socio-political Consciousness With Minoritized Youth: Insights From Community-Based Arts Programs	Minoritization based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, and dis/ability, among other dimensions	Review of programs spanning 10 years	Literary arts, theatre arts, and digital media arts
O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2016	Helping Low-Income Urban Youth Make the Transition to Early Adulthood: A Retrospective Study of the YMCA Youth Institute	Low-income	Variable – but some interviewees were ten years post-participation using life history method	Digital media and web design, and music
Robinson et al., 2019	Developing 'active citizens': Arts Award, creativity and impact	A range of ethnic backgrounds but not explicitly minoritized youth	3 years	Visual arts, music, dance and theatre, hip hop, digital art and/or games design

Author/s	Title	Target population	Timeframe	Art focus
Spiegel et al., 2019	Social transformation, collective health and community-based arts: 'Buen Vivir' and Ecuador's social circus programme	Street and other marginalized groups	5 years	Circus arts
Wang et al., 2020	Arts, mental distress, mental health functioning & life satisfaction: fixed-effects analyses of a nationally-representative panel study	Poor mental health and distress, and poor life satisfaction	5 years	Dance, singing and playing and writing music and poetry, theatre and drama, carnival/street arts, visual art, photography, filmmaking as animation and digital media, craft
Wright et al., 2014	Five-Year Follow-Up Study of the Qualitative Experiences of Youth in an After-school Arts Program in Low-Income Communities	Low-income communities, multi-cultural communities, and Aboriginal/native Canadian communities	5 years	Theatre but also visual arts (mask making, set design) and media arts (digital filming and editing)

## Findings

### Academic and/or Employment Outcomes

Academic and employment outcomes are frequently cited measures of success. They represent tangible, instrumental change measured by the formation of aspiration, the acquisition of a job or the (re)engagement of people in education or further study. They are critical measures of what are often deemed successful youth transitions (DeLuca, Clampet-Lundquist, & Edin, 2016; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2016) and are instrumental to providing young people with a sense of agency over their lives (MacLeod, 2009). Although impact within these domains often aligns with formal schooling measures (see Betts, 2006 below), Soep (2002) argues that the learning experienced within community arts settings is transferable: 'Learning thrives in these places; accountability is mutual, interdisciplinary practice is mandatory, and high stakes are interactively sustained' (Soep, 2002, p. 12). Arts learning provides a safe space for young people to take risks and push boundaries and allows researchers to delve deep into what are deemed valid, appropriate, and useful educational experiences.

O'Donnell and Kirkner (2016) identified employment and academic outcomes in their study of the US-based YMCA of Greater Long Beach Youth Institute, an OST program aimed at engaging vulnerable youth from low-income families. Youth participated in two phases of

the program: an eight-week summer program followed by a yearlong academic support program and then opportunities to attend adult retreats, holiday events or take on paid staff positions at some point in their lives. The sample consisted of alumni that were asked to reflect on their experiences with some participant's reflection covering ten years. The first week of the summer program involved attending a wilderness retreat whilst the remaining seven were dedicated to learning technology skills in the form of graphic design, media, web design, video editing and music creation.

The authors found that participation positively influenced participant's life choices and educational and occupational trajectories. For example, those who participated in the program went on to college or built a career from the skills they learnt; gained support in the form of encouragement and life skills; became more resilient which in turn led to them to pursue a particular college or career pathways (2016, p. 21–23). The degree of impact reported in this article ranges from broad life benefits such as career and educational achievements to specific tangible skills such as technological and media skills in animation to soft skills such as communication, leadership, conflict resolution and creative thinking skills. Some participants reported increases in resilience because of participating in the program whilst others reported being able to persevere and adapt to change in the face of adversity. Some examples include the ability to adapt when “thrown into situations outside our comfort zones”, the courage to “try different things and to make mistakes” and the “program taught me to not give up” (O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2006, p. 22). The role technology and creativity play in program design is also a theme in the next two articles (Betts, 2006; Erstad & Silseth, 2019), both of which reflect nuanced understandings of what constitutes arts-based learning and practice as well as impact.

Betts (2006) examines the impact of the Multimedia Arts Education Program (MAEP), a US federally sponsored program aimed at developing job skills, art technology skills and multimedia literacy in low-income youth. The MAEP settings brought together subjects, objects and/or goals, tools, and roles, which through interaction lead to a series of intended and unintended outcomes mediated by computers, computer programs, art supplies, and the language and discourse of aesthetics and art technology. Codes of conduct, conventions and social expectations and rules as well as the division of labour contribute to the culture of the program. “All of these things” the authors argue, “interact and change over time” (Betts, 2006, p. 4), and this process of the subject acting on object and vice versa via a process of mediation through computers, makes an individual's history, context, and agency visible.

Betts' (2006) six-year study took place between 1996 and 2002, with the first stage of research occurring in the first eighteen months and second occurring when students exited the program. The on-site research occurred over five semesters or two and half years with the off-site occurring four years later when students had transitioned into further education or work. The study set out to measure how participation in an arts technology program impacts perceived *self-efficacy*, that is a person's judgment about their ability to succeed, attitudes toward school, work, art, community, collaboration and communication, and literacy skills, and art experiences. The study found that students felt more capable, confident, and willing to share ideas and demonstrate skills and literacies both within the program and at home. Whilst their attitudes remained stable with a slight increase in data that correlates job success with hard work, outcomes in reading and writing varied. New literacy skills were also developed such as the ability to use apps and computers to create and design objects (calendars, booklets, film animation and electronic portfolios). The impact of participation became evident in the ease

with which program graduates could discuss multimedia concepts and skills beyond their involvement in the program. Impact was measured through an analysis of post-school transitions by inquiring about success in high school including graduation, and the effect of the program on extended families, and on college and career choices. The research participants were given a computer to take home on completion of the program, which meant that students could transfer and demonstrate knowledge within family systems.

Erstad and Silseth (2019) examine the impact of participating in creative activities including new technology: gaming, k-pop, and Lego robotics. This study presented empirical data from a larger ethnography conducted in Oslo with young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The participants resided in a village in Oslo, an industrial and working class community with one of the largest migrant populations in Norway, encompassing a diversity of origins and languages. The focus of the study was to show how ethnically diverse young people take advantage of digital technologies in pursuit of learning based on interests developed outside of school. Specifically, the research explored how digital technologies create new possibilities for “futuremaking” or ‘a combination of past, present, and future orientations of the self, especially as expressed in times of transition from one level of schooling to the next or during life changes’ (2019, p. 311). Methods used to collect data included observations/field notes, interviews, and data gathered by the participants themselves. Two aspects of “futuremaking” featured in this article are “choice” and “trajectory”; the former defined as a series of decisions that foreclose or open up possible narratives about the future, and the latter as the pathways and resources used in various situations by an individual in an effort to move and progress through time (2019, p. 312). The term “learning lives” is used to describe a process of identity formation and negotiation that lies at the heart of what it means to be a “learner” in both contemporary society and within multiple life situations and settings. It describes what it means for young people to be “in motion across contexts of learning and how they connect different domains of knowledge in their emergent practices of social and mediated learning and living” (2019, p. 312). This term also describes processes of identity formation and negotiation that occur when communities of learners come together to create or produce artifacts, and the degree to which agency and reflexivity shape representations of self. The next article and section focus on the types of practices and conditions that support identity formation.

## Concepts of Self and Identity as Outcomes

Nielsen and Sørensen (2019) conducted a two-year qualitative study of “youth on the edge” of society (experiences of abuse, homelessness, criminal activity, early school leaving, substance abuse, social exclusion, mental illness, refugees) participating in five different community art projects (music, visual arts, photography, theatre) in different regions of Denmark. The research involved three phases of data collection: life story interviews with people that participated in the program for at least four years before the interviews took place; field observations that examined patterns in participation followed by more semi-structured interviews with a focus on participants art work, and follow up interviews seven to eight months later, which involved a discussion about participant artwork thus using the production of art as a mechanism for dialogue. The authors identified six conditions for effective participation including “little publics” or the public exhibition of work; “rituals, routines and rules” such as

drinking tea and discussing current art projects; “community” such as relationships between themselves and with other professional artists; “shaping” or exploring the way emotion and a sense of self can shape one’s approach to practice and/or the material form of the art work being created; “experimental approaches” or the ability to make mistakes and try new techniques, and “open-ended works” or the way artworks are subject to change or exist in a state of flux.

The impact of these conditions include development of self-understanding, identity, and future projection. ‘Little publics’ for example saw participants overcoming prejudices or limiting conceptions of self thus giving space or creating opportunity for new futures to appear much like the findings of Erstad and Silseth (2019). Rituals, routines, and rules created a sense of predictability and a framework for structuring participation – a collective frame through which artistic and community participation is contained and ordered yet pliable enough to enable the artistic process to occur. “Community” generated inspiration, support and mutual interest and a sense of belonging and connection between community members – conditions created through talking with each other, personal messaging, and humour (2019, pp. 206–208). These findings are also reflected in several other articles reviewed in this paper such those by Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn (2007), Spiegel et al., (2019), Wang, Mak, & Fancourt (2020), and Wright, Alaggia, & Krygsman (2014) and illustrate the degree to which conceptions of self and identity in relation to time are important to studies of youth arts participation.

This article clearly identifies the capacity of the arts and OST youth arts programming to achieve intrinsic but also instrumental impact through art. “Shaping” for example, provided participants with an opportunity to find or work through new ways of being and performing artistic identities through arts practices. This is particularly relevant for marginalized youth as many have experienced a trajectory of failures in the traditional schooling system. The “experimental” approach to art creation saw participants feel safe to try new things, to create new objects and to make mistakes or fail and thus to become reflexive, problem-solving individuals (cf Soep, 2022) above). The third is the experience of “open-endedness” whereby artwork, once complete, is a mechanism for future artworks and future manifestations of self and expression through art, “the flux of what is yet to come” (2019, p. 210). All these conditions, the authors argue, make way for a new sense of self deriving from “being someone in the context of something” (2019, p. 211), and that supports them to leverage opportunity when it arises, the possibility of “better beginnings” as one young participant put it, whether it be normalized trajectories or new orientations of self.

The articles presented thus far collectively present an understanding of how time and impact is measured through the lens of youth arts participation from various disciplinary perspectives. They also present a picture of the types of arts programs that exist, and the way that arts and technology intersect to create a context for the developing transferable knowledge and skills to prepare people for adult life such as further education and employment. The next section discusses articles and research that seek to capture the impact of OST arts programs within socio-political frameworks, where young people attempt to become agents by advocating for others and their communities.



## Increased Socio-political Consciousness and Civic Engagement

Henderson, Biscocho, & Gerstein (2016) and Robinson, Paraskevopoulou, & Hollingworth (2019) argue that participation in community-based arts programming improves and/or increases young people's socio-political consciousness and civic engagement over time. While the scope of what constitutes a social and political consciousness varies by study and theoretical orientation, the studies in this sub-set argue that participating in creative activities such as those within community-based arts programs leads young people to develop a sense of purpose and internalize the confidence to successfully examine and act upon the world around them. The two articles discussed in this section align because of their argument that OST youth arts program participation increases young people's likelihood of becoming informed and active lifelong members of their communities.

Henderson, Biscocho, & Gerstein's (2016) qualitative study of youth's participation in a community-based arts centre in East Palo Alto, California, revealed the program's impact on increasing participants' active involvement in civic life, post-program, with the ultimate impact of promoting community change. The report used a case study approach to better understand if and how the Youth Arts and Music Center was facilitating the conditions for predominantly Latinx and Black youth from low-income families to meaningfully engage in their communities. These sources span from 2010 to 2015 thus providing an assessment of program impact over a five-year time period and giving insight into how participating in the arts, specifically filmmaking, music and writing influence people's lives. The study's analysis, which relies predominantly on youth interviews and focus groups that are curated into case studies, concludes that youth's participation in the program enables a range of positive youth development outcomes, including routine opportunities for youth to exercise voice and leadership, and ultimately to support youth to adult civic engagement over time.

Similarly, Robinson, Paraskevopoulou, & Hollingworth's (2019) study argues a primary outcome of youth's participation in the arts is "agency and active citizenship." Using a subset of data collected from a larger British study exploring links between the impacts of Arts Award<sup>1</sup> (visual arts, music, dance, theatre) and young people's (from a range of ethnic backgrounds – BIPOC, Eastern European, South Asian and mixed heritage) paths to education and employment, Robinson's analysis shows "how improvements in soft skills can give young people opportunities for agency, which shape progression pathways leading to measurable change" (2019, p. 1203) in the areas of one's ability to know the world around them, and contribute to it in meaningful ways. The two studies here focused on the impact that OST arts programs have on the individual participant as an actor in their community(ies)– that is, how participation promotes the development of social and political consciousness within young people over time, and in some cases how that lends itself to increased community or civic engagement.

1 "Arts Award is a suite of unique qualifications for young people aged up to 25, managed by Trinity College London in association with Arts Council England. The awards support young people to grow as artists and arts leaders: they aim to develop arts knowledge and understanding, foster creativity and build skills in communication, planning and review" (Robinson et al., 2019, p. 1216).

## Improved Sense of Wellbeing and Behaviour

Fauth, Roth, and Brooks-Gunn (2007), Wang, Mak, and Fancourt (2020), Spiegel et al., (2019), and Wright, Alaggia, and Krygsman (2014) detail the impact of community-based arts program participation on socioemotional characteristics—such as individuals’ mental well-being and functions, as well as behaviours among their peers. These four articles are categorized together here because their impact reflects a variety of mental health and externalized behavioural factors. These programs are often presented as an intervention through which youth in lower income communities occupy their after-school hours—during which they are otherwise possibly susceptible to risky behaviour, a sentiment long echoed by critical youth development scholars (e. g., Halpern, 2002; Kwon, 2013).

Fauth, Roth, and Brooks-Gunn (2007) examine the impact of afterschool time activity participation on various “developmental” outcomes including “anxiety/depression, delinquency, and substance abuse” (p. 760). Using longitudinal multilevel analysis on a set of survey data from youth of diverse backgrounds from 80 Chicago neighbourhoods, the authors examine varying types of programs (sports, arts, community-based clubs) and find varying relationships amongst participation in those clubs and their outcomes of interest. Of relevance to the present discussion, “participation in the arts were negatively associated with average substance abuse and attenuated increases (sic) in usage over time” (Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007, p. 760).

Focussing on different outcomes of interest, Wang, Mak, and Fancourt (2020) examine the impact of community-based art participation on “mental distress, mental health functioning, and life satisfaction” (p. 1). Also using a large set of longitudinal survey data spanning five years and two waves, they find that “frequent arts participation and cultural attendance were associated with lower levels of mental distress and higher levels of life satisfaction, with arts participation additionally associated with better mental health functioning” (p. 1). Spiegel et al’s., (2019) mixed-methods study on the impact of participation on a social circus program for “street-involved” (p. 899) and other marginalized youth in Ecuador demonstrates a range of transformative outcomes, including “personal growth, social inclusion, social engagement and a health-related lifestyle” (p. 899). Embedded across these studies appears the assumption that participation in arts programs can serve as fertile ground for improvement in a wide arena of psychosocial domains, with projected implications for enhancing collective wellbeing and self-understanding within the context of community. Wright, Alaggia, and Krygsman (2014) research below suggests something similar but at the level of the individual.

Wright, Alaggia, and Krygsman (2014) conducted a study on National Arts and Youth Demonstration Project (NAYDP) which ran from 2001 to 2004 across five sites in Canada and engaged 183 youth aged 9 to 15 years old. The free program targeted young people from low-income communities, multicultural communities, and Aboriginal/native Canadian communities with transportation and food provided. The NAYPD project had three objectives: a) to evaluate the extent to which community-based organizations can successfully recruit, engage, and retain youths in a 9-month artistic endeavour (focused on theatre but also included visual arts (mask making, set design) and media arts (digital filming and editing); b) to assess their in-program progress in terms of artistic and social skills; and c) to determine whether involvement in arts programs is related to improved psychosocial functioning, thus attenuating behavioural and emotional problems. The findings of research undertaken at the time, and shortly after, indicate a high and sustained level of participation throughout the NAYDP, and

by the end, a statistically significant improvement in artistic and social skills. When compared with the findings of the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), which acts as a control group, those that participated in NAYDP also indicated a statistically significant reduction in emotional problems (depression, anxiety, and unhappiness) and a strengthening in art and social skills.

Wright, Alaggia, and Krygsman (2014) set out to examine the experiences of past NAYDP program participants five years post-participation to determine the extent to which the impact outlined above was sustained in the five years beyond participation. In turn they covered four themes: benefits of participation, key elements of positive outcomes, present school engagement and hopes for the future (2014, p. 142). 32 of the initial 183 participants were interviewed and cited the following outcomes of participation: completing a project inspired them to continue practicing art and provided them with a sense of validation and achievement; participating increased their desire and ability to participate in the arts both in formal schooling and/or outside of it. For some, the desire to continue existed but opportunity did not. In line with previous research, another impact was the ability to build and sustain prosocial relationships and skills, and to engage in higher levels of tolerance and conflict resolution so whilst some reported maintaining long-term friendships with peers and instructors, others cited experiencing ongoing stronger socioemotional skills including decreased verbal and physical aggression. The flexibility and openness of program leaders were cited as significant as was the degree of expertise and professionalism indicated during program delivery. This contributed to continuing involvement in school activities as well as out-of-school activities, and mood changes such as more happiness and positivity at school leading to further school engagement and the forming of aspirations to move into post-secondary education and into a well-paying job.

The articles discussed here indicate the range of impact arts participation can have in the lives of young people – from the intrinsic to the instrumental as well as from the collective to the individual. At the heart of the studies discussed is the ability of young people to develop long-standing relationships with adults, peers, and communities and to therefore develop a sense of who they are and who they'd like to become. This can be seen through a commitment to social causes and increased socio-political consciousness, which enhances civic citizenship and the ability to regulate and improve human emotion and mental health both for themselves and others. A key finding was that themes covered here intersect in ways that inform or underpin each other. This intersectionality is indicative of why capturing and/or recording long-term impact is challenging.

## Discussion

To gain a full understanding of the extent to which arts-based programs generate long-term impact, we employed a series of keyword searches [see table 2] to locate studies that not only measured the “effects” of OST youth arts participation but the “effects” over time without focussing specifically linear notions of causality. We settled on eleven papers that were weighted in favour of qualitative methods namely because they allowed for nuance. The following table demonstrates our methodological classification of the final corpus.

Method	Authors
Quantitative	Fauth et al., 2007 Wang et al., 2020
Qualitative	O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2016 Erstad & Silseth, 2019 Robinson et al., 2019 Wright et al., 2014 Henderson et al., 2016 Ngo et al., 2017
Mixed Method	Betts, 2006 Nielsen & Sørensen, 2019 Spiegel et al., 2019

We chose these studies because together they provide a holistic picture of the way existing research captures long-term impact, and how they are methodologically organized and conducted. What is clear from the literature is that, with the skills young people develop, the outcomes they achieve, and the way art intersects with their social and cultural backgrounds, comes a sense of empowerment and achievement. In turn young people develop an idea of who they are now and who they can become in the future.

O'Donnell and Kirkner (2016) highlight the degree to which change is made apparent through increases in civic engagement and participation. In turn, the hard skills (technical and academic) coupled with the soft skills (interpersonal and creative) needed to participate in a particular art form supported participants to become active citizens for their communities. Betts (2006) and Erstad and Silseth (2019) both indicate the way that technological skills allow for a future self to be imagined and created, and to achieve agency. Erstad and Silseth's (2019) study highlights a formal/informal nexus, and the way variations of self are governed by choice and trajectory mediated through technology and processes of informal education whilst Betts (2006) discusses the power of technology know-how and access to impact education outcomes and improve familial relationships. Finally, for Nielsen and Sørensen (2019), it is art and the way it helps people to become part of a community of practice and to gain legitimacy in that community that indicates impact. All three of these studies highlight the importance of developing a sense of self, and the knowledge and skills needed to assert that identity.

Socio-political consciousness developed particularly through art and music (Henderson, Biscocho, & Gerstein, 2016) provides people with a sense of purpose and the ability to act with internalized confidence. In instances like this, people act on the world, they become agents by developing a sense of purpose and sense of civic responsibility. They situate themselves in contexts whereby they help others and themselves by owning and identifying the hardships felt at the level of their broader communities, and they make sense of their pasts, of their marginalization, by becoming active in their communities and attempting to rectify future ills. As made clear by Ngo, Lewis, & Maloney Leaf (2017) art and poetry provide people with an opportunity and a process to make sense of life, of memories and events, and to structure their narratives of self so that they are no longer "marginalized victims" but actors and agents, of whom develop across time and space, through retrospection and technology,

and to develop a narrative of identity that empowers rather than diminishes their lived experience. Impact like this improves the outlook and the potential of people to take forward steps in their lives. We argue that to establish the complete value of community arts programs and to represent the extent to which they affect people's lives in years beyond participation, a long-term approach to data collection is required. A vast majority of research and evaluation conducted across many fields focuses on immediate impact that occurs within short timeframes. Furthermore, these types of studies or evaluations have the potential to unintentionally homogenize young people, imprint values of labour productivity and sideline marginality. This paper is our attempt to redress some of that.

To mitigate the risk of bias, researchers in the field attempt to control their findings by using national longitudinal datasets and to contrast and compare findings using control groups, and by using freely available established data collection tools to either perform evaluations or to supplement other methods (Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Robinson, Paraskevopoulou, & Hollingworth, 2019; Wang, Mak, & Fancourt, 2020; Wright, Alaggia, & Krygsman, 2014). This occurs primarily in quantitative studies, and although, does prove to a greater degree, cause and effect as is expected in traditional effect studies, it tends to downplay the power of people's stories and circumstances, and the agency of those people that experience change (Erstad & Silseth, 2019; Nielsen & Sørensen, 2019). We draw attention to the impact of change that is indicated by the long-term research conducted in the studies cited here, and the way OST arts participation strengthens young people's sense of self, identity and belonging in this world, and their positions of marginality.

## Concluding Remarks

OST community arts organizations provide young people opportunities to learn and develop by providing them with access to arts-based activities. The aim is to teach young people the knowledge and skills needed to leverage their own lived experiences alongside teaching them how to express themselves through art. The transformative and healing power of artistic and creative practice is well documented, as is the capacity for it to be a preventative measure, particularly for marginalized young people or those in the justice system (Betts 2006; Fauth, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Halpern, 2002; Kwon, 2013; O'Donnell & Kirkner, 2016). In this paper, we reviewed literature that indicated the impact of participating in OST arts programs from several disciplinary perspectives. In turn, we identified the various ways that arts participation is measured, and the value attributed to its impact. Impact can only be rendered such when an actor is given the power to develop and grow. In this way the full impact of arts education and learning becomes apparent. For those that do not have access to the arts, OST youth art programs are a salve. Where structural disadvantage limits people's opportunities to take up positions of power in their lives, and where traditional schooling fails them, programs like OST youth arts programs provide the skills and resources needed to generate power and the confidence needed to use it. The more value that is attributed to the work OST arts providers do, and the more the impact is seen to be longstanding, the more communities and participants will benefit and the greater the impact overall.

The literature reviewed for this article mostly began from a common standpoint: that arts participation generates positive impact; that creative self-expression affords participants the power needed to question, challenge and to express themselves within the lived reality of cultural and structural disadvantage. The outcomes discussed here were achieved to various degrees, with the impact manifesting in mostly two ways, as intrinsic and/or instrumental (McCarthy, Ondaatje, Zakaras, & Brooks, 2001).

Whilst many researchers agree that arts education can be socially and culturally affirming, Holden (2006) cited in Wearing et al., (2021) argues for a broadening of the value ascribed to the arts. This, he claims, can be done by noting diversity in value attribution mainly intrinsic value, being the subjective impact that arts and cultural experiences have on someone; instrumental value, including outcomes such as employment, education or wellbeing for individuals and communities; and institutional value, placed on arts and culture by society. To broaden the value of the arts and therefore community-based arts provision, we are reminded by Holden (2006) that the way arts and cultural institutions interact is important. While instrumental value may be the focus of government funders and thus community arts organization, arts and culture proponents such as community arts providers need to consider methods through which they can accentuate intrinsic and institutional value as well. They must, he claims, conduct ‘methodologically robust evaluations, evidencing a relationship between intrinsic value and tangible, beneficial outcomes such as improved education, mental and physical wellbeing, and social cohesion – in a sense, making the intrinsic also instrumental’ (Wearing, Dalton, & Bertram, 2021).

To conclude, we recognize that community arts organizations operate within institutional frameworks and must report on their progress and impact to justify their existence. For many this means speaking to a human capital paradigm and economic policy. Often this means evaluating impact over short timeframes. In this article, we hope to offer a slightly different view, and one that is related to the value of their work– how these programs shape and continue to impact people’s lives for years beyond participation.

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# Towards a Holistic Model of Extended Education in the Public School System: Three Schools on the Way to Integrated All-Day Schools

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**Abstract:** Integrated all-day schools (ADS) follow a holistic approach, arguing that different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) are equally important for students, and provide instruction and care by a constant team of teachers and care professionals. Using a qualitative longitudinal design, the research uses development phases to analyze the evolution of the holistic approach to children learning from 2020 to 2022 in three ADS. Findings show that the ADS embark on a school development journey as they try to integrate different learning cultures and professional approaches within one organization. The qualitative data shows a strong start, but challenges emerge in the daily practices. By April 2021, all three ADS teams emphasize the resolution of initial professional conflicts resulting from different professional backgrounds. Staff turnover and changes in management have a strong impact on the development journeys. The conclusion highlights that the non-linear organizational development process requires constant revision of strategy and structure. Commitment of all staff to this integration of care and instruction is crucial, which is impeded by limited time for pedagogical culture development. This article advances the understanding of the development process of integrated ADS and highlights challenges and benefits.

**Keywords:** Integrated All-Day Schools, School Development, Extended Education, Public School System, Qualitative Longitudinal Study

## Introduction

Many families all over the world rely on the institutionalized care and leisure time services to be able to balance family and work life (Bae, 2019; Lilla & Schüpbach, 2019). Yet, according to the OECD (OECD, 2018, 2022), these services are often organized outside of the public school system. On average 31 % of all children between six and eleven years are using those services in OECD countries. Those extended education offerings provide fee-based care before and after official school hours and have mostly developed because of working parents' needs.

The timetable for children aged four to seven (K-2) in the Swiss public school system consists of four to eight 45-minute lessons each day. After the official school hours, Swiss parents can decide between different forms of extended education for their children (i. e. after-school programs, youth clubs, leisure centers etc.) (Bae, 2019; Schüpbach, 2018). In the last decade, many urban areas have seen a surge in those extended education services which

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provide lunch and afternoon care. Those fee-based public institutions are often subsidized by the state but seldom directly integrated in the public school system or linked to classroom instruction. The integrated all-day-schools (ADS) have been developed as pilot projects to bridge the gap between the public school instruction and after-school care and to provide a more holistic approach, where the whole child with all its cognitive and affective experiences is included in the learning process (Eisnach, 2011; Mahmoudi et al., 2012; Trautmann & Lipkina, 2020). The integrated ADS are public schools, which include care hours as one compulsory part of the official school day. Therefore, this new combination of instruction and care must develop one organizational structure and strategy which allows for systematic development of a holistic approach to learning.

In this contribution, we argue that in integrated ADS, there is a need to expand the notion of learning to more informal settings in a comprehensive school development (Mahoney, 2014, p. 65) towards a holistic view on learning and education. Therefore, integrated ADS emphasize the importance of staff-student or peer-to-peer relationships for successful learning processes (Fischer et al., 2022; Fischer & Klieme, 2013). The aim of this study is to describe the development journeys of three newly opened ADSs during the first two years (2020–2022) of the organizational development phases, focusing on the following research questions:

*Is there evidence of different phases of development in the three integrated ADS over the course of time?*

1. *What are the most important strategic goals for the ADS at the onset of the development?*
2. *Which obstacles or challenges can be identified in the development of the three ADS over time?*
3. *Are there commonalities or differences between developmental trajectories of the three ADS?*

Therefore, we aim to investigate whether ADS could expand the focus of academic learning in public schools to a more holistic approach to learning, while providing inclusive educational experiences and attractive leisure activities at the same time.

## Extended Education and All-Day Schools in Switzerland

Before describing the development trajectories of the three integrated ADS, a differentiation between the systems of extended education in Switzerland is necessary. In the Swiss federal education system, the municipalities are responsible for the public education as well as additional care services (HarmoS-Konkordat, 2007). Therefore, they decide on the form of extended education (EE) they provide for families. ADS and EE offerings are additional institutions to the compulsory schooling (Flitner, 2015).

### Extended Education

Depending on the cantonal and municipal framework conditions, EE is organized differently all over Switzerland. Each of the 26 Swiss cantons has the autonomy to decide in what form

and to what extent it introduces EE. In this context, EE refers to any institution which provides care outside the compulsory schooling (e.g., after-school programs, youth clubs, leisure centers, etc.). During the instruction time (mornings and afternoons), lessons are taught by teachers (and in some cases specialists like special needs educators, social workers etc.) and afterwards students go home or visit the EE offerings.

A look at history and neighboring countries shows that the development of EE offerings in Switzerland was rather slow until 2015. This is particularly rooted in the traditional ideal of the male breadwinner model with a housewife looking after the children (Schüpbach, 2010), in the family structures of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In an UNICEF study, Switzerland scores the lowest of 31 developed countries concerning family friendly policies (Chzhen et al., 2019). Yet, looking at urban areas, we can see that services of EE are not a recent innovation in Switzerland (Städteinitiative Bildung, 2021). The canton of Bern is one of the more developed regions of Switzerland in relation to the supply and demand of EE, alongside other urban regions, and larger cities such as Zurich and Geneva. In the city of Bern, the total of care hours and the total of students in such institutionalized settings have increased consistently – today, 20'000 students take part in an EE program. In the canton of Bern, about 80 % of all students have access to those services and about 6 million hours of care are provided each year by pedagogical professionals (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern [ERZ], 2019). Those EE programs are fee-based, depending on the income of the families. Furthermore, they have to be provided by the municipality if 10 or more parents request the service (ERZ, 2009).

### All-day Schools

The increasing demand for EE offerings has led to the development of new forms of the integration of regular school instruction and care. One example are so-called integrated all-day schools (ADS). This innovative approach seeks to bridge the divide between compulsory instruction and optional care by integrating them in one institution. In integrated ADS, pupils are obliged to attend fixed care hours (three days a week, from 8 am to 4 pm). Furthermore, in contrast to other EE settings, the groups of children and staff teams remain constant over the school day and week. Thus, the same people are always present in an ADS and more stable relationships can be formed. The team of an ADS consists of different professions: Teachers, care specialists, remedial and special needs teachers, social workers and also people without professional training. Contrary to EE, ADS offer both instruction and care and therefore must allocate tasks and resources to the different professions. This means that different understandings of education come together, which can lead to discussions and conflicts. Multi-professional collaboration is needed to integrate the two aspects of the school day. It is expected that teaching and care are closely linked and that there is a lively exchange between all staff. In the last two years (2020–2022), some schools in the city of Bern have installed integrated ADS as part of the regular elementary school setting (Stadt Bern, 2016). ADS exist beside the regular school and EE in the same district. The city emphasizes in its educational strategy that ADS are “a place to live and learn” and schools should provide ADS as a voluntary option (Stadt Bern, 2016, p. 1)

Until now, the municipalities decide whether they are providing a regular EE or integrated ADS or both. On the parents side, they can choose to register for the integrated ADS, if they have a high need for care and if an ADS is provided in the municipality. Since there is no free

school choice in Switzerland, schools cannot actively advertise the potential benefits of the integrated ADS over the regular EE model. Furthermore, it is still unclear what parents can expect as potential benefits of ADS. Financially, integrated ADS cost the same as regular EE offerings. This means that in integrated ADS too, the care hours are paid for by the parents while the regular instruction is free of charge.

## Previous Research on Extended Education and ADS

For about 20 years, research has been looking at the design and impact of extended education and all-day schools. Researchers emphasize that EE and regular instruction should collaborate and develop into a “learning and living space” for pupils and that learning and living together can be designed in a playful way (Bueb, 2010; Niederberger, 2020). Yet, research findings show that the reality is often different and instruction and care remain separate (Trautmann & Lipkina, 2020). In order for pupils to benefit from the holistic education (integrating different forms of learning), the education and care must be interlinked on a structural and pedagogical level (Fischer, Holtappels, et al., 2011; Schüpbach, 2010). Previous research – especially from Germany – shows that in integrated ADS, the boundaries between instruction and care dissolve and allow for an easier transition between formal and informal learning (Lilla & Schüpbach, 2019). Integrated ADS therefore offer the opportunity to reform the approach to instruction and teaching (Hopf & Stecher, 2014) and establish a new, more holistic learning culture (Horstkemper & Tillmann, 2014).

Research suggests that integrated ADS could generate an added value and enable a more comprehensive education for pupils (Reh et al., 2015). While the focus in regular schools is on teaching subject matters, integrated ADS aim to provide a more holistic education and promote different competences outside academic achievement of children and youth (Eisnach, 2011; Fischer & Richey, 2021). Moreover, several studies have found that participating in EE in general has only small effects on student achievement, but instead may positively influence children’s perceptions of autonomy, participation and the quality of interaction between peers as well as students and staff (Fischer, Brümmer, & Kuhn, 2011). Yet, it is important to firstly define the goals and visions, which is seldom studied in detail.

Many integrated ADS have made it their mission to integrate teaching and care and to develop a holistic approach to learning. The idea of this “school reform-driven model” (Bae, 2019, p. 157) is to provide a continuous group setting by offering stable staff-child relationships and stable classroom settings. In this context, students can build trust and friendships from lasting relationships and improve their attitude to learning (Vandell et al., 2015; Vandell et al., 2022). According to Holtappels and Rollet (2009), the interplay between all the above mentioned factors of ADS development is still understudied today. Yet, the starting point of the analysis may be the strategic orientation (or the why) of the developing organization (Holtappels & Rollett, 2009, p. 21).

Research also shows that developing an integrated ADS does not only change the structure of the individual school, but also has an impact on various process characteristics of school practice. That means changes occur in the management structure, daily organization and premises, as well as the cooperation between staff members, including their working

conditions (Bildung und Betreuung, n.d.; Dollinger, 2010). In addition, according to Idel and Schütz (2018), the changing demands in ADS concerning teachers' pedagogical actions leads to more ambivalence. Furthermore, according to Olk et al. (2011, p. 70), both teachers and school administrators emphasize that working in ADS involves a considerable amount of additional work for them and a high level of personal commitment (e.g., in afternoon offerings, support hours) (Olk et al., 2011, p. 70). Various authors expect that the integrated ADS could – compared to regular EE settings – contribute to a higher well-being of the students (Fischer & Richey, 2021; Rabenstein, 2020; Stecher et al., 2007; StEG-Konsortium, 2010). Fischer and Richey (2021) go on to explain that positive relationships between children and with staff, which can be established more easily in the integrated ADS context by getting to know each other in other contexts and through close contact, have a lasting effect on the wellbeing on both sides. As shown above, research on EE often focuses on the experiences of children and staff in ADS or structural challenges from a more evaluative perspective. Seldom do we find longitudinal data which looks at the development of ADS over time (StEG-Konsortium, 2015). Therefore, little is known about the individual differences between ADS, while the different facets of their organizational structure develop. Reh et al. (2015) emphasise that, despite all the similarities in the school development processes at ADS, different learning cultures may develop.

## Theoretical Framework

Today, many schools in German-speaking countries are on a development journey towards integrated ADS (Eisnach, 2011). This development affects the whole school and implies that fundamental change occurs on organizational, personnel and instructional level (Dederling, 2012; Dubs, 2005). Furthermore, several authors argue that this specific change process requires a fundamental holistic approach, arguing that different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) are equally important for students and therefore a change in learning culture is needed (Holtappels, 1995, 2002). In addition, school development theory points out that each school follows their individual journey by defining key concepts, goals and visions (Hallinger & Heck, 2011). The holistic approach also implies that professional responsibilities and backgrounds must be integrated in the ADS by enabling fruitful multiprofessional collaboration.

In this study, we assume that processes of change must be initiated and monitored. Strategic goals are “securing long-term organizational success” (Thom & Ritz, 2017, p. 53) and have to be defined by the political and operational leaders (district, community or school leaders). Structural change has to be reflected, for example, in the adaptation of organizational charts and forms of organization that change everyday life (Thom & Ritz, 2017, p. 90). Cultural change refers to the changing behavior of those involved through the definition and implementation of new values and norms as well as the new basic assumptions in the organizational culture.

However, this development is not a linear process (Argyris, 1995). Tasks, goals, organizational structure, school management or staff structure may change over time. Glasl et al. (2020; Glasl & Lievegood, 2011) outline four distinct phases that organizations typically go

through during the development process: the pioneering phase, the differentiation phase, the integration phase and the association phase. The *pioneering phase* is characterized by independent and charismatic personalities setting the vision and acting as role models. Formal planning is of secondary importance and communication is fast, spontaneous, and direct. If processes become too unclear or arbitrary, the *differentiation phase* can help the staff to move forward. In this phase, a clear structure is established with task allocation, processes and procedures that are adjusted and redefined. The organization is regulated, organized and planned (Glasl et al., 2020, p. 7). The *integration phase* brings more connection with the common vision. This is where clarifying exchange can be important, namely about how staff can participate in decision making. At last, the *association phase* connects the organization with its environment. Since internal processes are regulated, there is now time for exchange with other school actors and surrounding facilities in the community.

From this theoretical perspective, the ADS must clarify their strategy, structure and culture in the development process and the integration phase holds the potential to work on the holistic pedagogy and learning culture.

## Methods and Sample

To understand the change processes of school development (SD), a qualitative longitudinal design was chosen for this study (Witzel, 2010; see also Stampfli et al., 2023). The researchers conducted qualitative focus group discussions with the multi-professional teams and interviews with the ADS principals of each all-day school over a period of two years. In each of these three public primary school sites, stable teams of teachers and caregivers were formed when these ADS opened in 2020.

### Sample

The data is based on a total of twelve focus group discussions with staff (see Stampfli et al., 2023) and nine interviews with ADS principals. The staff in the three ADS consists of different teams of regular school teachers, special education teachers, social workers, care specialists, interns, community service workers and individuals without any educational training. The focus group discussions took place at three different times (2020, 2021, 2022). The core team has remained constant over the three points in time. Table 1 shows the distribution of professional backgrounds at the first focus group discussion as well as the numbers of students per ADS. 33 professionals were working in the ADS in 2020. Many, but not all of them participated in the study. The total number of respondents was 27 in wave 1, 24 in wave 2 and 25 in wave 3.

**Table 1.** Sampling Data for Focus Group Discussion One in 2020

ADS	Number of Students in ADS	Number of Teachers*	Number of Trained Care Professionals	Number of Untrained Care Professionals
A	39 in 2 classes	5	4	1
B	37 in 2 classes	7	4	0
C	47 in 2 classes	6	5	1

\*including special needs educators, social workers and other specialized teachers

## Methods

Focus group discussions ask about inter-individual perceptions of development processes that are constructed over time and negotiated together (Przyborski & Riegler, 2010; Witzel, 2010; see Stampfli et al., 2023). The focus group discussions in the ADS were centered around thematic stimuli provided by the research team such as how they perceived the development process of their organization, their own wellbeing as well as their vision for the ADS. For example, we started by asking them to describe specific experiences in the ADS within the past few days. We continued then with the changes they might have experienced since the ADS started (strategy, structure, culture) and went on to other topics like collaboration and pedagogical attitudes, ending with a question about the possibility for participation in the development of the ADS, whether for students or staff. The participants in the focus group discussions were working together in the ADS and thus make up a natural group.

Interviews intend to investigate the perspective of an individual in a specific context and – by using a guideline for the interview – to compare the experiences of the participants (Lamnek, 2010). The interviews with the ADS principals focused on three main topics: the reflections on the strategy, the structures and the culture which has developed in the ADS.

## Data Analysis

The focus group discussions and interviews were transcribed from the obtained audio files and were analyzed through qualitative content analysis according to Kuckartz and Rädiker (2020). The interviews and group discussions were held in German. Only the quotes used in this publication have been translated to English and the statements were smoothed out linguistically.

The categories were created deductively according to the organizational theory highlighting the importance of strategy, structure and culture in the development process (Thom & Ritz, 2017). The material was first analyzed to categorize statements and paragraphs into these broad concept areas. Then, in a circular research process, these areas were divided into sub-categories, (re)defined, and clarified with examples for a clear assignment to one category. One interview and one group discussion were evaluated by three members of the research team independently for comparison. The mutually established coding rules guided the coordination of the researchers, with the team discussing the coding and inductively adding categories if needed.

## Results

The main statements from the focus group discussions and interviews about the school development process are summarized below. Direct quotes from ADS staff and ADS principals are used for illustration. The first section focuses only on the strategy of the ADS from the perspective of ADS principals to shed light on how they define the vision and strategy (RQ 1). The other results are bundled according to research phase (year) and ADS. This makes it possible to compare the different points in time within and between the schools and to show the different development trajectories (RQ2&3).

### Strategy of the Integrated ADS

All three ADS principals perceived the school as a unit of action separate to the regular school, where the pedagogical goals are more holistic. In their point of view, the ADS provide both, instruction and care with a small staff. The following quote shows that this principal emphasized that instruction and care should “merge”. *“For me, an ADS is a small unit within a large unit, but it is not only the teaching that is important but teaching and caring are merged. This is a big step for the relationship between teachers, care professionals and children. It is certainly more stable” (ADSP A).* Yet, how this merging of the two disciplines could be realized in practice, was not clarified in the interviews with the ADS principals. From the perspective of the ADS principals, one significant benefit of the ADS is the reduced hierarchy between the concepts of instruction and care, as the distinctions between these two aspects were less pronounced. Therefore, with fewer staff changes and a more blended environment among the children, the boundaries between learning and leisure became blurred. *“If a child has problems at school, he or she usually also has problems after school or vice versa. The ADS combines these two aspects. The ADS teachers also work in care and the care professionals also take part in the lessons” (ADSP B, 2020).* This quote emphasizes that the responsibilities between ADS teachers and care staff were no longer limited to one part of the day, but that both professions are responsible for the children throughout the school day. However, such a vision required the implementation of structural measures. For example, ADS principals believed that it is essential for ADS teachers to be actively involved in lunchtime or afternoon supervision. This, in turn, had a profound impact on the dynamics between teachers and care staff and underlined the need to establish and adhere to common guidelines. Comparing the three ADS according to the vision of their principals, it was evident that the driving force behind the establishment of the ADS was the strategic objective of the holistic learning culture. Furthermore, the goals of these three schools were comparable: they focus on meeting the needs of the parents and children. The provision of education and care in the same setting facilitated the communication for parents and increased the feeling of safety and stability. According to the three ADS principals it was their vision that children attending an ADS should benefit from an ongoing provision of comprehensive care and support. In addition to individual support, the principals’ strategic aim was for the ADS to provide a supportive learning and living environment for pupils, to build stronger relationships, to provide structure and to foster trust.



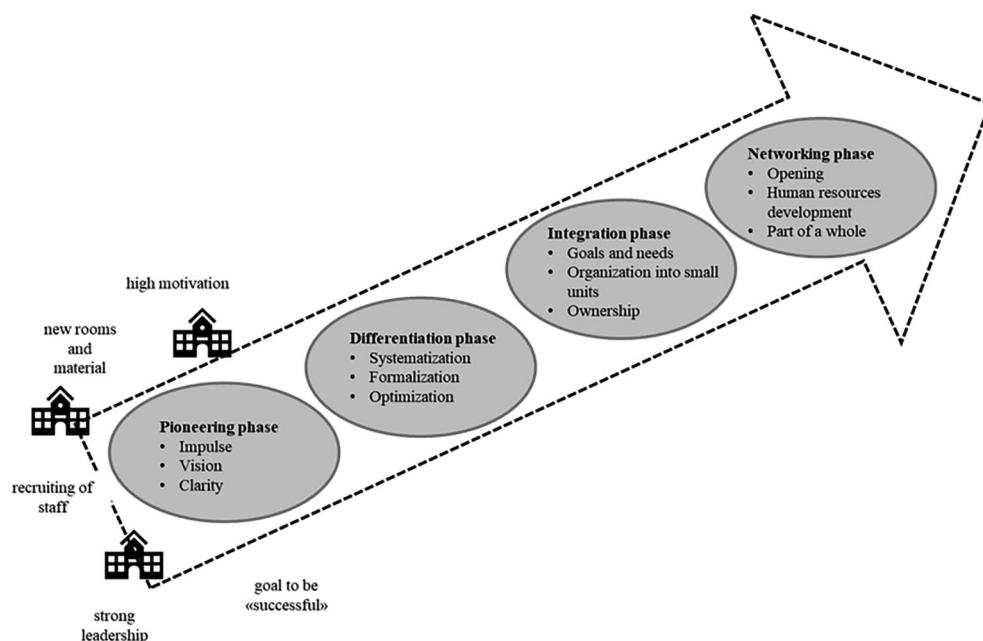
## Development Process from 2020 to 2022

Each of the following sub-sections contains a general statement concerning the development phase. After that, each school is given a title, referring to the main topics in the section.

### At the Start: August 2020

In all three ADS, the rooms were modified to meet the needs of the ADS. The staff reported that they were involved in various furnishing and renovation work even before the official start of the ADS. The teachers and care staff were recruited in late spring/early summer and often had not worked together or known each other previously. The ability to customize development processes and how they worked together was seen as positive by staff, but not enough time was allocated. As a result, some of the staff felt exhausted already by the time the students came to class for the first time. As the following diagram shows, staff motivation was high, but so was the pressure to succeed and to give pupils and parents what they expected (see figure 1).

**Figure 1.** Visualization of the SD at the First Timepoint (August 2020)



ADS A: High Staff Turnover and Instability: Being in the “Survival Mode”.

At the beginning of the first school year, the atmosphere in the ADS A was characterized by a high level of stress among staff, which was due to the uncertain situation. Moreover, the staff of the ADS A felt that they do not belong to the school. *“At the moment we are still busy with the basic development of the all-day school. [...]. We are a ‘sidecar’ docked to the regular school. We just go along and use all the infrastructure” (GD ADS A, 2020).* This quote shows

that the lack of clarity about the position and role of the ADS in the school district and in society at large has fueled staff fears that they were in competition with the rest of the school or EE, and that they could not rely on support from outside their team. Another uncertainty highlighted by this ADS principal referred to the challenge of staff turnover for the team dynamics. As a result, the ADS principal described the team as being in “survival mode”, because structures are unclear, the team is constantly destabilized, and they did not have time to develop their own values and guidelines.

#### ADS B: Lack of Stability and Purpose: Need for Leadership and Support.

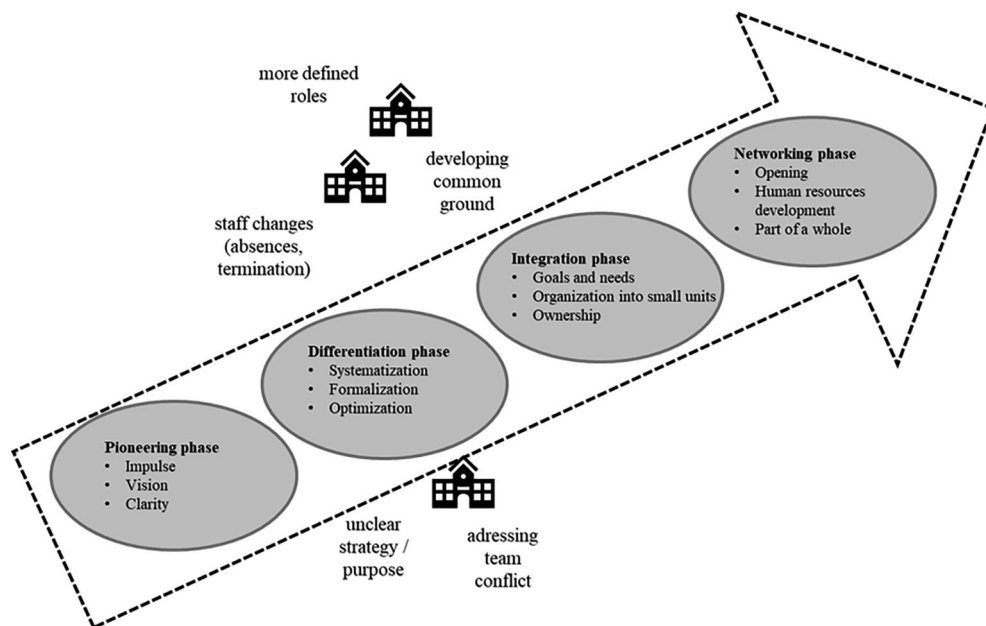
In the ADS B, the staff reported that the feeling of stability is rather low at the beginning of the process, because the working condition in the ADS seemed to be very different from those in the regular public school. *“We are not a team at the moment. Because it hasn’t settled down yet, and I must come to terms with this situation and I’m just starting to see the purpose of the ADS” (GD ADS, B, 2020).* This person also emphasized that they were not yet a team, presumably referring to a lack of a common purpose. The ADS principal also reported that she wanted to bring teaching and care closer together. In her view, this had not yet been structurally successful because the teachers were overwhelmed with their classroom duties and did not want to work in the care over lunchtime or in the afternoon. *“The care setting is not very popular with my teachers. I try to lead in such a way that synergies are created [...]. As the school principal, I had to weigh things up. [...] After all, we said it’s a bottom-up thing, we want to build it together” (ADSP B, 2020).* The ADS principal was reluctant to directly communicate the strategic goal of engaging teachers to work in care as well.

#### ADS C: Directly Addressing Conflict and the Benefit of Different Professional Backgrounds.

In the ADS C, the group interview began on a lighter note. It was noted that team development is an important pillar of a well-functioning ADS team. *“When there was a crisis in the team at the beginning, it was important that we had this debate. The more the team works together, the better the rest works as well” (ADSP C, 2020).* In their experience, good collaboration within the ADS team had been the basis for an integrated and well-functioning ADS system. It was important that staff were curious about the other professional disciplines so that they used the opportunities to learn from each other. *“I have noticed that the social worker has been able to show me what it means to supervise in the afternoon. There I noticed that the care situation on Wednesday afternoons can be something completely different from the school-like supervision we have done in this time slot up to now” (GD ADS C, 2020).* This quote shows that the staff of the ADS C already at the beginning of the implementation process had entered a deeper discussion about their learning culture.

#### After Year One – April 2021

All the ADSs have had a challenging first year, marked by much adjustment and a fair amount of trial and error. In terms of the development model (figure 2), all three had made considerable progress in defining roles and structures. Although there had been some systematization and formalization – for example a break schedule for staff – the optimism of the teams was to some extent tempered by uncertainty, conflict, and lack of clarity.

**Figure 2.** Visualization of the SD after One Year (April 2021)**ADS A: Still Optimizing: Addressing Conflict, Distant Relationships, and Unclear Processes.**

The ADS A team was clearly concerned with developing relationships between staff, but also with students. They were aware that the longer working hours and the stability of the group meant that these relationships get closer, but also needed to be discussed and conflicts needed to be addressed more directly within the ADS team: *“You’re not just with the kids all day, you’re with each other all day”* (GD ADS A, 2021). In the first year, the employees of ADS A had to contend with major personnel changes, which also meant that many new people joined the team. The attitudes and values in the team had to be renegotiated in the second year. The quote also shows uncertainty about the extent to which challenges had to be addressed directly within the team. The staff realized that various processes in the team had not been clarified and that there was rarely a common implementation practice in this regard. As a result, collaboration between the team members was also characterized by a rather distanced attitude. However, she also noted that the urgency of the development and the current challenges in everyday life had diminished somewhat. *“I have the feeling that we are still very much optimizing... Now in the second year we notice that certain things are not as urgent as in the first year, but it’s still not really smooth”* (GD ADS A, 2021).

**ADS B: Towards the “Functioning Mode”: Developing a Common Ground and Culture.**

In its second year, the ADS principal seemed to have achieved her goal of establishing a common culture and implementation. She described how they have moved from “survival mode” to “functioning mode”: *“I think they are on the road together, planning, having fun, experiencing flow. In between, despite the Corona pandemic, when school was out, we celebrated and said: “Hey, it’s great that we did it again today!”* (ADSP B, 2021). The

common attitude and communalization of the team also makes educational work easier because fewer direct agreements were necessary, and the team members relied on each other. From the employees' perspective, this also had to do with the increasing consistency of the teams. This means that they benefited more from the stability of the setting. This also had pedagogical consequences in terms of building relationships with the pupils: *"From the point of view of care, it's clear that I know the children better than I did back then. And of course, it makes it easier to work together"* (GD ADS B, 2021).

#### ADS C: Working on the Pedagogy: Appreciate Each Other, Accepting Help and Professional Development.

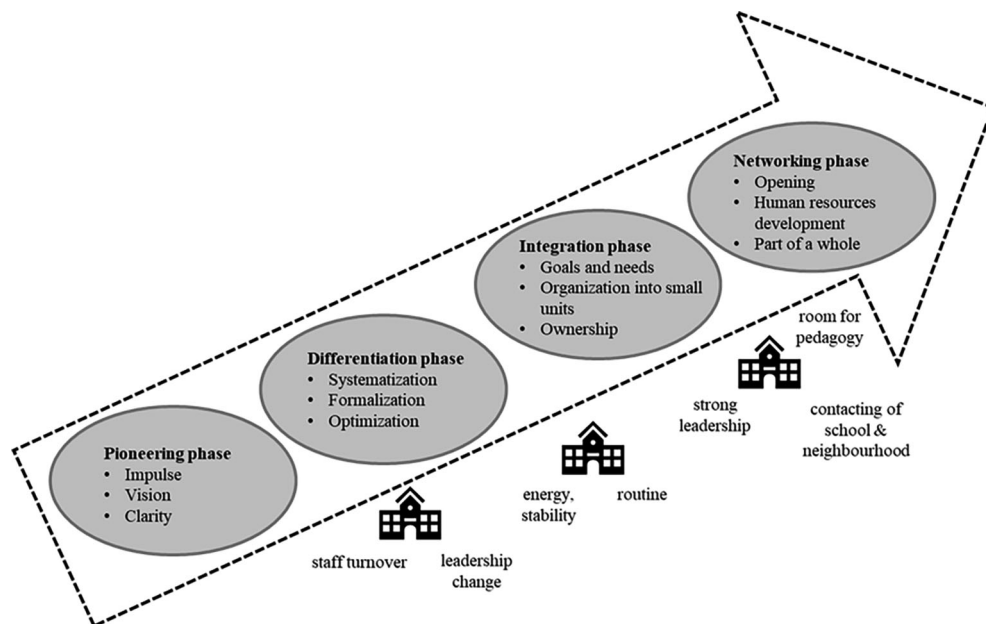
The structures and forms of collaboration in the ADS C team had already been clarified in the first year. As a result, this team could already focus very strongly on the further development of teamwork in the second year. The team had already grown together strongly and was striving to develop a good team relationship. *"In the beginning, everyone came as a lone fighter. Now you start to appreciate each other. Standing up for each other or accepting help"* (GD ADS C, 2021). The ADS principal described that they focused as a team on the educational tasks and the shared norms and values. Although there were also professional differences, these were accepted and discussed in the context of professional counselling. *"The teachers found that the ADS staff deals with the children differently than they are used to in the classroom"* (ADSP C, 2021).

#### After Year Two – April 2022

Another year later, the ADS were at different stages of development. This was associated with the different framework conditions for teamwork and working conditions in general. The integration phase was about rethinking and redefining the organization's vision and required all employees to be able and willing to play a full part in the organization. If this fails, there is a risk of regression in the development process.

#### ADS A: The Structures Recede into the Background while Entering the Networking Phase.

The development of ADS A was characterized by challenges that overshadowed the initial phase. However, the joint work on dealing with conflicts and clarifying the processes and procedures is characterized by the fact that the ADS A staff noticed in the last research phase that the stress and pressure had eased from their point of view. Fewer organizational agreements were necessary. This also enabled them to deal with the children differently in everyday life at the ADS. *"It takes a bit of the stress and pressure off, which is certainly a development we've made. It is also, if we can manage it, I think it has become calmer. It's different with the children"* (GD ADS A, 2022). This security and stability within the team also led to a greater willingness to welcome visitors from the outside in the ADS. This was important because internal processes were clarified, and employees felt more comfortable sharing these experiences. This demonstrated a clear leap in development within the ADS. This is also shown by the following quote: *"We are slowly getting the feeling that we can now develop further or open up to the outside world and think about the whole school"* (ADSP A, 2022).

**Figure 3.** Visualization of the SD after Year Two (April 2022)

ADS B: Everything has Changed: More Room for Pedagogical Change in a Challenging Context.

Looking back two years after the start of the ADS B, the staff realized that everything had changed. Leadership and mutual support had helped them in developing clearer structures, which provided stability and security for the team. This allowed for a stronger focus on pedagogical development. It was especially interesting that the security the staff felt in the team, seemed to support the team and the whole ADS. Another aspect was that the two professions had to be brought together deliberately and consistently focusing on the same goal. *“We have the energy again to tackle things like we are discussing now within our ADS”* (GD ADS B, 2022). Another important innovation in this last year was the development of a “break schedule” which allows all staff to take regular rest time and there had been more professional time allocated to collaboration between staff. This seemed to support the staff in their professional understanding, self-worth, and self-efficacy.

ADS C: The Challenge of Change: Continuous Improvement or Back to the Differentiation Phase?

The ADS C had experienced a difficult phase. This was especially related to a change in staff and a new ADS principal, which has led to a change of the role of the ADS within the whole school. This was why the ADS C was facing a series of setbacks which not only concerned their common goal, which was lacking, but also a shortage in the infrastructure. One of the ADS teachers, who became an interim principal described how she had to adjust many processes and recapitulate again and again, because the ADS was less well rooted or supported in the school. She noted that certain aspects of the ADS C had already gotten past the

differentiation phase, but that with the change in staff and spaces, the vision changed too, and, in her view, development of the whole development process was hindered: *“Certain things came up, additional classes, fewer rooms, we have been set back. That’s the hard part. Always integrating new things and always going back to the pioneering phase. ‘Oh no, how do we do it when it’s like this now’”* (ADSP C, 2022).

## Discussion

Overall, the analysis shows that the three ADS follow their own school development journey, trying to reach clarity on the goals and visions to integrate different forms of learning (informal, formal, non-formal) into a holistic learning culture. It seems to be a major challenge for all three teams and principals to connect to a strong pedagogical rationale by reaching the integration phase (Glasl & Lievegoud, 2011). Although it was highlighted that the goal of the integrated ADS is to provide a holistic education, this has only to some part been achieved in the three portrayed ADS (Argyris, 1995).

All three ADS start strong in the pioneering phase: The ADS principals set a clear vision and act as role models at the onset of the development. The ADS principals describe that their goal is to reach the holistic vision by merging instruction and care. Also, they want to provide additional support for children who use extended education a lot – hence construct a “learning and living space” as already described by other researchers (Bueb, 2010; Niederberger, 2020). Although the integrated ADS offer an integrated framework for pupils, the holistic approach to learning by combining formal, informal and non-formal learning is not yet part of daily practice, as Trautmann and Lipkina (2020) have noted as well. The establishment of a new, more holistic learning culture and the utilization of the potential of integrated ADS still needs some time and the commitment of everyone involved (school management, teaching and care staff). At the moment, ADS principals are defining and reflecting on the purpose and identity of ADS. However, the practical implementation of this vision, i.e., the collaboration of teachers and support staff within the ADS proved to be difficult to realize in practice. The professional background of teachers and non-teaching staff leads to differences in their pedagogical approach. A further indication of possible discrepancies between the strategic goals and their realization is seen in the instability of the staff teams, which would represent an important aspect of the holistic educational approach.

Table 2 shows a comparison between the time points and ADS. The ADS A and B show clear signs of the challenge and chaos that can arise in the pioneering phase. They complain about the instability of the team. The fluctuation unsettles the staff and prevents the formation of clear structures. Frustration can be felt in the focus group discussions. The displeasure of the staff indicates that the organization should move in the direction of the differentiation phase, namely by clarifying structures and processes, assuming and making leadership visible and therefore ensuring more stability. ADS C focuses less on structures and is already addressing collaboration and team conflicts especially concerning the professional backgrounds.

**Table 2.** Summary of the Development Trajectories

	A	B	C
<b>August 2020</b>	High staff turnover and instability: Being in the “survival mode”.	Lack of stability and purpose: Need for leadership and support.	Directly addressing conflict and the benefit of different professional backgrounds.
<b>April 2021</b>	Still optimizing: Addressing conflict, distant relationships, and unclear processes.	Towards the “functioning mode”: Developing a common ground and culture.	Working on the pedagogy: Appreciate each other, accepting help and professional development
<b>April 2022</b>	The structures recede into the background while entering the networking phase.	Everything has changed: More room for pedagogical change in a challenging context.	The challenge of change: Continuous improvement or back to the differentiation phase?

In April 2021, after one year, the three ADS report ongoing development with a stronger focus on relationships as well as a common culture focused on a holistic view on education. This suggests that an organizational structure has been established to some extent, including the redefinition of task allocation, processes, and procedures. Now the three ADS step into the integration phase which brings in again more clarity for their vision. The staff wants to participate in decision making, work together as a multi-professional team and achieve common goals. This is why the vision of holistic education is again in the foreground of discussion and leads to conflicts about the professional roles of the staff. All ADS seem to be concerned with similar issues, refer to professional roles of the staff.

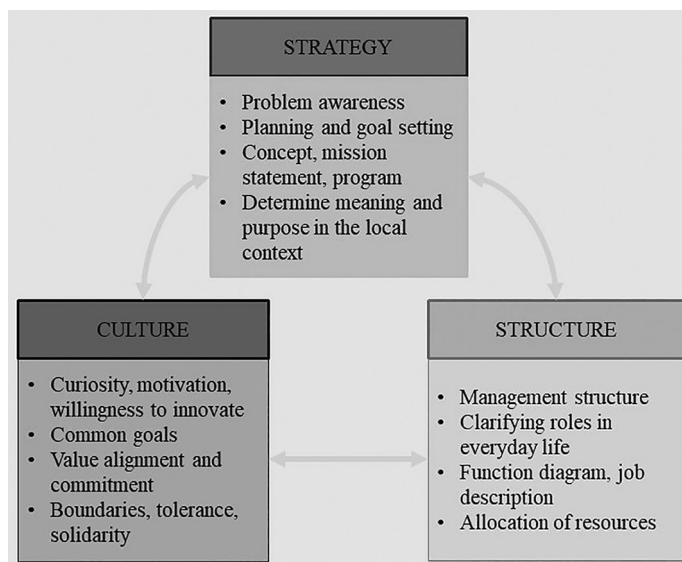
The last time point shows some differences between the ADS, which are mainly due to staff changes which impedes the creation of a common vision of holistic education. In ADS C, major changes have been made to the organization and infrastructure. This is throwing the team somewhat off balance, as the basic attitude towards the merging of education and care is being questioned at management level. ADS A seems to be closest to reaching the networking phase. After the internal processes have been regulated, there is now time for exchange with other teachers and actors outside the ADS and to coordinate a broader cooperation.

Overall, the ADS face similar challenges in their development journeys which are mainly concerned with staff turnover. Although the different development phases can be detected to some extent in the ADS, the development rather seems to be a circular, than a linear process, as shown in figure 4, where different starting points are possible. Therefore, ADS staff and principals must invest in the development of a common holistic approach to learning and be engaged in a circular process of clarifying strategy, structures, and culture. On a cultural level, multi-professionalism and different roles are challenging (Olk et al., 2011). The first year is a challenge for the staff, as they have to engage in team development and collaboration development as well (Stampfli et al., 2023).

## Conclusion

This paper shows on the example of integrated ADS that the process of school development is not linear, but a sequence of key action points which differs between each ADS. Thus, integrated ADS may have to revise and redefine aspects of the strategy or structure regularly.

**Figure 4.**



This requires a high degree of commitment and willingness to innovate on the part of the staff as well as the principal. Whereas the goal of the integrated ADS is to develop a holistic education, combining different forms of learning, it remains to be a challenge to develop this culture, even after two years. ADS are going through different development phases and the three ADS portrayed here have not yet reached a stability – neither in their strategies, nor structures or culture. Nevertheless, this study shows that the development of a common, holistic learning culture is an ongoing process which depends on the context of the ADS.

## Limitations

Further research could look at how to address challenges and seizing opportunities using school development phases in extended education and ADS. This study has mainly focused on the internal processes of the ADS. Yet, the research project did not entail a thorough analysis of context factors of the three ADS. All three ADS are located in one specific urban region of Switzerland. Other regions may face different challenges, especially on a structural level. The results described here are still transferrable to other regions and internationally as well for school which are developing into ADS, but also to schools in general, which might benefit from knowing more about the challenges of the development process.



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# Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Written Educational Plans in the School-Age Educare Setting

Anneli Hippinen Ahlgren\*

**Abstract:** This study focuses on written educational plans in the school-age educare (SAEC) setting. The purpose of the study is to add to knowledge about planning in the SAEC setting. The study also focuses on how SAEC teachers' pedagogical content knowledge could be understood through written educational plans. The material in the study includes written plans from four different SAEC centres. The plans are analysed using concepts from the theoretical framework in the study; pedagogical content knowledge. The results show how *curricular knowledge*, *subject matter knowledge*, *pedagogical knowledge*, and *contextual knowledge* are identified in the written educational plans in two themes: *from content to activity plans* and *children's influence plans*. The results show descriptions in the written educational plans of how content is transformed into teaching situations and activities. It also shows how children's influence is identified as both content of the plan and as a teaching strategy within the plan. Teaching in the SAEC setting is a complex issue involving goal-oriented activities, activities with children's influence as a starting point, and teaching in the informal open space.

**Keywords:** Planning, school-age educare, PCK, teaching, children's influence

## Introduction

In recent years, there has been an increasing demand on written educational plans in school-age educare (SAEC) settings. This is due to the 2016 addition of a new section to the compulsory school curriculum, preschool class, and SAEC, aimed at SAEC (Swedish National Agency for Education (SNAE), 2016). The purpose of this study is to examine the teaching preparation of SAEC teachers and their Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) via the scrutiny of written educational plans (Shulman, 1986; 1987). PCK is a special kind of knowledge teachers have about teaching and is the theoretical framework of this study (Shulman, 1986). There is little research on written educational plans in the SAEC setting and almost no research on the PCK of SAEC teachers. In this way, PCK could be an important part of the professional development of SAEC teachers and help elucidate how teaching in the SAEC setting is organised in relation to the content and children in that setting.

In Sweden, SAEC is directed towards education and care before, after, and during school, for pupils between the ages of six and twelve years. The Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and the curriculum for compulsory school, preschool class, and SAEC (SNAE, 2022) regulate the educational activity in SAEC. SAEC teachers plan and teach in an interdisciplinary way involving different knowledge areas simultaneously, with children's needs, interests and experiences at the foundation of planning and teaching (Klerfelt et al., 2020). SAEC teachers' planning and teaching is not directly bound to traditional school subjects such as mathematics,

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science or language, but is more frequently directed towards content areas such as values, interaction, identity, crafts, play, care and meaningful leisure. These areas of knowledge, as well as the needs, interests and experiences of the children involved, need to be considered when planning SAEC.

According to Holmberg (2017), the more defined SAEC requirements means the government is requiring systematic quality work by teachers in this setting. Written educational plans can be a part of the documentation in systematic quality work if the plans are, for example, analysed to develop teaching in SAEC. How SAEC plans are written or followed up is not regulated by the government.

The results from this study are intended to contribute to a discussion of written educational plans in the SAEC setting and help develop a conceptualisation of SAEC teachers' PCK.

## Purpose

The purpose of the study is to create knowledge about planning in the school-age educate (SAEC) setting. The study also focuses on how school-age educate teachers' PCK could be understood through written educational plans.

Two research questions have been constructed in relation to the purpose.

- How are written educational plans formulated in the school-age educate setting?
- How are curricular knowledge, subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and contextual knowledge demonstrated in the written educational plans?

## School-Age Educare: Planning and Teaching in Previous Research

Previous research focusing on planning and teaching in the school-age educate (SAEC) setting has approached this area in different ways.

A research project in which the participating SAEC teachers wrote texts about teaching in SAEC has been the basis for studies in different theoretical perspectives, such as didactic theory (Ackesjö & Haglund, 2021), knowledge forms such as phronesis and episteme (Gardsten & Ackesjö, 2022), and the sociology of childhood (Perselli & Haglund, 2022). In Perselli and Haglund's (2022) study a theoretical perspective focusing on the sociology of childhood and phenomenology problematises children's perspectives in the SAEC setting. Children's perspectives were prominent in unplanned teaching and is often unforeseen, as it is based on a situated event. In these situations, the pupils' own questions are important in SAEC, and teachers allow the pupils' interests and curiosity to guide their teaching. In this way the children's perspectives are prominent in teaching in the SAEC setting, according to Perselli and Haglund (2022). In contrast to teaching focusing on children's perspectives, Ackesjö and Haglund (2021) state in their study that for the interactions between teachers and children in the SAEC setting can be called 'teaching' the interactions have to have *intentionality*, *interactivity*, and *intersubjectivity*, which are effective concepts in the didactic

theory that makes up the theoretical framework of their study. They show examples of strong intentionality in play-based break activities or teaching about values that are planned in relation to teaching content. However, the results of the study illustrate that situation-based teaching that is the basis for teaching in the informal and open context in SAEC has a low degree of intentionality, as it is not pre-planned or specifically targeted (Ackesjö & Haglund, 2021). SAEC may be seen as being in a crossroads between goal management (through the curriculum) and situational management. Gardesten and Ackesjö (2022) use the concept *attention* more specifically professional noticing as a theoretical framework in their study as well as the knowledge forms: *phronesis* and *episteme* to create knowledge about teaching in the immediate situation. Situational teaching in unexpected situations and children's sudden curiosity may result in adaptations to the curriculum that are used more proactively later. A continuing important question therefore becomes how to plan in a way in SAEC that allows the unplanned to take place (Gardesten & Ackesjö, 2022).

Another research project (Kane, 2023; Ljusberg, 2023) focusing on planning and teaching in SAEC settings, takes an interest in SAEC teachers planning through children's needs, interests, and experiences. This is done through an action research project with staff in the SAEC setting, with different theoretical lenses such as Habermas knowledge interest theory and childhood studies. The participants in Kane's (2023) study explored different ways of inventorying children's needs and interests. Participants designed a template for planning and evaluation based on the children's identified needs, interests, and experiences (Kane, 2023). Ljusberg (2023) studies the SAEC teachers' inventory through the lens of the theoretical framework of childhood studies. The analysis focused on how children's perspectives were or were not a part of planning preparation in teachers' conversations. Three categories were identified in the study: *interest inventory based on pupils as co-actors, planning with the pupils*: refers to when the staff view children as co-actors. In the case of *interest inventory based on the pupil as an object, planning for the pupils*: staff have observed, listened with intent, and registered what they interpret the children's interests to be. *Interest inventories based on staff's own interests, planning without the pupils in mind* refers to: when staff see children as an object within the educational program and demonstrate disinterest in children's own interests. In this way, SAEC teachers begin their planning from the children's perspectives, from the child perspective, or from a staff perspective (Ljusberg, 2023).

Lager (2020) studied SAEC settings in an ethnographic study embedded in a theoretical framework that interrelates human agency with structural conditions. The studied SAEC centres were categorised into three different forms of SAEC: *the abandoned space*, or: where staff had insufficient time for planning and preparing activities; *the activity space*, dominated by activities that are related to the curriculum and where children meet staff through planned activities during SAEC; and *the common space*, where SAEC teachers have an academic education and are knowledgeable about how to use their resources in intended ways and based on the interests of the children. Lager (2020) argues that a steady staff team (for example teachers with degrees in education) and time for teachers to plan and prepare seem to be the distinguishing features in the construction of social relationships with opportunities for agency in everyday life.

An activity model studied by Milton et al. (2023) showed evaluations of the Connect, Promote, and Protect Program (CP3) implemented in an outside-of-school-hours care (OSHC) service in Australia. CP3 is a wellbeing program developed specifically for OSHC services. The research suggests that CP3 provides OSHCs with a framework and high-quality program

planning tool and supports children through creative and engaging co-designed activities. The study was conducted using both quantitative statistical analysis and qualitative thematic analysis with a range of stakeholders, including children attending the OSHC, OSHC volunteers or educators, and guardians or parents of the children attending the OSHC. Teaching with the CP3 programme was a very positive experience and supported best-practice programme according to the participating educators. The results demonstrate the positive flow impact of children making active decisions about the service in which they play, learn, and grow. The research highlights that listening to children's voices is central to achieving change in OSHC service delivery (Milton et al., 2023). A literature review of school-age childcare (SAC) in Australia discusses whether SAC is considered a care or an education service (Cartmel & Hayes, 2016). The review focused on how SAC services have been described in the literature. The results suggest that children who regularly attend SAC services have the potential given appropriate planning to influence their ability to succeed academically, build social competencies such as collaboration and citizenship, and contribute to their own overall health and wellbeing. However, there are different views among SAC workforce on how best to manage SAC services, including whether they see it as a care or education service. SAC services have kept visual or written records of their activities as a part of the National Quality Standard as a part of quality assurance (Cartmel & Hayes, 2016). Fukkink and Boogaard (2020) focused their quantitative study on the pedagogical quality of after-school care in the Netherlands, where they studied which goals and pedagogical aspects are considered important for after-school care, and the pedagogical quality of Dutch after-school care. The study consisted of two parts: part 1 included a survey of pedagogical experts, after-school care staff and parents with children attending after-school care, as well as structured interviews and focus groups; part 2 included observations in 110 after-school care facilities. The results show differences between different facilities. A split profile was revealed with relatively high levels of care and relatively low levels of education in both global process quality and caregiver interaction skills related to developmentally stimulating conversations and to facilitating peer interactions (Fukkink & Boogaard, 2020). These international studies highlight the importance of competent staff being able to plan and teach in the SAEC setting.

## Theoretical Framework

The core idea of the theoretical framework Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) is that teachers have a specific kind of knowledge about teaching, called pedagogical content knowledge, which is different from the knowledge of a subject expert (Shulman, 1986; 1987). Shulman developed concepts and theorisation of teachers' professional knowledge through PCK. The concepts developed by Shulman, which are still a part of PCK, include: *subject matter knowledge*: teachers who teach a specific subject should not only know the basics of the subject but also have a deeper understanding of the subject so that they can transform the subject into both theoretical and practical teaching strategies; *pedagogical content knowledge*: teachers should be able to transform their subject to each individual pupil. As there is not one way to transform knowledge, the teacher needs to know several different ways of teaching; and finally *curricular knowledge*: teachers should know the curriculum to the extent that they

can relate their subject to other subjects so that pupils gain an in-depth view of the subject presented. In their teaching strategies, teachers need to have knowledge about the children they are going to teach, for example: "...the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons" (Shulman, 1986, p. 9) and "...knowledge of learners and their characteristics" (Shulman, 1987, p. 8).

In this study, PCK will be applied by analysing written educational plans through knowledge forms based on Shulman's (1986; 1987), Gess-Newsome's (1999), and Nilsson's (2008) formulations of *curricular knowledge*, *subject matter knowledge*, *pedagogical knowledge*, and *contextual knowledge*.

PK (pedagogical knowledge) consists of general elements regarding teaching, classroom organisation, and management; instructional models and strategies; and classroom communication... CK (contextual knowledge) is strongly connected to PK and represents knowledge of school departments, traditions, behavior of students, the climate in the classroom, the relationship between individuals, and the context in which teaching takes place. Finally, SMK (subject matter knowledge) refers to a teacher's quantity, quality, and organization of information, conceptualisations, and underlying constructs of a given field.

(Nilsson, 2008, p. 1284)

(The parentheses after PK, CK and SMK are not original formulations).

The concepts of knowledge will be used in the analysis in the following manner:

*Curricular knowledge* of how written educational plans relate to the curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class, and SAEC (SNAE, 2022).

*Subject matter knowledge* of how written educational plans relate to a content area or subject in the SAEC.

*Pedagogical knowledge* of how written educational plans show the organisation of activities or teaching situations related to a content area or a subject.

*Contextual knowledge* of how written educational plans illustrate the teachers knowledge of the children in the SAEC and the context in which teaching takes place.

In the analysis, Shulman's (1987) transformation process from subject to teaching will be taken into consideration. Planning and preparation for teaching is – according to Shulman – an important part of teachers' PCK. Shulman (1987) states that teachers adapt and tailor their knowledge to the pupils they are going to teach. In this way, teachers transform knowledge into fitting representations due to the way they choose to represent a subject. When teachers transform their knowledge into representations and make their instructional choices accordingly, they must, according to Shulman, think about how the subject matter will motivate and interest the learners. Shulman presented five steps in teachers' transformation process:

- (1) *preparation* (of the given text materials) including the process of critical interpretation,
- (2) *representation* of the ideas in the form of new analogies, metaphors, and so forth,
- (3) *instructional* selections from among an array of teaching methods and models, and
- (4) *adaptation* of these representations to the general characteristics of the children to be taught, as well as
- (5) *tailoring* the adaptations to the specific youngsters in the classroom. (Shulman, 1987, p. 16)



Today's research discourse has been reformulated since Shulman (1986; 1987) started theorising PCK. Shulman (2015) himself has criticised his own original formulations. One of Shulman's critical points was that the original research and theorising did not take pupils' context and learning into account. In recent years, researchers have developed new models for understanding PCK where, for example, pupil contributions and outcomes are included (Carlson et al., 2019; Gess Newsome, 2015). Studies using PCK as a theoretical framework may differ, for example, depending on the subject and teacher group on which the research is focused (Park & Oliver, 2007). This provides an opportunity to rephrase PCK. For example, studies of preschool teachers' teaching that have used PCK as a theoretical framework rephrase PCK to fit the professional knowledge of preschool teachers. Kutluca's (2021) and Dunekacke and Barenthien's (2021) studies show examples of how PCK could be conceptualised in preschool. Kutluca's (2021) findings on preschool teachers' PCK and science teaching show that, for example, teaching with preschool children should be based on children's previous experiences, capturing unexpected phenomenon as they happen, asking children questions to challenge them and stimulate further investigation, and listening to children and their explanations. The study shows that preschool teachers' PCK includes child-centred teaching, where preschool children's ways of learning are centred, for example, through play-based and everyday activities to apply the teaching of different subjects in teacher child interactions. Dunekacke and Barenthien (2021) problematise the components of PCK in relation to early childhood teachers. This is because content knowledge, which refers to the teacher's knowledge of a specific topic, is different in early childhood education, where teachers are knowledgeable in many areas. In early childhood, as opposed to later childhood, learning is seen as play-based and integrated into everyday life, with a more holistic view of the children themselves (Dunekacke & Barenthian, 2021).

Teachers have a pedagogical reasoning in planning and preparing their teaching which is crucial in the transformation from the teachers' understanding of a material to making it comprehensive to others (Shulman, 1987). In this study, PCK is used as a theoretical framework to analyse written educational plans, focusing on how SAEC teachers' PCK could be understood through their written educational plans.

## Method

To reveal the themes in the written educational plans, the analysis was inspired by *thematic analysis* (Braun & Clarke, 2006), while the analysis was conducted using concepts from PCK. I was inspired by *thematic analysis* but focused on the analysis through PCK to carry out the following analytical steps: 1. familiarising myself with the written educational plans by reading and re-reading them; 2. systematically generating initial codes; 3. searching for patterns and themes; 4. reviewing themes; 5. defining and naming themes and using the concepts of analysis; and, 6. producing results using analytical concepts pulled from the theoretical framework of PCK.

The concepts of analysis consist of four types of knowledge: *curricular knowledge*, *subject matter knowledge*, *pedagogical knowledge*, and *contextual knowledge* (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson, 2008; Shulman, 1986; 1987). In the analysis of the SAEC teachers'

written educational plans, the four types of knowledge are used to explore what kind of knowledge and PCK the plans represent. In addition, contextual knowledge and pedagogical knowledge are seen as closely related and, in some ways, intertwined. The analysis will also focus on planning as a part of the transformation process from subject to teaching (Shulman, 1987).

### Selection of material

A statistical tool from the Swedish National Agency for Education was used to select the SAEC centres where the teachers that formulated the written educational plans worked. The tool showed figures on the numbers of persons with a teaching certificate for working in the SAEC. In Sweden, a three-year university education is required to receive a teaching certificate in SAEC. The SAEC centres that were selected for this study were located in municipalities that had at least 50 full-time school age educate employees, and then the selection was based on how many of these employees had a university-based teaching certificate. The SAEC centres were selected from the nine municipalities with the highest numbers of SAEC teachers with a certificate. Two SAEC centres in each municipality were selected. This selection was made by reading the web pages of each municipal school in the municipality and the pages that presented SAEC in the most comprehensive way were selected and contacted. The criteria for selecting and contacting a SAEC centre was that the school's website had presented the aims and activities of SAEC. When contacting the SAEC centres, a short description of the study was given explaining what was expected from the SAEC teachers participating in the study, as well as information about the ethical standards of the study. The criterion for participation in the study was to be able to share written educational plans as they were formulated in their SAEC centre. The plans could consist of plans for different activities, topics they were working with, or plans for a longer period of time, etc. Four SAEC centres from different municipalities agreed to participate in this study. The SAEC centres were located in municipalities in the central and southern parts of Sweden, each with between 65 000 and 145 000 inhabitants.

The documents that were collected from the four SAEC centres consisted of plans, mostly from the 2023 spring semester, and some covered the whole school year from, August 2022 to June 2023. The four SAEC centres in this article are called Granite, Basalt, Gneiss, and Rhyolite (all pseudonyms). The material from Granite included a document with detailed descriptions of a plan over a year in relation to their quality work, a weekly plan, a monthly plan of activities, and a detailed written plan. The material from Basalt included a detailed written plan, a document with detailed information about pedagogical planning in the Basalt SAEC, and 23 weekly plans. The material from Gneiss consisted of one detailed written plan and one plan for the whole spring term. The Rhyolite material consisted of seven detailed written plans. The timelines in the plans varied. Some of the written educational plans included plans for a week of activities, some of the plans were written around a theme that could run for a term or two, and some were plans with activities that would run for a couple of months. In summary, the written plans did not have a consistent timeline.

The plans differ in that they have different headings and some of the templates have more headings than others. One thing that all SAEC centres plan for is the *abilities* and/or *core content* of the curriculum; specifically part 4 in the SAEC. There is also a description of the

planning aims, how the planning will be implemented, and how the planning will be evaluated. In two of the plans, the outcome of the planning was also included. A notable difference was that in one of the plans, research was included to support the planning. Two of the plans included the pupil's influence or the pupil's needs, interests and experiences in plans' headings.

Three of the SAEC teachers had sent in plans showing weekly schedules. These plans appeared to have been written to be shown to the children and perhaps also to others, such as the children's guardians. These plans were structured in a similar way; divided into activities/days and in one case activities over several weeks.

### Ethical considerations

The Swedish Research Council's (2017) information on ethical considerations information, consent, confidentiality, and use of data was followed. No sensitive material was collected in this study. The SAEC teachers working in the four SAEC centres that participated in the study by sending written educational plans received information about the study in written form, describing the purpose of the study, the confidentiality of the study, and the use of the data. The SAEC teachers who agreed to send in written educational plans signed a consent form which stated that they could withdraw their material at any time.

When analysing documents, in this case written educational plans, it is difficult to know the intentions of the authors. The plans that were addressed to the children and their guardians were difficult to analyse because of the lack of information in them information that was probably clear to the SAEC teachers and the children in that particular SAEC setting. This meant that the plans that were analysed were plans with more illustrative content. However, the subjects in these plans may not be representative of the most common subjects in the SAEC setting. The written educational plans are reliable for the four SAEC settings. The written educational plans show examples of plans written over a period of time and do not illustrate all of the activities and interactions that take place in the SAEC centres in this study. The planned activities may be a small or large part of what goes on in the centres. This is also the case for the content areas that were represented in the written educational plans. The number of SAEC centres selected may be seen as a limitation of this study.

The documents were analysed by a single coder, which may influence the results. However, measures were taken to improve the reliability of the analysis: the analysis and the content of the article were tested in a scientific context where the analysis was reviewed and discussed in seminars where senior researchers have scrutinised the text. These discussions ensured the reliability of the analysis.

### Results

In this section, the findings from the written educational plans are presented in themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) that focus on the concepts of analysis: *curricular knowledge*, *subject matter knowledge*, *pedagogical knowledge*, and *contextual knowledge* (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson, 2008; Shulman, 1986; 1987). In addition, the themes are constructed in relation to

planning according to the transformation process from content to teaching. The themes consist of: *from content to activity plans* and *children's influence plans*. However, from content to activity plans was the most prominent theme, and in the theme of children's influence plans, there were also content areas that were transformed into activities. In this way, the theme 'children's influence plans' may be seen as a part of the 'from content to activity plans' theme from a different approach. The findings are presented together with the analysis.

## From content to activity plans

The main form of plans were those in which abilities or core content from the curriculum were cited and also formulated for a specific subject for the written educational plan. Linked to these formulations were activities, often described in detail, including the materials to be used and the context of the activities. In this way, these written plans showed *curricular knowledge* through the quotes from the curriculum; *subject matter knowledge* through the descriptions of the content area; *pedagogical knowledge* in the organisation of the activities; and *contextual knowledge* in how the context and the children in it were described.

One example from SAEC Basalt illustrates a written educational plan focusing on the content area of language development the *subject matter knowledge* in the plan had these abilities from the curriculum linked to the plan:

...take personal needs into account to find a balance between activity and rest, communicate using linguistic forms of expression in different contexts and for different purposes as well as core content containing: discuss, listen, ask questions, and express their own thoughts, opinions, and arguments about different areas, such as ethical issues and everyday events and discuss different types of texts (SNAE, 2024, pp. 28–29).

This shows the *curricular knowledge* in this plan. This content from the curriculum is transformed into the activity of reading aloud, where the aim, according to the plan, is to stimulate the children's language, listening, and reflection skills, and also to increase the children's vocabulary through the discussion of concepts, words, and the content of the book. In the description of the activity, the organisation and management of the room is part of the activity.

The pupils gather in the sofa groups in the SAEC centre. They help choose a book. Short chapter books are selected one or two books are read and discussed. An adult reads to the group of pupils. Adults and pupils evaluate at the end of the term. (written plan from Basalt)

This part of the plan shows how the teachers in the SAEC setting of Basalt choose to transform the content of language development into teaching. The *contextual knowledge* may be seen through the descriptions of the context in the teaching situation, the descriptions of the sofa groups, as well as the knowledge of the children's language development when choosing short chapter books instead of other types of books. Another teaching strategy shown in this example is the type of book chosen short chapter books. In addition, it is clearly stated that the adult reads to the group of pupils, which is also a clear instruction in the plan on how to teach this activity. These statements in the plan are seen as a part of *pedagogical knowledge*. The example from this plan shows the preparation as well as the adaptation and tailoring of the activities to the children that are going to be taught, and in this way demonstrates teaching

strategies (Shulman, 1987). PCK in this plan is shown in the writing through the ability to transform the content area into representations of the group of children to be taught.

A written educational plan from Rhyolite shows how the content area of digital creations *subject matter knowledge* is linked to the curriculum, *curricular knowledge*, through the abilities: “test and develop ideas, solve problems and put ideas into practice, communicate using linguistic forms of expression in different contexts and for different purposes, create and express themselves through different forms of aesthetic expression”; and the core content “digital tools and media for communication, digital tools for the production of different forms of aesthetic expression and creation through different forms of aesthetic expression, such as play, art, music, dance and drama” (SNAE, 2024, pp. 29–30). The aim of this plan is to explore, play, and experiment with digital tools. The transformation from curriculum and content to teaching is through an activity where groups of children make films together. *Pedagogical knowledge* and *contextual knowledge* are shown here through the representations that focus on instructional choices where children work together in groups to make films cooperatively. The written instructions state:

We mainly work with the iMovie and Stop Motion Studio apps. Group work, where the group decides what kind of film they want to make. Preparation through simple script work with text or image series. Recording film with a film camera or taking stills. Edit the film in iMovie, possibly adding text and sound (written plan from Rhyolite).

This example from the written educational plan shows instructions on how to represent the content area. In this way *pedagogical knowledge* is illustrated in the plan. The activity is related to the content area. The *contextual knowledge* in the plan is shown between the lines that in the SAEC setting there are devices that have the applications iMovie and Stop Motion Studio, as well as film cameras. In this section it is written that there will be group work, but not how the groups will be organised. In order to organise the groups, the teachers need to have knowledge of how to organise smaller groups in this group of children, and in this way some of the *contextual knowledge* is demonstrated.

The written educational plans from the SAEC centres differed in the way they were written; for example, whether they were detailed with a lot of text and descriptions, or short and to the point with less descriptive text. A short-and-to-the-point plan from the SAEC centre Gneiss addressing the content area of basic values and cooperation showed *subject matter knowledge*. One of the aims of the curriculum is quoted, showing *curricular knowledge*: “The teaching shall give pupils the opportunity to develop good peer relationships and to feel a sense of belonging and security in the pupil group” (SNAE, 2024, p. 27). In this plan there are descriptions of activities related to the content area, and in this way the *pedagogical knowledge* in the plan is illustrated. The activities are: discussion groups, four corners exercises, the hot chair, and different cooperative games. In this plan, *contextual knowledge* may seem limited. However, *contextual knowledge* can be found in the description of how the evaluation will take place. The evaluation describes how the teachers evaluate the activities together with the children, and in this way the plan describes the contextual setting of the SAEC within which the *children’s influence* is a central part. The plan shows how preparation, representation and instructional choices have led to teaching activities, and thus led the teachers’ transformation process from subject to teaching (Shulman, 1987). In this type of planning, the different concepts of knowledge are more difficult to identify (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson, 2008). Here, *subject matter knowledge* is found in the fundamental values, *pedagogical knowledge* is found in the descriptions of the activities planned in relation to the subject, and

*contextual knowledge* may be seen as the knowledge of the children and their influence and involvement in the evaluation of the activities. In this way, the PCK lies in organising the teaching of fundamental values in a written educational plan in a short and consistent way.

The PCK in this section from content to activity plans is shown by the alignment between the content area and the activity. The plans illustrate a transformation process from content to representations. The three steps of the transformation process (Shulman, 1987) of preparation, representation, and instructional selection are shown in the plans through descriptions of how the activities will be organised in relation to the content. The steps of adaptation and tailoring are not as clear in the plans; they can only be interpreted in the plans through the activities that are hopefully adapted and tailored to the specific group of children to be taught.

All of the plans in this theme show curricular knowledge, subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and contextual knowledge; often intertwined with pedagogical knowledge. In this way, PCK is a part of these written educational plans.

## Children's influence plans

The sub-theme of 'from content to activity' plans that emerged from the analysis referred to instances when children's influence was a major part of the plans. All the plans had an orientation from content to activity, as in the theme from content to activity plans, but in some plans, the content was based on children's influence and in some plans the activity was based on children's influence on their time in the SAEC setting, in different ways. The activities in these plans could arise from the children's own interests and agency, and in others, the children's influence was organised by the teachers. In this way, children's influence was written into the plans to include children's own perspectives or to organise their influence through the teachers' perspectives.

In a written educational plan from the SAEC centre, Rhyolite focuses on the content of the SAEC where children's influence plays a part. The curriculum includes the ability to "test and develop ideas, solve problems and put ideas into practice" (SNAE, 2024, p. 28). In the plan there are also links to the school's overall goals, including that children's own efforts and participation should contribute to a good working environment, and that each child should gradually have more influence over their education and the inner workings of the school. These formulations in the plan show *subject matter knowledge* and *curricular knowledge*. The plan shows how this content is transformed into activities and teaching strategies.

Part of the planning, paradoxically, is not to have meticulous plans but to let the pupils control the content and define the objectives themselves to a relatively large extent... Before a forest excursion, we may bring the pupils together and ask them what ideas they have for the excursion, provide supportive ideas and try to organise adequate material that suits with what the pupils want to do. In the sports hall, the pupils themselves may both influence what activities we do and also lead them themselves. This also applies to games in the schoolyard. When it comes to creative activities, the pupils are so well aware of the materials we have to offer and have been involved in several projects over the years at our SAEC that they should be able to carry out their own creative work almost on their own. (written plan from Rhyolite)

This excerpt from the written educational plan shows *contextual knowledge* of rooms in which the activities take place, what can be done there, and what knowledge the children have about the activities. But most importantly, *contextual knowledge* is shown through the description of

the children's knowledge of these spaces and the activities they can do in the different places. This *pedagogical knowledge* is visible in the written instructions on how to collect the children's wishes and ideas for the forest outings. In addition, children are described as being able to influence and lead the activities in the sports hall, which is also the case for games in the schoolyard and creative activities. The children are described as being able to have ideas and organise activities themselves. This can be seen as a process of adapting and tailoring the teaching to the children in the group (Shulman, 1987). The plan shows a child-centred approach, as well as planning through children's perspectives, and child perspectives where the children have an influence and are participating actors (Kane, 2023; Ljusberg, 2023).

This example shows how the different types of knowledge identified in the plans are intertwined (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson, 2008). The PCK in this example can be seen as a knowledge base based on subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and contextual knowledge through the structure of the teaching, how to write an educational plan in relation to the children and their development, and also how teachers may support children to be independent in the SAEC setting.

Another example of a written educational plan that focuses on the children's influence and on their meaningful leisure time which includes different content and subject areas, was shared from the Granite SAEC centre. From the curriculum showing *curricular* and *subject matter knowledge* they use the abilities: "test and develop ideas, solve problems and put ideas into practice; create and maintain good relationships and cooperate based on a democratic and empathic approach; communicate using linguistic forms of expression in different contexts and for different purposes" and the core content "discuss, listen, ask questions and express their own thoughts, opinions and arguments about different areas, such as ethical issues and everyday events; digital tools and media for communication; democratic values and principles, in contexts that are familiar to pupils. How joint decisions can be made and how conflicts can be managed constructively" (SNAE, 2024, pp. 28–30). This plan shows how the children in the SAEC centre influence and lead the activities.

The pupils come up with suggestions for ideas. We capture the ideas through assemblies, discussions, and pupil interviews. The pupils write a plan based on their idea. They implement their idea in the SAEC setting and then evaluate it. We take photographs during the process. After completing the activity, they receive a diploma (at the assembly) with a photo and text. (written plan from Granite)

This excerpt from the plan shows the organisation of the activity and how the children are involved and influence the teaching. They are at the centre of the activity. However, the teachers have chosen how to transform the content of the children's influence and also to make the children the leaders of their ideas. The children are at the centre of the activity, although the plan shows the *pedagogical knowledge* behind the plan on how to organise the activity. It is clearly written how the children's ideas will be captured and how the activities will be organised with the children. The *pedagogical* and *contextual knowledge* may also be seen in the plan through the clear structure of the realisation of the ideas and also the reward afterwards in the form of a diploma. It is the teachers behind the plan who have adapted and tailored the activity to these children (Shulman, 1987). In this way, *contextual knowledge* is demonstrated in the management of the activity to suit this SAEC and the children in it. The children have the power to choose what to do, which illustrates a child-centred plan from the children's perspectives (Kane, 2023; Ljusberg, 2023). The plan illustrates how planning with structure and preparation leads to activities that are successful and show clear teaching

strategies (Shulman, 1987). In this example, knowledge is clearly intertwined (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson 2008). The *subject matter knowledge* in this written educational plan is children's influence. Through children's influence, the plan shows a clear structure of how this influence is to be implemented in the SAEC and how the children are to be involved in the plan. In this way, the *pedagogical* and *contextual knowledge* is demonstrated in the plan. The PCK in this example is shown through the transformation of curricular and subject matter knowledge of children's influence to the organisation of the teaching situation to inspire children to use their influence in the SAEC setting.

The results of this study show examples of PCK in written educational plans. PCK is shown in the plans where subject matter knowledge, curricular knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and contextual knowledge could be identified in the plans. In some cases, these different forms of knowledge could be seen as intertwined and are not clearly shown in the plans. In the written educational plans, a process of transformation is evident through the alignment from a content area to activities related to that content area. In this way, it is clear that there are knowledge forms and a transformation process in the written educational plans that show PCK.

## Discussion

Planning in the school-age educare (SAEC) setting and how SAEC teachers' PCK could be understood through written educational plans is the purpose of this study. The findings in relation to the purpose resulted in two themes: *from content to activity plans* and *children's influence in plans* (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The concepts of analysis consisted of four types of knowledge: *curricular knowledge*, *subject matter knowledge*, *pedagogical knowledge*, and *contextual knowledge* (Gess-Newsome, 1999; Nilsson, 2008; Shulman 1986; 1987). The findings show the curricular knowledge of the curriculum at least the part focused on the SAEC in subject matter knowledge of the content areas written in the plans, pedagogical knowledge of how to organise activities in the SAEC setting, and finally, in contextual knowledge about the children in the SAEC setting and their own knowledge and influence. The PCK shown in the plans was particularly focused on how to organise teaching and activities in the SAEC setting in relation to the content areas and how to transform the content area from the curriculum into activities. Shulman (1986; 1987) describes that teachers should be able to transform their subject to each individual pupil and this is not shown in the plans. In the transformation process, teachers adapt the representations to the children to be taught and tailor the adaptations to the specific children (Shulman, 1987). The process of adaptation and tailoring is difficult to identify in the written educational plans although some of the plans show how the activities in the SAEC are adapted and tailored to the interests and influence of the children.

Children's influence is identified in the written educational plans as both content of the plan and as a teaching strategy. In Ljusberg's (2023) study, it is evident that planning is dependent on the SAEC teachers' view of the children. The staff in SAEC can plan in relation to the children's perspective, the child perspective and the staff perspective (Ljusberg, 2023). The child-centred teaching and planning may be related to the common space in Lager's



(2020) study. The question is whether there should be written educational plans in SAEC to structure and empower children's influence. The written educational plans in this study show how some of the SAEC settings have plans that address the children's influence, ideas, interests, and their independence in the SAEC. In Kane's (2023) action research study, SAEC teachers developed a template for planning and evaluation based on children's needs, interests, and experiences. This is a way of using planning to make sure written educational plans are rooted in children's needs, interests, and experiences rather than just in curriculum objectives. Milton et al. (2023) show how the CP3 programme could support OSHC services with a planning tool, and one finding of this study was that listening to children's voices is central to achieving change in OSHC service delivery. In SAEC, it is written in the curriculum that teaching and learning in the setting is based on children's interests, needs, and experiences (SNAE, 2022). The written educational plans in this study showed that some of the plans focused on one content area or subject and described activities in relation to that content. Other plans showed how children were a central part of the plans, and their interests and influence were both a content area in the plan and the central activity.

Cartmel and Hayes (2016) suggest that children who regularly attend SACC in Australia have the potential, with appropriate planning, to influence their ability to succeed academically, build social competencies such as collaboration and citizenship, and contribute to their own overall health and well-being. The study points to the importance of appropriate planning so that activities in child care have a purpose and so that teaching is transformed from a content area to activities. The transformation process is clearly seen in the more detailed plans in this study, which show the PCK of the teachers who wrote the plans. However, a central part of SAEC is the situational teaching and learning, where teaching happens in the moment. In these situations, teachers transform content areas in the immediate situation into teaching, and children's perspectives are prominent and their interests and curiosity guide the teaching (Perselli & Haglund, 2022). Gardesten and Ackesjö (2022) discuss how to plan in a way that allows the unplanned to take place, and in this way to use the curriculum more proactively later on. Accordingly, the SAEC setting is a common space where teachers have knowledge about how to use their resources in a purposeful way based on the interests of the children, rather than as an activity space dominated by activities related to the curriculum and where the children meet the staff in planned activities (Lager, 2020). Even if there were written educational plans from the children's perspective, there were no plans describing the situational teaching and learning, so most of the plans in this study were directed towards an activity space, although in some cases this was done from the children's perspective. The written educational plans show examples of plans written over a period of time and do not illustrate all of the activities and interactions that take place in the SAEC centres in this study. The planned activities may be a small or large part of what goes on in the centres. In some SAEC centres, there is a high level of care and a relatively low level of education, as in the study by Fukkink and Boogaards (2020), where they studied the pedagogical quality in Dutch after-school care. This is also the case in the abandoned space in the study conducted by Lager (2020).

What can be called 'teaching' in the SAEC setting appears to be a complex issue. Previous research suggests that interactions between teachers and children take place both in situational events in the immediate situation and in pre-planned, goal-oriented activities. In previous research, it has been argued that the situational events may not be teaching per se, but complementary to teaching and with a focus on children's perspectives (Ackesjö & Haglund, 2021; Perselli & Haglund, 2022). Another point of view is that teaching incorporating

children's perspectives could be planned in advance and in this way improve the concept of teaching in the SAEC setting (Gardesten & Ackesjö, 2022; Kane, 2023; Lager, 2020; Ljusberg, 2023). This study shows examples of written educational plans that are goal-oriented and also focus on children's own interests and initiatives in the open and informal space of the SAEC setting. In this way, planning in the SAEC centre may be constructed to include goals, children's influence, and situational teaching in the immediate situation in the open and informal space.

This study contributes to the discussion of written educational plans in the SAEC centre and how planning in this space is complex and varied and can include children's influence as well as goal-oriented and situational teaching. In addition, this study contributes to the discussion of the SAEC teacher's PCK. How PCK could be adapted and conceptualised to the SAEC setting, as it is in the preschool setting, where teaching should be based on children's previous experiences, play-based and integrated into everyday life, where teachers have knowledge in many areas and apply the teaching of different subjects in teacher child interactions (Dunekacke & Barenthien, 2021; Kutluca, 2021).

There are similarities and differences in the written educational plans, showing that there are different ways of organising planning and teaching in SAEC. This can be understood by the different ways in which regulations are interpreted at national and regional level, as well as the qualifications of the staff, for example whether they have a university degree in SAEC teaching or not, and how they understand planning and teaching in the SAEC (Klerfelt et al, 2020). Another factor in why there are similarities and differences in the plans is the children in the particular SAEC centre. Planning from the children's needs, interests, and experiences depends on the children in a particular group, what their needs, interests, and experiences are at the moment (Klerfelt et al., 2020).

In conclusion, this study shows how written educational plans are formulated, including part 4 school-age educare of the curriculum (SNAE, 2022), content areas, and the organisation of teaching situations and activities in relation to this content and the context of the children in the SAEC setting. The plans show transformation from content to teaching, and some of the plans show teaching with or through the children's influence. These plans show a child-centred approach as well as planning from the children's perspective and from the child perspective, where the children have influence and are participating actors (Kane, 2023; Ljusberg, 2023). In this way, PCK in the written educational plans could be seen as knowledge about how to organise teaching in the SAEC setting in relation to the content areas in that setting, as well as how to organise teaching situations to stimulate children's influence, and how to organise teaching activities with children where they are free to carry out the activities themselves.

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# Transformations of Digital to Analogue – Children Bringing Popular Culture Artefacts and Media into Swedish School-Age Educare

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**Abstract:** This article explores children's use of digital popular culture as boundary objects, and the transmedial boundary work done in Swedish school-age educare (SAEC) centres. As children bring their experiences of digital media into everyday SAEC practices, they influence, and are influenced by, others around them, children as well as adults. Through field observations conducted in a Swedish SAEC centre in southern Sweden, we collected ethnographic field data, together with two groups of children in Years 2–3 (aged 8–9) and staff. In total, 47 children and 7 staff members took part in the study. Using Star and Griesemer's (1989) theory on boundary objects, we analyse how children's digital popular-cultural interests are brought into, and made relevant to, SAEC practice. The results show that children's use of digital media is transformed in SAEC activities into analogue content – drawing, dancing, etc. – and that these activities are ways for children to establish social relations by displaying and sharing their interests. These results have impact for the continued development of extended education, the use of digital media and its value for SAEC, as well as teachers' ongoing practice.

**Keywords:** boundary object, childhood, extended education, Fortnite, leisure, TikTok

## Introduction

Working in Swedish school-age educare (SAEC) centres means working with a variety of materials and activities, with large child groups, in an institution that advocates children's own interests and initiatives. Children's interests revolve mainly around mass or popular culture such as music, film, social media, and TV – mainly digital media delivered through devices such as laptops, televisions or smartphones (Jansson & Wallner, 2023; Persson, 2000; Swedish Media Council [SMC], 2019). Popular culture is the culture of the masses, produced for, and consumed by, the majority population – although it is hardly homogenous (Ganetz, 2000; Persson, 2000). For young people,

popular culture generates capital, popcultural capital, that has value within the friend group. Limits are traversed. Children from all cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds share interests, understanding, images, icons, texts. The value of capital is set by children in the encounter with other children. (Fast, 2007, p. 128, our translation)

The way children spend their free time is more digitalised today than ever before (SMC, 2019), making it necessary for extended school institutions and SAEC centres to negotiate the relation between children's online and offline activities (Lindqvist Bergander, 2015), and how

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institutional free time should be spent. Many SAEC institutions make digital devices available for children to use for different purposes (Klerfelt, 2007; Stenliden et al., 2022), but many cannot provide one-to-one solutions, meaning that children must sometimes choose other types of activities, share digital devices, and otherwise adapt after the circumstances. Other institutions choose instead to emphasise non-digital activities, e.g., to reduce the amount of time children spend in front of screens. Often, children are left to their own (digital) devices in SAEC, and many utilise entertainment websites, such as YouTube or Y8, something that can cause friction between children and teachers, as well as conflicts between children (Jansson & Wallner, 2023). In this article, we explore the use of digital popular cultural media and artefacts and how children interact around this in Swedish SAEC.

Almost half a million Swedish children ages 6–12 attend SAEC every week – roughly half of all children of that age – and this figure has been increasing steadily over the past ten years (Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2020). SAEC should “stimulate the pupils’ development and learning, as well as offer the pupils meaningful leisure time [...] based on the pupils’ needs, interests and experiences, while ensuring that the pupils are continuously challenged, by inspiring them to make new discoveries” (SNAE, 2011, p. 23). Thus, communication, creativity and different forms of expression are central components for SAEC (SNAE, 2011), and popular culture can play a key role in this. One important facet of children’s use of popular culture is that children, regardless of background, can, and do, share experiences of popular culture with each other (Falkner & Ludvigsson, 2016). Therefore, we are interested in children’s cultural capital, their knowledge of (popular) culture and (popular) cultural ability, and how this capital is managed by children (cf. Bourdieu, 1993). SAEC centres are cultural arenas where children use, and learn about, media, and different children use media differently. Thus, media use has the power to influence how children treat and view the world (Martínez & Olsson, 2021). Children’s media use in educational settings can be a source of conflict when adults and children do not share the same cultural arenas (Dunkels, 2005). Ågren (2015) argues that adults often set terms for children’s media culture based on adult’s ideas about what childhood should be, without taking into account children’s own views. As a result, adults may not view children’s media use as meaningful within the framework of the aims of SAEC (Dahl, 2014; Dunkels, 2005). For example, Martínez and Olsson (2021) point out that children are frequently forbidden from using their smartphones during school hours, including during SAEC, relegating the phone to home use.

Being unable to communicate on the same cultural arenas can cause friction in institutions such as SAEC centres, where teaching is primarily supposed to extend from children’s own interests (cf. Martínez & Olsson, 2021). With this in mind, there is good reason to explore whether, and how, children’s different cultures meet, and, possibly, what tools are used to facilitate these meetings. In the current study, we show how experiences of popular culture (Ganetz, 2000; Persson, 2000) taking place in the home are something that children also bring to the SAEC centres through transformations of experiences, from one social environment to another, and how popular culture becomes a boundary-crossing object carried by children and adults between different social arenas (Star & Griesemer, 1989). To limit the scope of this article, we will focus on children’s ways of constructing digital popular culture together with other children in an SAEC centre. With SAEC centres limiting children’s access to computers, tablets and smartphones (see, e.g., Jansson & Wallner, 2023), we were also interested in studying the relation between digital and analogue practices at the SAEC.

## Research questions

To achieve these aims, we explore the following two questions:

- What role(s) do digital popular cultural media have in children's interactions during SAEC?
- What is the relation between digital and analogue activity during SAEC?

Research on Swedish SAEC is so far limited (Falkner & Ludvigsson, 2016; Swedish Council for Educational Research, 2021), making this study a valuable contribution to knowledge on SAEC pedagogy, social relations in SAEC, the importance of (popular) culture for these relations, and digital and analogue activity in SAEC. The study contributes to an ongoing debate on the value of popular culture and children's culture for educational purposes (see, e.g., Jansson & Wallner, 2023; Martinsson, 2018; Persson, 2000; Wallner, 2017), and demonstrates how popular culture can contribute to giving children and young people meaningful free time.

## Review of the literature

Access to, and competency in, digital tools, and use of popular culture in SAEC create learning opportunities for children, and enable them to position themselves in social groups, connecting online practices and offline practices as a form of digital literacy and sociocultural practice (Dahl, 2014; Lindqvist Bergander, 2015). In a study based on the digital storytelling of two children in SAEC, Klerfelt (2006) explores how children create digital narratives, intertextuality and expressions of children's voices. She emphasises the importance of considering what narratives are on offer in the institution, as limiting children's access to a certain set of perspectives "could result in limiting stereotypes where traditional sex roles are conserved and restricted" (Klerfelt, 2006, p. 198). In her dissertation, Sparrman (2002) explores children's popular cultural media practices, childhood, and children's culture. Among other things, she demonstrates how a video game character such as *Sonic the Hedgehog* is made important to children, and is used as an intertextual knowledge base and as cultural capital in children's interaction (Sparrman, 2002).

Lindqvist Bergander (2015) further demonstrates how children aged 10–13 utilise digital media in their free time to establish and maintain social relations and hobbies, as well as critically evaluate online media. Part of Jansson & Wallner's (2023) study of children's use of popular culture in SAEC demonstrates how children's experiences of social media become topics of focus in everyday interaction at the SAEC centre, where children and teachers discuss relationships and the possible dangers of online communication. In this way, children's experiences of digital popular cultural expressions create informal learning opportunities at the SAEC centre, experiences that would otherwise risk being marginalised or ignored completely (see, e.g., Hantson & Van de Velde, 2011; Jansson et al., 2016).

## Theoretical Perspectives: Popular Cultural Media as a Boundary Object

In the current article, we study children's and teachers' interactions in SAEC, and their situated constructions of *culture*, meaning artefacts and concepts representing idea worlds and values, founded in social contexts (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1967). We utilise a social constructivist perspective where "people's ideas about different phenomena in the world and the meaning they put into them [phenomena] where culture is a constituting and important process, become party to the creation of these phenomena" (Haglund, 2016, p. 70, our translation). Thus, we study culture as a set of practices (see, e.g., Wenger, 1998), and the "understanding of everyday practice ... as constructed through the interaction between the people who are part of that practice and the meaning they put into this interaction" (Haglund, 2016, pp. 70–71, our translation).

The focus of the article is to illustrate the key processes taking place via cross-border transformations. As a theoretical starting point, we use the concept of boundary objects, described as:

[...] both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use, and become strongly structured in individual-site use. These objects may be abstract or concrete. They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393)

Our analysis is grounded in the fact that children's experiences of informal learning in the home may be tied to the same object (e.g., the computer game *Fortnite*), but their understanding of this object, its values and affects, is changeable and influenced by their meetings with others. In "the crossing of different social worlds" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393), the object's social plasticity allows it to change as children encounter new ideas around it, offering examples of the "stuff of action" (Star, 2010, p. 603) – opportunities for children to encounter, value, and handle objects differently. Meaningful leisure time requires agency whereby children can exercise control over what can be perceived as meaningful in the activity (Stenliden et al., 2022). The institutional structures of SAEC can create possibilities for the child to negotiate and act within these structures, allowing the child to manage what their leisure time is, and can be. The data in this study contain examples of children using experiences that they have gained at home in different ways, for example by playing digital games.

## Research Methods

The current study is interested in situated social constructions of digital and analogue popular culture, and how children utilise their cultural capital to do this in the SAEC centre (Fangen, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). The material collected for this study thus needed to focus on participants' interactions around popular culture in SAEC, rather than, say, participants' experiences or opinions. Therefore, a qualitative small-case study was conducted (cf. Dahl, 2014; Fangen, 2005; Fast 2007), in which material was collected at an SAEC centre in southern Sweden, together with two groups of children in Years 2–3, aged 8–9, and their teachers and other staff. With a wide research interest in popular culture, and a scarcity of



research on this topic (Falkner & Ludvigsson, 2016; Swedish Council for Educational Research, 2021), a small-case study was considered a good entry onto the field, in order to scope out children's and teachers' interest in, and use of, popular culture. In total, 47 children (22 girls, 25 boys) and 7 staff (4 men, 3 women) took part in the study. Rather than give a comprehensive, generalisable, view of digital and analogue practices in SAEC, this study aims to show examples of these kinds of practices and discuss possible ways of understanding them.

After the head of the school and the SAEC centre staff had approved the study, oral and written information was given to caregivers and children, through the SAEC centre's weekly blog. We informed the child groups about the study, where they also had the opportunity to ask questions. The children were given a printed information letter and consent form to be taken home and signed by themselves and their caregivers, in accordance with the ethical guidelines set by the Swedish Research Council (2017). As the study involved children, we have been observant of their mood and feelings towards our presence, practising continuous consent (Swedish Research Council, 2017), where if a child seemed uncomfortable with our presence, we would leave them alone. Names used in the article are pseudonyms to protect participants' identity.

SAEC centres are complex research environments, with a multitude of different, highly mobile and active participants, often moving in and out of different environments, including inside and outside settings. This makes studies difficult, and it is necessary to be highly methodologically flexible. Therefore, we chose to utilise qualitative field observations, taking notes and on some occasions taking pictures of environments and artefacts (besides our own ethical considerations, the SAEC centre had a general rule that no one was allowed to take pictures of any person, and we respected this). These are common research methods for studying SAEC practices (see, e.g., Dahl, 2014; Sparrman, 2002, and others), and these research methods create flexibility for researchers, staff and children. Furthermore, since popular culture concerns a wide array of cultural practices, interests, and ways of communicating – it was essential to be physically open and flexible, as well as receptive to changes in the everyday life of the SAEC centre (cf. Dahl, 2014). Pictures were mainly used to coordinate field notes, rather than as data in themselves. Thus, the current study is ethnographically inspired, investigating an environment where the participants use their own experience and interpretations to construct their social world (Fangen, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Like Dahl (2014), our intention was to be a non-disruptive presence, which meant being sensitive to the wants and needs of both children and staff at the SAEC centre, and not being an inconvenience, nor intruding on personal integrity (see, e.g., Corsaro, 2005).

Field observations took place from April 25 to June 16. We visited the SAEC centre 1–3 days a week, sometimes for two hours during the afternoon, and sometimes a full six-hour day. The total study time was about 52 hours. We made, in total, 43 different sets of field notes, making up a total of 46 typed A4 pages, describing actions, talk and environments. These field notes make up the data for the current study, and reflect short instances of interaction, focusing on children's and teachers' use of, and talk about, popular culture. Field notes have been analysed thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006), inductively searching for latent meaning in the data. We coded the field notes (e.g., "Fortnite", "dancing and music"), formed labels (e.g., "digital tools", "movement"), and then developed these into categories (e.g., "children's knowledge production") (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the process of devel-

oping these categories, they have been described, compared and grouped thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

## Results

In the following sections, we will present the results of our analysis of the data collected during our time at the SAEC centre, and our observations of children's interactions and the ways in which they talk about, and use, digital popular culture during SAEC.

### Digital popular culture as boundary crossing between home and SAEC

In this study, a key social process is the boundary crossing of a popular cultural object (here, activities are also treated as objects) between the home and the SAEC centre. This is a social and interest-driven crossing, based on children carrying their free-time interests with them into the centre. Some social groups found at the centre seemed to be based around particular free-time interests, as shown below.

[D]uring our visits [we see that] the children spend time in certain groups. The group of boys who play Fortnite speak a lot about this (they are not allowed to play the game at the SAEC centre), the group of girls who talk about TikTok (even though they are not allowed to use their smartphones here), and so on. The Fortnite boys put up a tournament ladder to demonstrate their interest in the game, while logos and symbols on hats, t-shirts and other things also display this. Otherwise, there are not many public displays of popular culture [posters, performances, etc.]. [May 6]

Since the objects themselves are not present in a physical capacity, the children's understanding of, and experience of, e.g., the game *Fortnite* creates boundary-crossing opportunities, i.e., "stuff of action": to gather in social groups and exchange experiences of the game and gaming. The SAEC creates these opportunities where children with similar interests can meet, and where children can also gain new interests from others and their displays of these interests. The gender norms demonstrated in the above passage, where girls take an interest in social media and boys in video games, are not consistent throughout the data – there are plenty of girls who play video games, and boys on social media – rather, this example demonstrates how these interests are brought from the home (after all, they are not allowed in the SAEC centre) and into the SAEC practice as aspects of social relations. The sharing of experiences around the boundary object is central to partaking in these social arenas.

Thus, the everyday interactions between children at the SAEC centre display the boundaries between social groups – boundaries maintained through popular culture. In the passage below, the children demonstrate knowledge about who is a potential ally and who is not, based on social interactions through gaming.

Some children, and one of the SAEC teachers, linger in the schoolyard. We [the researchers] go to the dining room where one of the staff is, and some children in Year 2. I sit down at a table with only boys. I barely have time to sit down before Henry asks: "What do you know about Fortnite?". I don't have time to answer before Henry adds, "It's a popular game". Quickly, he turns around and points at my colleague, and adds: "He knows Fortnite". Henry then tells us that he plays Fortnite every day and describes how "I usually eat snacks when I get home from school and then I start playing". I ask him if he usually plays with others in the class. He points to others sitting in the dining room and

says, “Him, him, him, him, and him”, indicating five other boys in the class. Furthermore, Henry says that his brother has 100 ‘skins’ but that he himself is not allowed to borrow them. [May 13]

Many of the conversations observed in the dining hall touched upon different border crossings of popular culture, one clear border being that between the home and the SAEC centre. *Fortnite* is a game that the children are not allowed to play at the centre, and they are aware of this. The recommended European age limit for *Fortnite* is 12, so from a societal perspective, the children are considered too young to play it at all; however, they display varying experiences from home, where some are allowed to play, and some are not. In the above example, the child, Henry, is quick to point out who is included in the social group, even including one of the researchers, despite never speaking to him about it. However, Henry also displays a sense of exclusion even within the gaming group, as his brother’s *Fortnite* activities stand apart from his own, and the brother does not share his ‘skins’ with Henry.

Falkner (2007) writes about computer gaming that “[d]espite being alone in our interpretations we can, through dialogue, meet others, and this way partly expand our own context for understanding” (p. 237). The examples above regarding *Fortnite* demonstrate the boundary crossing that this popular culture object does as a three-part process between home and the SAEC centre: 1) personal interest as driving force for action, 2) shared community in interpretation of action, and 3) dialogue contributing to personal action. In this process, participants utilise the popular cultural object of *Fortnite* first as a game action in the home, where they play individually (as well as socialise online). They then bring these experiences to the SAEC centre as a conversational topic, sharing experiences with others and visually demonstrating their interest in the game and competitive successes through drawing and posting an analogue tournament ladder on the wall of the SAEC centre. These interactions then contribute to further individual gaming experiences, connections to other players, meeting and recruiting more players from the centre, etc. This is similar to the process of reading groups where, among others, Appleyard (1991) argues that “reading begins as a social activity, as an initiation into a community and into a communal vision of human life ... a reader changes and develops through a dialectic of self and culture” (p. 190). The video game activity starts in the home as a (mostly) individual activity – but in the SAEC centre it becomes a shared, social activity where conversations and activities contribute to the individual experience.

### Popular culture as a boundary-crossing object between digital and analogue SAEC practices

Another aspect of boundary crossing in the SAEC centre is exemplified by a group of girls who utilise online instructional videos from YouTube to draw Kawaii art, a Japanese style of drawing.

Three of the girls take colour pens and Chrome Books and sit in the middle of the kitchen area. They bring up YouTube and videos of instructions for drawing “Kawaii”. One child is very skilled at drawing these types of pictures and seems to have made it a habit to draw pictures for another, younger, girl. Two of the others at the table make a contest out of the drawing activity by randomly selecting colours, bringing up a design on YouTube, and seeing who can draw this design the best. [May 11]

In one of the small rooms, four children have made an exhibit of Kawaii drawings, done by one of the children. Notes on the closed door encourage other children to stay out of the room, and to knock before entering. After a while, a new

note is posted on the door, inviting others to enter and vote for their favourite drawing, and giving details on how to vote. They then bring in small groups of children, or individuals, at a time, for a “tour” of the “gallery”. [June 15]

The example above demonstrates a transformative progression in the activities of the three girls and the Kawaii drawing. Here, we see how the act of drawing is transformed from a digital practice (an art instructional video on YouTube) to an analogue practice (the three girls drawing, creating, talking), transforming novice users into expert users. The use of YouTube and similar sources for informal learning is not new (Fendler & Miño Puigcercós, 2015). However, in this case, the process does not stop there. During a later visit to the centre, we find that the object of Kawaii has been further repurposed into an exhibition, where the girls have taken their favourite pictures and put them on display in a small room repurposed as an art gallery. They take on different roles as curators, artist and bouncer – keeping other children out during the morning as they set things up, and later giving tours and allowing children to vote on their favourite pictures during the afternoon. Thus, the object of Kawaii makes several boundary-crossing actions within the SAEC centre, as the group of girls perform different social actions, utilising both the popular culture object and digital and analogue activities to their own ends. In this work, one girl is made into a skilled artist who can transfer Kawaii from digital media onto paper. In the following, another group of girls put on a dance performance where they displayed different levels of skill:

Mary comes running out of a classroom calling for me to come and watch a group of girls dancing. I follow her into the room where she and four others are preparing a show. All at once, with differing degrees of confidence, they start to explain how they have practised the dance, and what they are going to do. They explain that Jen is the one that “knows” the dance, and the others are trying to learn from her. They line up, Jen facing me, and the others in front of her, facing her, as the music starts playing from the Smart board, where a YouTube video for the song *Despacito* plays, with dancers and musicians performing. The girls move carefully, but with a certain level of confidence, staring intently at each other, while continuously talking, commenting on the moves: someone wants to do things differently, someone has learned other moves that they could do, someone knows a part of the dance particularly well, etc. It is obvious that Jen’s role as leader is being challenged by the others. After *Despacito*, they move on to another video that they start dancing to. [June 10]

In their dance routine, the five girls demonstrate how they utilise a digital practice (a YouTube video shown on a Smartboard) to transform what takes place on the screen into an analogue practice of dancing themselves. This boundary crossing also demonstrates the construction of a complex social practice. The girls must coordinate physically with each other, both in controlling their own bodies (each individual needs to be able to do the movements) and controlling the physical environment (avoiding bumping into each other or objects in the room); but it is also a social coordination and negotiation of who decides what movements should be done (how closely to follow the dance moves from the video), and how the dancers should be positioned (the performance will look different if someone with greater skill is in front). In this practice, they utilise many different things at their disposal: the online video (chiefly the music and the movements of the dancers), the physical environment of the room and placement of different things (as an audience, the researcher’s placement in the room dictates how the performers need to be positioned in order to be seen – or, sometimes, not be seen), and the individual girls engaged in the dance (their individual skills, but also their physical appearance – someone tall cannot be in front of someone short). The social, cultural capital of the dance (cf. Bourdieu, 1993) is something to be developed, and leadership and knowledge of the dance are here constantly negotiated and challenged. Even the authority of

the digital video is challenged, as some of the girls have different experiences of performing the dance in other contexts, where some of the moves are different.

## Discussion

The SAEC centre is a place where children should be offered “meaningful leisure time [...] based on the pupils’ needs, interests and experiences” (SNAE, 2011, p. 23). The boundary-crossing process studied here demonstrates how children’s home practices of digital gaming or watching YouTube videos cross into the institutional SAEC practice. Through talking, drawing or dancing, children contribute their individual experiences of popular culture to the SAEC centre in different ways. The results of the current study show that children utilise their popular cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993) to both contribute to and receive new experiences, for example new dancing or drawing skills, in their community of practice at the SAEC centre (Wenger, 1998). Following Falkner (2007), these communal experiences in the SAEC centre are then further utilised by the children in their continuing practice. In our results, this is exemplified by how the “Kawaii girls” develop their drawing practice into an art gallery exhibit. As such, this should be viewed as an ongoing boundary process, a crossing back and forth between children’s homes and the institutional arena of the SAEC, of digital and analogue practices. In this process, personal interest is an initial driving force for activity, the sharing of interests in a community of interpretation further develops this activity, which then contributes to a reciprocal dialogue, furthering personal action and interest. This process is illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1.** *The cycle of children’s activity as it crosses social and institutional boundaries*



Fiske (1992) writes that “fans often turn this semiotic productivity into some form of textual production that can circulate among – and thus help to define – the fan community” (p. 30), and the social processes that we observe in the SAEC centre confirm this idea. Children bring their experiences from digital popular culture into SAEC, utilise a semiotic productivity in

which the interest is made analogue in keeping with the traditions of the SAEC practice, and this builds a fan community within the friend group at the SAEC centre.

Rather than simply consuming popular culture, children in SAEC are producers of culture, through their dances, drawings, and gaming interactions. Normative understandings of childhood, health and productivity influence the work of SAEC, and school culture is often defined by *production*: children constantly produce test results, texts, etc. for teachers to evaluate and assess. The SAEC curriculum emphasises the promotion of “all-round personal development of pupils into *active*, creative, competent and responsible individuals” (SNAE, p. 7, our emphasis), and especially the benefits of physical activity are referred to throughout the curriculum. From this perspective, non-productive uses of popular culture (TV, film, and, to a certain extent, video games) could be seen as passive leisure time, and thus as something less valuable than “active”, productive time (Cartmel et al., 2023). As Cartmel et al. (2023) point out, “educators may find that quiet, productive activities like Lego align more with their understandings about what is ‘okay’ for children and be reluctant to include passive leisure in their programming” (p. 11). Our study indicates that what could easily be dismissed as non-productive activity, could in fact be utilised productively in SAEC practice. For teachers, this means having to engage more actively with children’s interests around popular culture and discussing and negotiating around how popular culture could become a more active, natural part of the SAEC (cf. Ågren, 2015). Naturally, not all popular culture, in all its forms, is beneficial for children’s social and pedagogical development, but we would argue that one can always learn from a reading, and critique of, popular culture – and many teachers and caregivers would prefer this reading to be supervised. Since not all children have the advantage of being supervised while engaging with popular culture in their home environments, this puts emphasis on SAEC as a democratising institution where children can practice “safe and responsible communication ... express needs, emotions, knowledge and opinions, [and] interpret and discuss different forms of aesthetic expression” (SNAE, 2011, p. 25).

If one is inclined to search for activities with “pedagogical value”, our study indicates that, if *treated* as children’s cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1993) with a pedagogical and social value, popular culture could be utilised to improve children’s skills, provide new experiences, and increase interest for children, and thereby help them develop ‘new’ capital in the SAEC centre (cf. Sparrman, 2002). At the same time, not all culture produced at the SAEC centre is made for teachers’ (judging, assessing) eyes. For example, the dancing that we observed was not a physical production in the sense that it will remain – this moment would have been lost forever to anyone but the participants, had it not been noted down in field observations – and this is one of the key elements of children’s production in SAEC: it is most often *not* permanent, but it nevertheless makes a difference in children’s lives – giving it value. Fast (2007) demonstrates that, for SAEC, the social, informal, communal learning of popular culture, rather than the formal pedagogy, is preferable, and often unavoidable, since the adults working in SAEC are often not familiar with the knowledge worlds surrounding children’s popular culture, and therefore have trouble planning for and executing pedagogical activities surrounding it. In the current study, children bring their free-time activities and interests into the SAEC centre, and activities in the centre transform these cultural objects, which cross over from digital practice to analogue practice and from home activity to SAEC activity. In this way, children can bring media interests that might otherwise be unacceptable (such as violent video games) into SAEC and create content that is more suitable for the SAEC pedagogy, while still retaining their initial interest in the media. This demonstrates that it is not necessarily the violence of a video

game that is the important part of it for children, but rather the sharing of stories, experiences, and joy with others – and the SAEC centre is an important place for this.

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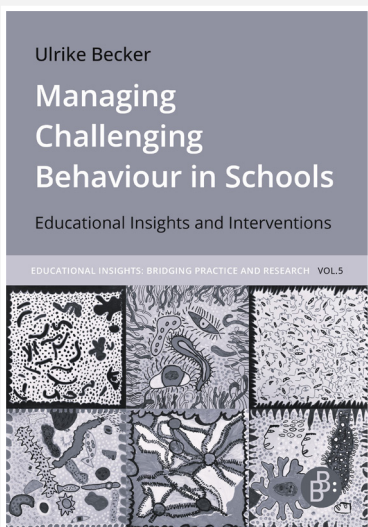
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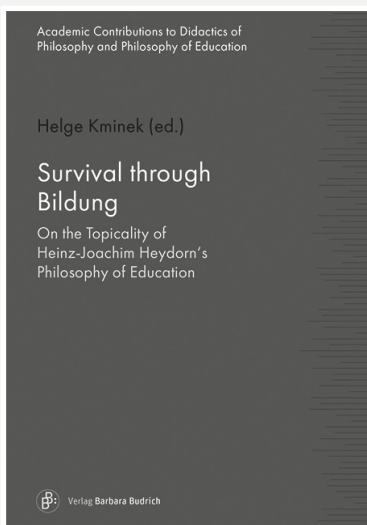
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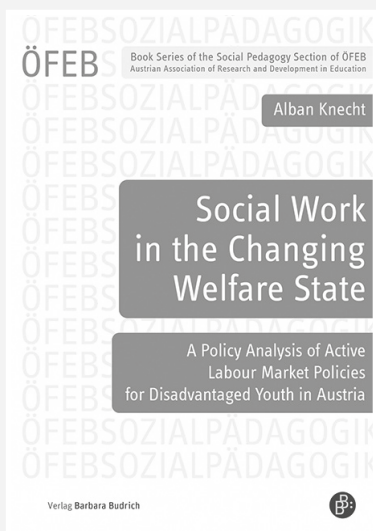
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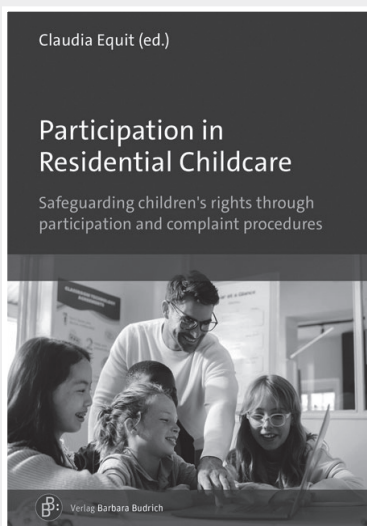
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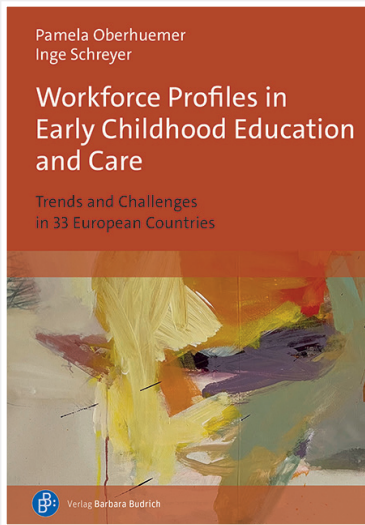
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