Developing Resilience as a Policy Strategy: The Impact of Policy as Mediated by Ofsted

by

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Abstract

In this thesis I argue that education policy, as mediated by the schools' regulator, aims to achieve the policy strategy of developing resilient school leaders and teachers from a neoliberal perspective; and perpetuates the racism that, for recent critics, is so entrenched in educational, political and legal systems (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Taylor, 2016; McCoy and Rodricks, 2015).

My argument is founded on an analysis of the discourse contained within Ofsted's annual reports using van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach to critical discourse studies and a lens provided by Critical Race Theory, drawing on work from leading authors in this field. By analysing the annual reports covering the period 2013 to 2018, I consider how the discourse generated by two Ofsted administrations has potentially influenced the development and maintenance of resilience in school leaders, teachers and learners. In particular, I examine how this contributes to the development of meaningful identity, 'a powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114), as a crucial part of the 'a never-ending marathon' of transformational change (Teach First, 2018, p. 13).

My analysis offers three findings. First, it reveals a tension between Ofsted's mediation of policy, and the government's stated objective of reforming education to allow every child to 'shap[e] their own destiny, and becom[e] masters of their own fate' (DfE, 2010, p. 6). Second, it supports the notion that membership of the in-group is dependent on the property of whiteness and compliance, rather than resilience. Finally, echoing recent critical studies in this field, it highlights the way the regulator has failed to hear the voice of subordinated peoples and is guilty of acts underpinned by interest convergence and differential racialisation.

Chapter 1.0 Introduction

1.1 Position Statement

This project was borne out of the frustrations I experienced at a *stuck* school (a term used by Ofsted (2017) to which I return later), where, as a senior and middle leader I tried to develop the resilience of staff and learners. During this period my daily existence was underpinned by a desire to fight back against the expectation, and the need, to engage in the processes of fabrication[1] (Perryman et al, 2018; Ball, 2003) and simulation[2] (Perryman et al, 2018; Page, 2017). Engagement with these processes (to which I return later), was necessary in order to meet performative targets, and be regarded, by senior leadership, as a team player. Discussions with senior leaders and attendance at senior leadership meetings consolidated my understanding that school change was driven by the regulator, not the needs of our children.

Therefore, I have engaged in this research to develop an understanding of why and how the schools' regulator has evolved this period of performativity characterised by 'moving goalposts' (Courtney, 2016, p. 624) and the surveillance of 'fuzzy norms' (Perryman et al, 2018, p. 156); and how it has impacted the development of resilience in staff and learners. I intend to use the outcomes of this research to not only contribute to the discussion on why teachers and trainees of all hues are leaving the profession in increasing numbers; but to determine if there is a place for me in mainstream education.

1.2 Setting the Scene

In 2010 the newly elected Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government launched its White Paper (DfE, 2010) detailing plans for the 'radical reform of our schools' (ibid, p. 4). The need for radical reform was founded on acceptance of PISA student performance data (OECD, 2006) that confirmed 'we are standing still while others race past' (DfE, 2010, p. 3); and acknowledgement that the attainment gap between advantaged and disadvantaged children is 'a yawning gulf by the time (far too few) sit A levels and apply to university' (ibid, p. 7). However, the key driver for reform was a

[1] Ball (2003) defines fabrication as 'versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist - they are not 'outside the truth' but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts - they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable' (ibid, p. 224).

[2] 'not in the general sense of being a rehearsal – but in the sense that the simulation has replaced what the profession once considered real with its notions of autonomy and individual judgement' (Page, 2017, p. 11).

growing fear that in an evolving economy where 'education is the new currency' (Duncan, 2010; quoted in DfE, 2010, p. 17), the nation will struggle to maintain its economic competitiveness (DfE, 2010).

In his *foreword*, Michael Gove, the Secretary of State for Education, establishes the principle that:

> It is only through reforming education that we can allow every child the chance to take their full and equal share in citizenship, shaping their own destiny, and becoming masters of their own fate (DfE, 2010, p. 6).

In doing so, Gove identifies the education system as *the solution* to the problem of learner underachievement. At the heart of the reforms is the 'vision of the teacher as our society's most valuable asset' (ibid, p. 7). The Secretary of State confirms:

> We know that nothing matters more in improving education than giving every child access to the best possible teaching. There is no calling more noble, no profession more vital and no service more important than teaching (ibid)

He concludes:

> It is because we believe in the importance of teaching – as the means by which we liberate every child to become the adult they aspire to be – that this White Paper has been written. The importance of teaching cannot be over-stated. And that is why there is a fierce urgency to our plans for reform (ibid)

Thus, central to the radical reforms presented by the new government is the need to develop the cohorts of resilient teachers – as confirmed in plans to assess the resilience of all future trainee teachers (ibid, p. 21) - that will deliver the cohorts of resilient learners essential for the economic growth and success of the nation.

In this thesis I consider the success of consecutive Conservative governments in building an education system that delivers resilient school leaders, teachers and learners by addressing the following questions:

a. To what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?

b. How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?

c. What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

These questions are posed at a time when the development of resilience is central to policies designed to increase levels of social mobility and reduce the threat of radicalisation and extremism; policies enacted through the various parts of education system and regulated by Her Majesty's Inspectorate, Ofsted. I believe the timing of this research is appropriate as it will contribute to the discussion on why teacher recruitment and retention is now one of the 'key challenges currently facing education in England' (Lynch et al, 2016, p. 2; HoCCPA, 2018); and why, despite Ofsted's claims that the education system has 'improved considerably over the past five years' (Ofsted, 2016, p. 3) with '1.8 million more pupils attending good or outstanding maintained schools than in August 2010' (ibid), the attainment gap between advantaged and 'persistently disadvantaged' children at the end of key stage 4 is 23.4 months (Hutchinson et al, 2018, p. 13) – a figure 'that is essentially unchanged since 2011' (ibid).

A review of the research carried out by the NFER (Lynch et al, 2016) into teacher recruitment and retention reveals an understanding that 'workload is at the centre of why teachers are considering leaving' (ibid, p. 14) and that '[a]ccording to interviewees, a high workload is associated with two other negative outcomes – poor health or feeling undervalued – which leads to teachers wanting to leave' (ibid). However, the House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts in their report titled *Retaining and developing the teaching workforce* (HoCCPA, 2018), concluded that, 'The Department [DfE] does not understand why more teachers are leaving the profession' (ibid, p. 5). This suggests the DfE is ignorant of the world they have created (Taylor, 2016); ignorant of the impact of neoliberal policy. It is my contention that increasing numbers of teachers are leaving or considering leaving the profession, not only due to the impact of an increasing workload and the feeling of being undervalued, but also due to a feeling that they have lost control of

'their own work' (Beighton, 2017, p. 606) and are being denied a *meaningfulness* that underpins the development of resilience (Beauregard et al, 2017).

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

My thesis commences with a literature review that explores the meaning of the construct *resilience,* and its development as a human resource in the context of a multicultural society. The review begins by locating the development of resilience as a key strategy at the heart of education and counter-terrorism policy. I then explore the meaning of resilience from a political and academic perspective. In the case of the former, I establish that underpinning neoliberalism is an ideology of resilience founded on a belief that the state cannot fix society's problems, but that society must solve its own problems with external assistance (Chandler, 2016); an ideology that ultimately provides a mechanism for separating the 'fit from the unfit' (George, 1999, p. 3). In the case of the latter, the review reveals a plethora of definitions ranging from the ability to *bounce back from,* to *positively adapt to,* the challenges life presents.

Having established the problematic nature of defining resilience I decide not to engage in an analysis of discourse underpinned by a definition of resilience, but instead consider the impact of the discourse generated by Ofsted on the development and maintenance of a *meaningful identity*, 'a powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114). I adopt Beauregard et al's notion that a *meaningful identity* is an overarching identity, consisting of personal, collective and social identities, that underpin an individual's well-being and positive adjustment. This notion is supported by Jetten et al (2017) who claim the potential outcome of multiple compatible memberships, and therefore the development of multiple social identities, is heightened self-esteem, and feelings of belonging and meaning; as well as 'a sense of purpose, control, and efficacy in life' (ibid, p. 792). Key to my analysis is Negru-Subtirica et al's (2016) notion that *ruminative exploration* of current identity commitments is a negative predictor of a clear sense of meaning in life.

In chapter 3 I present the rationale for my methodological approach and theoretical framework. I begin by establishing the need to engage in critical analysis, a form of analysis that challenges the dominant voice and strives to bring about equity and social justice (Crotty, 2015). I then draw on the work of Foucault to position the individual as a subject whose life is controlled through a power founded on the need for 'continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms' (Foucault, 1978, p. 144); a power underpinned by

the need to ‘qualify, measure, appraise and hierarchize’ (ibid). It is Foucault’s notion of the *subject* and the claim that *the people* are controlled more by the statements, arguments and reasoning contained within ‘expert discourse’ than by the economic power of organisations and individuals (Cameron et al, 1992, p. 2), that lies at the heart of my research.

By selecting van Dyke’s Sociocognitive approach (2016) as my methodological approach I acknowledge firstly, that the relationship between society and discourse is cognitively mediated (van Dyke, 2016), and secondly, the unique and dynamic nature of mental models, both situational and context, constructed by individuals through the application of their lived experience and socially shared knowledge (van Dyke, 2016). Thus, by engaging with a socio-cognitive approach and the work of Beauregard et al (2017), Jetten et al (2017) and Negru-Subtirica et al (2016), I establish a framework for considering the potential impact of policy discourse on the meaningfulness of school leader’s, teacher’s and learner’s identity. I then justify my selection of CRT as a framework for considering the additional challenges faced by leaders, teachers and learners from BAME communities in their bid to develop and maintain a meaningful identity.

In chapter 4 I present an analysis of the discourse published by Ofsted during the period 2013 to 2018. In carrying out this longitudinal study I am acknowledging that transformational change cannot be achieved overnight; but should be viewed as the product of ‘a never-ending marathon’ (Teach First, 2018, p. 13). A longitudinal study will also enable me to consider the impact of policy mediation by different administrations.

I begin by establishing the need to engage in an inclusive approach to analysis. A review of government data confirms the Black and Bangladeshi/Pakistani communities as the two biggest BAME groups in England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2018). It also confirms that these groups have the highest unemployment rates (DWP, 2017c), the highest percentage of families claiming state support (ibid), and that these workers consistently average lower hourly pay rates than workers from BAME groups (DWP, 2017d). I conclude that to gain a sense of the impact of the regulator’s mediation of policy on the development of a meaningful identify from a multicultural perspective, it is necessary to engage with research from a Black and Bangladeshi/Pakistani perspective that challenges the legitimacy of the regulator’s discourse. I present this challenge through the counter-stories constructed by Miah (2012), Gillborn et al (2012) and Shah and Shaikh (2010).

Prior to an analysis of each administration's discourse I present an overview of education policy trajectory (DfE, 2010; DfE, 2016b) and the resulting changes to inspection frameworks made by Ofsted (2012a; 2012b; 2012c) to establish the socially shared knowledge intended to influence the mental models, and therefore the activities, norms and values, of those mediating policy.

I begin my examination of Ofsted's discourse with an analysis of the Unseen Children report (Ofsted, 2013a) in which the newly appointed Chief Inspector, Sir Michael Wilshaw, establishes a modus operandi underpinned by the principles that 'poverty of expectation bears harder on academic achievement than material poverty' (ibid, p. 3), and 'exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people. In the process, they often become surrogate parents' (ibid, p. 5). I show that by polarising of the activities of leaders and teachers in *good* to *outstanding* schools and those in schools *requiring improvement* or judged *inadequate*, the regulator embeds the notion that schools are the cause of, and solution to, the problem of pupil under-achievement. My analysis of the report and its launch confirms the sharing of the new order's knowledge, attitudes, values and norms at the macro level; with the intention that, through interaction and discussion at a micro level, they will influence the mental models of leaders and teachers (van Dijk, 2016) in both the in-group and out-group. Thus, the inspectorate begins to 'manage the minds' (ibid, p. 71) of these groups.

I then analyse the five annual reports covering Wilshaw's tenure and reveal a ramping up of expectations of leaders and teachers in all schools. The expectations are legitimised by a discourse that embeds the notion, through case studies, that this knowledge is a result of the activities, values and norms of 'willing, participating citizens' (Olmeda and Wilkins, 2017, p. 575); thus making 'sets of ideas obvious, common sense and 'true'' (Ball, 2008, p. 5). The analysis confirms a constant attack on those working in failing schools with their faults being 'repeated repeatedly' (Beighton, 2017, p. 606). It also confirms the regulator's failure to engage with the context of schools, therefore stripping those working in challenging circumstances, e.g. areas of high social deprivation, of a context which adds meaningfulness to their function. I suggest they are excluded from membership of the in-group by virtue of the challenges they and their pupils face not being accepted in part as valid reasons for pupil under-achievement.

I conclude that from an Ofsted perspective, policy mediation and the process of normalisation (Foucault, 1978) has led to the creation of a cohort of resilient leaders and

teachers, as demonstrated by the year on year improvement in metrics during this period. However, by applying van Dijk's (2016) sociocognitive approach, I present the notion that many leaders and teachers will not accept the *socially defined desirable outcome* as subjectively desirable (Kaplan, 2006), and therefore we must consider the implementation of expectations as acts of acquiescence or compliance (McMahon, 2007). I go on to suggest that these leaders and teachers, many stripped of a context that adds meaning to their function, may engage in the ruminative exploration (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016) that leads to the breakdown of a meaningful identity. Furthermore, I suggest that many pupils are denied the opportunity to demonstrate *real* resilience to failure due to teachers crafting learning experiences that do not sufficiently challenge the pupil; but ensure the illusion of progress (Page, 2017).

I then apply CRT as a framework to identify the potential additional challenges experienced by BAME leaders, teachers and pupils to developing and maintaining a meaningful identity. The analysis reveals a discourse that fails to give voice to the BAME community; brings to light that activities, norms and values of BAME groups are only exemplified when it is in the interest of the dominant group; and confirms the linking of education, radicalisation and the Muslim problematic (Miah, 2012). Thus, I establish that by engaging in acts of Whiteness as property, interest convergence and differential racialisation, and failing to engage in counter-storytelling, the regulator not only perpetuates the racism that, for recent critics, is so entrenched in educational, political and legal systems (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Taylor, 2016; McCoy and Rodricks, 2015), but also demonstrates an ignorance of the world *they* have created (Taylor, 2016). I draw on Miah (2012), Shah and Shaikh (2010), and Gillborn et al (2012) to present the counter-stories that challenge the regulator's discourse. The analysis suggests that direct access to this discourse will result in the understanding that policy is focused on raising the expectations and achievements of the two-thirds that matter – 'poor White British boys and girls' (Ofsted, 2013b), and minimising the threat posed by the Muslim community; an understanding that may give rise to the ruminative exploration that leads to the fracturing of a meaningful identity (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016). I also suggested that BAME educationalists may experience the racism permeating the discourse of policy, as it is enacted by individuals in its passage from the macro to micro level (van Dijk, 2016).

I then analyse the two annual reports covering Spielman's tenure to expose any difference in policy mediation, and therefore any potential impact on the development and

maintenance of a meaningful identity. My analysis reveals a rejection of Wilshaw's era of compliance, and the offer to leaders and teachers of opportunities to (re)construct the meaningfulness of their professional identity. The former is delivered through a statement that acknowledges the development of a tick box culture, whilst the latter is delivered through: acknowledgement that the 'chronic underperformance' (Ofsted, 2017, p. 10) of some schools has resulted from a failure to deal with their 'local needs' (ibid); and confirmation of how positively teachers are responding to opportunities to improve practice based on evidence based research (Ofsted, 2018) and to 'regain our focus on substance' (Ofsted, 2018, p. 7) – the curriculum. By engaging with the notion of context, the regulator appears to challenge the prevailing socially shared knowledge and offer leaders and teachers respite from the panopticon, and the opportunity to engage in a discourse and practice that has the potential to lead to the (re)construction of a meaningful identity. However, the regulator counters these opportunities by confirming: Firstly, '[w]e need more outstanding school and school leaders to help these stuck schools' (Ofsted, 2018, p. 8) – thus re-affirming the *one solution fits all* approach of the previous regime; and secondly, that 'MATs now take responsibility for … what is taught in them and how it is taught and assessed' (ibid, p. 25) – the implication being that those leaders and teachers that are models of compliance will be responsible for driving up standards across the trust.

Despite the regulators attempt to create a picture of inclusivity, diversity and assimilation through images, the application of CRT reveals the regulator remains guilty of charges of racism. By continuing to deny the BAME community a voice it is engaging with the tenet of Whiteness as property, while the focus on unregistered Faith schools and the positive impact of impact of the Unregistered Schools Taskforce suggests the increase in images of children from BAME communities is an act of *interest convergence*.

In chapter 5 I present the findings from my analysis. First, I claim my analysis reveals a tension between Ofsted's mediation of policy, and the government's stated objective of reforming education to allow every child to 'shap[e] their own destiny, and becom[e] masters of their own fate' (DfE, 2010, p. 6). Second, I claim it supports the notion that membership of the in-group is dependent on the property of whiteness and compliance, rather than resilience. Finally, echoing recent critical studies in this field, I claim my analysis highlights the way the regulator has failed to hear the voice of subordinated peoples and is guilty of acts underpinned by interest convergence and differential racialisation.

I close my thesis by considering how my journey of the last 18 months has impacted my practice and career path moving forward. I conclude that I must remain true to my values and beliefs and therefore seek employment in a teaching environment that is principled on the building of pupil self-esteem and self-belief, and the act of *real* teaching (Page, 2017); an environment that supports the development of pupils' resilience to failure.

Chapter 2.0 Resilience - A Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review the literature on this problematic construct to establish what the term resilience means from an academic and political context. I then consider how resilience is developed as a human resource in the context of a society constructed from a multiplicity of races and cultures, the definitions of which are in themselves problematic. The key questions that arise from this review will provide a framework for analysing the political discourse that mediates education policy, with any new findings contributing original knowledge to the potential development of policy and practice that results in: improved teacher retention rates; improved levels of social mobility; and an end to the events of the current period of terrorist activity e.g. the London Bridge terrorist attack on 3 June 2017 in which 8 people died and 48 were injured. The literature has been reviewed under the following headings:

Establishing the centrality of resilience in policy
Resilience - A political context
Resilience - An academic context
Definitional issues

The literature reviewed covers a multitude of contexts e.g. education, and disaster recovery, and is founded on varying methodological approaches, as well as systematic and narrative based reviews. The research reviewed has been selected from a diverse range of cultures and ethnicities in order to develop an understanding of the different considerations that may need to be developed in order to secure policy success in a multi-cultural society. The review draws on research presented by academics, national bodies, charities and other relevant organisations as well as government all-party and select committees and departments. Literature published from 2010 onwards has been given precedence in an attempt to juxtapose current research and Conservative policymaking. However, relevant research predating 2010 has been included where appropriate.

2.2 Establishing the Centrality of Resilience in Policy

During the last twelve years (2007 - 2019) successive governments have signified the importance they attach to the notion of resilience (Arthur, 2016) by adopting it as a key

strategy in the quest to improve social mobility and eliminate the threat of radicalisation and extremism (Revell, 2017). The embedding of this strategy can be seen through a review of policy literature.

2.2.1 Education Policy - Social Mobility

In 2007 the New Labour government launched the UK Resilience Programme in response to growing concerns about the behaviour, well-being and low academic attainment of a significant proportion of children in the UK (DfE, 2011a). Concerns regarding the well-being of children had been identified in the green paper *Every Child Matters* (HM Treasury, 2003) and by Unicef (2007) in their analysis of the well-being of children in rich countries which placed children from the UK at the bottom of the table of 21 countries. The aim of the programme was to improve the psychological well-being of children by 'building resilience and promoting accurate thinking' (DfE, 2011a, p. 4). Despite stating the objective of the programme, the DfE (2011a) failed to provide a definition of resilience, and then, having failed to define *accurate thinking*, switched to 'promoting realistic thinking' (ibid, p. 8), suggesting that it is the outcome of applying perspective in the decision-making process (Ellis, 2011). In May 2011 the DfE published a final evaluation of the programme (DfE, 2011a) based on research using mixed methods and control groups. The evaluation suggested that the programme had a low impact which typically only lasted for a short time (up to one year); however, the research also suggested the impact was stronger for 'deprived and lower-attaining pupils and those who started the year with worse psychological health, particularly girls with these characteristics' (ibid, p. 6). The government sponsored research team also suggested that a lack of senior school leadership support and the use of auxiliary staff to deliver the programme, both potentially the result of pressures to achieve the school's attainment targets, had an impact on the success of the programme. Most significantly, they concluded that one set of programme lessons was not enough to achieve a lasting impact.

In the same month the DfE published their research report into teaching methods that help to build resilience to extremism (DfE, 2011b). The research, carried out by the Office for Public Management (OPD) and the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER), focused on identifying the characteristics found in standard lessons that help build pupil resilience, as opposed to those characteristics identified in specific interventions designed for those presumed to be at risk of extremism or 'risky behaviour'

(ibid) e.g. gang membership and drug taking. The study based around scoping interviews with an 'Expert Reference Group' (ibid, p. 12) consisting of academic and non-academic experts in the field, a systematic literature review and case studies, concluded that:

> teaching methods that help to build resilience to extremism are no more and no less than general principles of good teaching. Generic and general principles of good teaching are the stable foundations on which to base all subsequent successful teaching practice for building resilience (ibid, p. 5)

In this report the research team adapt Buzzanell's definition of resilience which states '[h]uman resilience is the ability to "bounce back" or reintegrate after difficult life experiences' (Buzzanell, 2010, p. 1), by removing 'or reintegrate'. The definition is taken from a work in which Buzzanell argues that resilience is 'developed, sustained and grown through discourse, interaction, and material considerations' (ibid), a work that adds to the evidence base for locating the development of resilience in education policy. The authors of the report engage with Buzzanell's research that suggests resilience is underpinned by the affirmation of 'identity anchors' (ibid, p. 4); a collection of 'identity discourses upon which individuals … rely when explaining who they are for themselves and in relation to each other' (ibid). The report goes on to establish a link between personal resilience and identity, with the authors suggesting that:

> the concept of 'identity' – what makes us 'who we are', how we reconcile different facets of ourselves and how our sense of identity affects the way we see the world and are seen within it – is seen to have a particular relevance to building personal resilience to extremism (DfE, 2011b, p. 69)

Both research reports (2011a; 2011b) were published by the DfE despite both being commissioned by the previous Labour government. This action demonstrated a growing cross-party belief that the development of personal resilience must be considered central to policy focused on improving social mobility and countering the threat of extremism and radicalisation. In 2013 an all-party parliamentary group on Social Mobility (APPGSM) held a Character and Resilience Summit in which academics, politicians and 'opinion formers' (Tyler, 2013) from the employment, voluntary and education sectors reviewed the

evolving body of research that suggests resilience and character is explicitly linked to success at school and in later life. In its report *Unseen Children,* Ofsted (2013a) claimed that 'high quality teaching and learning and a relevant curriculum must be underpinned by other interventions that increase pupils' resilience' (ibid, p. 35). In doing so, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector reinforced the belief that the development of individual resilience is essential in the battle to close the attainment gap and improve social mobility. In 2014 the APPGSM launched its *Character and Resilience Manifesto* in which it concluded 'we – as a cross-party group – now believe it [the evidence base] is sufficiently compelling that policy makers must act' (APPGSM, 2013, p. 5). Amongst other recommendations the manifesto called on the government to introduce a robust character and resilience measure at *reception* stage, establish Character and Resilience as an element of initial teacher training, and establish the development of personal resilience as a key component of the work carried out by the National Careers Service (ibid). In 2014 the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission (SMCPC) whose function is to monitor and report to Parliament on the progress made by the Government on improving social mobility and tackling child poverty, concluded that 'there is a strong link between non-cognitive skills and positive outcomes in later life' (SMCPC, 2014, p. 90). The SMCPC identified these softs skills as 'character and resilience' (Ibid). This claim was underpinned by the research, funded by the Cabinet Office and the Education Endowment Fund, of Gutman and Schoon, who define resilience as 'positive adaptation despite the presence of risk, which may include poverty, parental bereavement, parental mental illness, and/or abuse' (Education Endowment Fund, 2013, p. 27). The SMCPC also highlighted the research of the British Chambers of Commerce (2014) that claimed 57% of employers felt that school leavers did not have the soft skills required e.g. resilience, to succeed in the workplace. The commission demonstrated its belief in the strength of link between 'non-cognitive skills and positive outcomes in later life' (SMCPC, 2014, p. 90) by suggesting that no school should be acknowledged as outstanding by the regulator unless it demonstrated 'how they build character and resilience' (ibid).

In 2015 the House of Lords appointed the Select Committee on Social Mobility (SCSM) to report *on social mobility in the transition from school to work for 14 to 24 year olds*. Their report provided evidence from businesses including Barclays PLC, education charities, and public and third sector organisation e.g. Asdan, of a belief that 'Character and resilience in particular affect a person's chances of success' (SCSM, 2016, p. 20), and confirmed that

businesses do not believe students leave the education system with the soft skills required to be successful in the workplace, e.g. 'communication, team working, resilience, and self-management' (ibid, p. 6). The report highlighted the written evidence (Home Office, 2015) provided by the UK government in which it states its objective of 'making the whole education system much more closely linked to the world of work to ensure children develop the character and resilience they need to succeed in life in modern Britain' (ibid, p. 22). In 2016 the UK government launched its White Paper *Educational Excellence Everywhere* in which it laid out its five-year plan for education in the UK. The paper included a section titled 'Building character and resilience in every child' (DfE, 2016b, p. 94) in which the government linked success in adult life to 'being resilient and knowing how to persevere, how to bounce back if faced with failure, and how to collaborate with others at work and in their private lives' (ibid).

To this day the government confirms one of the DfE's top three priorities is to 'ensure that education builds character, resilience and well-being' (Gov.uk, 2019). This priority was made explicit by the DfE with its *call for evidence* (DfE, 2019) of best practice in developing learner *character and resilience*. In this document the DfE loosely defines resilience as 'Being able to bounce back from the knocks that life invariably brings to all of us (resilience)' (ibid, p. 9), and fail to engage with the concept of identity. It should be noted at this point that top of the DfE's list of priorities is to 'ensure our academic standards match and keep pace with key comparator nations' (Gov.uk, 2019); a positioning that affirms economic considerations as the government's primary driver.

2.2.2 Counter-Terrorism - Prevent

The Prevent Strategy (Home Office, 2011a) re-affirmed the belief that developing individual and community resilience is a key element in the battle against terrorism (Sabir, 2014; Revell, 2017). This claim was founded on the research, sponsored by the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism, of Munton et al (Home Office, 2011b), which synthesised empirical studies that had attempted to determine the factors that make an individual resistant or vulnerable to the threat of Al-Qa'ida influenced radicalisation and extremism. Despite limited research being available on developing resilience to the threat of extremism in an Al-Qa'ida context (Amjad, 2009; Asal et al., 2008; Schbley, 2000; Lyall, 2009), Munton et al claim that 'being well-educated and aware about other ethnic or religious groups and being financially stable were found to increase resilience to

participating in AQ-influenced violent extremism' (ibid, p.25). Munton et al use the work of Silber and Bhatt (2007), a synthesis of interviews with police, intelligence and academic experts 'professionally involved in AQ-influenced terrorist attacks or thwarted attacks' (Home Office, 2011b, p. 17), to suggest that key contributing factors to vulnerability include:

> poor economic prospects; the death of a close family member or friend; social alienation, or failure to integrate into their new culture; perceived discrimination or racism; and a political response to international conflicts involving Muslims (ibid)

The claims made by Munton et al, though not explicit, suggest that education lies at the heart of a solution to the threat of extremism and radicalisation; education to improve attainment and social mobility; and, education to improve awareness and understanding of different cultures giving rise to greater community cohesion and resilience.

In 2015 it became a legal requirement for all staff in specified authorities and organisations e.g. schools, to work together to implement the Prevent Duty (HM Government, 2015) effectively and 'prevent people from being drawn into terrorism' (ibid, p. 2) by 'building pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British values' (ibid, p. 5). The Prevent Duty (the Duty) guidance suggested that 'The success of Prevent work relies on communities supporting efforts to prevent people being drawn into terrorism and challenging the extremist ideas that are also part of terrorist ideology' (ibid, p. 20), thus reinforcing the notion stated in the Prevent Strategy (Home Office, 2011a) that the development of community resilience and cohesion is crucial in the fight against the threat of radicalisation and extremism. In the Government White Paper *Educational Excellence Everywhere* (DfE, 2016b), the Department for Education took the opportunity to announce the launch of a series of new resources including a 'landmark new website, Educate Against Hate' (ibid, p. 97) to support parents, teachers and school leaders in implementing the Duty and building pupil and community resilience to radicalisation and extremism. In an article posted on 8 October 2017 titled *Teaching approaches for building pupils' resilience to extremist narratives* (DfE, 2017b), the DfE underpin the importance of developing personal resilience by providing parents, teachers and school leaders with guidance and resources on how to develop:

> the capacity of young people to control their own emotions and feelings, to engender feelings of positive well-being and to exercise control over their lives and the challenges with which they are presented (ibid)

Later that month the education website *Schools Week* claimed the new academies minster had set out proposals for the development of a 'fundamental British values curriculum' (Whittaker, 2017), and quoted the minster's assertion that 'This new curriculum will assist school staff in promoting fundamental British values and building pupils' resilience to extremist ideologies' (ibid). Whittaker goes on to confirm the specification of the resources to support this curriculum will result from the consultations of an *expert advisory group* consisting of teachers and education experts. The minister confirmed these resources will be published on the *Educate Against Hate* website.

2.2.3 Summary

A review of government-generated and government-sponsored literature throughout the period 2010 to 2019, clearly highlights a belief that the concept of resilience lies at the heart of solving two of the UK's biggest current issues; improving levels of social mobility and eliminating the threat of terrorism. However, the review has also revealed different definitions of resilience being adopted by different government organisations. The first definition, presented in a report focus on combatting extremism, states that resilience is the ability to '"bounce back"' (DfE, 2011b, p. 10), therefore suggesting it is a response to an 'adversity' (ibid) that has already happened. By removing 'or reintegrate' from the original definition (Buzzanell, 2010, p. 1), the DfE appear to discount the notion that resilience is a dynamic process underpinned by adaptation. It is not possible to confirm the rationale behind the selection and editing of Buzzanell's definition; however, it may be considered likely it was rooted in the discourse covering the terrorist activity of the period (Hickman et al, 2011). The second definition, presented in a report (Education Endowment Foundation, 2013) authored by a team including experts from the business sector focused on identifying the *non-cognitive skills required to become socially mobile*. The report suggests that resilience is the process of 'positive adaptation', an ability identified by employers as lacking in a significant number of school leavers (SMSC, 2015; SMCPC, 2014). It is interesting to note that in this Cabinet Office sponsored report, the authors state that resilience is more than '"bouncing back" in the face of setbacks' (ibid), therefore differentiating it from the concept of grit. The third definition, presented on a website

focused on developing resilience to extremist narratives and aimed primarily at school leaders, teachers, and parents, is underpinned by a belief that controlling one's emotions and feelings and developing a sense of positive well-being (DfE, 2017b) are the foundation of personal resilience. The re-emergence of this definition (previously presented in DfE, 2011b, p. 69) may reflect a greater awareness and acceptance of radicalisation as a domestic issue; and/or, a better understanding and acceptance of a link between well-being, identity and extremism (ibid). Finally, in its *call for evidence* (DfE, 2019), the DfE presents us with a definition that reduces the notion of resilience to the individual's ability to 'bounce back from the knocks that life invariably brings to all of us' (ibid, p. 9). Notably, the call does not explicitly draw on notions of identity.

Thus, from this brief analysis we are left to consider why the government has failed to provide a clear and consistent definition of resilience; effectively, rendering it an empty signifier. This failing may result from an assumption that everyone understands what the term resilience means; or it may conceal a more divisive motive.

It is also clear from the review that the government has located the solution to the problems of improving levels of social mobility, and eliminating the threat of radicalisation and extremism, primarily in education and counter-terrorism policy. This belief is informed by research e.g. Munton et al (Home Office, 2011b) and NFER and OPM (DfE, 2011b), and enshrined in law through the Prevent Duty (Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, 2015), with up to date guidance and resources for its delivery being available from a government website, *Educate Against Hate*. Having established the centrality of resilience as a strategy in government policy, it is essential that the discourse relating to the development of resilience that underpin general education and counter-terrorism policy promotes a climate in which resilience can be developed. Therefore, my research will focus on analysing mediation of policy discourse and considering its impact on the development of resilience. To effectively analyse this discourse, it is first necessary to understand the concept of resilience in a political and academic context.

2.3 Resilience - A Political Context

Mavelli (2017) claims that since the nineteen seventies, as a reaction to the 'crisis of Keynesianism' (ibid, p. 490), much of UK government decision and policy making has been underpinned by the vague and diffuse notion of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005; Giroux,

2005; Bockman, 2013). This notion of governance is founded on the principles that society's well-being is best served by providing 'liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey, 2005, p. 2), and that the market, not society, defines the rules of political economic practice (George, 1999). Consequently, during this political period we have witnessed the implementation of policies focused on 'destroying Keynesian arrangements' (Le Galès, 2016, p. 156; Strom and Martin, 2017, Harvey, 2005; Giroux, 2005; George, 1999) e.g. social housing. The processes of privatisation and deregulation have spawned new markets, for example in utility, health and education provision (George, 1999; Harvey, 2005). Competition, a key principle of neoliberalist philosophy, has provided a mechanism, at all levels of society, for the separation of the 'fit from the unfit' (George, 1999, p. 3).

Harvey (2005) maintains that by the start of the millennium, Neoliberalism had evolved to a position of hegemony as a discourse; and become the 'common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world' (ibid, p. 3; Jacques, 2016). Giroux develops this notion by suggesting that this progression to a position of dominance is driven by the advancing of a 'public pedagogy that privileges the entrepreneurial subject' (Giroux, 2014, p. 1); a pedagogy that inculcates 'personal responsibility' (ibid). Schouten and Edwards (2016) develop this argument by suggesting that the classroom has become a key site in the embedding of the 'political ideal of individual freedom and choice' (ibid, p. 1383) that underpins the development of personal responsibility and the empowerment of the individual; while Strom and Martin (2017) claim that over a twenty year period characterised by corporate based reform, pupils have become 'indoctrinated with the myth of meritocracy and equality' (ibid, p. 4) and a way of thinking that 'equates poverty with laziness' (ibid, p. 13). Schouten and Edwards (2016) conclude their literature review by suggesting that 'notions of collective responsibility and actions have been replaced by notions of self-responsibility and determinism' (ibid, p. 1834). Giroux (2014) suggests that ultimately this political and subsequent economic evolution has reduced social issues, and thus social policymaking, to a focus on deficiencies of the individual, and a 'self-indicting discourse of character' (ibid, p. 3). Thus, we are confronted with the notion that underpinning neoliberalism is an ideology of resilience (Chandler, 2013), an ideology fuelled by the principle that the state cannot fix society's problems, but that society can solve its own problems with the appropriate external assistance (ibid, 2013). This principle

is founded on a belief that 'resilience cannot be 'given' or 'produced' by outside actors, only facilitated or inculcated through understanding the mechanisms through which problematic social practices are reproduced' (ibid, p. 277); however, Chandler is clear that liability for the outcomes of all intercessions rests with the 'local actors' (ibid), and not the facilitators. Duffield (2012) attributes this belief to an acceptance that *the event* from which society needs to demonstrate resilience, is 'an inevitable attribute of its [society's] internal functioning' (ibid, p. 476); and therefore, could be forestalled through 'biopolitical governance' (ibid); a form of governance founded on the need to *take care* of the population by 'fostering its flourishing and well-being through a series of technologies that may govern 'aleatory events' and 'dangers'' (Foucault, 2003, pp. 246, 252; quoted in Mavelli, 2017, p. 498). Central to this discourse on resilience is Twigg's argument that resilience is as much about 'develop[ing] capacities and reduc[ing] vulnerabilities' (2009, p. 9), i.e. endorsing the notion of pre-emptive intervention, as it is about responding to events, an argument that appears to support Duffield's (2012, p.277) rationale for the neoliberalist need for 'biopolitical governance'. Dean (2012) adds weight to Duffield (2012) and Twigg's (2009) argument by suggesting that neoliberalist agency has progressed to the point of discarding its 'triumphalist narratives' (ibid, p. 190), and is now preparing the individual and society alike for the 'rigors of the catastrophe to come' (ibid).

Despite its previously held hegemonic status (Strom and Martin, 2017; Smith, 2017; Jacques, 2016) and pervasiveness (Bockman, 2013), Dean (2012) suggests we are unable to adequately define neoliberalism as a fixed concept, philosophy or ideology; while Peck presents the notion that it is 'an open-ended and contradictory process of politically assisted market rule (2010, p. xii). Le Galès (2016) concludes that neoliberalism has been conceptualised as any one of a number of projects e.g. cultural, political and class. Brenner et al (2010) suggest it has become 'something of a *rascal concept* – promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested.' (p. 184); while Clarke suggests the term 'feels overworked' (2008, p. 147) due to its 'omnipresence, omnipotence and promiscuity'(ibid). If we accept Clarke's notion that neoliberalism involves:

> a double process of articulation and assemblage: first, the articulation of things into neo-liberalism's repertoire; second, the articulation of elements from neoliberalism's repertoire into specific/local assemblages

> or constellations as part of political and governmental projects to remake particular places (2008, p. 147)

and that there is no definitive conceptualisation of neoliberalism (Arthur, 2016), then we become aware of the power of neoliberalism as 'a mode of discourse' (Harvey, 2005, p. 3), a mode of discourse that must exhibit a 'polymorphic' nature (Le Galès, 2016, p.158; Peck, 2010) in order to facilitate the 'remak[ing of] particular places' (Clarke, 2008, p. 147).

Arthur (2016) in his precis of neoliberalism and education policy reminds us that market principles are now at the core of UK education policy, while Ball suggests that 'education policy is being "done" in new locations, on different scales, by new actors and organisations' (2012, p. 4). If we now consider these two points with Arthur's claim that the UK government can 'issue statutory regulations that seek to govern without specifying exactly what must be done' (2016, p. 313), then we must consider the impact of the potential variation in meaning and definition contained within policy discourse delivered by actors, old and new. Thus, my research will not be limited to discourse contained within policy documents; but will contain analyses of the discourse found in media that is more accessible to society e.g. the discourse constructed by politicians and government agencies during interviews and press conferences. By analysing the discourse constructed in a more contemplative process, narratives that are intended as 'a perpetual present, upon which no consequent language … can be superimposed' (Barthes, 1974, p. 5) i.e. policy, and those constructed in an environment that demands an immediate response, I believe I will be able to expose any variations in definition, conceptualisation and goals, as well as conflicting messages (Brenner et al, 2010), in policy development and implementation.

2.4 Resilience - An Academic Context

In order to establish the validity and relevance of the concept of resilience in this study it is necessary to provide an academic evidence base that argues this. The following review charts the development of research, principally empirically based, that evidences an evolving understanding of the concept of resilience in terms of human psychology.

Much of the foundation work in understanding how a series of competences, later to become known collectively as resilience, enable the process of adaptation in the face of challenging circumstances, was laid by Norman Garmezy (Masten and Tullegen, 2012). In

1961, following two decades of research into the prognosis of mental illness in adult patients, Garmezy switched his attention to childhood psychopathology and initiated his seminal work on 'the study of competence in children at risk due to parental mental illness and other risk factors, including poverty and stressful life experiences' (Masten and Powell, 2003, p. 2). In 1978 he and a team of researchers including Masten implemented *Project Competence*, a longitudinal study that ran for 20 years. The study focused on the 'linkages between competence, adversity, internal functioning, and a host of individual and family attributes' (ibid, p. 3). The research sample was constructed from two elementary schools located in an area of Minneapolis that was deemed to represent the diverse nature of society in terms of socio-economic status and racial mix (ibid); however, no evidence is presented to justify a claim that the cohort represented the socio-economic and racial mix of the area. One of the strengths of the study was claimed to be its original cohort retention rate which was calculated as 90% over the duration of the study (Masten and Tellegen, 2012). Other strengths claimed include the range of data and methods used as well as the strength of analytical tools used to interrogate the data. In 1990 following the second study, Masten, Best and Garmezy defined resilience as 'the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances' (1990, p. 425). Their findings suggested:

> Children who experience chronic adversity fare better or recover more successfully when they have a positive relationship with a competent adult, they are good learners and problem-solvers, they are engaging to other people, and they have areas of competence and perceived efficacy valued by self or society (ibid)

Garmezy et al also concluded that pupils who had been exposed to 'less positive parenting' (Masten and Tellegen, 2012, p. 355) and had 'more limited cognitive skills' (ibid) experienced greater exposure to adversity. This they claimed was due to these pupils having fewer resources to support adaptation becoming more susceptible to adversity they themselves had constructed. Significantly, as Ungar (2008) suggests, this study and the work of Werner and Smith (1982) and Rutter et al (1979) consolidated a belief in 'the dynamic nature of protective processes associated with resilience' (Ungar, 2011, p. 1; Li, 2017a) and resulted in a move away from trait-based research to a focus on 'interactional processes in challenging environments (e.g. poverty, the mental illness of a parent)' (ibid).

In their literature review of research into resilience Miller and Daniel (2007) suggested that 'resilience can be viewed both as an outcome, emotional well-being against the odds, and a process, adaptability in the face of adversity' (ibid, p. 606). Their review indicated that there were two set of factors, intrinsic and extrinsic, that help determine the resilience of an individual. Miller and Daniel defined extrinsic factors as those that construct the adversity and provide protection and support. These factors include: a secure relationship with at least one adult (Robinson, 2014), a support network consisting of friends and family, as well positive social and educational experiences. From their review of Fergusson and Horwood (2003), Gilligan (1997) and Masten and Coatsworth, (1998) they conclude that self-esteem is a 'significant' (Miller and Daniel, 2007, p. 606) intrinsic factor along with 'a sense of security where the child feels loved, … and a sense of agency or self-efficacy' (ibid). Whilst acknowledging the definitional issues of self-esteem (Mruk, 1999; Tafarodi and Milne, 2002) Miller and Daniel adopt a definition that promotes self-esteem as 'the experience of being competent to cope with the basic challenges of life and of being worthy of happiness' (Branden, 1995, p. 252). Miller and Daniel acknowledge that vulnerable children are more likely to be from environments in which they are subject to the effects of poverty, mental ill-health in those around them, criminality and various forms of abuse; environments in which immersion may lead to children questioning their ability to 'influence what is happening around them … [and] question whether they are entitled to any better' (ibid, p. 618), and therefore, from Branden's definition, developing low self-esteem and exhibiting low levels of resilience. Hanson and Austen (2003) conclude that students who have high levels of internal and external resilience factors made more progress in improving test scores than those pupils measured as having low levels of resilience factors. The conclusion was drawn from an analysis of test scores and surveys carried out over a four-year period (1998 - 2002) across 1773 schools in California. Significantly Hanson and Austen suggest that improved test scores were found in schools where pupils reported a focus on high expectations, developing caring relationships with peers and staff (Werner, 1995), and engagement with community activities (ibid); while smaller test score improvements were achieved at schools where higher percentages of students reported feeling 'sad or depressed' (Hanson and Austen, 2003, p. ix). From their analysis of external resilience factors, Hanson and Austen conclude that 'school resilience assets had greater consequences for the academic progress of schools than did resilience assets in other domains' (ibid, p. 56); an outcome that supports the notion that the school environment is key to developing resilience and

improving academic attainment. In linking lower academic progress to feelings of sadness and depression, Hanson and Austen (2003) appear to add weight to Miller and Daniels (2007) belief that self-esteem and resilience are linked. If we consider the evidence sufficient to suggest that self-esteem and resilience are linked, then it will be important to analyse the policy discourse espousing the importance of resilience in general education and counter-terrorism policy for references, explicit or implicit, that promote the development or degradation of this intrinsic factor.

In 2006 Scales et al published their findings from a three-year study into developmental assets, those that 'foster resilience, and promote thriving' (Scales et al, 2006, p. 693), and potential links with improved academic performance. The study consisted of an empirical analysis of the academic progress of a cohort (370 students) of grade 7 to 9 students through to grades 10 to 12 and their reporting against forty development assets. The data presented suggests that positive identity, made up of assets including self-esteem, was key in the improvement of academic performance. They conclude that their findings offer 'promising evidence' (ibid, p. 705) that building development assets may underpin improvements in academic achievement. Noteworthy is their conclusion that 'Promoting positive youth development and traditional school reform strategies are not two separate paradigms' (ibid), therefore contributing to a belief that the development of resilience should be built into education policy. The work of Cunningham and Swanson (2010), an empirical study titled *Educational Resilience in African American Adolescents*, reinforces the notion that a supportive school and family environment (Trask-Tate et al, 2010; Werner, 1995), along with access to influential adults (Robinson, 2014; Werner, 1995) who exude a strong work ethos is key in developing educational resilience and fostering academic progress. But most noteworthy is their suggestion that 'academic self-esteem is possibly the core component of educational resilience' (Cunningham and Swanson, 2010, p. 483).

Studies focused on the growing psychological pressures experienced by undergraduate students have also established a link between resilience, positive adaptation to the challenges of campus life, and potential academic achievement. Hartley's (2012) work considers the outcomes of attending resilience development programs for two groups of students undergoing mental health counselling and a control group. His empirical study leads him to suggest that there are positive indications that attending 'empirically validated resilience intervention programs' (Hartley, 2012, p. 47; Steinhardt & Dolbier, 2008;

Langenkamp, 2010) leads to improved scores on resilience protective factors including self-esteem and self-leadership (Steinhardt & Dolbier, 2008); and potentially provide a buffer against the influence of stress.

This literature review is by no means complete, however, I believe it does establish, that by 2010 and the election of the Conservative government, there was a body of academic research that supported the claim to a link between resilience and academic achievement, and resilience and self-esteem; and therefore, support for the location of the concept of resilience in the government's general education and counter-terrorism policies.

The research considered so far has been underpinned by empirical studies focused on students self-reporting on up to forty (Scales et al, 2006) protective factors. Ungar (2011) argues that consideration must be given to a '[s]ocial [e]cological [c]onceptualization of [r]esilience' (ibid, p. 4; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). He bases his argument on claims that research to date focuses on changes in the individual with the environment being a secondary consideration, and that researchers need to 'better account for cultural relativity' (Ungar, 2011, p. 9). Ungar defines resilience as:

> both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways (Ungar, 2008, p. 225).

And suggests that

> Resilience as a process of negotiation in which cultural elites (i.e., those whose influence in the social discourse is greatest, such as mental health professionals, politicians, and the media) decide the outcomes associated with good growth requires a cultural lens for interpretation (Ungar, 2011, p. 9)

He concludes that, in line with the findings of Rutter (2005), research into resilience should be less child-centred and more process orientated. He recommends that future research focuses on considering the 'disequilibrium of the environment and its influence on individuals' (Ungar, 2011, p. 13; Hickman et al, 2011).

Kwek et al (2013) in their research into the impact of self-esteem and resilience on academic performance concluded that both resilience and self-esteem (Stupnisky et al, 2013) are predictors of academic performance (Hartley, 2011; Kapikiran and Acun-Kapikiran, 2016; Ebersöhn, 2017). Their research, underpinned by the work of Miller & Daniel (2007), was carried out across a sample of 420 undergraduates of whom 42 percent were domestic students (Australians), 40 percent Chinese, 7 percent South Korean, with 3 percent from other countries in Southeast Asia and 8 percent from the USA, Canada and Europe. Their findings suggest that self-esteem may be a significant intrinsic factor in the development of resilience in individuals across these continents. They were unable to prove their final hypothesis and establish a difference in relationship between, resilience, self-esteem and academic achievement between the two groups. Jackman and MacPhee (2017) conclude from their longitudinal study of a sample consisting of 53% ethnic minorities, that self-esteem and future orientation are inversely linked to *risky* behaviours in adolescents (Donnellan et al, 2005; McGee & Williams, 2000). If we accept that self-esteem is a component of resilience, then the work of Jackman and MacPhee that focuses on understanding the complexities of identity development, potentially adds weight to arguments linking the development of resilience to the fight against radicalisation and terrorism. Kotzé and Kleynhans (2013) concluded from a study into resilience, psychological well-being and academic performance involving 789 first year undergraduates at a south African university, of whom 58 percent were black African, that 'resilience specifically Religion, (a dimension of resilience)' (ibid, p. 56) was a significant indicator of academic achievement. They take Visser's (2007) point that religion is an external protective factor as it provides a resource for minimising or preventing negative outcomes (Buzzanell, 2010; Black and Lobo, 2008). Chen and Williams (2017) claim that those with a faith have an increased sense of self which leads to greater self-belief (Salgado, 2013). However, they suggest that for the developing Chinese community this is based on anxiety over perceived social status. Johnson (2016) in his qualitative investigation into *Race, Religion and Resilience in the Neoliberal Age* and the concept of soul-care in the Black American community, adds weight to the notion that religion is an external protective factor by claiming that 'religious forms have the capacity to serve as therapeutic spaces, capable of functioning as sites of resilience and resistance' (Johnson, 2016, p. 128). Agyekum and Newbold (2016) reinforce this notion by suggesting that these *spaces* promote the building of social relations and positive experiences, culminating in a positive sense of self and strengthened self-belief. They suggest that, for the African

immigrant community in Canada, these centres provide security and stability. Salgado (2013) emphasises the prominent role religion and spirituality play as protection factors in people's lives; and concludes from her literature review that these factors help determine how individuals perceive themselves and the world they live in.

Li (2017a) suggests that the outcomes of his research into the academic resilience of Chinese students replicate the outcomes of Western studies with family, in particular parental supervision, and the school environment being key factors in the reframing of adversity (Jowkar et al, 2014; Dias and Cadime, 2017; Ebersöhn, 2017; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017). Li claims that strong parental supervision results in children 'gain[ing] clarity and confidence in their own social and moral codes … related to emotional, relational, behavioural and academic domains' (Li, 2017a, p. 1004). He suggests his findings establish that academic resilience is developed through social processes that are 'grounded in Chinese cultural beliefs and enacted under the influence of the Chinese societal context' (ibid, p. 1010). From research into the development of academic resilience across countries in Asia, Li (2017a) reaffirms a belief in the significance of national context and culture (Ungar, 2011; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998), suggesting that 'uniquely Asian attributes' (Li et al, 2017b, p. 922; Breitenstein, 2013) contribute to students' academic resilience and success. Li et al (2017b) conclude that resilience is influenced through interaction with significant others who exist within the complex social networks and systems we live in.

Recent studies into the resilience of refugees affirm the notion that social and cultural identity as well as faith and spirituality (Kim et al, 2019; Chen and Williams, 2017; Johnson, 2016; Buzzanell, 2010; Black and Lobo, 2008) are protective factors that support coping with, and successfully adapting to, a new and potential challenging environment. Mohamed and Thomas's (2017) findings suggest that being connected to one's own ethnic community and being actively engaged in that community enabled refugees to maintain a sense of identity and build their self-esteem (Lunneblad, 2017; Agyekum and Newbold, 2016) - key protection factors against stress and depression (Fazel et al, 2012), and important factors in the development of a second language (Hamilton et al., 2000) and therefore acculturation (Fazel et al, 2012). Mohamed and Thomas conclude that successful resettlement of refugees is dependent on stakeholders being 'culturally competent' (Mohamed and Thomas, 2017, p. 261). Milovancevic (2016) suggests the voices of refugees must be heard, with attention given to identify, culture and historical background

in a 'non-discriminatory and culturally sensitive way' (Milovancevic, 2016, p. 671); while Bang (2016) concludes from a study into Iraqi refugee children's academic adjustment into the American education system, that resilience and self-esteem are key protective factors in a success transition. Bang suggests that community support is required for Iraqi refugees to 'feel at home and share their culture and values' (Bang, 2016, p. 56) and calls for culturally sensitive systems to be put in place to promote resilience and acculturation. Beauregard et al (2017) explore the complexities of identify construction for Palestinian refugee children and consider the part schools must play in re-constructing a 'meaningful' identity (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 113), one that promotes a sense of well-being and has the potential to facilitate a positive transition into school. They suggest a meaningful identity is a 'powerful source of resilience' (ibid, p. 114), and those that exhibit it typically identify with mainstream society (Dimitrova et al. 2013). Their work is supported by Negru-Subtirica et al (2016), who, following a longitudinal study, claim that 'both identity … and meaning in life are key components of coherent self-development' (ibid, p. 1926). They conclude that 'identity and meaning in life mutually support each other across time through phases of exploration and commitment' (ibid, p. 1934). Beauregard et al's work supports the positive relationship between maintaining one's cultural identity and developing a 'common culture' (Kirova, 2010, p. p. 88; Berry et al, 2006) whilst emphasising the issue of being denied a national identity. Kirova (2010) explores the significance of cultural narratives in the process of acculturation and establishes the belief that it is possible to maintain a cultural identity while forging a 'common culture' (Kirova, 2010, p. 88). Underpinning her work is an understanding that children, in particular refugee, asylum seeking or immigrant children, live in a number of sociocultural contexts and ethnocultural groups; and are therefore 'both a product of these contexts and agent of their change' (ibid). Kirova concludes that an 'intercultural approach to education' cannot be achieved until an intercultural approach is taken to wider social policy.

The literature reviewed strongly suggests that the development of resilience in both individual and community, is influenced by culture (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), environment (Rutter, 2005; Ungar, 2011) and identity (Buzzannell, 2010; DfE, 2011b); with Beauregard et al (2017) suggesting that a *meaningful* identity is a 'powerful source of resilience' (ibid p. 114). Beauregard et al (2017) do not provide us with a definition of *meaningful identity*. However, they are clear that this 'meaningful whole' (ibid, p. 127) is the coming together of multiple identities, and

that it is this strong sense of collective identity that provides the foundation for a meaningful identity; an identity that underpins the development of resilience. This belief is supported by the research of Jetten et al (2017) who claim the potential outcome of multiple compatible memberships, and therefore the development of multiple social identities, is heightened self-esteem, and feelings of belonging and meaning; as well as 'a sense of purpose, control, and efficacy in life' (ibid, p. 792); and by Negru-Subtirica et al (2016) who suggest that the formation of identity is 'closely linked to searching for and acquiring meaning in one's life' (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016, p. 1926; Luyckx et al, 2014). However, we are reminded by Jetten et al (2017) that, as well as being a *social cure* (Kellezi and Reicher, 2012), group membership can also be a 'social curse' (ibid); as is potentially the case when the individual is a member of a stigmatised group. The work of Beauregard et al (2017) also supports the notion that an individual's well-being and ability to adapt can be negatively impacted when they question their group memberships, and therefore their collective and/or social identities (Berry et al, 2006). This notion is supported by Negru-Subtirica et al (2016) who suggest that *ruminative exploration* of current identity commitments was a negative predictor of a clear sense of meaning in life. This finding was supported by the review of literature carried out by Luyckx et al (2014) who suggest that this form of exploration 'was related negatively to emotional stability and extraversion, indicative of the insecurity and vulnerability underlying this exploration strategy' (ibid, p. 2145). The problematic nature of identity as a social constructivist notion can be seen as follows: first, identity is a 'complex and multilayered construct' (Luyckx, 2014, p. 2144); and, second, identities are 'constructed and performed through situational occasions' (Simi et al, 2017, p. 1168) and therefore resist being fully defined as they reshape as contexts and relationships evolve (Chao, 2019; Abes et al, 2007). It is acknowledged that research into identity is still in its infancy (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016).

The structure of British society is complex and multi-dimensional with peoples from myriad ethnicities, cultures, faiths and religions, living in one or more sociocultural contexts and ethnocultural groups (Wenger, 1999; Kirova, 2010). The recent studies reviewed substantiate Miller and Daniel's (2007) assertion that 'resilience is complex and multi-dimensional in nature' (ibid, p. 606) suggesting that the development of resilience is influenced by culture (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), environment (Rutter, 2005; Ungar, 2011) and identity (Buzzanell, 2010; DfE, 2011b; Beauregard et al, 2017). Therefore, it would seem logical that the success of government

policy is in part dependent on its ability to generate discourse that consistently conveys cultural sensitivity (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016) and competence (Mohamed and Thomas, 2017); and is non-discriminatory (Milovancevic, 2016) and enables the individual to maintain a *meaningful* identity (Beauregard et al, 2017). With this perspective in mind, my analysis of policy discourse will focus on determining if government and government agency discourse achieves these criteria, and promotes a climate in which those at risk, and those living in communities that fall *under suspicion* (Hickman et al, 2011), can develop the resilience needed to become socially mobile and/or counter the threat of radicalisation and extremism.

2.5 Definitional Issues

The use of the term resilience or resilient is itself problematic with some claiming that the term is often misconceived and misused (Bononno, 2012; Duffield, 2012). This problem can be considered in three parts; first is the acceptance of the term as a general truth and its misuse, second are the definitional issues of the term, and finally, the perception that resilience is a *British* quality.

2.5.1 A General Truth

The notion of resilience as a key characteristic of *successful* people has been accepted as a general truth for centuries, pre-dating the evolution of our current political context. The axiom 'To him that will, ways are not wanting', attributed to George Herbert Wright (1935) was originally published in 1640 in the work "Jacula Prudentum" (The Phrase Finder, 2008). It was first published in its updated form 'Where there is a will, there is a way', in the New Monthly Magazine in 1822 (ibid). More recently, in his 1922 novel "The Adventures of Sally", P. G. Wodehouse reminded us that 'There is in certain men … a quality of resilience, a sturdy refusal to acknowledge defeat' (Wodehouse, 2008, p. 244). Recently it has become common to hear individuals and communities described as being resilient. However, it may be claimed that frequently the bestower of this 'capacity' (DFID, 2011, p. 8) has not considered, or re-considered, the 'fundamental judgements' (Masten and Powell, 2003, p. 4) required for a diagnosis of resilience in a given context; and therefore, the label has become a trait to be applied to the individual or community in all circumstances. Chandler argues that resilience 'is a goal rather than a final state of being' (2013, p. 278) and is not a 'fixed capacity of individuals or communities' (ibid); while Masten and Powell conclude '[r]esilience is not a trait of an individual, though

individuals manifest resilience in their behavior and life patterns' (2003, p. 4); it is an 'inferential and contextual construct' (Masten, 2001, p. 228).

2.5.2 Multiple Constructs

Second, we have the problem of definition with multiple constructs of both individual and community resilience. Masten (2001) defines resilience as an individual's ability to exhibit 'patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant risk or adversity' (ibid, p. 4). Masten and Powell (2003) argue that 'resilience is an inference about a person's life' based on two '*fundamental judgments'* (ibid), firstly, that the individual is 'doing ok' (ibid) and secondly, that the individual has experienced significant adversity or risk. They suggest calling an individual *resilient* is inappropriate and that we should acknowledge that "This person has a resilient pattern" or "This person shows the features of resilience" (ibid). Masten and Powell (2003) appear to subscribe to the notion that adaptation is a core component of resilience (CARRI, 2013). Yeager and Dweck (2012) in the research into the impact of a positive mindset on the development of a student's resilience accept Masten's (2001) definition of resilience, however, they seek to broaden the definition arguing that resilience is 'any behavioral, attributional, or emotional response to an academic or social challenge that is positive and beneficial for development' (Yeager and Dweck, 2012, p. 303). Their work is premised on the notion that a student's interpretation of the level of risk or adversity experienced is key to the level of resilience shown by the student. By using 'any', Yeager and Dweck (2012) exemplify the subjective nature of this capacity. Abu-Ras and Hosein (2015) in their work with Muslim military personnel adopt the definition of resilience constructed by Stewart, Reid, and Mangham (1997) which claims, 'This capability changes over time and is enhanced by protective factors in the individual and the environment' (ibid, p. 22). The link to time and environment is supported by Ellis and Abdi (2017), who in their work *Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships*, do not promote a definition of resilience, however, after reviewing various constructions they argue that community resilience to the threat of violent extremism is dependent on the building of social connections; connections that foster belonging, an acceptance of difference, and equal partnership between community and government. In the Community and Regional Resilience Institute (CARRI) Report for 2013 we are provided with an analysis of definitions of resilience used in research in the physical, ecological and community domains from 1973 to 2009. The authors provide us with potential classification models based on ontological, phenomenological, adaptation,

trajectory, predictability and temporal nature approaches to definition. CARRI (2013) conclude it is difficult to select one definition as "the best" but suggest that the chosen definition should enshrine the following notions:

> Resilience is an inherent and dynamic attribute of the community … Adaptability is at the core of this attribute ... Any adaptation must improve the community … Resilience should be defined in a manner that enables useful predictions to be made about a community's ability to recover from adversity (ibid, p. 10).

Thus, CARRI has defined community resilience as 'the capability to anticipate risk, limit impact, and bounce back rapidly through survival, adaptability, evolution, and growth in the face of turbulent change' (ibid). In constructing this definition, the organisation has combined elements of definitions found in engineering, ecology and psychology. Fleming and Ledogar (2008) conclude that there are three resilience models from which definitions arise. The compensatory model of resilience promotes the understanding that resilience factors negate risk factors. The protective model is founded on the principle that 'assets or resources moderate or reduce the effects of a risk on a negative outcome' (Fleming and Ledogar, 2008, p. 7). The challenge model is underpinned by the notion that low and high-risk factors have a more negative impact than moderate risk factors. In their review of literature focused on research into resilience in aboriginal communities, Fleming and Ledogar use Healy's (2006) definition of community and cultural resilience that claims the process of absorption and adaptation must enable the 'community or cultural system … to retain key elements of structure and identity that preserve its distinctness. (Healy, 2006, p. 12)

In his 2009 guidance note titled *Characteristics of a Disaster Resilient Community,* Twigg acknowledges that the plethora of definitions of community resilience 'can be confusing' (Twigg, 2009. P. 9) but suggests that 'a focus on resilience means putting greater emphasis on what communities can do for themselves' (ibid), a suggestion that may have its foundation in a neoliberalist perspective. Leykin et al (2016) present a definition that is underpinned by positivist notions of knowledge conception with the claim that community resilience is a 'multi-dimensional concept' (ibid, p. 125), with key components including geographic specification and social capital (Castleden et al, 2011). Hall and Lamont (2012) present what appears to be an ontological definition of their term 'social resilience' (Hall

and Lamont, 2012, p. 6), stating ‘we use the term social resilience to denote an outcome in which the members of a group sustain their well-being in the face of challenges to it’ (ibid, p. 24). Underpinning this definition is a belief that resilience involves adaptation and a positive trajectory. Significantly, they include in their definition of ‘well-being’ (ibid), not only health and finance considerations, but also ‘the sense of dignity and belonging that comes with being a recognized member of the community’ (ibid). However, it must be noted that not all individuals will have the same perceptions of *positive trajectory* and *community*; take the case of the career criminal, who in order to main his or her liberty, will need to adapt to achieve their goals. The variation in definition is possibly best illustrated by Cohen et al (2017) who in conducting positivist-based research into building community resilience, proffer the notion that ‘Community resilience denotes a community's ability to lead itself in order to overcome changes and crises’ (Cohen et al, 2017, p. 119); and that the constituent factors of this construct include ‘leadership, collective efficacy, social cohesion and place attachment’ (ibid). This brief review of academic research into individual and community resilience has revealed the multiplicity and subjective nature of definition with constructs including the inherent and dynamic nature of communities (CARRI, 2013; Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015; Ellis and Abdi, 2017); the need to consider geographic boundaries and social capital (Leykin et al, 2016); the need to develop a feeling of membership, belonging and dignity (Hall and Lamont, 2013); and the importance of retaining the community’s distinctness (Healy, 2006).

2.5.3 Resilience as a British Quality

The work of Per Mouritsen (2012) leads us to the third consideration, that of resilience as a British quality. Despite failing to define the term resilience, he concludes, ‘a resilient tradition does not mean inertia’ (Mouritsen, 2012, p. 89). He suggests that responses to adversity are shaped by a nation’s history and political actors, a notion that appears to be supported by Cohen et al (2017) who suggest that community resilience is founded on ‘leadership, collective efficacy, social cohesion and place attachment’ (Cohen et al, 2017, p. 119). Hickman et al (2011) conclude that a focus on history and resilience as a British quality is evident in counter-terrorism narratives. From their analysis of the public discourse covering the representation of Muslim and Irish communities as ‘suspect’ (ibid, p. 1) communities, Hickman et al claim discourse is used to evoke memories of war and stir feelings of British resolve in the face of national threat. They substantiate their claims by highlighting significant quotes including those of the then Defence Secretary who

states, ‘We must ensure that they understand that they will not win in their attempt to break our will’ (Reid, 2005; quoted in Hickman et al, 2011, p. 13); and the then Prime Minster, Tony Blair who defiantly stated

> This is the battle that must be won, a battle not just about the terrorist methods but their views. Not just their barbaric acts, but their barbaric ideas. Not only what they do but what they think and the thinking they would impose on others. […] We must be clear about how we win this struggle’ (Blair, 2005; quoted in Hickman et al, 2011, p. 13).

Hickman et al conclude that the discourse covering these periods of terrorist activity, resulted in a feeling that the nation would stand firm and resist, they exemplify this belief quoting the words ‘the British people will not be cowed and the terrorists will not win’ (Davis, 2005; quoted in Hickman et al, 2011, p. 13).

The notion of resilience as a British quality is developed by Kelsey (2013) who links current public discourse covering the fight against terrorism with the notion of a ‘Blitz spirit’ (ibid, p. 83). He supports Manthorpe’s (2006) notion that a national identity is constructed primarily from a nation’s memory, and that memories are partial and transient and not history; he reaffirms the belief that the Blitz spirit is no more than a myth, constructed from partial memories of ‘national unity, resilience and solidarity against a force of irrational evil’ (Kelsey, 2013, p. 88). Most significantly he supports the work of Per Mouritsen (2012) by quoting Manthorpe’s argument that ‘Their [the Labour government at the time of the 7 July bombings] manipulation of the Blitz myth was deeply self-conscious’’ (Manthorpe, 2006; quoted in Kelsey, 2013, p. 88).

The last two sections of this review have brought to light some potential issues that may result from interpreting the discourse underpinning the development of resilience as a strategy to improving levels of social mobility and countering the threat of radicalisation and extremist activity. Firstly, if we accept Banks’ (1993) assertion that an individual’s knowledge construction is significantly impacted by interpretations of their life experiences, then we are faced with the possibility that discourse emanating from the same government departments, agencies and organisations conceptualise resilience in different ways, leading to mixed messages that inhibit the agency required to develop it. Secondly, if the discourse are underpinned by an understanding that resilience is a British quality, or is a requirement to be considered British, then we are faced with the possibility that a

section of society will not aspire to become resilient, or conversely, will become resilient to the message to become accepted as British. Finally, if discourse are founded on the notion that resilience is a trait, and not context specific, then there is the risk that the need for focused action within sections of the education system and community will not be realised.

2.6 Conclusion

This literature review has established the process of developing resilience as a key strategy in government policy aimed at improving levels of social mobility and countering the threat of radicalisation and extremist activity. It has also highlighted a failing of the government to define the term resilience consistently; a failing that may conceal a divisive motive. The review has located the education system and local communities as primary locations for developing resilience in students and young people that may be at risk. These communities are identified as typically being constructed from peoples of myriad ethnicities, cultures, faiths and religions, living in one or more sociocultural contexts and ethnocultural groups (Wenger, 1999; Kirova, 2010). The review has also established that culture (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), environment (Rutter, 2005; Ungar, 2011) and identity (Buzzanell, 2010; DfE, 2011b, Beauregard et al, 2017) influence the successful development of resilience in both individual and community. Therefore, in order to answer my research questions, i.e.:

> a. To what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?
>
> b. How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?
>
> c. What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

it will be necessary to analyse the discourse that underpins the regulation of education policy and consider if it is culturally sensitive (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016), culturally competent (Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), non-discriminatory (Milovancevic, 2016) and promotes the maintenance of a *meaningful* identity (Beauregard et al, 2017).

Despite the plethora of definitions of resilience reviewed, I will not adopt a specific definition. Instead my research will focus on the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity – 'a powerful source of resilience' (ibid, p. 114). It is understood that *meaningful* and *identity* are both problematic constructs. However, for the purpose of this research I will adopt Beauregard et al's notion of a *meaningful identity* as an overarching identity, consisting of personal, collective and social identities, that underpin an individual's well-being and positive adjustment. This notion is supported by Jetten et al (2017) who claim the potential outcome of multiple compatible memberships, and therefore the development of multiple social identities, is heightened self-esteem, and feelings of belonging and meaning; as well as 'a sense of purpose, control, and efficacy in life' (ibid, p. 792).

In exploring the impact of the discourse under review, it is acknowledged that the identity of the individual is a 'complex and multilayered construct' (Luyckx, 2014, p. 2144); and that identities are 'constructed and performed through situational occasions' (Simi et al, 2017, p. 1168) and therefore resist being fully defined as they reshape as contexts and relationships evolve (Abes et al, 2007). It is also acknowledged that a full analysis of the link between identity and resilience is beyond the scope of this study; however, where appropriate, research linking the two will be discussed.

Finally, my review of literature has revealed a number of empirical studies that focus on defining resilience and identifying protection factors through an analysis of self-reported data. With the exception of Kelsey (2011), whose study is focused on an analysis of the social discourse surrounding terrorist activity, I did not uncover any research on the impact of policy discourse on the development of resilience in the individual or community.

Chapter 3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the rationale that underpins the methodology and methodological approach I will take to address the questions:

> a. To what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?
>
> b. How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?
>
> c. What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

In selecting a methodology and methodological approach I have considered the questions in three parts, though this is not necessarily explicit. Firstly, what is meant and understood by the term *resilience*? Secondly, depending on your understanding of the term resilience, what are the goals of policy? And finally, from whose perspective am I addressing the research question? By doing so, I have consolidated my belief that I can only answer this question if I consider the perspective of both the actor and the audience, in other words, the perspective of the dominant and the dominated.

3.1.1 An Ontological and Epistemological Perspective

In determining a methodology to analyse political discourses and hence address my research questions, I first considered what drew me to this area of research. My participation in a Masters' degree programme consolidated the notion that given the same material, individuals, in this case teachers, will construct their own interpretation of a given discourse. In some instances, this interpretation appeared to be premised on the assumption that what you witness corresponds to facts about the real world (Thomas, 2010). Others of course did not take this *correspondence view* (ibid) of knowing and engaged with a process of exploration that included a plethora of considerations e.g. context and lived experience. The taught sessions of this doctoral programme provided me with an opportunity to explore further and consider different ontological and epistemological perspectives by engaging with teachers and academics from the spectrum

of academic and non-academic backgrounds, that were prepared to present and justify conflicting conceptions of *knowing and meaning-making*. Thus, group and individual discussions developed my understanding of the 'ontological pluralism' (Moses and Knutsen, 2007, p. 147) that underpins the conception of *knowing*. I find myself acknowledging Moses and Knutsen's assertion that interpretations vary with context, time and perspective resulting in an unstable platform on which to establish the singularity of meaning we, as social scientists, may be striving for (ibid; Schwandt, 1994); however, as social scientists we must acknowledge the provisional nature of knowledge (Thomas, 2010).

My epistemological approach to this research is underpinned by Crotty's definition of constructionism:

> 'it is a view that all knowledge, and therefore meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interactions between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context' (Crotty, 2015, p. 42).

This definition encapsulates my understanding that knowledge is constructed through interaction but also establishes the centrality of 'their world' (ibid) and 'social context' (ibid). By drawing out these components of meaning making, constructionists are acknowledging the potential for the plurality of interpretation and understanding of different groups of people within society separated by ethnicity, religion, class and gender (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Misra and Prakash, 2012).

3.1.2 Critical Theory

In 1937 Max Horkheimer, a principal member of the Frankfurt School, published a seminal work titled *Traditional and Critical Theory*. In this work Horkheimer draws the distinction between traditional theory, that that 'merely reflects the current situation' (Crotty, 2015, p. 130), and critical theory, that that 'seeks to change the situation' (ibid). Crotty suggests that in developing these notions of theory Horkheimer sought a 'social theory that brings together philosophical construct and empirical detail' (ibid, p. 131). This suggests a formulation of theory that to some extent embraces both positivist and interpretivist paradigms. Critical theorists would be guarded against this construct arguing that 'positivist and interpretivist paradigms are essentially technicist, seeking to understand

and render more efficient an existing situation, rather than to question or transform it' (Cohen et al, 2011, p. 32). However, in order to provide the separation between value and fact we must, as Gergen suggests, engage in *scientific inquiry* (Bo Wang, 2016).

The importance of theory in critical inquiry is summed up by Gulson and Parkes (2010) when stating that 'theory operates as a tool for defamiliarization, denaturalisation, diffraction and deconstruction' (ibid, p. 79). This notion builds on the claims of Ball (1995, p. 266) that 'Theory is destructive, disruptive and violent [and that] It offers a language for challenge, and modes of thought, other than those articulated for us by dominant others' (ibid). From a first reading we may interpret the views of Gulson and Parkes (2010) and Ball (1995) as suggesting there are no boundaries or limits to this form of inquiry. Indeed, this interpretation may be strengthened when we consider Said's (1994) view that research work remains 'unfinished and necessarily imperfect' (ibid, p. 17; cited in Ball, 2006, p.5). However, theory does provide us with a set of boundaries, or limits, that as a framework provide us with a lens through which we can explore new problems (Gulson and Parkes, 2010). It is through the use of theoretical frameworks that our claims may be considered intelligible and scholarly by an academic community (ibid). As discussed later in this chapter, I will use a theoretical framework founded on critical race theory to challenge the hegemony of the policy discourse that underpins social mobility and counter-terrorism policy.

Having established that critical inquiry is about challenging the dominant voice and striving to bring about equity and social justice (Crotty, 2015; Cohen et al, 2011; Wodak and Meyer, 2016), we are drawn to a set of principles that underpin the work of the criticalist, these include: a belief that power relations that are contextually and historically based, mediate all thought; that oppression is not limited to groups defined by race, class and gender; and, that subjugation is most potent when oppressed individuals 'accept their social status as natural, necessary or inevitable' (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994; cited in Crotty, 2015, p. 157). These three assumptions are also embedded in the tenets of critical race theory as discussed later in this chapter.

Finally, Fairclough (2016) and Wodak and Meyer (2016) draw our attention to the need of the criticalist to engage in interdisciplinary work. This need is based on the belief that to develop a critical understanding of the functioning of language and the transmission of

knowledge, researchers need to focus on the intersections of linguistics, sociology and politics (Fairclough, 2016).

3.1.3 Foucault and the Notion of the Subject

Underpinning the commonly used phrase 'knowledge is power', is Foucault's notion that *the people* are controlled more by the statements, arguments and reasoning contained within 'expert discourse … organised in regimes of truth - sets of understandings which legitimate particular social attitudes and practices' (Cameron, 1992, p. 2), than by the economic power of organisations and individuals. Foucault also presents the notion that the individual is enmeshed in a process of normalisation (McHoul and Grace, 2002, p. 68), by which he means 'a system of finely gradated and measurable intervals in which individuals can be distributed around a norm - a norm which both organises and is the result of this controlled distribution' (Rabinow, 1991, p. 20). Foucault identifies this process as an integral component in the establishment of bio-power (ibid); a power that controls the life of the individual through the imposition of 'continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms' (Foucault, 1978, p. 144); a power underpinned by the need to 'qualify, measure, appraise and hierarchize' (ibid). Therefore, applying Foucault's rationale, we are left with the notion that from a government perspective, the individual is a subject to be controlled. However, Foucault clarifies that there are two definitions of the term subject, he writes 'subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge' (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). Kendall and Wickham (1999) suggest Foucault sees the subject as a *product,* not a *producer* (ibid), when he states, 'one has to dispense with the constituent subject … to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework' (Foucault, 1980, p. 117; quoted in Kendall and Wickham, 1999, p. 53). However, Kendall and Wickham are clear to point out that Foucault does not reject the notion that subjects can be active in their own production, but suggest Foucault sees this as a limited process resulting from generations of subjectification.

It is Foucault's notion of the *subject* and the claim that *the people* are controlled more by the statements, arguments and reasoning contained within 'expert discourse' (Cameron et al, 1992, p. 2; Smith, 2016; van Dijk, 1992), that lies at the heart of this research.

3.1.4 Discourse and Policy Discourse

Having established that my theoretical perspective will be located in the field of critical inquiry, it is necessary to justify why discourse is central to addressing my research questions. Critical discourse analysts view 'language use in speech and writing - as a form of 'social practice'' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). The importance of this practice is encapsulated by Fairclough and Wodak when they declare:

> Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structures(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power (ibid)

Underpinning this notion of discourse as a social practice is the idea that discourse is delivered through a performance (Goffman, 1959), one that facilitates the construction of an identity that is 'situated and accomplished with audience in mind' (Riessmann, 2008, p. 106); as Riessmann (ibid) suggests, 'identities are constructed in "shows" that persuade', therefore rendering the listener an active component in the discourse. Bakhtin (Dentith,1996; cited in Riessmann, 2008) suggests that these performances, and other discourses, are imbued with a multitude of voices that contribute a political and historical basis, as well as a sense of equivocation. Most significant is Bakhtin's claim that 'the authority over meaning is dispersed and embedded' (Riessmann, 2008, p. 107).

The focus of my research is the discourse that underpins the regulation of the government's education policy. It is this discourse that 'mobilise[s] truth claims and constitute[s] rather than simply reflect[ing] social reality' (Ball, 2010, p. 5). Thus, policy discourse not only establishes policy as sensible and reasonable, but credible and honest (ibid). The discourse is constructed through policy text e.g. government papers, and from speeches and interviews; all with the aim of legitimising certain ideas and individuals, and oppressing others (ibid). The former refers to the 'contested, changing and negotiated

character of policy' (Trowler, 2003, p. 130), while the latter brings to the fore 'the constraining effect of the discursive context set up by policy-makers' (ibid, p. 131). By considering policy as both text and discourse we can engage with Balls' notion that 'policies shift and change their meaning in arenas of politics; representations change, key interpreters … change … Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests' (Ball, 2006, p. 45), and Foucault's argument that 'Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention' (Foucault, 1977, p. 49; quoted in Trowler, 2003, p. 131). Ball (2006), Foucault (1977) and Fairclough and Wodak (1997) therefore provide the underpinning for the need to engage with critical inquiry to deconstruct potentially oppressive discourses; while Goffman (1959), Bakhtin (cited in Dentith, 1996) and Riessmann (2008) provide an understanding that suggests a critical analysis of discourse must also consider the performance of the actors involved along with the potential response of the audience.

3.2 Methodology

Thus far I have located myself in an epistemology that espouses the notion that knowledge is socially constructed; and established the principle that in order to generate knowledge that will bring change, it is necessary to engage with a theoretical perspective centred on critical inquiry. In specifying my methodology, I first draw on the work of Wodak and Meyer (2016) and van Dijk (2013; 2016) in clarifying my use of the term critical discourse studies (CDS), in place of the more traditional term, critical discourse analysis (CDA). Teun van Dijk (2016) suggests CDA is more discipline-orientated than problem-orientated; and presents the notion that the term CDA:

> suggests that it is a method of discourse analysis, and not a critical *perspective* or *attitude* in the field of discourse studies (DS), using many different methods of the humanities and social sciences (ibid, p. 63)

Wodak and Meyer (2016) and van Dijk (2016) suggest that one of the underpinning principles of CDS is the 'extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar towards a study of action and interaction' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 2). They conclude the complexities of social phenomena, especially the 'discursive (re)production of power abuse and the resistance against such domination' (van Dijk, 2016, p. 63), can only be

explored through multidisciplinary strategies. In acknowledging this distinction, I signal my rejection of a methodology, and therefore methods, that focus purely on an analysis of the *linguistic unit* and ignore 'the embodied experiences that participants constantly evoke in their discourse' (Matusov and von Duyke, p. 610, 2012); and engage with the notion that a strategy based on an interdisciplinary and multiple method approach is required to explore the complexities that underpin my research question. However, I remain mindful of Said's (1994) view that, despite engaging with a multidisciplinary approach, my research work will remain 'unfinished and necessarily imperfect' (ibid, p. 17; cited in Ball, 2010, p. 70). In adopting CDS as my methodology I acknowledge that a critical analysis of discourse, in this case, policy discourse, is founded on the principle 'that understanding, significance and meaning are developed not separately within the individual, but in coordination with other human beings' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 16). It is this acknowledgement that underpins my research.

By acknowledging discourse as social practice, we need to engage with notions of ethnicity and cultural identity, especially when considering discourses that underpin social mobility and counter-terrorism policy. The importance of culture in the process of meaning making is underpinned by Geertz who suggests that culture provides the framework on which we govern our behaviour and structure our experience (Geertz, 1973; cited in Crotty, 2015, p. 53); and by Fish who suggests meaning is 'culturally derived' (CLEFS, 2005) and claims 'all views or interpretations … are *constructed* from - and can only be expressed and understood within - a social and institutional context' (ibid). Crotty (2015) concludes that to find meaning, the constructionist must engage with a 'genuinely historical and social perspective' (ibid, p. 54). However, this requirement must not be restricted to the culture of the audience alone, e.g. those from 'suspect communities' (Hickman et al, 2011), but also pertain to the actor; as Riessmann (2008) reminds us, 'each interpreter has an active voice, yet never the only one' (ibid, p. 107). It is only by analysing discourse from different perspectives that I can explore: what is meant, and understood, by the term *resilience*; what the goals of the *resilience* strategy are; and consider how education policy as mediated by the schools' regulator has impacted the development of resilient school leaders, teachers and learners.

3.2.1 Methodological Approaches

In order to determine the most appropriate methods for analysing and understanding the discourse that underpins the policy tropes under consideration, it is necessary to remain mindful of the diverse range of ethnicities and cultures that make up *actors and audience*. In acknowledging that *discourse is a social practice* (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and that understanding is developed 'in coordination with other human beings' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 16), I cannot engage with the notion of monocultural actors and audience; but must consider the implications of ethnicity, culture and cultural heritage when analysing discourse for meaning, and engage with van Dijk's (2016) notion that 'Discourse structures and social structures … can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members' (ibid, p. 64), i.e. through a process of socio-cognition.

A review of the literature covering Critical Discourse Analysis/Critical Discourse Studies reveals a plethora of variations on a theme; indeed, Wittgenstein's (1968) notion of *family resemblances* can be used to describe the plurality of approaches to CDA/CDS. This plurality is exemplified in the Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis (Gee and Handford, 2012) by Fairclough who suggests:

> CDA is a loosely interconnected set of different approaches, which differ for instance in the relative weight given to social as opposed to cognitive issues, or in the relative centrality given to social change (and therefore to concepts and categories such as interdiscursivity and recontextualization) (ibid, p. 19)

The variation in approaches to CDS can be seen in the work of Fairclough (2016) and Mautner (2016). Both acknowledge the significance of the social, political and historic context in exploring and interpreting discourse. However, Fairclough (2016), presents an approach to CDS that is founded on understanding the *dialectical relationship* between objects, suggesting that CDS is:

> not analysis of discourse 'in itself' as one might take it to be, but analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse (ibid, p. 4)

While Mautner (2016) espouses the power of using a computer-based approach that enables the researcher to analyse discourse *in itself*, 'to return to authentic data' (de Beaugrande, 1997, p. 42; quoted in Mautner, 2016, p. 155), and to 'significantly broaden their empirical base' (ibid); thus, enabling the generation of 'frequencies and measures of statistical significance' (ibid, p. 156). If we focus on approaches underpinned by socio-cognitive theories, we have Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) and van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive Approach to the critical analysis of discourse. DHA is underpinned by the 'socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 24) and focuses on justifying the validity and priority of interpretations of discourse. This justification is explored through a three-stage critique. In the 'Text or discourse imminent critique' (ibid, p. 25), the 'inconsistencies, (self)-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in text-internal or discourse internal structures' are identified (ibid). The 'particularly latent - persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices' (ibid) employed in the construction of the text or discourse are then revealed during the 'Socio-diagnostic critique'. Finally, in the 'prospective critique'' the researcher, 'seeks to improve communication' (ibid). This approach adopts an inductive perspective to research (Wodak and Meyer, 2016), and promotes the inclusion of 'fieldwork and ethnography … in order to explore the object under investigation as a precondition for any further analysis and theorising' (ibid, p. 21). Though the latter may be considered a strength of the approach in that it facilitates the development of contextual knowledge and provides insights about the creation and reception of text (ibid) that may otherwise remain hidden; it may also be considered a weakness in that due to the multiplicity of ethnic groups and cultures in our society, the investigator would reduce the degree of generalisation of any resulting knowledge claims by privileging specific groups and their knowledge (Wallace and Poulson, 2009). Teun van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach is founded on the notion of a Discourse - Cognition - Society triangle; and is underpinned by his belief that the relationship between society and discourse is 'cognitively mediated' (van Dijk, 2016, p. 64). The cognitive component focuses on elements of memory (working, short term, long term and episodic) and their linking to autobiographical experiences and knowledge, socially shared knowledge, ideologies and attitudes; as well as the cognitive processes, e.g. the construction of mental and context models employed in the creation and interpretation of discourse (ibid). The social component of this approach focuses on the specific knowledge, ideologies and attitudes that are shared by members of dominant, and subservient, societal organisations; and the

legitimacy of power and control as a social relationship (ibid). Finally, the Discourse component provides a space for exploring how discourse is 'involved in the (re)production of power abuse, or against such domination, in society' (ibid, p. 72). This exploration is founded on the analyses of *ideological structures of discourse*, e.g. Polarisation - the polarising 'between a positive representation of the in-group and a negative representation of the out-group' (ibid, p. 73). Despite the explicit naming of each component of the triangle, central to the application of this approach is the integration of the theories and analyses of the three components (ibid). Therefore, discursive, cognitive and social elements underpin the analyses in all three components. Van Dijk concludes that an extensive exploration of the 'cognitive interface between discourse and society … explains how discourse is involved in the reproduction of domination and resistance in society' (ibid, p. 84). By analysing the construction of the discourse underpinning the regulation of education policy in terms of their discursive, cognitive and social components as defined by van Dijk (2016), I will have a foundation on which I can address my first research question, to what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?

It is acknowledged that using van Dijk's (2016) sociocognitive approach will not render me free of the charge of generalisation. In order to minimise this charge, I will take an intersectional approach in addressing my research questions by applying a theoretical lens provided by critical race theory to the analysis and interpretation of policy discourse. However, it must be acknowledged that society is constructed from a multiplicity of races and cultures, and that it is not possible to explore the interpretation of the discourse under review from all perspectives. Therefore, I will focus my analysis from the perspective of the larger ethnic and cultural communities within our society.

3.3 Establishing a Theoretical Framework

A review of the research papers that form my initial literature review of *resilience* reveals a dominant voice that has focused on the epistemological and ontology perspectives of the 'outside actor' (Chandler. 2013, p. 277), and has not considered the issues surrounding the development of this characteristic from the perspective of the 'local actor' (ibid), who ultimately is to be held accountable for its development (ibid). The literature review suggests that for the local actor, and community, to be able to develop a resilient approach to adversity, policy discourse must be culturally sensitive (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic,

2016), culturally competent (Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), non-discriminatory (Milovancevic, 2016) and promote a *meaningful* identity (Beauregard et al, 2017). Beauregard et al (ibid) do not provide us with a definition of *meaningful identity*, however, they are clear that this 'meaningful whole' (ibid, p. 127) is the coming together of multiple identities. Therefore, I will consider it to mean an overarching identity, consisting of personal, collective and social identities, that underpin an individual's well-being and positive adjustment. They suggest that minority groups who 'exhibit strong ties to their ethnic, religious and/or family group are usually more satisfied with life, this feeling of well-being being stronger when they can also identify to mainstream society' (ibid, p. 114). Beauregard et al (2017; Dimitrova et al, 2013) suggest that it is this strong sense of collective identity that provides the foundation for a meaningful identity, an identity that underpins the development of resilience. The work of Beauregard et al (2017) supports the notion that an individual's well-being and ability to adapt can be negatively impacted when they question their group memberships, and therefore their collective and/or social identities (Berry et al, 2006). From their study they conclude that for individuals of *small peoples*, a fear of surrendering their identity to an aggressor, e.g. a dominant host culture, may necessitate the desire to 'connect all identities' to maintain their host identity. Jetten et al (2017) provide us with the notion that when social identity is considered more important than personal identity, individuals become more aware of their difference to individuals who do not share their group membership. Their research suggests that 'social identity has the capacity to act as a psychological resource' (ibid, p. 799), and that the more group memberships the individual has the better. Jetten et al (2017) suggest that the potential outcome of multiple compatible memberships, and therefore the development of multiple social identities, is heightened self-esteem, and feelings of belonging (Ellis and Abdi, 2017; Cyn and Ganapathy, 2016; Hall and Lamont 2012) and meaning; as well as 'a sense of purpose, control, and efficacy in life' (Jetten et al, 2017, p. 792). They conclude that, as well as being a *social cure* (Kellezi and Reicher, 2012), group membership can also be a 'social curse' (ibid); this is potentially the case when the individual is a member of a stigmatised or *out-group*.

Recent Political events have provided challenges to the development of a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017). From the perspective of countering the threat of radicalisation and extremism we have had the announcement that President Trump will move the United States of America Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, after pronouncing:

> I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel … While previous presidents have made this a major campaign promise, they failed to deliver. Today, I am delivering (Borger and Beaumont, 2017)

The emphasis on 'I have determined' and 'I am delivering' reinforce notions of White Supremacy and reveals a failure to understand, or even consider, the implications for the stability of the region as expressed by the Palestinian, Egyptian, Jordanian and Saudi Arabian heads of state (Al Jazeera, 2017). Trump's unilateral declaration and apparent failure to acknowledge the competing claims of the Muslim, Jewish and Christian communities that make up this unstable region, may for many pose a challenge to their identity; a challenge that will not be restricted to those living in the region. The full significance or impact of the US president's comments will not be explored further, but their inclusion serves to highlight the potential impact of a hegemonic discourse. A day later it was widely reported that the new UK Secretary of State for Defence had suggested that 'Britons who join Isis should never be allowed to return to UK' (The Independent, 2017), a remark that to some suggests a widely held belief in the UK Government that to provide support for a terrorist organisation, is an automatic denunciation of an individual's *right* to retain British status. Williamson's suggestion will be interpreted by some as confirmation that an individual's and community's identity is subordinate to the national identity. Williamson's comment follows the announcement by Amber Rudd the then Home Secretary, to increase the sentence for those repeatedly viewing terrorist content online to fifteen years imprisonment (Travis, 2017). The announcement, which was made at what some will consider to be the high altar of White supremacy in the UK, the Conservative party conference, raised the notion of the Government assuming the role of *thought police* (Orwell, 2004) when it was confirmed '[a] defence of "reasonable excuse" would still be available to academics, journalists or others who may have a legitimate reason to view such material' (BBC, 2017). As Hill QC, the current Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation suggests, 'thought without action' (ibid) cannot be considered an offence, and therefore any action that *legitimises* the rationale behind the viewing of such materials would effectively 'criminalise thought' (ibid). However, despite claims that the British Government must engage in a more proactive manner with the Muslim community, and suggestions that we must eradicate the notion that there is 'one law for Muslims, and another for the rest' (ibid) - a reference to the murderer of Jo Cox MP not being charged

under the Terrorism Act but with murder - Hill fails to legitimise the rights of Muslims, and those from *other suspect* communities (Hickman et al, 2011), to explore, question and make decisions based on conscience or principle, when suggesting that 'Britons who joined so-called Islamic State through "naivety" should be spared prosecution and instead be reintegrated into society if they return home' (BBC, 2017).

These incidents suggest a dominant White supremacist voice in western politics. To the peoples that make up our multicultural society, those of colour, immigrants and refugees, these narratives may represent a source of oppression and fear that may challenge the identity of the individual and the community; and ultimately raise the spectre of rejection or quell any desire to be accepted or assimilate. Even the White voices that proffer support for a society based on social justice, belonging and equality, may unwittingly contribute to these fears by failing to challenge their own subconscious. Therefore, in order to address my research questions, and consider any additional impact of Ofsted's mediation of policy on the development of resilient leaders, teachers and learners from BAME communities, it will be necessary to consider the interpretation of policy mediation from the perspective of those the policy is focused on, i.e. those local actors and communities that do not appear to engage in the quest to be upwardly socially mobile, and those from *suspect* communities (Hickman et al, 2011).

3.4 Critical Race Theory

Race is a social construct created to differentiate between groups of people and enable the domination of one group of people by another (Banks, 1993; Solorzano and Yosso, 2002); a construct that according to Chong-Soon Lee (1995) has been 'overdetermined' (ibid, p. 441) when analysed from both historic and social perspectives. Apple (2004) reminds us of the problematic nature of the term by claiming that it is not possible to present a stable definition of *race* due to its meaning and usage in social and public discourse, as well as education and social policy, being 'contingent and historical' (Apple, 2004, p. 75; Chong-Soon Lee, 1995; Gillborn, 2015). He concludes that the complexity of racial dynamics and their reshaping due to the coming together of a plurality of histories and realities e.g. colonial and post-colonial, in the formation of social relationships, negates the construction of a simple definition (ibid). Morrison (1992) suggests that:

> Race has become metaphorical - a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes and expressions of social decay and economic

> division far more threatening to the body politic than biological "race" ever was (p. 63)

Despite the problematic nature of defining race, Ladson-Billings (2016) reinforces Roediger's (1991) notion that more problematic and significant is the notion that 'whites reach the conclusion that their whiteness is meaningful' (p. 6; quoted in Ladson-Billings, 2016, p. 17). Ladson-Billings suggests it is due to the value attributed to whiteness, that 'CRT becomes an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction …of oppressive structures and discourses' (ibid). Dyson (1993) in a review of Morrison's work (1992) suggests that definitions of race have been 'made concrete through an intermingling of literary images, religious beliefs and cultural conventions' (Dyson, 1993, p. 1) crafted by white authors that include Edgar Allan Poe, Mark Twain and Ernest Hemingway. For the purpose of my research, that will consider the impact of policy discourse potentially imbued with notions of Britishness and British values, I will understand *racism* to be an institutionally constituted ideology (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002) that 'justifies the dominance of one race over another' (ibid, p. 24).

Yosso (2005) suggests that race is frequently 'coded as cultural difference' (ibid, p. 75) and that society is organised on these differences. Yosso (2005) draws our attention to the varying definitions of *culture*, explaining that the term is invariably linked directly to race and ethnicity, or to identities and social histories. For the purposes of this research I will engage with the notion that culture is a construct founded on identities and social history, that has evolved from the 'texts and practices whose principal function is to signify, to produce or to be the occasion for the production of meaning' (Storey, 2015, p.2). I will adopt Yosso's (2005) definition that states 'culture refers to behaviours and values that are learned, shared, and exhibited by a group of people' (ibid, p. 75). By adopting this definition, I am acknowledging that the characteristics that define culture are dynamic (Yosso, 2005; Gomez-Quinones, 1977) and that there may be a tension between conflicting cultures.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is defined by Yosso (2005, p. 70) as a 'framework that can be used to theorise, examine and challenge the ways race and racism implicitly and explicitly impact on social structures, practices and discourses'. It has its origins in legal scholarship (ibid) and is founded on the ideas underpinning critical legal studies, radical feminism and the civil rights movement (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Both Critical Legal Scholarship (CLS) and CRT are underpinned by Holmes' (1881) enduring notion that the outcomes of

judicial arguments do not depend solely on the rational processing and interpretation of evidence; but are significantly influenced by the 'predilections and social situations of the judge' (ibid; cited in Taylor, 2016, p. 1) i.e. those with *the power*. However, whereas critical legal scholars strive for the deliverance of racial equality through changes in legislation, critical race theorists adopt a sceptical approach to the legislative triumphs of the civil rights movement (ibid), believing that as a result of 'narrow lower-court interpretation, administrative foot dragging and delay' (ibid), the impact of these triumphs is invariable eroded, e.g. Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka (1954), with the status quo, more often than not, being maintained. Many CRT scholars also subscribe to Lawrence's (1992) belief that laws cannot be written from a position of neutrality, they are written from a 'positioned perspective' (ibid, p. 2252), a perspective that 'oppress[es], distort[s], ignore[s] and] silence[s]' (Bell, 2016, p. 36) the perspectives of those that are not white. Delgado, a founding father of the CRT movement, and Stefancic (2012) state that CRT is founded on the principle that to achieve change for the better, we must first understand how the racial and hierarchical structures that make up our society are established and organised; this notion is reinforced by Leonardo (2009) who suggests that CRT is principally focused on 'the conceptual and practical strategies to end racism' (Leonardo, 2009, p. 4). From the radical feminist movement, CRT adopted the notion of a connection between power and the evolution of social roles (ibid), and a belief that these relationships are influenced by an 'unseen, largely invisible collection of patterns and habits that make up patriarchy and other types of domination' (ibid, p. 5). Finally, from principles underpinning civil rights thought, CRT takes the need to right historical wrongs and 'the insistence that legal and social theory lead to practical consequences' (ibid; Bell, 2016).

Critical race theory provides us with an arena in which we can hear, and attempt to understand, the experiences of those peoples that find themselves existing on the fringes of society (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002). This arena is essential if we are to break down the barriers that exist in society; barriers constructed by the elite based on knowledge often founded on 'misconceptions, stereotypes, and partial truths' (Banks, 1993, p. 7; Gillborn, 2015), and perpetuated through a legacy of racial privilege (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002; Gillborn, 2015). Despite the acknowledgment that CRT is rooted in the struggle to hear the Black voice in America, the use of the terms *Black* and *White* do not signify skin colour or race; but signify a 'particular political and legal structure rooted in the ideology of White

European supremacy and the global impact of colonisation' (Taylor, 2016, p. 3). Gillborn (2015) distinguishes between interpretations of the notion of White supremacy by stating that White supremacy from a CRT perspective is the 'operation of much more subtle and extensive forces that saturate the everyday mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interests of White people' (ibid, p. 278).

Having established the origins of CRT and identified the key notions that have been taken from CLS, radical feminism and the civil rights movements, we are now in a position to determine if the tenets that constitute this field of study provide us with a framework in which we can explore, challenge and ultimately mediate against any 'unequal and unjust distribution of power and resources along political, economic, racial, and gendered lines' (Taylor, 2016, p. 1) that may impact negatively on the development of resilience as a key strategy in education policy.

3.4.1 Tenets of Critical Race Theory

CRT is founded on a number of key principles, the set of which varies between different fields of research (Chadderton, 2013; Gillborn, 2015). The tenets include: The permanence of racism; counter-storytelling; Whiteness as property; differential racialisation; intersectionality; interest convergence and positionality.

3.4.1.1 The Permanence of Racism

The first of these tenets is a belief founded on an understanding that racism is so entrenched in educational, political and legal systems (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Taylor, 2016; McCoy and Rodricks, 2015), 'it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture' (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, p. xvi; quoted in Gillborn, 2015, p. 278; Ladson-Billings, 1998). McCoy and Rodricks (2015) suggest that due to its invisibility, the majority believe it does not exist, while Gillborn (2015) suggests that only the more pronounced forms of racism are considered an issue by the majority. Taylor (2016) concludes that due to its 'omnipresence' (ibid, p. 4), Whites, the principle beneficiaries (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004) of this 'most pervasive mental phenomena' (Mills, 1997, p. 19), 'cannot understand the world that they themselves have made' (Taylor, 2016, p. 4). However, Mills (1997) is clear that this inability to understand the world they have created is the result of a racial contract underpinned and maintained by a 'schedule of structured blindnesses and opacities' (Mills, 1997, p. 19). It is DeCuir and Dixson's (2004) notion of 'racist hierarchical structures'

(ibid, p.27), Taylor's (2016) notion of ignorance of our world, and Mills' notion that this ignorance is the result of *structured* blindness that will underpin my research. McCoy and Rodrick (2015) suggest a key reason for Whites not understanding the world they have created (Taylor, 2016), is a failure to hear the voice of subordinated peoples. By failing to hear this voice they have rendered the 'lived experiences' (ibid, p. 7) of those on the fringes of society (Bell, 1992; Solorzano and Yosso, 2002) illegitimate and valueless (Taylor, 2016) and denied any analysis of the context required (Ladson-Billings, 1998) to challenge the ``objectivity'' (ibid, p. 11) of the dominant perspective. In doing so, Whites have decided 'whose knowledge counts and whose knowledge is discounted' (Yosso, 2005, p. 69). In order to achieve Delgado and Stefancic's (2012) prerequisite of understanding how racial and hierarchical structures are established and organised, CR theorists believe it is necessary to develop an understanding based on the perspective of the oppressor and the oppressed.

3.4.1.2 Counter-storytelling

In order to understand the perspective of the oppressed CRT gives voice to the 'lived experiences and histories of those oppressed by institutional racism' (Yosso, 2005, p. 71). This is achieved by engaging in counter-storytelling. The purpose of counter-storytelling in CRT research is to fracture the foundations on which the legitimacy of beliefs held by the dominant group are constructed (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; cited in DeCuir and Dixson, 2004) by 'redirect[ing] the dominant gaze, to make it see from a new point of view what has been there all along' (Taylor, 2016, p. 6); as Delgado and Stefancic (2012) remind us, 'Attacking embedded preconceptions that marginalise others or conceal their humanity is a legitimate function of all fiction' (ibid, p. 48). DeCuir and Adrienne (2004) confirm that 'Counter- storytelling has been an essential feature of educational research' (p. 27); while Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2009, p. 41) confirm, 'CRT places a special importance on the experiential knowledge of people of color'. The dominance of this tenet stems from the critical race theorists 'call to context' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2002, p. xvii) and the rejection of 'universalism … abstract principles and the "rule of law"' (ibid), in favour of the 'particularity' and 'perspectivism' (ibid) needed to present 'a different reading of the world one that questions taken-for-granted assumptions and destabilizes the framework that currently sustains, and masks, racial injustice' (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 41). Therefore, counter-storytelling will be part of my theoretical framework.

3.4.1.3 Whiteness as Property

The next tenet to consider is *Whiteness as property*. First it must be made clear that '"[w]hiteness*"* is a racial discourse, whereas the category "white people" represents a socially constructed identity, usually based on skin color' (Leonardo, 2009, p. 169). This clarification is essential in order to establish the understanding that from a CRT perspective, a critical exploration of Whiteness is 'not an assault on white people per se: it is an assault on the socially constructed and constantly reinforced power of white identifications and interests' (Gillborn, 2016, p. 45). Bonnett (1997) reminds us that Whiteness has evolved over the last two centuries into a 'taken-for-granted experience' (Ibid, p. 1997; quoted in Gillborn, 2016, p. 46) founded on 'a varying set of supremacist assumptions' (ibid); whilst Non-White experiences have been refused the 'privileges of normativity, and are marked within the West as marginal and inferior' (ibid). Gillborn (2016) argues that one of the most threatening facets of Whiteness is that the majority of those possessing it are oblivious to its construction and nature, and their part in perpetuating it. However, this belief is contrary to that of Youdell, (2000; cited in Gillborn, 2016) who argues that Whiteness is a self-conscious act.

The principle of Whiteness as property was first presented by Harris (1993). From a CRT perspective this principle legitimises the notion that 'whiteness is a treasured property in a society structured on racial caste' (ibid, p. 1713). Harris derives the principle through telling the story of how her grandmother, a Black woman with Caucasian attributes, existed in the margins of greyness that separate Black and White. The grandmother, driven by the need to support her children following separation from their father, developed an identity that lead to her 'not merely passing, but trespassing' (ibid, p. 1711) into another world; an identity that enabled her to access the privileges, both private and public, that guaranteed basic survival. Harris (1993) presents the case that Whiteness as an identity is premised on 'the absolute right to exclude' (ibid, p. 1736), a principle that enables those possessing Whiteness to exclude those deemed 'not white' (ibid), thus creating a membership that is highly prized and 'grudgingly guarded' (ibid). From the perspective of my research, the key characteristics of Whiteness that may feature prominently include: a failure to acknowledge the spectre of racism (Leonardo, 2002), and a failure to acknowledge the history of colonisation from the perspective of the colonised (ibid). If we accept the notion that 'Whiteness can be considered a property interest because those individuals allowed to self-identify as White have social advantages (DeCuir & Dixson,

2005; Harris,1993)' (McCoy and Rodrick, 2015, p. 12), and the two key characteristics proffered by Leonardo (2002) that stem from the right to exclude (Harris, 1993), then we must consider not only the potential interpretation and impact of the discourse under review from the perspective of the subordinated, but also consider the potential impact of the source of the discourse, i.e. the impact of discourse delivered by those that self-identify as White (McCoy and Rodrick, 2015) but have histories steeped in exclusion, disadvantage and oppression. This consideration may be more appropriate at this time when the UK government is trying to construct a Cabinet that reflects the society it represents (Mason, 2018), but has only succeeded in constructing a Cabinet that is 'now more privileged than before' (ibid).

3.4.1.4 Differential Racialisation

The principle of differential racialisation acknowledges that dominant societies respond to changing needs by racializing different minorities at different times (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Campbell argues that these racial constructions, once adopted by the dominant group 'serve as a tool for placing racial and ethnic minorities in the category of "otherness"' (Campbell, 2014, p. 75), pointing out that these racialisations of populations do not remain fixed, but are continually remade 'depending on the historical, economic and social context and the appropriation, needs and agenda of the dominant racial group' (ibid). Delgado and Stefancic (2012) remind us that this racialisation results in the imaging and stereotyping of minority groups in various cultural scripts e. g. political campaigns. At a given point in time a minority group may be portrayed as 'happy-go-lucky, simpleminded, and content to serve white folks' (ibid, p. 9), but when the economic or political climate changes, they may be portrayed as 'menacing, … requiring close monitoring and repression' (ibid). Therefore, this tenet will form part of my analytical framework as I will need to consider the potential interpretation and impact of policy discourse on the development of a meaningful identity at a time when gang murders and terrorism in Britain is frequently portrayed by the British media as a Black and Muslim problem respectively.

3.4.1.5 Intersectionality

The principle of intersectionality provides CRT scholars with a framework for considering the inter-relation between identity and the many forms of inequality e.g. race, class, gender and sexuality, over time and in different contexts (Ladson-Billings and Tate IV, 1995;

Gillborn, 2015). The work of Ladson-Billings (2013), cited in McCoy and Rodricks (2015) draws our attention to the importance of this tenet by suggesting that because 'society is organised long binaries' (ibid, p. 10), e.g. Black or White, we tend to view issues in terms of binaries, and therefore fail to reveal 'other marginalized and oppressed identities' (ibid, p. 11). The principle of intersectionality has its origins in Crenshaw's (1995) seminal work *Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color*, and is currently presented by Crenshaw et al through the African American Policy Forum as a concept for understanding the inter-relation between Neoliberalism and the many social identities that are not valued, and whose voices are not heard (AAPF, 2018). Gillborn (2015) suggests this tenet is underpinned by the belief that its use can strengthen the resistance against oppression by bringing together the voice and agency of those not valued in a neoliberalist culture (ibid; Taylor, 2016), while Ladson-Billings (2016) suggests it provides a method for 'mediating the tension between assertions of multiple identity and the ongoing necessity of group politics' (ibid, p. 248). The potential issue with intersectionality is that if we attempt to filter difference too far, then, the 'mosaic of neverending difference' (Gillborn, 2015, p. 279) that results may blur, or render invisible, our view of the bigger picture. In his fiction *Rodrigo's Reconsideration: Intersectionality and the Future of Critical Race Theory* (2011), Delgado raises the questions, 'Does intersectionality's preoccupation with form, end points, units of analysis, and so on, strike you as a type of evasion? I wonder if it's a way of dodging questions of substance' (ibid, p. 1264). The inference is that attempts to form coalitions of resistance (Gillborn, 2015) must be carried out through the critical use of intersectionality (Delgado, 2011; Gillborn, 2015). However, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) remind us that races are divided along many lines e.g. religion and culture, and that within these intersectional groups there will be 'attitudinal differences' (ibid, p. 61). They highlight the need to engage with a deeper level of intersectionality by considering the notions of 'politics of distinction' (ibid) and 'politics of identification' (ibid). Delgado and Stefancic exemplify these notions by drawing on their work within the Black Afro-Caribbean community which concludes the former is underpinned by an attitude within the black community that more attention should be given to the 'law-abiding black citizens who are victims of crime in Black neighbourhoods' (ibid); and calls for greater levels of policing and stiffer sentences; while the latter promotes the redemption of the young black criminal and acknowledges their potential value to the community. To reduce the potential charge of generalisation within my research e.g. implicitly suggest that all sections of the Afro-Caribbean community have

placed the same interpretation on a specific discourse, it will be necessary to engage with this tenet and acknowledge that communities that may at first appear homogeneous, are potentially divided on religious, cultural and other grounds that may impact the interpretation of discourse.

3.4.1.6 Interest Convergence

The intersection of the interests of those identified as White and non-White (Ladson-Billings, 1998) brings us to the next tenet of CRT that needs to be addressed, that of interest convergence (Bell, 1980). The concept of interest convergence is rooted in the proposition that 'People of color's interest in achieving racial equality advances only when those interests "converge" with the interests of those in power' (McCoy and Rodrick, 2015, p. 9). Gillborn reminds us that the concept of interest convergence establishes non-elite Whites as 'a kind of buffer, or safety zone' (Gillborn, 2010, p. 6) when the supremacy of the White elite is challenged. Thus, we are presented with the notion that, 'the White poor have long existed on the boundaries of Whiteness' (ibid); they are 'White but not quite' (Allen, 2009, p. 214; quoted in Gillborn, 2010, p. 14), living on the fringes of society. Gillborn (2008) suggests that the process of interest convergence is not achieved through negotiation; but occurs at the point that Whites feel threatened and need to act to maintain their superiority. However, Beratan (2008) contends that civil rights gained as a result of this threat are quickly eradicated through political or policy enactment processes imbued with 'a myriad of methods to undermine and undo the progress represented' (ibid, p. 348; Bell, 2004). Therefore, we are left to consider Bell's (1992; quoted in Ladson-Billings, 2016, p. 348) conclusion that '[m]ost racial remedies, however, when measured by their actual potential, will prove of more symbolic than substantive value to Blacks'; and Litowitz's (2016) assertion that success in the struggle against racial oppression will be limited unless there is fundamental change in the current system. The need to engage with the notion of interest convergence may best be exemplified by the Windrush scandal of 2018. During the nineteen-fifties and sixties the British government, faced with labour shortages, welcomed Commonwealth citizens to Britain to fill vacancies in key sectors e.g. public transportation and nursing (Valdez-Symonds, Programme Director for Refugee and Migrant Rights at Amnesty UK, 2018). However, due to changes in immigration legislation dating back to the mid-sixties, significant numbers of these citizens have recently found themselves having to prove their status to avoid deportation (Gentleman, 2018). This scandal provides us with a clear example of interest convergence with the

government of the day being quick to act when the economy was under threat (Gillborn, 2008); however, as the political agenda changed and the question of immigration rose to prominence, then interests began to diverge (Beratan, 2016). This scandal demonstrates a 'disgraceful indifference to Commonwealth citizens' (Valdez-Symonds, 2018), an indifference displayed by governments of both hues. Including this tenet in my framework, will enable me to identify and consider the impact of further incidences concealed within policy discourse.

3.4.1.7 Positionality

The final tenet I will consider is positionality. It is a well-established principle in the field of critical race scholarship that an individual's identity informs their research (McCoy and Rodricks, 2015; Bell, 2016). Taylor (2016) draws our attention to the importance of how we conceptualise knowledge when interpreting narratives by citing Banks (1993) assertion that an individual's knowledge construction is significantly impacted by their interpretation of life experiences, and therefore by implication, their identities. Thus Taylor (ibid) argues that the positionality of the interpreter is 'a central tenet of critical race theory' (ibid, p. 7) and must be disclosed (West, 1996). Positioning myself in this research has presented me with a dilemma, one based on my perception that I am considered a stereotypical White, middle class westerner, a member of the elite-white, with a 'majoritarian mindset' (Delgado and Stefancic, 1994, p. 161; cited in Taylor, 2016, p. 7) constituted of the 'presuppositions, received wisdom, and shared cultural understandings of … the dominant group' (ibid); a mindset that presents a barrier to reform (ibid). My dilemma is, will I be that 'Elephant in the Room' (Ulysse, et al, 2016, p. 990) or will I be able to position myself and deliver the generative work that acknowledges context and history, and thereby adds to the voices of resistance? During the last fifteen years I have taught and occupied senior leadership roles in a school located in an area of high social deprivation, that has consistently failed to meet government targets for attainment at all stages of education. During this time, I have strived to understand and meet the needs of those students who come from non-white and 'white, but not quite' (Allen, 2009, p. 214) families and communities from the perspective of someone who *has been there*; and at the same time grappled with the demands of a neoliberalist culture. Writing this chapter and internalising what I am trying to achieve has made me realise that my mindset has evolved during my journey, and that my construction of knowledge is still challenged by episodes of *colour-blindness,* and a frustration that is rooted in my journey. It has also made me

very aware that to deliver generative work I need to acknowledge the 'complex, problematic and contradictory place' (Ulysse et al, p. 997) I occupy in this field, and consider the question, how do I 'respect the perspective of the Other and invite the Other to speak?' (Kincheloe et al, 2015, p. 171). In considering this question, Twine and Warren (2000; quoted in Pang, 2018, p. 611) suggest that the nature of my place in this field is due to a belief that 'White people are incapable of representing the Others' reality' and that 'Black participants do not trust White researchers' (ibid). Manning (2018, p.322) concludes

> Representation is a complex, ethical issue; no matter how well intentioned or collaborative the researcher–participant relationship, data can be used by researchers to un/intentionally (mis)represent participants. Addressing the issue of representation is an iterative process, one that requires continual reflexivity and questioning.

To mitigate Twine and Warren's (2000) claims I will need to engage in an ethical and reflexive relationship with the discourse, a relationship that promotes the notion of writing *with the Other*, rather than *about the Other* (Manning, 2018).

Although Kincheloe et al (2015) pose their question when considering ethnographic writing, the question is equally applicable in my chosen methodology as I will need to respect the perspective of the authors I engage with, and endeavour to engage with authors that cover the spectrum of perspectives. By doing so I will be able to construct a bricolage that will result in the creation of 'new dialogues and discourse and open opportunities' (ibid, p. 172), and 'precludes the notion of using research as authority' (ibid). Therefore, I believe the importance of my work should not be judged in terms of its accuracy (Stenner, 1993; cited in Frost et al, 2010), after all it is a construction that will be interpreted differently within the same racial groups due to the intersections that exist (Pang, 2018), but should be judged in terms of its usefulness (Stenner, 1993; cited in Frost et al, 2010) in contributing to the processes of *educating from within* and challenging policy.

3.4.2 Critical Race Theory - A Theoretical Framework

As discussed in section 3.4.1.1, the permanence of racism will be the bedrock of my research with the notions of 'racist hierarchical structures' (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004, p.27), ignorance of our world (Taylor, 2016), and *structured* blindness (Mills, 1997), underpinning my analysis. The framework I will use to explore and expose any 'subtle and

extensive forces … that shape the world in the interests of white people' (Gillborn, 2015, p. 278) and deny others a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017), will be founded on the following tenets: counter-storytelling, positionality, intersectionality, interest convergence, differential racialisation and Whiteness as property. Counter-storytelling will be pivotal to my research, it will be the medium I use to establish interpretations of policy discourse from the perspective of the actors representing non-white communities. The sources of these counter-stories will be academic texts authored by those from these communities. By adopting this approach to source selection, I will be able to develop an understanding of how the interpretation of policy discourse impacts on the development of a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017); and thus, impacts on the development of resilient leaders, teachers and learners from BAME communities.

Using CRT as my theoretical framework will enable me to explore the discourse, delivered by a policymaking machine founded on 'White privilege and supremacy' (Gillborn, 2008, p. xv), from the perspective of the non-white individual and community. By using CRT as my framework, I intend to 'provide a space for excluded voices' (Parker and Stovall, 2004, p. 178); voices that ultimately will, if listened to, contribute to policy and strategy developments that may foster greater social mobility and greater levels of resistance to the threat of radicalisation and extremism.

3.5 Policy Discourse and Perspectives

3.5.1 Establishing the Range of Perspectives

The focus of this research is to determine how Ofsted's mediation of policy has impacted the development of resilient leaders, teachers and learners. As discussed in chapter one, the government has established the development of resilience as a key strategy in its policies to improve levels of social mobility and reduce the threat of radicalisation and extremism. Underpinning this strategy is the need to develop resilient school leaders and teachers (DfE, 2010; Teach First, 2018). It would seem logical that to maximise the success of this strategy it is necessary to develop the resilience of school leaders, teachers and learners from all sections of our multicultural society. Therefore, if we accept that the development of a *meaningful identity* is a *'powerful source of resilience'* (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114), then it is logical that the discourse underpinning the development of this strategy must be sensitive to the needs of all ethnic groups in our society (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017). In order to gain a sense of the impact

of the regulator's mediation of policy it is necessary to consider the perspectives of those communities that potentially will have the biggest impact on the success of this aspect of policy. Therefore, I will use the UK census 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2018) and the Department for Works and Pensions data on Family units by ethnicity claiming state support (DWP, 2017a) to determine those communities.

3.5.2 Selecting Policy Discourse

By locating Ofsted as a key regulator in the implementation of both education and counter-terrorism policies, the government has established an inextricable link between these policies. It is well established that as Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education, Ofsted fulfils a role that due to the absence of mediation, conveys legitimacy and authority; and therefore, potentially locates it as the most significant mediator of education policy; after all, 'They hold, it seems, the sacred truth about effective schools, and make their judgements accordingly' (Perryman, 2009, p. 614). Therefore, I will focus my analysis on the discourse published by the regulator. I will begin by analysing Ofsted's 2013 report titled *Unseen Children: Access and Achievement 20 Years On* (2013a), and the speech (2013b) and press release (2013c) used to launch it; I will also consider the media's interpretation of these discursive events. In doing so I will establish the tenets – the socially shared knowledge - that underpin the *modus operandi* of the regime headed by Sir Michael Wilshaw. I will then analyse the annual reports published by the regulator during the period 2013 - 2018 as this will present me with the opportunity to consider the evolution of policy mediation and its impact over time from the perspective of the school leader, teacher, and learner per se; and, through the application of critical race theory as a theoretical lens, the perspective of school leaders, teachers and learners from BAME communities.

In carrying out this longitudinal study I am acknowledging that transformational change cannot be achieved overnight; but should be viewed as the product of 'a never-ending marathon' (Teach First, 2018, p. 13). A longitudinal study will also enable me to consider the impact of policy mediation by different administrations i.e. those headed by Sir Michael Wilshaw and Amanda Spielman.

3.5.3 Selecting Counter-stories

Having identified the communities that will potentially have the greater impact on the success of the government's resilience strategy, I will analyse Ofsted's (2013a) Unseen Children report and identify *shared knowledge* and *claims* that may have been challenged by these communities, but whose voice has gone unheard. To determine if this is the case, I will search for academic texts authored by those from these communities that pre-date the release of the report and give voice to their perspective. In doing so I will confirm if the voice of BAME communities is being suppressed; and consider the impact of its suppression on the impact development and maintenance of a *meaningful identity*. It is acknowledged that although I will be using texts constructed wholly or in part by members of these communities, the final interpretation is my construction and is therefore influenced by my positionality (Riessman, 2008) and my understanding of the culture and history of these communities. To mitigate this issue, I will, where possible, research the history and culture of these communities using resources created by members of these communities in an attempt to develop an understanding underpinned by the 'texts and practices whose principal function is … to produce or to be the occasion for the production of meaning' (Storey, 2015, p.2). By carrying out this research I also hope to uncover any 'attitudinal differences' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 61) and *interest convergence*, that I would have otherwise, been unaware of.

3.5.4 Analysis of Policy Texts

The selected policy reports will be analysed using van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach to critical discourse studies. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Van Dijk's (2016) approach is founded on the notion of a Discourse - Cognition - Society triangle; and is underpinned by his belief that the relationship between society and discourse is 'cognitively mediated' (van Dijk, 2016, p. 64). I will begin my analysis by establishing the context of Ofsted's mediation of policy through an exploration of education policy from 2010. This will entail establishing the socially shared knowledge, ideologies, values, and attitudes underpinning the education policy of the then newly elected coalition government as detailed in the DfE's white paper, *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010). I will then analyse Sir Michael Wilshaw's contribution to Ofsted's long running *Access and Achievement in Urban Education* project (Ofsted, 2013a) in order to: establish the consistencies and inconsistencies between government policy and the tenets that will

underpin his regimes modus operandi; and consider its impact on the development and maintenance of a *meaningful identity* (Beauregard et al, 2017) from the perspective of the school leader, teacher and learner. I will then review the report using a theoretical framework provided by critical race theory, in particular, the tenets of counter-storytelling and intersectionality, to establish any additional impact on the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity from the perspective of school leaders, teachers and learners form BAME communities. I will then analyse the annual reports published by the regulator during the period 2013 - 2018 using this two-part process, and consider the evolution of policy mediation and its impact on the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity; and therefore, its impact on the development of the resilient school leader, teacher and learner. Finally, I use my findings to address the question, what are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

3.6 Limitations

For some, the inclusion of critical race theory as a theoretical framework will itself be seen as a limitation of this study. By placing counter-story telling at the heart of the response to my research questions, the view may be that I have 'jettisoned intellectual rigour by giving any credence to legal storytelling' (Farber and Sherry, 2016, p. 333; Mocombe, 2017; Barlow, 2016; Litowitz, 2016). However, a first reading of the policy discourse underpinning education policy trajectory (DfE, 2010) and its mediation by the schools' regulator (Ofsted, 2013a) reveals a *truth* that effectively 'presumes a homogenised "we" in a celebration of diversity' (Ladson-Billings, 2016, p. 25) and conceals the spectre of White privilege (Taylor, 2016); a truth that denies the legitimacy of the plurality of interpretations to be found in a diverse society (Hylton, 2012). It is this plurality of interpretations that must be considered if we are to explore the potential impact of discourse on those from BAME communities. Critical race theory, in particular the tenets of counter-storytelling and intersectionality, provides us with a framework on which to develop this understanding of the mental models, constructed by members of these communities, that underpin the formation and maintenance of a meaningful identity - 'a powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114).

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have justified my decision to use critical inquiry to address the research questions:

> a. To what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?
>
> b. How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?
>
> c. What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

The aim of my research is to challenge the authority of the dominant socially shared knowledge that underpins the development of *resilience* as a key strategy in the government's policy on improving levels of social mobility and reducing the risks of radicalisation and extremism. In order to make this challenge I have identified van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach as my methodological approach and critical race theory as my theoretical framework. By using these 'powerful and illuminating allies' (Smith, 2013), I believe I have a framework in which to consider the interpretation of policy discourse from the perspective of communities founded on different identities and social histories (Yosso, 2005); and consider the impact of the regulator's mediation of policy on the development of a meaningful identity – a 'powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114).

Chapter 4.0 Data Collection and Analysis

4.1 Data Collection

As established in the literature review, the development of resilience lies at the heart of the UK government's education and counter-terrorism policy. In terms of the former, the development of resilience is seen as a crucial component in the battle to raise attainment in all pupil groups and improve levels of social mobility. This belief is enshrined in *Ofsted's School Inspection Handbook* (Ofsted, 2015), in which it suggests one of the outcomes of *outstanding* teaching, learning and assessment, a right of all children, is that 'Pupils love the challenge of learning and are resilient to failure' (ibid, p. 53). In the case of the latter, the importance of education services in developing both personal and community resilience in the fight against radicalisation and extremism is embodied in the Prevent Duty (HM Government, 2015). The Duty has made it a legal requirement for all staff in specified organisations e.g. schools, to work together to 'prevent people from being drawn into terrorism' (ibid, p. 2) by 'building pupils' resilience to radicalisation by promoting fundamental British values' (ibid, p. 5).

By locating Ofsted as a key regulator in the implementation of both education and counter-terrorism policies, the government has established an inextricable link between the policies. As suggested in the previous chapter, it is well established that as Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education, Ofsted fulfils a role that due to the absence of mediation, conveys legitimacy and authority; and therefore, locates it as the most significant mediator of education policy. Despite research that suggests only sixty percent of parents know 'a lot or a fair amount about Ofsted' (YouGov, 2017, p.4), parents, including those considered to be 'hard to reach' (Crozier and Davies, 2007, p. 295), teachers and pupils are more likely to *hear* the voice of the regulator than that of government ministers due to Ofsted's 'absent presence in the school' (Troman, 1997, p. 349); and therefore, will potentially have a greater impact on the development of resilience both in and out of an academic context. Therefore, to answer the research questions:

> a. To what extent does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?
>
> b. How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?

c. What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for education in England?

I will focus my analysis on the discourse provided by Ofsted. In acknowledgement that transformational change cannot be achieved overnight; but should be viewed as the product of 'a never-ending marathon' (Teach First, 2018, p. 13), I will analyse discourse generated by Ofsted through the period 2013 - 2018. Selecting this period will also enable me to consider any change in policy and its mediation due to changes in administration.

Using a theoretical lens provided by critical race theory and a methodology founded on van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach to discourse studies, will enable me to engage in an analysis underpinned by contextualisation (Manning, 2018), e.g. the legacy of Operation Trojan Horse, and consider if Ofsted reports contribute to the development of a 'meaningful identity' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 113); and, are culturally sensitivity (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016), culturally competent (Mohamed and Thomas, 2017), and non-discriminatory (Milovancevic, 2016).

A review of the Ofsted Inspection Handbook (Ofsted, 2015) acknowledges the link between resilience and the development of a meaningful identity by stating that in an *outstanding* lesson, learners are 'resilient to failure' (Ofsted, 2015, p. 53) and:

> [r]esources and teaching strategies reflect and value the diversity of pupils' experiences and provide pupils with a comprehensive understanding of people and communities beyond their immediate experience (ibid)

By contrast, Ofsted state that *inadequate* teaching, learning and assessment is characterised by a failure to 'promote equality of opportunity or understanding of diversity effectively' (ibid, p. 54), an omission that 'discriminate[s] against the success of individuals or groups of pupils' (ibid). Furthermore, Ofsted's criteria for *outstanding* practice in terms of personal development, behaviour and welfare reveals a belief that '[p]upils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development equips them to be thoughtful, caring and active citizens in school and in wider society' (ibid, p. 57).

4.1.1 Establishing the Need for Different Perspectives

The need to analyse discourse mediating government policy on improving levels of social mobility using a framework based on race/ethnicity theory, can be justified using data

published by the Office for National Statistics. Only by locating the analysis in the context of race/ethnicity will we be able to consider the potential impact of the discourse on the different communities within our diverse society. Analysis of the UK census 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2018) reveals that 86% of the population located in England and Wales identified as White (80.5% White British, 4.4% White other, 0.9% White Irish and 0.1% White Gypsy/Traveller), with 7.5% identifying as Asian (2.5% Indian, 2.0% Pakistani, 0.8 Bangladeshi, 0.7% Chinese and 1.5% Asian other), 3.3% as Black (1.8% Black African, 1.1% Black Caribbean and 0.5% Black other) and 2.2% as Mixed ethnicity. Using data from Family Resources Surveys (DWP, 2017a), the Department for Work and Pensions state that at least 57% of the population of England and Wales is known to have claimed income or non-income related state support during the period 2013/14 - 2015/16. Their analysis suggests that 'Bangladeshi, Black, Mixed, Pakistani and Other ethnic family units were more likely to receive income-related benefits and tax credits' (DWP, 2017b), while White British claimants were more likely to have received non-income related benefits e.g. the state pension (ibid). A government break down of state support by ethnicity for this period is provided in figure 1.

Ethnicity	Family units claiming state support
Asian	48%
Bangladeshi	56%
Chinese	30%
Indian	46%
Pakistani	53%
Asian other	44%
Black	54%
Mixed	45%
White	
White British	59%
White other	42%
Other	49%

Figure 1. Family units by ethnicity claiming state support (DWP, 2017a)

A review of unemployment data (DWP, 2017c) collected and processed through the Annual Population Survey (ONS) reveals that for the year 2016 (only dataset available), 4% of the White British and 5% of the Indian populations were unemployed. Interestingly, the government report the Bangladeshi and Pakistani unemployment figures as one, stating the Bangladeshi/Pakistani unemployment rate was 11%. They also present the Black African, Black Caribbean and Black other ethnicities as one, stating 10% of the Black population was unemployed during 2016. In terms of average hourly pay, the government data (DWP, 2016d) collected and processed through the Labour Force Survey (ONS), suggests that during the period 2013 - 2016, the Bangladeshi/Pakistani and Black populations consistently averaged lower hourly pay rates than workers from other ethnic groups. In terms of low-income households by ethnicity, the government presented data (DWP, 2017e) is shown in figure 2.

Ethnicity	All (%)	Children (%)	Working-age Adults (%)	Pensioners (%)
Asian	18	25	14	14
Black	16	20	14	9
Mixed	10	11	10	-
White British	9	10	7	12
White other	8	8	6	15
Other	20	27	17	-

Figure 2. Percentage of people living in low income households (before housing costs) by ethnicity and age group

From the perspective of justifying a race/ethnicity-based framework for analysis, we need look no further than the data in figure 2. This clearly shows that in 2017 the percentage of Black and Asian children and working-age adults living in low income households was at least twice that of White children and working-age adults. The data presented (figure 1 and figure 2) is taken solely from the UK government's *Ethnicity facts and figures* webpages and provides us with an understanding that all predominant ethnic populations in the UK contain a significant percentage experiencing unemployment, low income and the need to claim state benefits. Therefore, it is assumed that the government is aware of the need to improve the social mobility of all ethnicities. If we accept that social mobility is underpinned by improved levels of attainment and skills development, and by implication, a 'resilience to failure' (Coe et al, 2014, p. 45); and that resilience is supported by the development of a 'meaningful identity' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114); then to achieve

the desired outcomes of policy, the discourse underpinning it must be sensitive to the needs of those ethnic groups (Bang, 2016; Milovancevic, 2016; Mohamed and Thomas, 2017).

If we follow the government's lead in grouping those that identity as Black, and grouping those that identify as Bangladeshi and Pakistani, then we have the two biggest BAME groups in the population of England and Wales; 3.3% and 2.8% respectively (Office for National Statistics, 2018). From the data above, it is clear that these groups are the two with the highest unemployment rates, 10% and 11% respectively (DWP, 2017c); and the highest percentage of families claiming state support, 54% and 56%/53% respectively, after White British (59%). They are also acknowledged as consistently averaging lower hourly pay rates than workers from other ethnic groups (DWP, 2017d). As stated in 3.3, in order to gain a sense of the impact of the regulator's mediation of policy from the BAME perspective, it is necessary to consider the perspectives of those communities that potentially will have the biggest impact on the success of this aspect of policy. Therefore, in responding to my research questions I give voice to Black Afro-Caribbean and Bangladeshi/Pakistani perspectives.

4.2 Applying A Sociocognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis

Before analysing Ofsted's *Unseen Children* report (Ofsted, 2013a) and subsequent annual reports (2013 - 2018) using van Dijk's (2016) Sociocognitive approach and a theoretical framework provided by critical race theory, it is necessary to consider the shared knowledge intended to influence the mental models, and therefore the activities, norms and values of those mediating government policy.

4.2.1 Education Policy Trajectory 2010

In 2010 the Conservative - Liberal Democrat coalition government installed Michael Gove as Secretary of State for Education. His first act was to establish *the importance of teaching* and set education policy trajectory through a schools White Paper (DfE, 2010). In the foreword to this document Cameron and Clegg use the OECD (2006) PISA survey results to establish that the British education system had fallen further behind the most successful countries and that, as a consequence, the nation's future economic growth and success was at stake. By claiming '[t]he truth is, at the moment we are standing still while others race past' (DfE, 2010, p. 3), and that the only way to catch up is 'by learning the

lessons of other countries' success' (ibid), the government signalled that a solution is needed quickly to ensure future economic prosperity, and that the solution to the problem of underachievement has already been established. But most significantly, despite claiming 'Of course schools are not solely responsible for this problem' (ibid) and suggesting that 'The Coalition Government's Work Programme and welfare reforms will help tackle these [deeply embedded culture of low aspiration] issues' (ibid), by presenting a ready-made solution to the problem, and failing to add context to the OECD's findings, they locate the solution to the problem in education policy and effectively absolved themselves of the need to consider radical changes to other social policies, e.g. housing. This notion was reinforced by the statement that the Pupil Premium 'lies at the heart of our reforms programme' (ibid).

Cameron and Clegg highlight the OECD's findings that top performing countries have education systems founded on 'devolv[ing] as much power as possible to the front line, while retaining high levels of accountability' (ibid). The leadership team highlight Finland and South Korea, the top two PISA rated countries, who have systems underpinned by 'clearly defined and challenging universal standards, along with individual school autonomy' (ibid, p. 4); and a teacher recruitment strategy focused on employing the top 10% of graduates. They reinforce the notion that the government is already engaging with these strategies: first, by announcing the extension of the academisation process, and therefore enabling more schools to benefit from the *freedoms* that encourage innovation and 'ensure that educationalists can concentrate on education' (ibid); and second, by announcing plans to double the size of the Teach First cohort of trainee teachers. In devolving power to the front-line the government signals a continuing move towards a *what works* approach to staff development by stating outstanding schools will be given 'a much greater role' (ibid) in teacher training, and that 'our best schools will be able to convert directly to Academy status but will have to work with less successful schools to help them improve' (ibid). A lack of contextualisation establishes less successful schools as those that fail to achieve the national standards at Year 11; and promotes the notion that one solution fits all.

The final lesson Cameron and Clegg claim we must learn is that countries with the 'best education systems' (ibid), do not accept a causal relationship between wealth and academic achievement, or tolerate the 'soft bigotry of low expectations' (ibid). They agree that the attainment gap between rich and poor is 'vast' (ibid); but establish the belief it is

'not pre-ordained' by citing the academic success of Chinese girls on free school meals. Therefore, with the confirmation of a Pupil Premium for all disadvantaged children, and the introduction of 'clear transparency requirements to ensure it is spent on improving the life chances of our poorest young people' (ibid), the solution is again located in schools. Cameron and Clegg conclude:

> This White Paper signals a radical reform of our schools. We have no choice but to be this radical if our ambition is to be world-class. The most successful countries already combine a high status teaching profession; high levels of autonomy for schools; a comprehensive and effective accountability system and a strong sense of aspiration for all children, whatever their background. Tweaking things at the margins is not an option. Reforms on this scale are absolutely essential if our children are to get the education they deserve (ibid, pp. 4 - 5)

In his foreword the Secretary of State for Education affirms that education reform is the 'great progressive cause of our times' (ibid, p. 6) claiming, that only by engaging in this journey of radical change can we ensure that all children, no matter what their socio-economic status, can be 'masters of their own fate' (ibid). Gove hails education as a path to 'liberation' (ibid) from the constraints of geography, class and gender. His first claim suggests that resilience must underpin teaching and learning, while the second appears to cut other social policies free from the solution to improving attainment and social mobility. Most significantly, Gove does not explicitly consider race or ethnicity as a constraint. He acknowledges that 'our society is becoming less socially mobile' (ibid) and claims that 'our schools should be engines of social mobility, helping children to overcome the accidents of birth and background' (ibid). By engaging with the notion of *accidents of birth,* Gove subtly establishes the principle that poor attainment may be due to poor parenting. The Secretary of State then confirms that the current education system widens the attainment gap between the haves and have nots, thus justifying the governments '[u]rgent, focused, radical action' (ibid, p. 7). Gove acts to quell any potential backlash to the proposed changes to policy by stating that '[o]ther regions and nations have succeeded in closing this gap and in raising attainment for all students at the same time' (ibid); in doing so, Gove renders education policy race and ethnicity neutral. Though he

acknowledges the uniqueness of the *most successful* education systems, he emphasises that all share common themes including:

> improving teacher quality, granting greater autonomy to the front line, modernising curricula, making schools more accountable to their communities, harnessing detailed performance data and encouraging professional collaboration (ibid)

Gove's White Paper (DfE, 2010) provides the plan to implementing the radical reform required in England. In it he positions the teacher as 'our society's most valuable asset', confirming that there is 'no calling more noble, no profession more vital and no service more important' (ibid). In doing so, Gove not only reaffirms education as the solution to the problem, but also establishes the expectation of the development of a generation of *resilient* teachers. This notion is reinforced by Gove's confirmation of the trialling of teacher selection processes currently used in the most successful countries that include 'aptitude, personality and resilience' (ibid, p. 21) assessments.

4.2.2 Ofsted Inspection Framework 2012

In 2012 Ofsted issued a framework in January (2012a; 2012b) followed by a revision in September (2012c). The frameworks represent the regulator's mediation of government policy, i.e. Michael Gove's white paper, *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010). The January framework (2012a) signals a call to arms in the battle to secure the radical reform needed in the education system; it is a watershed in the history of school inspection. As Courtney argues, the January (2012a) framework results in 'an intensification of previous measures' (Courtney, 2016, p. 624) with educationalists given notice that the regulator will: focus more on the teaching of literacy and numeracy; scrutinise data evidencing pupil attainment and progress; carry out joint observations with senior leader; and seek stakeholder e.g. governors, opinions and experiences via consultations and the newly introduced 'Parent view' web page (ibid). Other significant changes to the inspection process included the reduction in the number of judgements made from 27 to 5 (ibid); and significantly, the replacement of CVA (contextual value-added) with VA (value-added) (ibid). As Courtney (2016) suggests, through simplifying the judgement process the regulator ensured greater focus on: pupil attainment and progress at key stages, especially in national examinations and standardised tests; the quality of teaching, leadership and

management; standards of behaviour and pupil safety; and, overall school effectiveness (ibid). By eliminating the perceived impact of gender, ethnicity and eligibility for free school meals in the modelling of the value added by schools, the regulator enacted the DfE's belief that 'We should expect every child to succeed and measure schools on how much value they add for all pupils, not rank them on the make-up of their intake' (DfE, 2010, p. 68). Underpinning this expectation was the notion that 'It is morally wrong to have an attainment measure which entrenches low aspirations for children because of their background' (ibid). Significantly, from the perspective of this research, the requirement to demonstrate the promotion of community cohesion disappeared from the framework.

Nine months into Sir Michael Wilshaw's tenure, the framework was revised to establish the principle that a school could not receive an overall judgement of *outstanding*, unless it had been judged as *outstanding* for its quality of teaching. At the same time, with a view to ensuring schools could not coast, the judgement of *satisfactory* was replaced by requires improvement, with the announcement that two such successive judgements would result in schools being put in *special measures*. Ofsted also reduced the inspection notification period to one afternoon (Courtney, 2016).

4.2.3 Ofsted Involvement Strategy 2012

In November 2012 Ofsted launched its Involvement Strategy in which it stated its vision:

> Ofsted works to raise standards and improve lives. It does this through rigorous and independent inspection of services for children, young people and learners, supporting improvement, securing value for money, and promoting excellence. It can only achieve these goals by involving and working with a wide range of people who use the services we inspect. (Ofsted, 2012d, p. 4)

The regulator confirmed it would achieve its vision by 'providing sharper, more focused inspection and regulation, acting in a proportionate way that targets underperformance and ensures those using services can hold them to account' (ibid, p. 5). The vision clearly reinforces the chief inspector's belief that 'Exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people' (Ofsted, 2013b), and establishes the principle that rigor will underpin the drive for excellence in provision, with those failing to meet expectations being held to account.

Thus, through its 2012 framework changes and vision statement the regulator shared, at a macro-level, the knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values (van Dijk, 2016) intended to influence the interactions and discourse at a micro-level that would lead to the 'manag[ing] of minds' (ibid, p. 71).

4.3 Applying a Sociocognitive Approach (van Dijk, 2016)

4.3.1 Unseen Children: Access and Achievement 20 Years on

This report (Ofsted, 2013a) provides an update on a twenty-year project into the attainment of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. The research builds on the work carried out by Ofsted in 1993 and 2003. In 1993 Ofsted painted a bleak picture of the provision for those in areas of social deprivation, citing deficiencies and issues within local education authorities and the teaching profession itself. However, it concluded:

> Beyond the school gates are underlying social issues such as poverty, unemployment, poor housing, inadequate health care and the frequent break-up of families. Education by itself can only do so much to enable individuals to reach beyond the limiting contours of their personal and social circumstances and succeed (Ofsted, 1993, p. 45)

In 2003 Bell, the then chief inspector, suggested that some schools previously 'in the doldrums and failing in every sense' (Bell, 2003) had been 'transformed into beacons of excellence and hope' (ibid). However, no data or evidence was provided on these schools or the potential changes that had facilitated this turnaround; instead Bell recanted beliefs in the benefits of improving the quality of teaching and planning, and engagement with parents. But significantly, he reinforced the notion that improvements in provision and attainment are dependent on 'collective and concerted action across and beyond the education service' (ibid). In his 2013 report Wilshaw acknowledges the 'complex set of challenges' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 42; Mongon, 2013) that schools in areas of high social deprivation still face, commenting the barriers are 'not dissimilar from the features of isolation described in the 1993 report' (Ofsted, 2013a, pg. 43). However, in his introduction Wilshaw immediately sets his and the government's expectation when stating:

> The link between disadvantage and academic failure is far from being an iron law. Deprivation does not determine destiny. Many young people from low income families succeed brilliantly. There are also schools and

> colleges that overcome the barriers for pupils from low-income families, sending children from the toughest neighbourhoods to the top universities or into highly valued apprenticeships. They do this because they have the highest expectations for each of them and are relentless in what they do to secure excellent headway in realising these expectations (ibid, p. 4).

The implication is clear; these schools do not lose sight of disadvantaged pupils. This message is enshrined in the title of the report which uses *unseen children* as a metaphor for disadvantaged pupils that have been concealed and left to fail; a metaphor that acts to accuse schools of their failings. The notion that this is a conscious act is reinforced in the chief regulator's speech in which he claims that these children 'often remained invisible even to some inspectors, who were not assiduous enough in seeking them out' (Ofsted, 2013b). The use of the adjective *relentless* implies that schools, and therefore teachers, that overcome these barriers are resilient. During the report Her Majesty's Chief Inspector reinforces the message when stating '[m]aterial poverty is not in itself an insurmountable barrier to educational success' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 16) and claiming that most successful schools are run by strong leaders, who, through the implementation of 'rigorous' (ibid, p. 37) monitoring processes, ensure intervention strategies are adapted to meet the needs of pupils. Thus, Wilshaw locates the solution to a problem founded on a 'complex set of challenges' faced by schools in areas of social deprivation, in the school and resilient leadership and teachers. Wilshaw reinforces his belief in the location of the solution when confirming

> It is sometimes said that 'schools cannot do it alone', but this is not quite true: exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people. In the process, they often become surrogate parents (ibid, p. 5)

The source of this quote may be at first interpreted as a natural conclusion from the research carried out by Ofsted (2013a). However, Wilshaw is sending a coded message to members of the out-group; in particular, members whose opposition or disbelief is underpinned by a belief in the need for changes to social policy e.g. social housing. By claiming 'It is sometimes said' (ibid), Wilshaw is suggesting that what is to follow is a minority belief; while stating 'but this is not quite true' (ibid) has the ring of *I know*

something you don't. By using these turns of phrase Wilshaw reminds us that he holds his position due to his *proven* knowledge and understanding of how to solve the problem; and that dissenters are out of touch. Though not referenced, the inquisitive dissenter is drawn to engage with Wilshaw's *lived experience*, and the notion that Mossbourne was the reincarnation of a predecessor establishment labelled 'Britain's Worst School' (O'Connor, 1999). Finally, we are reminded of the extreme lengths schools are expected to go when servicing areas where there is 'worryingly engrained poverty of expectation' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 17). Wilshaw establishes the link between social background and school readiness, reminding the audience that many children from disadvantaged backgrounds 'lack a firm grounding' (ibid, p. 37) in the key skills needed to engage with early years education. He emphasises the scale of the problem by first presenting data comparing the vocabulary test results of children from low and middle-income families, and secondly, comparing this gap with the same analysis of Canadian children. He confirms that leaders of schools in areas of high social deprivation have identified poor parenting skills, low attainment of parents and unsatisfactory experiences of school as key factors in children not being ready for school. Her Majesty's Chief Inspector strengthens this notion when claiming '[t]he poor performance of low income White British pupils is not, therefore, a gender issue' (ibid, p. 29). The report emphasises a belief that developing strong partnerships with parents and carers is essential in 'raising their awareness of what can be achieved' (ibid, p. 35). This belief is exemplified in the case study provided which presents the positive impact of home visits, engagement with the *Family Works* programme and parenting skills events such 'bedtime reading'; as well as keeping parents informed of progress through report cards, records of achievement etc. The assumption is that these parents have no awareness of what can be achieved; that they have poor parenting skills and are poorly educated themselves; ultimately, that they are at the heart of the problem. Despite acknowledging the findings of the Joseph Rowntree foundation (Carter-Wall and Whitfield, 2012), specifically that parental engagement with the education process has 'a causal influence on children's school readiness and subsequent attainment' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 42), by failing to contextualise the problem of social deprivation, the report reduces these parents to a homogeneous group, and by directing schools to act as surrogate parents where necessary, absolves these parents of the responsibility to set and maintain high expectations of their children. In doing so, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector isolates the potential impact of social policy from academic attainment.

In the report Wilshaw uses the personal pronouns 'I' and 'my' to establish his authority as chief inspector and set expectations. He achieves the former by failing to employ the 'political' pronoun '*We'* (van Dijk, 2016, p. 73) confirming that 'Since taking up the office of … I have been focused on what Ofsted can do through inspection to raise educational standards and the quality of teaching' (Ofsted, p. 3). He is clear to establish his ownership of the direction of the inspecting body when stating 'When I became HMCI, I decided to revisit the issue once again' (ibid), and 'I set out my conclusions and recommendations for action in a lecture that I gave …' (ibid, p. 19); in doing so, he implies his frustration with Ofsted's previous administrations and reinforces the authority and legitimacy of his knowledge and experience. He offers reassurance that his experience will enable the inspectorate to drive improvements when suggesting that *his* conclusions and recommendations are based on an understanding of the 'current pattern of disadvantage and educational success across England' (ibid), and the learning of 'lessons of recent policy initiatives' (ibid). Thus, by referring to the *current pattern* and *learning lessons*, Wilshaw positions himself as the person that knows what and where the problems are, and how to solve them; this is affirmed when claiming his proposals 'would really make a difference' (ibid). This approach may be unsurprising bearing in mind the hero (Wilby, 2010; Kulz, 2017) and *miracle worker* (Cameron, 2012) status he developed in government circles during his work at, and prior to, Mossbourne Academy. He sets expectations of the inspectorate and providers when stating he believes that 'education is the single biggest problem facing Britain today' (Ofsted, ibid, p. 3), and that 'poverty of expectations bears harder on educational achievement than material poverty' (ibid). By claiming, 'In the long term, our success as a nation – our prosperity, our security, our society – depends on how well we educate our young people' (ibid, p. 3), and 'We simply cannot have a world-class education system until we solve this problem' (ibid, p. 4), Wilshaw not only establishes the link between his beliefs and national pride, prosperity and security; but also issues a challenge to his dissenters. The use of the pronoun '*We'* establishes the principle that it is all our responsibility to accept and give agency to these beliefs.

Despite his apparent singularly pragmatic approach to driving improvement in education, confirmed by his dismissal of academic research during his tenure at Mossbourne (Kulz, 2017), Wilshaw legitimises his beliefs, conclusions and recommendations by confirming that the review has been supported by an 'expert panel' including 'leading academics'

(Ofsted, 2013, p. 7) who have met 'to consider the issues and to give me advice'(ibid). He reinforces this message by stating that the review is 'accompanied by a series of background papers by leading academics and … examples of good practice in schools who have raised achievement for pupils from low income backgrounds' (ibid). Thus, Wilshaw legitimises what 'we know' (Ofsted, 2013, p. 7) and thereby sets about establishing and sharing the knowledge, ideological interests, activities, norms and values of the in-group (van Dijk, 2016, p. 74). However, exploring the commissioned research reveals the selective approach to the claims adopted by Wilshaw. Wilshaw ignores the findings of Mongon (2013) that challenge *his story*; for example, Mongon's research reinforces the belief that the relationship between attainment and social deprivation is a complex one claiming there is no single solution to the problem (Mongon, 2013; Demie and Mclean, 2015). Mongon is emphatic in this belief stating 'Systemic solutions will require more than excellence in the application of basic good practice by individual schools, it will require the aligned effort of a range of services and institutions' (Mongon, 2013, p. 4). Mongon draws attention to the existence of a substantive body of research that confirms the 'corrosive effects of poor health and well-being on individuals' (ibid, p. 17) and claims that the current focus on the performance of individual schools and local authorities is the result of a reluctance in political circles to 'engage with the impact of contextual influences' (ibid, p. 16), as to do so would 'raise profoundly difficult questions for political leaders' (ibid). By ignoring these claims, and others, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector 'silenc[es] critical debate' (Lambert, 2007, p. 160). By contrast, when claiming schools need to develop 'pupils' resilience and readiness to learn (Ofsted, 2013. P. 35), Wilshaw engages with Mongon's (2013) claims that successful schools adopt strategies that are specific to their context, but also that these strategies invariably fail to develop the resilience in learning pupils need to be successful in post sixteen education or training - a veiled reference to a focus on closing the attainment gap by teaching to the test. Despite what may appear to be a more conciliatory response to academic research than the one he displays in Kulz (2017), Wilshaw reinforces his belief in the benefit of a pragmatic approach by claiming the success of the Challenge programme (2003 - 2011) was in the main due to successful leaders disseminating effective practice and innovations, and locating teacher and leadership training in schools through a number of initiatives which included the Future Leaders and Graduate Teacher Programmes, School Direct and Teach First (Ofsted, 2013). Wilshaw's manipulative approach to academic research and his focus on pragmatism underpin the construction of a dominant narrative that locates academia

and members of that elite class at the periphery (Nicholson and Eagle, 2013), effectively minimising the impact of what may be regarded as 'subversive and dangerous' (ibid, p. 39) views.

4.3.1.1 Attitudes, Activities, Values and Norms of the In-group

The report is clear in establishing the knowledge, attitudes, values and norms of the in-group. Section headings are used to identify the attitudes and activities of those in, or aspiring to membership of, the in-group. For example, the section titled *Exceptional leaders transform schools and the lives of the pupils who attend them* (Ofsted, 2013) identifies 'talented leadership [as] an essential factor in driving school improvement and a prerequisite for improving student achievement' (ibid, p. 67). It confirms that 'leaders who foster the right conditions for developing teacher quality exert a powerful influence on learning outcomes, even in schools in the most challenging of contexts' (ibid), and that:

> The staff in these schools have an unremitting focus on learning, development and progress. High quality leadership is essential to promoting, supporting and sustaining the drive to perfect teaching and maximising learning in schools that face tough challenges (ibid).

The report confirms that under these leaders, learning activities, in particular interventions, are adapted or stopped when rigorous evaluative monitoring reveals that they are 'not working well enough' (ibid, p. 32); reinforcing the notion that teachers must not settle for anything less than success against the highest expectations - they must display resilience. The attitudes, values and norms are exemplified in case studies 1 (p. 32) and 2 (p. 35) and summed up by an Assistant Principal who confirms that his school makes sure that 'the right kids have the right intervention at the right time with the right people' (ibid). The adjectives used throughout the report to describe the intensity of these activities i.e. *relentless, rigorous* and *unremitting*, act to establish the values and norms of practice (van Dijk, 2016).

The claims in this section of the report are *legitimised* by 'recent reviews' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 67). However, these studies were commissioned or carried out by Ofsted, Future Leaders and the National College for School Leadership; and with the exception of Mongon and Chapman (2008) and Leithwood and Louis (2011), focus primarily on the impact of leadership in the City challenge programmes and those schools judged as *Outstanding* by the inspectorate. Therefore, we may consider that the intention is to

promote the notion that the solution to this *age-old problem* (Mongon and Chapman, 2008) is to be found in these *revolutionary* findings.

Throughout the report we are reminded that high quality leadership and teaching and learning underpin improved levels of attainment amongst the disadvantaged. We are also informed that 'The educational landscape is a more positive place than it was 10 or 20 years ago' (Ofsted, 2013, p. 17), and that 'The significant improvements to London's schools and the outcomes for its pupils are evidence that disadvantaged pupils can achieve consistently well' (ibid). However, the report emphasises that improvements in attainment across the country are too slow and variable, suggesting that many schools have not bought into this *new knowledge*. It is the leaders of these schools, and by implication, teachers, that are presented as members of the out-group with the implication that they have failed to recognise that 'raising academic achievement cannot be tackled in isolation' (ibid, p. 35) and consequently, failed to develop the resilience and 'unremitting focus' (ibid, p. 67) required to transform the lives of those from challenging backgrounds. Most significantly, as implied in the section titled *White British pupils from low income backgrounds perform poorly*, these schools have failed to engage effectively with the strategies identified to improve the attainment of White British boys that were legitimised by Ofsted as far back as 2008. The strategies detailed in a section titled *What we know*, included the development and implementation of:

> rigorous monitoring systems which track individual pupils' performance against expectations; realistic but challenging targets; tailored, flexible intervention programmes and frequent reviews of performance against targets … [and] a curriculum which is tightly structured around individual needs and linked to support programmes that seek to raise aspirations (Ofsted, 2008, p. 5)

4.3.1.2 Unseen Children - The Speech (Ofsted, 2013b)

In making this speech Wilshaw achieves three goals. First, he sends a powerful message to the in-group, those already fully engaged in government policy, reaffirming that they are guides on the path to success. Second, he sends a clear warning to those in the out-group and those that believe as a *good* or *outstanding* school they are free from scrutiny, that the *unseen children* will 'emerge from the darkness' (ibid). Third, Wilshaw harnesses the media to send a strong message to all stakeholders.

Wilshaw begins the speech by sending a clear warning to all those in the out-group, he states, 'I am determined to use the power and influence of inspection to improve our education system' (ibid). By speaking in the first-person Wilshaw immediately establishes his authority and presents the task as a personal crusade. He confirms that 'With government, I am determined to challenge providers to do better so that our education system can genuinely become world class and compete with the most successful nations in the world' (Ibid); and in doing so not only reinforces his alignment with government thinking and policy, but also raises the profile of his role by linking it to the nation's future economic prosperity. Wilshaw then declares 'This is entirely within our capacity. I wouldn't be doing this job unless I thought it was so' (ibid); and in doing so firmly locates the solution to the problem within the education system and reminds the audience of his experience in raising attainment in challenging circumstances. Thus, in an introduction of just three sentences, Wilshaw legitimises his ownership of one the nation's biggest issues.

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector confirms that there are 'two major barriers' (ibid) to solving the problem. First, he highlights the variability of regional performance, making it clear that 'disadvantage and poor achievement are not necessarily tied to urban deprivation and inner-city blight' (ibid). Thus, he establishes the principle that urban deprivation is no excuse for poor performance, undoubtedly relying on the audience's knowledge of *his story* to legitimise his claim. He confirms that he now has a full geographic knowledge of the current link between deprivation and performance; and reinforces this claim by highlighting West Berkshire as an example of a relatively wealthy region in the south east of England where outcomes look good but hide the failure of schools to improve the attainment of those on free school meals. Wilshaw's message to the out-group is clear, you will not be able to hide your poorer children. The second barrier Wilshaw identifies is the 'long tail of underperformance' (ibid) that principally affects those from disadvantaged backgrounds. The chief inspector acknowledges that those children from disadvantaged backgrounds whose families have high expectations and aspirations do better than those 'whose parents and teachers expect little of them' (ibid); and in doing so locates teachers at the heart of the problem. He strengthens this notion by exonerating parents of disadvantaged pupils from the solution, claiming that 'Some parents, having been failed by education themselves, place little value on it' (ibid). Wilshaw is adamant that the failure of parents to set high expectations and aspirations is the foundation of the barrier, and that this failing is primarily located in the host population when claiming 'This is the greatest

blight, and it predominates within the underprivileged White British communities that are the lowest performing of all the major ethnic groups in England' (ibid). Wilshaw reinforces this belief by reaffirming 'this is not a gender issue. Poor, low-income White British girls do very badly' (ibid).

Having established the cause and source of the problem, Wilshaw states:

> When we consider those children entitled to free school meals, it is the White British children who do worst out of all the main ethnic groups. The underperformance of low-income White British pupils matters, particularly because they make up the majority – two-thirds – of such pupils. So the lowest-performing group of poor children is also the largest. If we don't crack the problem of low achievement by poor White British boys and girls, then we won't solve the problem overall (ibid)

Thus, the chief inspector places the underperformance of White British pupils above that of pupils from other ethnic groups - groups that account for one third of all disadvantaged pupils. By claiming that we need to solve the problem for this group of pupils before we can 'solve the problem overall' (ibid), Wilshaw reaffirms his belief that '[p]overty of expectation bears harder on educational achievement than material poverty' (ibid); and that the solution to the problem lies in the education system.

Wilshaw then reinforces the foundation that underpins his mental model - he reminds those *in the know* that 'It is sometimes said that "schools cannot do it alone"' (ibid); and advises the out-group in the audience that 'this is not quite true' (ibid) stating that 'Exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people' (ibid). He suggests these schools effectively act as surrogate parents and fill the expectations and aspirations void. He reinforces his advice to the out-group stating that 'most effective schools can and do make up the deficit. Our previous reports on outstanding schools in challenging circumstances absolutely demonstrate this' (ibid); the adverb chosen emphasises Wilshaw's conviction.

Early in the speech Wilshaw invokes the metaphor employed by Sutherland (Ofsted, 1993) and Bell (2003), stating 'The rising tide of educational standards is, at last, beginning to lift the boats for our poorest children in some parts of our country' (ibid). By stating 'at last' he reinforces the belief that the improvement is due to recent initiatives (e.g. City Challenge programmes 2003 - 2011) that he has been part of; but also establishes the

notion that the process is in its infancy. Wilshaw then reminds us that outstanding leaders have exported their success to other schools, but that the success of this process has been patchy. He confirms this is due to the 'complacency, mediocrity and timidity' (ibid) of leadership in local authorities and recipient schools; thus, Wilshaw sends a warning message to all schools that they will lose their autonomy if they *fail to engage* with initiatives *we know work*. Towards the end of the speech Wilshaw warns both government and educationalists, especially those members of the out-group, of the true impact of failing to engage, stating:

> There are stark consequences for our nation if we do not act with sufficient urgency and see it through. Extremists of every hue will feed upon the anger and despair of those not in employment and with poor prospects. We will continue to lose our place as a competitive nation and bear the costs of failure (ibid)

Thus, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector not only reinforces the economic impact of failing *unseen children*; but links this failure to the rising threat of radicalisation and extremism. In doing so he implies the knowledge presented in the report applies to disadvantaged pupils of every hue. Following his summing up of the current picture, Wilshaw presents his recommendations to ensure the *unseen* are drawn into the light; the fourth of which calls for the government to urgently consider the creation of the 'National Service Teacher' (ibid).

4.3.1.3 Unseen Children - Press Release (Ofsted, 2013c)

Title: Too many of England's poorest let down by education system

Subtitle: Too many of England's poorest children continue to be let down by the education system

The titles and initial paragraph firmly establish the education system as the source of this historic issue, claiming that children from disadvantaged backgrounds remain *unseen* in the system. Ofsted attempt to legitimise the claim by creating an academic aura by describing Wilshaw's speech, as a lecture; and stating that the main conclusions were arrived at following 'widespread deliberation by an expert panel of head teachers, academics and educational leaders' (ibid) - a list of whom is included in the release. The main conclusions are restricted to confirming that during the last twenty years the

distribution of under attainment has shifted from London and other major cities, to 'deprived coastal towns and rural, less populous regions of the country, particularly down the East and South-East of England' (Ibid); and, establishing that schools in affluent areas such as 'Kettering, Wokingham, Norwich and Newbury' (ibid) are 'coasting or sometimes sinking schools' (ibid); and as a consequence 'unseen disadvantaged children remain unsupported and unchallenged' (ibid). The release reassures the reader of the depth of analysis supporting these claims by drawing attention to the league table data contained within the report, and exposing the overall failing of primary, secondary and post sixteen providers in West Berkshire, a 'relatively prosperous' location in the south east of England.

The five quotes attributed to Wilshaw in the release establish three key beliefs. Firstly, that the most important issue facing Britain today is raising the quality of education, with the nation's economic prosperity and security being at stake if we fail. Secondly, that the 'distribution of educational underachievement has shifted' (ibid) from the inner city to 'leafy suburbs, market towns or seaside resorts' (ibid). Finally, he claims that the problem is endemic by stating:

> Poor, unseen children can be found in mediocre schools the length and breadth of our country. They are labelled, buried in lower sets, consigned as often as not to indifferent teaching. They coast through education until – at the earliest opportunity – they sever their ties with it (ibid)

The press release fails to highlight Wilshaw's claims that 'poverty of expectation bears harder on educational achieve than material poverty' (ibid) and that schools can make up for the deficiencies of families by acting as surrogate parents. In doing so, the Ofsted media machine hides parental deficiencies, in particular White parent deficiencies, as a significant contributing factor. By failing to highlight the improving performances of some ethnic minority groups and confirming disadvantaged white British pupils as the worst performing cohort, the publicity machine renders the issue ethnicity neutral; and therefore, denies ethnic minorities the opportunity to contribute to the solution by presenting the factors that have underpinned any improvement in their performance. Thus, the press release locates the problem and solution to the issue of poor attainment in the education system.

The press release concludes by reinforcing Wilshaw's warning of the 'stark consequences' (2013b; 2013b) of failing to address the issue, drawing the reader's attention back to the recommendations cited in the release, in particular, the need for the creation of a 'National Service Teacher'.

4.3.1.4 Media Coverage

A small-scale analysis of the media coverage of the launch of the Unseen Children (2013a) report (see Appendix B) strongly suggests minimal deviation from the press release. All the reports reviewed focus on raising awareness amongst its audience that the issue of disadvantaged children *left to fail at school* is no longer confined to inner-city areas of high social deprivation; but is now on *our* doorsteps. This message is exemplified in a number of headlines that include 'Poor children in 'lovely, affluent south east England' being let down by schools, says head of Ofsted' (Evening Standard, 20 June 2013). All of the reports quote Wilshaw's assertion that 'they [failing disadvantaged children] are spread thinly as an 'invisible minority' across areas that are relatively affluent' (Ofsted, 2013c), and that 'These poor, unseen children can be found in mediocre schools the length and breadth of the country' (ibid). By doing so, the media raise the awareness of the readership that their child's school, and education, may be mediocre. This fear is heightened with references to *leafy suburbs* and *market towns*, with Kettering, Wokingham and Norwich cited as examples of towns with such schools. Although the press release establishes the urgency and importance of this issue facing Britain, and the stark consequences of failing to act, the majority of organisations imply these messages by focusing on the chief inspector's recommendation that 'The concept of a 'National Service Teacher' should be an urgent consideration for government' (ibid). The media reports speak of the need to *deploy, send* or *parachute* in an army of teachers to failing schools, while the Daily Mail headlines the story with 'Hit squads of top teachers should be sent in to rescue failing rural and seaside schools, says chief inspector' (Daily Mail, 20 June 2013). Thus, the media effectively announces a call to arms and a fight to save the education of white middle-class Britain; and effectively promotes the belief that the problem and solution are located in schools. The focus on middle England is reinforced by the failure of the majority of the media organisations to engage with the report and speech. Only the BBC, Guardian, Daily Express and Evening Standard refer to the report or speech, drawing out Wilshaw's belief that *exceptional schools* can make up for the poor parenting that has resulted in many disadvantaged children, typically those on free school meals, not starting school with high expectations and the necessary

language and social skills to adapt and develop as expected. Most significantly, only the Daily Telegraph references the changes in ethnic group performance, claiming Wilshaw will announce in his speech that

> white working-class pupils in rural and provincial areas, such as Cornwall, the North-East and southern seaside towns, have replaced black Caribbean and Asian pupils in London at the bottom of the results tables. In the last five years the attainment of poor white British pupils has improved at only just over half the rate of that for Bangladeshi children of similar backgrounds (Daily Telegraph, 20 June 2013)

By focusing on a call to arms and ignoring firstly, the issues of poor parenting and the failure to set high expectations; and secondly, the changes in ethnic group performance and the claim that the two-thirds matter (Ofsted, 2013b), the media effectively render the issue race/ethnicity neutral and reinforce the education system as the location of the solution to the issues of pupil underachievement.

4.3.2 Managing Minds

The Unseen Children (2013a) report provides us with a blueprint of how education policy will be mediated during the course of this administration. The use of language and sharing of practices begins to consolidate the professions and its member's identity (Beighton, 2017); whilst the expectations set 'serve to create a space of non-adherence where those who do not adhere are excluded' (ibid, p. 604).

Analysis of the report, speech, press release and ensuing media coverage, confirms that the inspectorate begins to share the new order's knowledge, attitudes, values and norms at the macro level; with the intention that, through interaction and discussion at a micro level, they will influence the personal mental models of group members (van Dijk, 2016). Thus, the inspectorate begins to 'manage the minds' (ibid, p. 71) of these groups; in particular, those constituted of members with cognitions that oppose the regulators. Key to controlling this relationship is the sharing and embedding of the *knowledge* that: '[m]aterial poverty is not in itself an insurmountable barrier to educational success' (Ofsted, 2013, p. 16); that 'poverty of expectations bears harder on educational achievement than material poverty' (ibid, p. 5); that 'exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people. In the process, they often become surrogate

parents' (ibid); and finally, that the nation's future economic prosperity and security are dependent on the activation of this knowledge.

Through the report (Ofsted, 2013a) and speech (ibid, 2013b) Her Majesty's Chief Inspector communicates this new knowledge to elites in the organisations and institutions that make and implement education policy. A combination of acknowledged personal experience e.g. the success of Mossbourne Academy; academic backing e.g. advice from an expert panel including leading academics; and acknowledged 'privileged access to specialised knowledge' (van Dijk, 2016, p. 68) e.g. inspection data, legitimises the knowledge presented. As head of the government's regulatory body Wilshaw's words set expectations of policymakers and school leaders; and, for the latter, carry the threat of sanction if not met. The context model (van Dijk, 2016) applied by the inspectorate ensures that elites understand that: poverty of expectation is the key underlying factor in the

underachievement of disadvantaged pupils; that parents can be absolved of their responsibility to set expectation; and that, the cause and solution to this problem lies within the education system. The inspectorate uses these channels to firmly establish the notion that White working class pupils must be the key focus as they are the largest group of failing or unseen disadvantaged children (2013b), while suggesting that '[I]mportantly, the research literature indicates that the strategies that are most successful for one ethnic group tend to be effective for others' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 31). Significantly, the regulator embeds the notion that the nation's security and economic future are at stake and that only the *relentless, rigorous* and *unremitting* focus of school leaders will bring these *unseen children* into view. Thus, by using reason and inference, Wilshaw attempts to influence the mental models of the elites and establish the 'socially shared knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values' (van Dijk, 2016, p. 71) at a macro level, that will underpin discourse at a micro level (ibid).

The press release (Ofsted, 2013c) reveals the use of a different context model to influence the cognitions of the media and hence, its audience - British society. The inspectorate relies on coverage of his report and speech being restricted to the guidance provided in the press release. The press release does not establish the notion of White-British parents failing to set high expectations, or there being differences in the performance of children from different ethnic groups; but through the release's title and sub-title attempts to

establish the belief amongst the media, and its readership, that schools and the education system have failed 'too many of England's poorest children' (ibid). The regulator legitimises this conclusion by confirming the findings of the report are underpinned by the 'widespread deliberation [of] an expert panel of head teachers, academics and educational leaders' (ibid). By confirming that this issue is no longer an inner-city issue and drawing attention to 'mediocre schools' (ibid) to be found in 'leafy suburbs, market towns or seaside resorts' (ibid), the regulator attempts to establish through inference the cognition that all children, irrespective of class and race/ethnicity, are potentially at risk. Thus, the press release acts to locate the problem and solution to the problem of pupil underachievement in schools. The inclusion of the recommendation to create the 'National Service Teacher' acts not only as a trigger to establish the significance of this issue in terms of the nation's security and future prosperity, but also to allow those parents failed by the education system in their youth, that are now failing their children in terms of setting expectations, to exonerate themselves. Thus, the context model applied by the regulator's publicity machine serves to eliminate 'contextual influences' (Mongon, 2013, p. 16) from the discourse; and in doing so, attempts to 'silence critical debate' (Lambert, 2007, p. 160), and eliminate 'profoundly difficult questions for political leaders' (Mongon, 2013, p. 16).

Engaging with Beighton's (2017) notion of liquid management we can see these channels as separate branches of a 'closed circuit' (ibid, p. 605), each generating the appropriate flow of shared knowledge for that part of the system. Flowing through all branches is the notion that schools, and therefore teachers, are 'a problem to be policed and solved' (ibid, 606). Thus, for some educationalists, the launch of this report may have given rise to the *ruminative exploration* (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016) that results in the meaningfulness of their professional identity starting to drain away.

4.4 Applying a Theoretical Lens

The report considers the provision of education in areas of social deprivation from a geographic perspective and highlights the performance of the major ethnicities that make up our society. However, the review fails to take account of the ethnic make-up of these areas or provide any contextual information. For example, the review confirms that since 2007 the levels of attainment achieved at GCSE level has improved for all major ethnic groups and states that:

> Five years ago Bangladeshi and Black African pupils were trailing their White British counterparts. Now Bangladeshi pupils outperform their White British peers and Black African pupils attain at a similar level. In spite of these overall improvements, the attainment of Pakistani and Black Caribbean pupils remains below average (Ofsted, 2013, p. 28)

No account is provided of factors that may have affected the performance of Pakistani and Black Caribbean pupils.

4.4.1 Miah (2012) Forced Integration

In his report (Ofsted, 2013a) Wilshaw suggests that in the areas under review, the 'quality' of schools has been improved through a series of school mergers and the academisation process. However, if we explore the intersections of race, religion and class from a geographic perspective, then we find that in areas not under review, the merger and academisation process may have impacted significantly on the individual's education and well-being. Miah (2012) provides us with an analysis of the impact of the academisation process on the Muslim communities in Burnley, Blackburn, Leeds and Oldham; all towns/cities with significant Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities. Miah begins by establishing that the programme of merging schools with majority ethnic minority or white pupil cohorts in these towns and cities was primarily driven by the notion that threats posed by self-segregating communities, in this instance the Muslim community and the threat of radicalisation and extremism, could be reduced by improving community cohesion. Miah suggests these fears arose at a national level following riots in 2001 in northern towns (Oldham, Burnley and Bradford [city]) that saw Asian youths battle with police; and were underscored by the events of 7/7 and 9/11. Miah's analysis of government and Police authority sponsored reports following these riots (Ouseley, 2001; Ritchie, 2001; Home Office, 2001b) presents the case that the culmination of local and national government refusal to acknowledge the impact of current social policy (Ouseley, 2001), and a pervading belief that 'Asians were being allowed to lead 'parallel lives' (Home Office, 2001b, p. 9)' (Miah, 2012, p. 28), gave rise to the politically held belief that the way to restore order was to engage in a programme of community cohesion. From his extended literature review Miah confirms that underpinning the debate on the need for improved community cohesion was the implicit assumption that 'it is the Muslim community that maintains an illiberal ghettoised and highly traditional enclave within

western societies' (ibid). He reinforces this notion by claiming that Sir Cyril Taylor - a champion of amalgamating education and national security policy, 'advisor to ten successive secretaries of education' (ibid, p. 29), and chairman of the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust (1987 - 2007) - argues that, 'unlike other migrant communities, the Muslim one has yet to be assimilated' (ibid); and 'argues most overtly that Muslims should be integrated into mainstream society through publicly funded, ethnically integrated schools, predicated upon a de-radicalisation imperative' (ibid, p. 30). Thus, Miah (2012) presents us with the notion that in some geographic locations, the programme of school mergers and academisation was underpinned by a politically held belief in the need for 'forced integration' (ibid, p. 30), and in particular, the desegregation of schools.

From his evaluation of school mergers under the school academies programme in Burnley, Blackburn, Leeds and Oldham, Miah highlights the following trends:

> First, schools with a predominant or growing Muslim cohort are either closed down and merged with schools with mainly white intakes, or are closed down, so that the pupils are dispersed throughout the borough. Second, the school merger changes the school boundaries and therefore limits the problem previously caused by the existence of monocultural primary feeder schools, opening up the new school to a broader geographical boundary. Third, the physical location of the new buildings that arise from the school merger is most often in mainly white residential areas. Finally, all of the newly created schools highlighted below have been strongly opposed by local communities and, in the case of two of the schools, there has been an increase in racial conflict (ibid, p. 31)

Miah's observations strongly suggest that the Muslim community has been oppressed and disadvantaged by the programme with parents being denied their right of choice of school; pupils being forced to travel further to get to school; the community being denied access to new facilities; all despite their protests. Miah's (2012) research confirms that as a result of these mergers there was an increase in the number of attacks on Muslim pupils, resulting in increased feelings of insecurity in these communities. Miah captures the intensity of the racial violence Muslim pupils were exposed to when reporting:

> Leeds was one of the first authorities to adopt the school merger approach to desegregation by closing down a second school in the predominantly Muslim area of Holbeck and merging it with a school whose makeup was from mainly white working-class estate in Belle Isle, south Leeds, … In order to attend school in Belle Isle, the Muslim students had to travel regularly from Holbeck ward, thus making them potential targets for racial violence. Their vulnerability intensified, with 'bitter warfare' [(Hutchinson and Rosser, 2005)] and 'rising levels of racial tensions' [(Rosser, 2005)], which culminated in 'full-scale riots' on a number of occasions [(Murphy, 2008)], within and outside the school premises (Miah, 2012, p. 32)

Miah highlights the findings of Peacemaker, a voluntary organisation set up to tackle racism following the riots of 2001, to establish that 'ethnic and religious prejudices were dominant discursive narratives used by pupils to make sense of the changes [mergers]' (ibid, p. 33). However, Miah suggests that 'the most striking revelation' (ibid) to come out of over 1000 interviews with pupils from all schools involved in the mergers considered, 'was that some students felt segregation between schools should be replaced by segregation within schools' (ibid), in order to ensure the safety of different ethnic groups (ibid). If we consider Miah's findings in terms of Kamara's (2017) belief that, 'whenever students' ability to present their preferred identity is threatened, … some attempt to regain their equilibrium by withdrawing from social and academic interactions' (ibid, p. 291), then we must question if a policy of *forced integration*, impacted the attainment of Muslim students; and therefore, consider if attainment per ethnic minority has improved across the country, or just in specific locations e.g. London.

4.4.2 Gillborn et al (2012)

A failure to contextualise the continuing lower than national average performance of Black Caribbean pupils must also be considered remiss. Firstly, in light of the research commissioned by Ofsted that concluded 'black Caribbean boys of all social classes tend to emerge with similar results' (Allen, 2013, p. 14); and secondly, in light of Wilshaw's experience at the Mossbourne Academy, where Ofsted (2010) confirmed a gap between the average attainment across the academy and that of 'Caribbean heritage boys' (ibid, p.

4); this despite *all* pupils at the Mossbourne academy experiencing *the same* level of support (Kulz, 2017).

The report claims that '[t]he difference between the attainment of White British pupils from low income backgrounds and their more advantaged peers is much larger than for any of the other main ethnic groups' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 31). However, through an analysis of the intersection of race, class and gender, Gillborn et al (2012) present a challenge to this claim based on a perspective that may be considered 'subversive and dangerous' (Nicholson and Eagle, 2013, p. 39) by the elite. The research gives voice to people of colour by drawing on the experiences of 62 middle-class parents who self-identified as Black Caribbean. These parents, 80% of whom were mothers, were drawn from 'professional and managerial occupations' (Gillborn et al, 2012, p. 126), and included teachers, child health professionals, a psychologist, an H.E academic and a F.E lecturer. Interestingly, 80% of the sample 'explicitly stated that they preferred' (ibid, p. 127) to be interviewed by the Black Caribbean member of the research team, Dr Rollock; a request that suggests the construction of a mental model founded on previous interactions with educationalists, and a desire to engage with a context model that would allow them to be heard (van Dijk, 2016). Gillborn et al conclude their methodology by stating 'Our research, therefore, questioned people with well paid jobs who have successfully navigated the system' (ibid). Their findings highlight a belief amongst these parents that 'teachers tend to have systematically lower academic expectations for black children (alongside a regime of heightened disciplinary and criticism) regardless of the students' social class background' (ibid, p. 121); and that this threat is greater for Black males. Barbara, a child health professional, highlights the consciousness of black students when recounting a conversation with her son (aged 14) in which he said 'if you are a White kid, you can just be a child. But if you're Black, you're a *Black* child' (ibid, p. 136). The interviews also present us with an understanding that it is not only their children that are exposed to covert forms of racism. One parent suggested, 'I'm chair of governors and they've just no respect. If there's no respect for me, it translates into this for your kids' (ibid, p. 134); while Gillborn et al suggest that because selection and assessment processes that disadvantage Black students are free from 'parental scrutiny' (ibid, p. 130), 'Black middle-class parents have to see through the veneer of pleasantries that often greet them at parents' evening' (ibid). The research team conclude:

> racism remains a potent force in education; social class advantage … does not provide an automatic ticket to success; and, in particular, parental expectations cannot be assumed to be the predominant cause of underachievement in a system where the expectations of *White teachers* continue to exert enormous influence (ibid, pp. 125-126).

Thus, Gillborn et al present us with the argument that despite Ofsted's data suggesting that the attainment gap between advantaged and disadvantaged Black Caribbean students is smaller than that of their white British peers, we cannot accept this finding as a positive for the Black Caribbean community. Instead, we must consider it in terms of the under achievement of middle-class Black students due to 'the difficulty that middle-class Black parents have in drawing advantage from the greater material and cultural capital at their disposal' (ibid, p. 137).

4.4.3 Shah and Shaikh (2010)

An analysis of the images in the report (Ofsted, 2013a) reveals that approximately 43% of the children and young adults e.g. trainees and apprentices, shown were non-white, of which 44% were of Black Caribbean or African heritage and 41% were of Asian heritage; the remaining 15% were either mixed race or fell under the category of *ambiguou*s. In light of Wilshaw's assertion that it is necessary to solve the issue of the underachievement of white working-class children before we can solve the problem for the rest, then we can consider the number of images of non-white children an attempt to mollify the ethnic minority cohort within the elite by reminding them that they have not been forgotten. The analysis reveals that of the adults shown, 87.5% were white. The only image of an Asian male is one showing a Muslim male (assumed based on appearance) being taught to read by a Black female teacher (ibid, p. 86); an image that reinforces the process of assimilation. Thus, through these images the regulator engages with the CRT tenet of interest convergence. A third example of this tenet can be found in Wilshaw's speech (2013b) in which he reminds the elite that:

> There are stark consequences for our nation if we do not act with sufficient urgency and see it through. Extremists of every hue will feed upon the anger and despair of those not in employment and with poor prospects. We will continue to lose our place as a competitive nation and bear the costs of failure (ibid)

The link to the Muslim problematic is clear, with the inference that we must act to solve the problem of student underachievement within the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities. However, the use of the pronoun '*we'* suggests that it is the action of the in-group that will deliver against this threat. By drawing on the work of Shah and Shaikh (2010) we can consider how oppression experienced along the intersections of religion, class and gender, renders those with the potential to have a positive impact on this issue, members of the out-group.

Shah and Shaikh's (2010) work focusses on the lived experiences of Muslim male teachers (MMTs) working in schools located in five London boroughs with significant Muslim student cohorts. Their objective is to establish the perceived barriers to career progression for this group of teachers and contribute to the debate surrounding the issues in the recruitment and retention of teachers; especially those from ethnic minority communities (Basit et al, 2006). Their focus is driven by a void in the research into the impact of religious affiliations on the career progression (Home Office, 2001a) of people from ethnic minority groups; and an understanding that an affiliation to Islam presents different challenges to those affiliated to other faiths. Shah and Shaikh suggest these challenges result from: a belief that Muslims, unlike many faiths groups, 'tend to highlight their religious identity' (Shah and Shaikh, 2010, p. 20; Modood et al, 1997); that 'the interface between the West and Muslims is underpinned by histories of conflict and competing claims' (Shah and Shaikh, 2010, p. 20); and, that in a British context, the complexities of this interface have become 'more sensitive' (ibid) following recent events e.g. the Rushdie affair, 9/11 and 7/7. Most significantly, their work is underpinned by the belief that 'Muslim males are particularly being targeted as terror suspects' (ibid) and '[t]hat this targeting has grave implications for Muslims' employment and career progression' (ibid). The latter is evident in their acknowledgement that during the interview process a number of teachers withdrew from the process 'due to fear of unwanted ramifications at work' (ibid, p. 21).

The research revealed that despite attempts by the government to legislate against discrimination (Race Relations Act 2002 and 2003), all participants confirmed a strong belief that they were discriminated against based on their religious affiliation. Examples of perceived discrimination included teachers being reminded 'this is a secular school – not a Muslim school! (Muhammad)' (ibid, p. 22) and being refused access to continued professional development on the grounds of unsuitability – in the case of Bilal, the head

teacher refused to authorise his application to attend the London Challenge funded course 'Investing in Diversity'; a course that 'was free to all BME teachers working in middle management positions in London state schools' (ibid). One teacher (Karim) confirmed a belief that when the school leadership look at you 'they only see what's on the news, the Taliban or a terrorist and they often feel threatened by you, so you don't get a chance' (ibid, p. 23); while others confirmed a fear of joining 'Muslim teachers' networks due to the constant media coverage of Muslims in connection to undesirable activities (Saeed, 2007) and a fear they would be labelled 'extremists'' (Shah and Shaikh, 2010, p. 23). Shah and Shaikh suggest that the teachers engaging in this study 'generally felt very alienated in the current climate of mistrust of Muslims' (ibid); and shared a perception that 'for a Muslim candidate it was more difficult to get a [leadership] job unless you were a great deal better than other candidates' (ibid, p. 24). One respondent (Balil) claimed 'If you are equal, you have no chance' (ibid). Interestingly, the evidence presented in this work leads to the claim that, 'Due to Islam being more visible in these areas [5 London Boroughs], the structural resistance to visible Muslim male teachers actually emerged as greater' (ibid, p. 26); with MMTs being regarded as teachers of 'BME students only, and not recognised as mainstream staff capable of senior leadership' (ibid). Shah and Shaikh (ibid, p. 29) conclude that:

> A high level of sociological understanding and analysis is needed to foresee the potential dangers in the intentional or unintentional discrimination and marginalisation to which Muslims are being subjected. This particularly applies to male Muslim teachers who could be strong positive role models for Muslim boys. It is desirable that we engage with the barriers to progression of Muslim male teachers to leadership positions with explicit policies and well-defined strategies.

In their conclusion Shah and Shaikh confirm that the research participants recognised the efforts of the government and NCSL to 'promote diversity of teaching staff' (ibid, p. 31), but confirmed there is a need to do more, including: 'monitoring for equal opportunities in selection/promotion of Muslim teachers' (ibid, p. 29); developing and implementing strategies to combat Islamophobia; and, developing and rolling out training programmes for senior leaders for 'managing diversity including faith' (ibid). Shah and Shaikh confirm that the current suite of programmes provided by the government and NCSL to support

diversity does not focus specifically on Muslims and in particular, the 'phenomenon of *Muslimness* in the current political scenario, and its impact on the lives and careers of Muslims, as well as its … far-reaching implications for societal cohesion' (ibid, p. 29); an omission which they suggest 'might widen the divide between Muslim and non-Muslim, signalling risk for future societies' (ibid).

4.4.4 Summary

A first reading of the report suggests a resolute focus on schools as the solution to the problem of the underachievement of all disadvantaged pupils – with notions of inclusivity being offered through the claim that 'the research literature indicates that the strategies that are most successful for one ethnic group tend to be effective for others' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 31); and the inclusion of images containing non-white children. However, a deeper reading using a theoretical lens provided by critical race theory reveals a lack of contextualisation that exposes *the permanence of racism*, and wholehearted rejection of the need to embrace diversity. By failing to engage with the body of academic research available e.g. Miah (2012), Gillborn et al (2012) and Shah and Shaikh (2010), and contextualise the findings and conclusions in the report, the regulator reveals an ignorance of the world (Taylor, 2016): an ignorance that must be considered as constructed through a 'schedule of blindnesses and opacities' (Mills, 1997, p. 19); an ignorance that renders the 'lived experiences' (Taylor, 2016, p. 7) of those on the fringes of society (Bell, 1992; Solorzano and Yosso, 2002) valueless. The discourse underpinning the report, speech and management of the media are imbued with notions of whiteness as property; exemplified by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector's insistence on a focus on the two thirds of white working-class pupils (Ofsted, 2013b) that remain hidden, at the expense of those from ethnic minority groups. The intersectional work of Miah (2012), Gillborn et al (2012) and Shah and Shaikh (2010) provide us with counter-stories to challenge the objectivity of the dominant perspective (Ladson-Billings, 1998). These counter-stories expose the variations in lived experiences of the education system and policy; and therefore, consolidate an understanding that the discourse generated by the regulatory body will be interpreted differently by sections of society due to the construction of different mental models (van Dijk, 2016). Therefore, we are left to consider the potential impact of failing to give voice to the lived experiences of those from ethnic minorities, and failing to give sight of their professional selves, on the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017) in mainstream society and the education system.

4.5 Ofsted Annual Reports: 2013 - 2015

The Unseen Children report (Ofsted, 2013a) clearly sets out Ofsted's stall for improving the education of the disadvantaged. It is established that schools can make a difference and that outstanding leadership and teaching is fundamental to raising the attainment of the disadvantaged. By controlling the messages delivered to educational elites and ultimately the individuals responsible for enacting policy, Wilshaw legitimises his role and that of the inspectorate, and the modus operandi that will underpin this administration. By controlling the messages delivered by the media, especially the need to establish a 'national service' of teachers that will raise standards of education in the 'leafy towns' and remote locations where children remain 'unseen', Wilshaw located the issue in White middle-class England. There appears to be no research into the impact of identifying White British pupils from low income families as the worst performing group. However, a review of the Unseen Children report (ibid) and Ofsted's annual reports for the period 2013 - 2015 (Ofsted, 2013e; Ofsted, 2014; Ofsted, 2015) reveals a move from positive discrimination to almost anonymity. The word count shown in table 1 suggests a negative response to the report's focus that resulted in the descriptor 'White British pupils' being replaced by 'White Children' in the 2012 - 2013 report. Whether this response was intended to placate politicians fearful of a public backlash by hiding the scale of this political failing cannot be proven; however, adopting a 'White Children' label rendered the performance of other White groups e.g. Roma, Gypsy, and Traveller children, invisible. By the end of this period the descriptor 'White British' appears just 4 times, all in one short paragraph that reinforces this group of pupils as the poorest performers amongst the main ethnic groups.

Table 1: Word count in main text and graphs

Search string	Unseen Children (2013)	Annual Report (2012-13)	Annual Report (2013-14)	Annual Report (2014-15)	Annual Report (2015-16)
White British	25	0	7	4	1
White children	0	8	1	0	0
Roma	1	0	0	0	0
Gypsy	1	0	0	0	0
Traveller	1	0	0	0	0
Immigrant	0	0	0	0	8
Black African	8	1	0	0	0
Black Caribbean	8	1	0	0	0
Pakistani	7	1	0	0	0
Bangladeshi	10	1	0	0	0
Indian	7	1	0	0	0
Chinese	7	2	0	0	0
Secular	0	0	0	0	0
Religion	0	0	0	7	6
Faith	0	1	1	7	16
Christian	0	0	0	5	0
Muslim	0	0	0	3	1
Sikh	0	0	0	5	0
Hindu	0	0	0	2	0
Ethnic	26	8	4	3	3

Ofsted establish the legitimacy of their findings and reinforce the threat of inspection in all three reports by publishing a breakdown of the number of inspections carried out during the reporting period. In the 2012-13 and 2013-14 reports the first page contains a graphic clearly showing the number of inspectors per provider type, thus enabling a swift calculation to establish that 36% and 29% of schools were inspected during the respective reporting periods. However, in the 2014-15 report this analysis is relegated to pages 6 and 7, with a letter from Her Majesty's Chief Inspector to the Secretary of State for Education introducing the report taking its place. In his letter Sir Michael Wilshaw confirms the 5000 inspections of primary, secondary and tertiary providers provides 'a unique evidence-base for the conclusions we draw' (Ofsted, 2015, p. 3). If we consider this claim with the more detailed inspection graphics provided on pages 6 and 7, then we can conclude that Wilshaw is establishing Ofsted's legitimacy and authority in understanding the issues associated with the underachievement of the disadvantaged, the growth of single faith schools and providers engaging with the Prevent Duty (HM Government, 2015). However, more significantly, following Gove's replacement as Secretary of State for Education by

Nicky Morgan, Wilshaw found himself reporting to a minister who it was claimed was constantly at loggerheads with her predecessor (Helm and Cowburn, The Observer, 6 December 2014); a man who had bestowed 'hero' status on Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (Wilby, 2010; Kulz, 2017). In the initial stages of her reign Morgan had challenged Gove's legacy, confirming "My task is about listening to what teachers are saying, and saying to them, 'What can we do? Take some burdens away, give you more freedoms?'" (Helm and Cowburn, The Observer, 2014), and establishing her belief in the need to develop 'the additional character skills we all need to get on in life – resilience, grit, self-esteem, self-confidence' (ibid; Kristjánsson, 2014); a belief that was reported as placing skills training at the same level of priority as exams (Paton, Telegraph, 14 December, 2014). Morgan also made explicit the view that 'a rich ethnic mix can drive up standards' (Helm and Cowburn, The Observer, 2014); a conclusion that Wilshaw had failed to acknowledge despite his role in changing the fortunes of London schools. Thus, the early period of Morgan's tenure suggested a period of tension. Therefore, we can interpret Wilshaw's introductory letter as a reminder to the Secretary of State for Education, and other members of the out-group, of his authority and legitimacy of his position. He begins by using the political pronoun *we* to consolidate the notion that the conclusions are those of a group of educationalists who have access to a 'unique evidence base' (Ofsted, 2015, p. 3) and in doing so challenges the legitimacy of her views. He reinforces his authority by reverting to personal pronouns when stating 'I welcome the ongoing improvement in the standard of education' (ibid), and 'but I note that there is a troubling gap …' (ibid). The Chief Inspector then takes the opportunity to remind the Secretary of State that it is not the curriculum, or the issues of character education or ethnic mix that are at the heart of the issue, but that of recruitment when stating:

> My report also emphasises the importance of increasing the number of good leaders and teachers if we are to meet the challenge of securing further improvement in our schools, particularly since many schools and colleges are facing problems recruiting the skilled professionals they need. (ibid)

By informing Morgan that copies of the report can be found 'in the Libraries of both Houses' (ibid), Wilshaw challenges his critics to engage with the evidence; and in doing so demonstrates his belief in policy trajectory and his role in delivering the *improvements* to date. By explicitly citing the locations of the report, he underlines his confidence in the

legitimacy of its contents and a belief in its acceptance in political circles as a foundation stone for policy development. He reinforces his authority by confirming 'I have published reports on social care and early years during the past year' (ibid). Wilshaw closes his letter by concluding, 'I trust that this report will provide useful evidence to inform future policies aimed at securing the very best education for our children and learners' (ibid). Thus, Wilshaw challenges Morgan and his critics to ignore the evidence, and what he, and Morgan's predecessor, *know to be right*; he also sends a warning to those leaders and teachers in the out-group that there will be no change in the regulatory body's modus operandi.

An analysis of the three annual reports reveals a year on year ramping up of the expectations of the in-group in terms of their activities, norms and values; and an increasing vilification of those in the out-group (Olmedo 2017).

4.5.1 Annual Report 2013

In the 2012-13 report (Ofsted, 2013e) Wilshaw states that more schools and academies were acknowledged as good or outstanding this year than last; and confirms that all of those that had improved their inspection grade, had improved their examination results. Thus, by inference the regulatory body equates improved inspection grade with improved exam results. However, the report reinforces the findings of the Unseen Children (Ofsted, 2013a) report confirming that 'White children from low income backgrounds are being left behind' (Ofsted, 2013e, p. 6); and that, 'In too many schools, poverty of expectation for these children is leading to stubbornly low outcomes that show little sign of improvement' (ibid). Her Majesty's Chief Inspector confirms that in *the best schools* mediocre teaching and low expectations were 'routinely' challenged by 'strong leaders and governors' (ibid); and that in these schools '[a] relentless focus by school leaders on the quality of teaching creates a climate in which no child is left behind' (ibid, p. 24); a climate that 'foster[s] open and constructive challenge' (ibid, p. 13). The report highlights that the most successful leaders were visible 'as credible teachers' (ibid) in the class; modelled expected behaviour; 'sought views on their own performance' (ibid); and 'were a source of advice and inspiration for others' (ibid). The report establishes the in-group of teachers as those that: 'always challenge children to do better, minute by minute, lesson by lesson, day by day' (ibid, p.12); 'exude authority and accept neither mediocrity nor work that is less than good' (ibid, p. 12); and, adapt their teaching based on the outcomes of their constant

monitoring of pupil progress. By contrast the report suggests the out-group is underpinned by leadership that is unable to maintain a focus on improving standards of behaviour and teaching and learning; suggesting that these schools frequently have 'a range of underlying weaknesses, including high levels of exclusion and persistent absence' (ibid, p. 6). The report suggests that some leaders had failed to nurture their middle and senior leadership teams, while others had failed to acknowledge 'the world had moved on' (ibid, p. 30) and adapted accordingly.

4.5.2 Annual Report 2014

In the 2013-14 report the inspectorate reinforces the qualities, values and activities of the in-group of headteachers and teachers but extends the challenge to leaders and those aspiring to leadership when confirming they had observed 'examples of headteachers restructuring leadership roles in their school to free themselves up to focus personally on leading teaching' (Ofsted, 2014, p. 24) - a potential outcome of the previous report; and that the best schools 'take advantage of their increased freedoms, using flexibility in contracts to set time aside to train and develop staff properly' (ibid, p. 25). The report confirms that these leaders 'ensure that they have robust management systems to hold staff to account for their leadership and teaching and to track pupils' progress' (ibid, p. 26). Conversely, the inspectorate states that some schools that had failed to improve the quality of teaching and learning had done so because senior leadership had passed accountability for this issue over to middle management, resulting in inconsistency in provision across the school. The report suggests that these schools may also have failed to offer staff professional challenges and provide them with high quality feedback on 'the extent of their subject knowledge' (ibid, p. 25). Ofsted reinforce the legitimacy of their approach by confirming that in the report period primary school lessons judged *good* or *outstanding* had improved from 71% to 82%, while secondary school data had shown a 4% increase.

4.5.3 Annual Report 2015

Ofsted's 2014-15 report begins by proclaiming that '[t]here are now around 1.4 million more children in good or outstanding schools than there were five years ago' (Ofsted, 2015, p. 9). The inspectorate reinforces its role as a key driver in this improvement by confirming percentage increases in the number of lessons at primary and secondary level that were judged *good* or *outstanding*; and reiterating the belief that under performance of disadvantaged pupils was not due to poverty or differences in school funding. The report

increases the demands on the in-group, and those aspiring to the group, by presenting a number of case studies that exemplify the values and activities of the group. More significantly the out-group is broadened to include those senior leaders that fail to consider the performance of disadvantaged pupils a school priority; and those that prioritise the teaching and learning of key stage four and five above that of key stage three, thus resulting in many pupils in years seven to nine falling behind due to weaker teaching, split classes and less well-developed tracking systems (Ofsted, 2015a; Ofsted, 2015b). However, in this report the inspectorate engages explicitly with the notion of developing pupil *resilience*; a character trait identified as missing in many school leavers by parents, employers (SMCPC, 2014), and the new Secretary of State for Education (Helm and Cowburn, The Observer, 2014; Kristjánsson, 2014). In doing so it announces that the development of pupil resilience, and hence teaching founded on *how* and not just *why*, will form part of teaching and learning judgements. Thus, with some schools already engaged in creating a 'can-do culture' as evidenced in the Thurton Church of England Primary School case study (Ofsted 2015a, p. 29) in which pupils 'are unafraid to make mistakes because they know that they will learn from them' (ibid), not only is the pressure on the out-group increased, but also that on members of the in-group.

4.5.4 Discussion

As in the Unseen Children report (Ofsted, 2013a), the regulator fails to contextualise its findings during the period 2013 - 2015. There is no consideration of the level of social deprivation being experienced by some pupils, or of the 'complex set of challenges' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 42; Mongon, 2013) experienced by some schools. Thus, all leaders and teachers working in these environments are publicly stripped of a context which adds meaning to their function. They are excluded from membership of the in-group on the grounds that the challenges they and their pupils face are not accepted in part as valid reasons for pupil under-achievement; instead, their failings are 'repeated repeatedly' (Beighton, 2017, p. 606). In a political system constructed to protect political leaders from difficult questions (Mongon, 2013) and 'silence critical debate' (Lambert, 2007, p. 160), the assumption is that these leaders and teachers have failed to engage with the activities, norms and values of the in-group, and therefore, have failed in their roles as leaders and educators to demonstrate the resilience demanded by the regulator. However, the activities, values and norms of the in-group result from policy discourse e.g. Ofsted annual reports,

that make ‘sets of ideas obvious, common sense and ‘true’’ (Ball, 2008, p. 5); that ‘mobilise truth claims and constitute rather than simply reflect social reality’ (ibid); and result in the ‘’one-size-fits-all’ model for the ‘transformation’ and ‘modernisation’ of public sector organisations and systems’ (ibid, p. 42). These sets of ideas are ‘mobilized, secured and recursively regenerated through the actions of willing, participating citizens’ (Olmeda and Wilkins, 2017, p. 575) e.g. subjects of case studies; with subjects being at liberty to choose their own path in their bid to secure their needs and aspirations (ibid). We are reminded that in this marketplace the challenges of implementation are ‘strategically unbalanced and weighted towards the side of the producers’ (ibid) e.g. the subjects of case studies; and that the market place is underpinned by a neoliberal belief that the market is a ‘fair space’ (ibid) where ‘consumers cannot lose’ (ibid). The unbalanced nature of risk espoused by Olmedo and Wilkins (2017) is primarily due to a lack of contextualisation. Thus, due to the constant threat of inspection and the enduring fear of being publicly exposed as failing, many school leaders and teachers pursue choices premised on the notion of achieving ‘a minimally stable and secure position’ (ibid, p. 576) despite a lack of contextualisation; possibly underpinned by an acceptance of Blair’s mantra that ‘what matters is what works’ (Ball, 2010, p. 87); and a belief that compliance will secure a more favourable judgement. However, we must also consider that despite being publicly stripped of a *meaningful* context, some leaders and teachers in schools that are judged as *Requires Improvement* or *Inadequate,* will refuse to sacrifice the activities, values and norms that underpin the ‘commitment, judgement and authenticity’ (Ball, 2003, p. 221; Beighton, 2017) of *their* practice. These individuals will find it difficult to engage effectively in maintaining the ‘relevant definition of the situation’ (Goffman, 1959, p. 108) that is demanded of the team player. It is these leaders and teachers that continually find themselves in ‘unstable and unsecure territory’ (Olmedo and Wilkins, 2017, p. 576); and, in attempts to manage the challenges of *performativity* (Ball, 2003) find themselves driven to weave a web of *fabrications* (ibid; Perryman, 2009; Perryman et al 2018). It is the need to present a united front in the acceptance of ‘certain moral obligations’ (Goffman, 1959, p. 207) and live with the ‘sweet guilt of conspirators’ (ibid, p. 108) that may result in them questioning their identity as educators (ibid). It is this *ruminative exploration* (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016) of current identity commitments (Simi et al, 2017) that may challenge a sense of meaning in their professional life (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016), promote feelings of vulnerability (Luyckx et al, 2014), and result in the breakdown of the individual’s construction of a meaningful identity.

The ramping up of expectations year on year not only poses a threat to those publicly acknowledged as members of the out-group i.e. those working in schools judged as *requiring improvement* or *inadequate*, but also threatens the membership of those currently in the in-group. Firstly, there is the explicit threat to group membership. For example, in 2013 Ofsted (2013a) issued a warning to all schools currently judged as *outstanding* that they would be re-inspected if they were 'not doing well by their poorest children' (Ofsted, 2013c); while in 2015 the regulator issued a warning to those schools that prioritise the teaching and learning of key stage four and five above that of key stage three (Ofsted, 2015a). Both warnings attack the culture of 'survivalism' (Ball, 2010, p. 45) and the acts of 'self-interest' (ibid) that underpin it. Secondly, there is the implicit threat delivered through case studies which establish behaviours deemed exemplary at the time, as the expected (Ball, 2008). Both types of threat will have resulted in some schools and individuals being faced with a new set of performative challenges that will have resulted in the generation of a more finely constructed web of fabrication, and greater engagement with the art of simulation (Page, 2017). For some, these threats will have given rise to the *ruminative exploration* that potentially leads to the breakdown of a meaningful identity (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016; Luyckx et al, 2014).

In order to consider how Ofsted's mediation of policy has impacted the development of resilient leaders, teachers and learners, we must consider McMahon's (2007) rudimentary questions: 'resilient for what purpose, and resilient according to whom?' (ibid, p. 49). Therefore, we will first consider an answer from the perspective of the policy mediator; second, from the perspective of the leader and teacher; third, from the perspective of the learner; and finally, from those not imbued with the *property of Whiteness*.

4.5.4.1 Resilience - An Ofsted Perspective

Having set out its stool through the 2012 school inspection frameworks (2012a; 2012b; 2012c) and its vision statement (Ofsted, 2012d), the regulator has evolved a discourse through the managed roll out of the Unseen Children report (2013a), and the annual reports from 2013 to 2015 that establishes 'the agenda by which successful school practice is measured' (Perryman et al, 2018, p. 147), and thus normalises the activities, values and norms (van Dijk, 2016) which are deemed to be socially acceptable (Perryman et al, 2018). Perryman et al conclude from their school-based research that those subjected to power, i.e. leaders and teachers, 'internalise expected behaviours and learn these behaviours

through acceptance of a discourse' (ibid, p. 147; Beighton, 2017). Thus, through this process of normalisation the regulator establishes the behaviours of the 'effective school' (Perryman et al, 2018. P. 147). However, as Perryman (2006) reminds us, due to the regime of 'panoptic performativity' (ibid, p. 152), which she defines as 'the regime within which teachers and schools can successfully demonstrate their acceptance of the Ofsted and school effectiveness discourse and successfully normalize' (ibid), these behaviours are not only given agency during inspection by the regulator; but enacted constantly due to a 'system of 'terror'' (Ball, 2010, p. 49) that is ever-present. Thus, the hegemonic discourse of Ofsted promotes the notion that resilience is about adapting practice to meet the expectations of the regulator, whether they are present or not (Courtney, 2016; Perryman, 2006). However, this adaptation of practice is no longer restricted to those working in schools judged as *requires improvement* or *inadequate* who are *failing* to set the expectations that will lead to improved attainment amongst White British children from areas of social deprivation; but has been extended to those working in schools previously judged as *good* or *outstanding*. The regulator's belief in this notion of resilience is underpinned by the year on year improvement in metrics during this period, and the case studies featuring the exemplary activities of 'willing, participating citizens' (Olmeda and Wilkins, 2017, p. 575) presented. Therefore, from the regulator's perspective we may conclude that their mediation of policy has resulted in the development of resilient school leaders and teachers; albeit, too slowly.

4.5.4.2 Resilience - A Leader and Teacher Perspective

Kaplan (2006, pp. 31 – 32) reminds us that the 'socially defined desirable outcome may be subjectively defined as undesirable, while the socially defined undesirable outcome may be subjectively defined as desirable'; and suggests that '[i]f the outcomes were not desirable, then the ability to achieve the outcomes in the face of putative risk factors would not be considered resilience' (ibid, p. 31). Thus, we are drawn to McMahon's (2007) argument that because the desired outcome is established initially through the hegemonic discourse of the regulator, 'resilience often becomes another name for acquiescence or compliance and, consequently, another venue for dominance to persevere and reconfigure itself' (ibid, p. 51). However, if we build on McMahon's notion that resilience is a 'bridge that exists between risk and desirable outcomes' (ibid) and consider the bridge in relation to Kaplan's (2006) notion of subjectivity and desirability, then we are faced with two extremes in a continuum when considering the self-construction of the resilience or

compliant individual. For those leaders and teachers that view the socially desirable outcome as desirable, the enactment of the discourse presented by Ofsted to overcome the perceived risk (McMahon, 2007) will give rise to a belief in them demonstrating the characteristics of resilience. However, we must remember that 'adversity is additive over time' (Norman, 2000, p. 4). Therefore, in a period characterised by 'moving goalposts' (Courtney, 2016, p. 624) that has seen a shift from the surveillance of the 'norm certainties' (Perryman et al, 2018, p. 156) to the surveillance of 'fuzzy norms' (ibid) – a shift from panopticism to post-panopticism (Courtney, 2016) – individuals face an increasing number of challenges that they need to overcome, potentially resulting in 'more likely maladaptive, rather than resilient, outcome[s]' (Norman, 2000, p.4); and consequently, the need to engage more in the processes of fabrication and simulation (Perryman et al, 2018). Thus, it is likely that more and more leaders and teachers are 'liv[ing] out his [or her] conspiratorial career in some furtiveness' (Goffman, 1959, p. 108); and being weighed down by increasing levels of guilt (ibid) that results in them being drawn into *ruminative exploration* that potentially leads to the breakdown of a meaningful identity (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016; Luyckx et al, 2014). For those that do not view the socially desirable outcome as desirable, then depending on the individual's context (Norman, 2000), the enactment of policy as mediated by Ofsted through simulation and engagement in the fabrication process is essential in a bid to *survive* in the current climate. Thus, the individual demonstrates compliance; he or she will adjust their behaviour to 'conform to such standing rules as are prescribed' (Bentham, 1791, p. 22: quoted in Courtney, 2016. P. 626).

4.5.4.3 Resilience – A Learner Perspective

The notion of pupil resilience was explicitly introduced in the 2015 School Inspection Handbook under the criteria for *outstanding* teaching, learning and assessment. The criterion read:

> Pupils love the challenge of learning and are resilient to failure. They are curious, interested learners who seek out and use new information to develop, consolidate and deepen their knowledge, understanding and skills. They thrive in lessons and also regularly take up opportunities to learn through extra-curricular activities (Ofsted, 2015c, p. 53)

The criterion is problematic in that it is a judgement about the child and not the actions of the teacher; however, the inference is that teachers will build this personal character where children are not imbued with it. An exploration of the issues underpinning this criterion is beyond the scope of this research; however, it is worth considering whether pupils are given the opportunity to demonstrate a conception of resilience. Part of teaching is encouraging children and young adults to explore possibilities, to construct and de-construct knowledge and develop their own understanding; all of which takes time. The performativity regime has created an environment, driven by fear (Ball, 2010; Perryman et al, 2018), which has resulted in a need to focus on achievement against performance targets; thus, as discussed above, teachers operate in a climate underpinned by the notion of surveillance where, as Troman (1997) suggests, 'inspectors are the absent presence in the school' (ibid, p. 349). Therefore, teachers and leaders engage in a culture of simulation (Perryman et al, 2018; Page, 2017) and fabrication (Ball, 2003). By engaging in the process of simulation the teacher bids to ensure they are 'exemplifications of the Teachers Standards, exceeding the minimum requirements at all times' (Page, 2017, p. 11), and as Page concludes:

> teaching has become a simulation – not in the general sense of being a rehearsal – but in the sense that the simulation has replaced what the profession once considered real with its notions of autonomy and individual judgement (ibid)

Therefore, it is likely that many children and young adults labelled at school as being *resilient*, are denied the opportunity to develop and/or demonstrate *real* resilience to failure due to teachers engaging in a culture that necessitates the crafting of learning experiences that do not sufficiently challenge the child or young adult; but ensure the illusion of progress. Thus, through its mediation of policy and the creation of this 'system of 'terror'' (Ball, 2010, p. 49), the regulator has created an environment that does not promote the development of learner *resilience to failure*.

4.5.5 Resilience - Applying a Theoretical Lens

A review of the images (see table 2) presented in these reports (Ofsted, 2013a; Ofsted, 2014a; Ofsted, 2015a) reveals that at least 81% of the children shown, in part or whole, are white; while 97% of the adults included, assumed to be teachers and teaching assistants, are white (see table 3). This is in stark contrast to the percentage shown in the Unseen

Children report (Ofsted, 2013a). Of the thirteen images showing teacher - pupil interaction, only one child being engaged directly by a teacher is not white; while only three of the 22 children in teacher interaction images are not white. Therefore, through the selective use of images, the reports reinforce a notion that white children are the focus of the issue of under achievement and that white elites and educationalists will solve the issue. This belief is encapsulated in one image (Ofsted, 2015a, p. 81) in which 14 staff, all white, are receiving training from *a more experienced* white educationalist; an educationalist not dissimilar in age and appearance to the Her Majesty's Chief Inspector. The image would appear to be linked to a case study presented on meeting the need for more English and mathematics teachers; a link that potentially reflects the OECD's negative report of UK provision in these subjects (Beighton, 2017). If so, then we are left with the suggestion that the teaching of English and mathematics is the domain of White British teachers. The selection of images with the occasional non-white child and adult (see table 3) serves to present a picture of inclusivity and diversity, but only acts to hide the permanence of racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Table 2: Frequency of images of pupils by colour or ethnicity

	Annual Report (2012-13)	Annual Report (2013-14)	Annual Report (2014-15)	Total	Percentage
White	60	22	65	147	81
Black	1	2	3	6	3
Mixed Race	2	1	3	6	3
Asian	6	2	13	21	12
Ambiguous	1	1	0	2	1
Total	70	28	84	182	100

Δ The descriptor *Ambiguous* has been used when there is insufficient quality of image to determine if the subject is White

Table 3: Frequency of images of teachers/teaching assistants by colour or ethnicity

	Annual Report (2012-13)	Annual Report (2013-14)	Annual Report (2014-15)	Total	Percentage
White	4	4	21	29	97
Black	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed Race	0	0	0	0	0
Asian	0	0	0	0	0
Ambiguous	0	0	1	1	3
Total	4	4	22	30	

Δ The descriptor *Ambiguous* has been used when there is insufficient quality of image to determine if the subject is White

In the 2012-13 report the only reference to individual ethnic minority groups is restricted to data labels in Figure 8 (Ofsted, 2013, p. 25). The chart clearly highlights the disparity between the performance of disadvantaged White British pupils and those from the main ethnic minority groups; it also identifies the gap between White British advantaged and disadvantaged pupils being bigger than that of any other ethnic group. In presenting this disparity the inspectorate fails to acknowledge the activities, norms and values (van Dijk, 2016) that may have underpinned the perceived better performance of these ethnic groups e.g. Gillborn et al 2012; in particular, the report fails to consider why Chinese students eligible for free school meals outperform White British pupils not eligible for this benefit. Instead, the inspectorate focuses on the *characteristic* actions of another out-group - leaders and teachers in failing schools - reinforcing the belief that 'In too many schools, poverty of expectation for these children is leading to stubbornly low outcomes that show little sign of improvement' (Ofsted, 2013, p. 6); and in doing so provides more evidence of the permanence of racism. In promoting the 'overwhelmingly positive' (ibid, p. 11) response to the introduction of its monitoring visits for those schools judged as *requires improvement*, Ofsted present a sample of quotes on actions being taken by schools. One governor confirms that the governing body will not only request pupil progress data for each year group, but 'I will also be asking for this to be split between groups of pupils – boys and girls, free school meals, more able pupils and so on.' (ibid, p. 11). Although the context of this particular school is not provided, it is assumed the selection of this quote is in keeping with rendering ethnicity neutral.

In the 2013-14 report the term ethnic appears just four times, twice as a descriptor for groups within society and twice when comparing the poor performance of White British pupils against their ethnic peers. But once again despite acknowledging '[t]he success of disadvantaged children from a variety of different ethnic backgrounds shows that family income alone does not have to be a barrier to achievement' (Ofsted, 2014a, p. 15), the inspectorate fails to consider the activities, norms and values that may have underpinned this level of performance; once again the regulator fails to engage with the notion of counter-storytelling and perpetuates the charge of racism. The report confirms that in many schools, low level disruption impacts negatively on teaching and learning, and therefore by implication pupil progress and attainment. The report cites the findings of Ofsted's research (Ofsted, 2014b) into the impact of low-level disruption; however, the analysis presented in the report titled *Below the Radar: Low-level disruption in the country's*

classrooms, does not contain an ethnicity component, therefore no comparison of behaviours across ethnic groups is possible. The report also fails to contextualise the data and fails to give voice to those whose behaviour may be the consequence of racist activity e.g. Asian children in merged schools. Therefore, the issue of poor behaviour is rendered ethnicity neutral and those in the out-group are denied an opportunity to establish through the act of counter-storytelling any activities, norms and values. We are left to consider that low level disruption is caused by all underperforming advantaged and disadvantaged pupils.

The 2013-2014 report extends the out-group to include those independent schools that are failing to conform to the statutory standards defined by the Department of Education. In a thinly veiled reference to the alleged Operation Trojan Horse involving schools in Birmingham and the inspectorate's subsequence investigation, the report confirms that a number of schools inspected were failing to deliver a 'broad and balanced curriculum' (Ofsted, 2014a, p. 12); while others had failed to meet the requirement to 'encourage pupils to respect the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (ibid). Despite not explicitly raising the issue of potential radicalisation of pupils, the inspectorate identifies schools in Birmingham as failing to deliver a curriculum that 'contributes to the social, moral, spiritual and cultural development of pupils' (ibid, p. 18) and prepares them for life in a multi-cultural society. By establishing the link between 'schooling, integration, de-radicalisation and the Muslim problematic' (Miah, 2012p. 29) in the annual report, the regulator engages with the notion of differential racialisation and not only reinforces the position of the Muslim community in the out-group; but, reminds elites in the field of education to be wary of the threat that is now present in schools. This is evidenced, again by inference, in the inspectorate's *Advisory note* to the Secretary of State for education in which Wilshaw writes:

> In culturally homogeneous communities, schools are often the only places where children can learn about other faiths, other cultures and other styles of living. All maintained schools and academies, including faith and non-faith schools, must promote the values of wider British society. If this does not happen, the principles that are fundamental to the well-being of our society will not be transmitted to the next generation (Ofsted, 2014c, p. 8)

In the note Her Majesty's Chief Inspector engages in the act of storytelling, claiming that 'Some headteachers reported that there has been an organised campaign to target certain schools in Birmingham in order to alter their character and ethos' (ibid, p. 2); with some schools struggling to 'resist attempts by governing bodies to use their powers to change the school in line with governors' personal views' (ibid). Thus, the activities, norms and values of this out-group are extended. The 2013-14 Ofsted report does not provide evidence of what a broad and balanced curriculum consists of, nor does it provide exemplification of best practice in terms of embedding Fundamental British Values (FBV); therefore, we are left to assume that schools judged good and outstanding i.e. those in the in-group, are delivering on both counts and therefore preparing pupils for life in modern day Britain. The perceived scale of the problem was evidenced in November 2014 when the DfE issued non-statutory advice requiring all maintained schools to promote FBV (DfE, 2014); an act that suggests the stereotyping of a community that 'requir[es] close monitoring and repression' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 9; Smith, 2016).

The impact of the Trojan Horse scandal can be seen in Ofsted's 2014-15 Annual report. There is a focus on the religious character of schools with data confirming the make-up of each classification of school by religious ethos. The report establishes the demand for these schools confirming that policy is focused on the needs of a multi-faith society. The inspectorate emphasises this point by highlighting '[t]he creation of Sikh free schools, for example, has almost doubled the number of Sikh schools in England' (Ofsted, 2015, p. 85). The regulator then engages once again with the notion of *differential racialisation*; this time exemplifying the achievements of a school with a Sikh ethos. The case-study presented is on a school located in Birmingham that is 'providing an excellent quality of education for its pupils' (ibid, p. 86). The case study confirms:

> The Nishkam Primary School in Birmingham that moved from requires improvement to outstanding in just over 18 months, because of its high-quality leadership and very strong governance arrangements. This multi-faith school with a Sikh ethos encourages high standards in everything the school does. The school ensures that pupils develop a strong awareness of living in a multicultural country and know about British values. They learn about democracy through holding elections for positions of responsibility, with candidates preparing their own manifestos. They understand the need for rules and that individuals have

> responsibilities to others as well as their own rights. They have a strong code of conduct through which they respect all others, whatever their background (ibid).

The case study reinforces the activities, norms and values of those aspiring to be members of the in-group e.g. high-quality leadership and the teaching of FBV. However, if we consider the use of the pronoun, *they*, then we must consider that these pupils are still considered members of the out-group (van Dijk, 2016).

In the section titled *Promoting British values, preventing radicalisation and protecting children*, the regulator presents two more case studies that exemplify the regulator's expectations. The first is a case study of an independent Jewish faith special school, it confirms:

> The school serves pupils whose special educational needs cannot be met in a mainstream school, and its aim is that they 'blossom into self-motivated productive members of British society'. British values are continuously being reinforced through the innovative Kovod Habriyous curriculum, which encourages pupils to always show respect to others, regardless of religion, culture or lifestyle, as prescribed by the Torah … The headteacher works harmoniously with all staff to ensure that pupils are provided with a rich range of learning experiences and activities. (ibid, p. 95).

The second case study is of an independent Muslim school for boys located in Lancashire, it confirms:

> The aim of the school is to produce talented individuals who play a positive role in their communities and become exemplary British citizens. Leaders regularly review the excellent quality of learning activities on offer to ensure that these best prepare students for their future economic well-being and for life in modern Britain. Students develop high levels of appreciation and respect for different cultures, traditions and customs. For example, religious education includes good attention to developing students' understanding of major world faiths. Pupils are given a broad general knowledge of public institutions and services in England and are taught to respect the civil and criminal law.

> Students respond very quickly to the school's high expectations regarding behaviour and blossom into caring young citizens who want to take their place in modern Britain. The distribution of Christmas cards in the community promotes the development of strong community relations (ibid, p. 96).

The case studies set expectations for other faith schools on what can and must be achieved in order to be considered part of the in-group. By including these case studies, the regulator engages with the notion of *interest convergence*. Their inclusion is a direct result of the need to counter the threat of radicalisation and potential extremist activity. By exemplifying a school with a Sikh ethos, and by implication, the Sikh community; the regulator establishes the principle that fundamental British values are accepted, understood and enacted by sections of the Asian community. The acknowledgement reinforces a belief that the Sikh community has assimilated and is by nature a peaceful community. The selection of a Sikh school located in Birmingham and a Muslim school in Lancashire is used to firmly locate the immediate threat in Muslim schools in Birmingham. The inclusion of the case studies from the Jewish and Muslim schools confirm that despite a widely held belief that peoples of these faiths fail to, or find it difficult to, assimilate (Miah, 2017), they do.

Immediately following the Muslim school case study, the inspectorate explicitly reminds us of 'the prevalence of extreme views and practices in a number of Birmingham schools' (ibid); and therefore, by implication reinforces the notion that it is schools with a Muslim ethos that pose the most serious threat to society. By confirming that, despite these schools being re-constituted, both of the schools re-inspected had failed to improve their overall performance grade, the inspectorate reminds that we must remain vigilant to the threat posed by this community. In reminding the reader that the Secretary of State had written to all schools regarding this threat early in the year, the inspectorate confirm that this threat is not limited by geography. Ofsted consolidate the notion that the Muslim community is at the heart of the issue by considering evidence collected from inspections of independent and 'suspected' unregistered schools. The inspectorate confirms that in the last year 10 independent schools had failed to meet the requirement to actively promote Fundamental British Values, stating that common concerns included: school links to individuals 'associated with extremist views and actions' (ibid, p. 97); a failure to engage with the Prevent Duty, 'even where they had specifically been made aware of risks to pupils'; and

finally, that in some of these schools, pupils were segregated by gender, resulting in unequal access to school facilities for girls and boys. The evidence from the inspection of unregistered schools includes: a failure to ensure that all staff have passed the appropriate Disclosure and Barring Scheme (DBS) checks; a failure to provide a broad and balanced curriculum; and finally, that one of the schools had links to 'an individual associated with extremist views' (ibid, p. 98). Though not explicit, the evidence presented is designed to identify the key threat. The scale of the threat from this section of society is emphasised by the inspectorate in its warning that 'In 2015/16, Ofsted inspectors will be paying particular attention to compliance with the Prevent strategy and counter extremism strategy as part of safeguarding, leadership and governance' (ibid, p. 97).

4.5.5.1 Resilience – A BAME Leader and Teacher Perspective

In addition to the challenges posed by the post-panoptic era, the BAME leader and teacher face additional challenges to the maintenance and development of a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017) that result from a discourse that does nothing to shatter the structures that make oppression based on race, ethnicity and culture, permanent. A review of the discourse reveals a lack of non-white faces; exposes a failure to contextualise the results of the main ethnic minority groups; brings to light that activities, norms and values of ethnic minority groups are only exemplified when it is in the interest of the dominant group; and confirms the linking of education, radicalisation and the Muslim problematic (Miah, 2012). Ultimately, direct access to the discourse will bring clarity to an understanding that policy, as mediated by the regulator, is focused on raising the expectations and achievements of the two-thirds that matter – 'poor White British boys and girls' (Ofsted, 2013b) and minimising the threat posed by the Muslim community; an understanding that may give rise to the ruminative exploration that leads to the fracturing of the meaningful identity constructed by the individual (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016; Luyckx et al, 2014).

These leaders and teachers may also experience the racism permeating the discourse of policy, as it is enacted by individuals in its passage from the macro to micro level van Dijk, 2016). For example, leaders, teachers and students that 'highlight their religious identity' (Shah and Shaikh, 2010, p. 20), in particular, Muslims, may find themselves in an environment where policy discourse has led to the entrenchment of the notion that Muslim male teachers pose a threat to society, and therefore have their career prospects restricted

(ibid). Leaders and teachers of colour may also have experienced challenges to the meaningfulness of their identity when considering what has not been considered in the discourse. For example: Muslim leaders and teachers may be aware of the impact of the school mergers and academisation programmes on the Muslim communities in Burnley, Blackburn, Leeds and Oldham (Miah, 2012), and consequently not consider these programmes as successful; while teachers with a Black Caribbean heritage may work in an environment where 'teachers tend to have systematically lower academic expectations for black children' (Gillborn et al, 2012, p. 121), and where Black middle class parents of these children are unable to gain from 'the greater material and cultural capital at their disposal' (ibid, p. 137).

Thus, we can conclude that there are additional challenges for the BAME leader and teacher in the battle to develop and maintain a meaningful identity. Therefore, if we apply the notion that a meaningful identity is a 'powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114), then we must consider that BAME leaders and teachers will struggle to be resilient even if they find the socially defined outcomes defined by the regulator, desirable (Kaplan, 2006).

4.5.5.2 Resilience – A BAME Learner Perspective

As discussed previously, children and young people labelled at school as being resilient, are being denied the opportunity to develop *real* resilience to failure at school. However, for children and young people of colour there are also additional challenges to the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity. If we return to the three pieces of research founded on the CRT tenet of intersectionality reviewed previously, then we can develop an understanding of the challenges presented. First, Miah (2012) establishes the belief that in enacting the political imperative of 'forced integration', it is the schools with a majority or increasing cohort of Muslim students that are closed and merged with schools with a predominantly white intake. This means that these Muslim children must travel to schools in 'mainly white residential areas' (ibid, p. 31), where they are potentially subjected to an increased threat of racial abuse and violence. Other challenges to their identity include: the potential loss of access to cultural role models (Shah and Shaikh, 2010); the loss of relationships which help underpin the development of resilience (Benard, 1995; Pianta and Walsh, 1998); and a growing realisation that they are perceived as a threat to society (Miah, 2012; Shah and Shiakh, 2010). The work of Gillborn et al

(2012) brings to light the understanding that Black Caribbean children are conscious that teachers treat them differently from white children in terms of academic and behavioural expectations. If we accept Kamara's (2017) notion that, 'whenever students' ability to present their preferred identity is threatened, … some attempt to regain their equilibrium by withdrawing from social and academic interactions' (ibid, p. 291), then we must consider that, in these contexts, the additional challenges presented will impact the development of a meaningful identity and ultimately inhibit the development of a *resilience to failure* at school.

4.6 Ofsted Annual Report 2015-16

In his final introductory letter, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector endeavours to capture the impact of his tenure by confirming that this year's findings result from 'a unique evidence base' (Ofsted, 2016, p. 3) consisting of almost 25000 inspections; and that the education system has 'improved considerably over the past five years' (ibid) with '1.8 million more pupils attending good or outstanding maintained schools than in August 2010' (ibid). In doing so he justifies the inspectorate's modus operandi. The report provides a review of the improvements made during this regime; confirming that provision at early years, primary and secondary had improved; and reinforcing that this improvement was due to the activities, values and norms of an in-group, that have now evolved to include leaders who have 'designed, led and evaluated a curriculum that catered well for the needs of different learners and offered choices at 16 that met pupils needs well' (ibid, p. 65). The report suggests that schools that improved during this report period 'did so by focusing on the professional development of teachers and middle leaders' (ibid, p. 22). The report also acknowledges the persistence of an out-group - an oblique reference to those schools stuck in a cycle of inadequacy and requiring improvement - when suggesting that 'on the whole', those working in the education system have 'responded well to these higher expectations' (ibid, p. 9). The regulator *repeats* (Beighton, 2017) the characteristic practice of this group when suggesting these 'Leaders do not make effective use of meetings with staff, quality assurance observations or training, to drive up the quality of care, learning and development that children receive' (ibid, p. 33); while 'Staff do not know how best to support children's learning' (ibid). Thus, Her Majesty's outgoing Chief Inspector reinforces his unwavering belief that 'Exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people' (Ofsted, 2013b). By continuing to rachet up the pressure on schools judged as *requires improvement* or *inadequate* and failing to engage

with the context of these schools, the regulator condemns them to failure; and in doing so, continues to challenge the meaningfulness of the identity of these leaders, teacher and learners.

4.6.1 Applying a Theoretical Lens

The report confirms that once again White British pupils eligible for free school meals were the worst performing of the major ethnic groups; therefore, reinforcing this group as the group of main concern. Again, the results of the different ethnic groups are not published, and therefore the need to consider reasons underpinning any variance in the performance of 'other' groups is avoided. Thus, from the perspective of ethnic minorities, the repeated failure of the regulator to give voice to those of colour reinforces notions of racial oppression. However, in this report Ofsted use the notion that 'there was virtually no gap' (ibid, p. 17) between the performance of the UK's non-immigrant children and first-generation immigrant children eligible for free school meals - an uncommon occurrence in most of Europe - to promote the notion that:

> Schools are great forces for social cohesion. Whatever cultural tensions exist outside of school, race and religion are not barriers within them. In the main, schools aim for all children to be taught equally and for all children to benefit equally. We forget to notice what an incredible achievement this is: that schools are the places where different communities integrate (ibid, p. 17)

Therefore, we are presented with the notion that the in-group is creating a system, founded on Fundamental British Values, in which all children *benefit*. This is evidenced in an analysis of images contained within the report. Non-white Children account for 25% of the children images in the report; a 6% increase on the total percentage for the three years previous. Three images include 4 females wearing what is assumed to be Muslim headwear. The first is contained in a multi-culture montage on the front cover of the report, while the second image showing a white teacher and female Muslim students engaging in a light-hearted moment is presented on the contents page (ibid, p. 5). The engagement with FBV and the principle of assimilation is evidenced in the sole image of an ethnic minority teacher who is wearing a Remembrance Day poppy (ibid, p. 52); while the notion of social cohesion is reinforced by an image at the end of Wilshaw's final commentary which shows

three students, one black, one white and one Asian, listening attentively to their teacher (ibid, p. 19).

By promoting the performance of first-generation immigrant children; claiming our 'schools are great forces for social cohesion' (ibid, p. 17); and providing a range of images that suggest inclusion and diversity (an act underpinned by interest convergence), the Inspectorate seeks to bury any accusation of institutional racism. However, despite confirming that the vast majority of faith and non-faith schools are engaging with the requirement to promote FBV, we are reminded of the 'notable exceptions' (ibid, p. 18) located in Birmingham that were at 'the centre of the so-called 'Trojan horse episode' (ibid) in 2014. The regulator confirms that fears persist amongst Headteachers in the area, of continued attempts to 'destabilise these schools' (ibid) and asks for political and educational support to help these headteachers 'in resisting any attempt to sow suspicion, insularity and division' (ibid). In doing so, the regulator reinforces the *truth* of the threat posed by the Muslim community (Miah, 2017), as a specific lingering threat (Crawford, 2017) – this, despite a lack of evidence to support the Trojan Horse conspiracy (House of Commons, Education Committee, 2015, p. 2; Smith, 2016; Miah, 2017). The regulator then returns to a familiar metaphor claiming that some children 'are being hidden away from local authorities and other agencies in unregistered schools' (Ofsted, 2016, p. 18); claiming that these schools are taking advantage of a parent's right to home-school their children. He confirms that these schools 'are associated with particular faith groups' (ibid) and that these children are subjected to a 'restricted faith-based curriculum and are often left woefully unprepared for modern life', leaving them at 'greater risk of exposure to indoctrination, radicalisation and extremism' (ibid). Thus, at the end of his last HMCI commentary, Wilshaw emphasises the continued existence of a Muslim threat to society; he reiterates 'We need them to be vigilant and to intervene swiftly when risks to cohesion – either in schools or in the wider community – arise' (ibid). The use of the pronoun 'them' identifies the staff at these schools as members of the out-group or *other* (Miah, 2017), with the implication being they can only secure their position in the in-group by acting as 'instruments of surveillance and defenders of the white hegemonic order' (Crawford, 2017, p. 197). By emphasising this need the regulator justifies its response to 'the so-called 'Trojan Horse' episode' (ibid) - this is evidenced by confirmation that two of the schools at the centre of the episode were 'no longer in special measures and were judged good' (ibid, p. 115). Wilshaw ends his commentary by confirming it will take more

than a commitment to shared values to establish a 'strong and cohesive' (ibid, p. 18) society, confirming that:

> It is also dependent on people feeling that they have an equal stake in society and an equal opportunity to make the best of their talents and get on in life. The best way – indeed the only way – we can do this is by ensuring that we have an education system that works for everyone, regardless of their background, their ethnic and cultural origin (ibid)

It is clear from this quote that Her Majesty's Chief Inspector believes that, during his tenure, the regulatory body has strived to create an education system that works for all. However, the application of a lens founded on giving voice to the oppressed reveals that the regulatory body, has failed to 'understand the world that they themselves have made' (Taylor, 2016, p. 4); a failure founded on a 'schedule of structured blindnesses and opacities' (Mills, 1997, p. 19). Consequently, many in this sector from a BAME background have been subjected to additional challenges to the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity (Beauregard et al, 2017).

4.7 Education Policy Trajectory 2016

In this section I consider those elements of the government's 2016 Education White Paper I believe have the biggest impact on my research questions. A review of the White Paper titled *Educational Excellence Everywhere* confirms that government policy does not veer from the course set by Mrs Morgan's predecessor (Brundrett, 2016). In her foreword to the White paper Morgan confirms that 'Over the course of the last Parliament we put in place bold reforms to drive up standards in schools' (DfE, 2016b, p. 3); and thanks the thousands of teachers, headteachers and governors, whose hard work in implementing policy has resulted in 'huge progress' (ibid) being made, with the outcome being that 'schools today are better than ever before' (ibid). Thus, Morgan sends a clear message to the out-group - a policy focused on locating responsibility and accountability as near the front line as possible and ensuring a process of collaboration between institutions to ensure the improvement of those schools struggling to meet expectations, works. In doing so she reinforces the new government's belief that the solution to the problem of underachievement of disadvantaged children and young people lies within the education system. The Secretary of State confirms that the government will focus on 'building on

and extending our reforms to achieve educational excellence everywhere' (ibid); and consolidates the point by confirming:

> Where great schools, great leaders and great teachers exist, we will let them do what they do best – helping every child to achieve their full potential. Where they do not, we will step in to build capacity, raise standards and provide confidence for parents and children (ibid)

Morgan confirms that during the period of this plan all schools will become academies; thus, enabling all schools to 'harness the opportunity that greater autonomy provides' (ibid, p. 4), e.g. 'ensuring a strong, *diverse pipeline* of leaders' (ibid, my emphasis). However, the Secretary of State delivers a warning to all when affirming that 'Autonomy will be both earned and lost, with our most successful leaders extending their influence, and weaker ones doing the opposite' (ibid).

As well as highlighting the perceived success of government policy, the Secretary of State acknowledges that 'there still remain too many pockets of educational underperformance – areas where too many young people miss out on the chance to benefit from the best possible education' (ibid, p. 3); a situation she describes as 'deeply unfair' (ibid). By making this claim the minister challenges members of the out-group to engage with their conscience and consider the impact of their failure to engage with policy. The minister later confirms that 'we will place a sharp new focus on areas of the country where standards are unacceptably low and where chronic underperformance is compounded by a lack of capacity to improve' (ibid, p. 4); thus, reaffirming the belief that the solution to this issue lies within the education system. In the White paper the Secretary of State clearly sets expectations of all teachers and leaders. After evidencing the 'huge progress' (ibid, p. 3) made during the previous administration, the minster establishes the notion that *excellence* is underpinned by schools setting 'unapologetically high expectations for all children' (ibid, p. 8); and acknowledges that 'This country's best schools and highest performing areas already show us how relentlessly ambitious we can and should be for children from all backgrounds' (ibid). To establish the notion of everywhere, the minister confirms:

> Wherever they live, whatever their background, prior attainment or needs, every child deserves a high quality education. We will do more to support communities where underperformance has become entrenched

> and ensure they can learn from the areas, leaders and schools that have made such impressive progress over the last five years (ibid)

In a section titled *Outcomes not methods* (ibid, p. 9), the minister confirms the position that outcomes matter more than methods; and that it places its trust in enthusiastic leaders who 'should be able to use their creativity, innovation, professional expertise and up-to-date evidence to drive up standards' (ibid). Thus, the minister appears to offer teachers and leaders the opportunity to demonstrate their resilience. However, the minister follows on with the warning that whilst not focusing on methods, the government 'will hold them to account for rigorous, fairly measured outcomes' (ibid).

In a section titled *Increasing diversity in leadership* (ibid, p. 49), the minister acknowledges that 'Recruiting the best candidates into leadership positions is impossible unless you tap into the widest possible pool of talent' (ibid). The minister acknowledges the importance of this opportunity for those schools in the most challenging circumstances; she confirms:

> So we need to do more to release the full potential of our diverse leadership talent pool, including groups under-represented in leadership (like women, people from black and minority ethnic [BME] backgrounds, and lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender [LGBT] teachers) (ibid)

The Secretary of State confirms that currently 'only 3.2%' of headteachers are from a BME background, while BME teachers account for 7.3% of the workforce; and that 37.1% of secondary school headteachers are females, while females account for 75.2% of all classroom teachers. The minister acknowledges there are several factors that make 'these groups less likely to become leaders in education' (ibid), confirming that for females these include:

> overt and unconscious discrimination at the time of appointment; women being stereotyped into 'caring' pastoral roles; women's lack of confidence in their own abilities to apply for promotion; and the real and perceived difficulties about part-time and job-share working (ibid)

However, no factors are offered to justify the lack of BAME leaders - this despite the obvious similarity in factors. Therefore, the government fails to acknowledge and engage with the spectre of oppression as evidenced in research such as Shah and Shaikh (2010). Instead, the minister confirms that the issue is located in these groups when stating the government will be 'funding activity aimed at groups who are under-represented in leadership positions, like women and LGBT candidates and those from a BME background' (ibid) - there is no consideration of the need for system wide training to counter the prejudice that exists. Significantly, the order of the groups may suggest an underlying notion of group prioritisation.

In a chapter titled *High expectations and a world-leading curriculum for all* (ibid, p. 88), the secretary of State confirms the continuing rollout of the revised national curriculum (2013); and reinforces the belief that its design 'will maximise pupil understanding and minimise confusion' (ibid, p. 89), and ensure teachers have 'professional autonomy over how to teach' (ibid). However, the minister confirms:

> we also want academies to use their freedoms to innovate and build more stretching and tailored curricula, to meet the particular needs of their pupils or their local area or the particular ethos of the school (ibid)

In reinforcing the benefit of autonomy, Morgan appears to offer leaders and teachers the opportunity of engaging with the local context.

Throughout the paper the Secretary of State reaffirms the need to engage with evidence-based research to improve standards and outcomes. The minster confirms 'We will continue to work in partnership with the Education Endowment Foundation [EEF] to expand its role in improving and spreading the evidence on what works in education' (ibid, p. 39). Thus, Morgan establishes the EEF as the authority on *what works* in education; and confirms that 'while it will maintain a clear focus on disadvantaged pupils, the evidence it presents will be relevant and beneficial for all pupils' (ibid). The minster goes on to confirm the expansion of the EEF's role to include the support of evidence-based teaching and character education e.g. the development of resilience to failure. But most significantly, the Secretary of State confirms 'it [EFF] will undertake additional communications to highlight the broad applicability of its work to *all pupils and schools'* (ibid; my emphasis). Thus, Morgan reinforces the notion of a compliance culture.

Finally, Morgan reinforces the government's drive to improve the standard of initial teacher training; confirming that greater rigour will be placed on content 'with a greater focus on subject knowledge and evidence-based practice' (ibid, p. 28). But most significantly from the perspective of my research question, the Secretary of State confirms:

> We will continue to move to an increasingly school-led ITT system which recruits enough great teachers in every part of the country, so that the best schools and leaders *control which teachers are recruited and how they are trained* (ibid; my emphasis)

4.8 A New Era - Annual Report 2016 - 17 (Ofsted, 2017)

The report begins with the now customary letter to the Secretary of State for Education in which Spielman, new Chief Inspector, legitimises the finding of the inspectorate by confirming they come from approximately 26,000 inspections and, significantly, additional research and analysis carried out. Spielman is clear to allay the fears of those critical of her appointment (Commons Select Committee, 2016) by confirming that she is 'entirely committed to supporting improvement and raising standards for children and learners, regardless of their circumstances or where they live in the country' (ibid, p. 3). In acknowledging the key objective of her role, Spielman acknowledges the achievements of the 'very many professionals' that are members of the in-group, and in doing so reinforces the existing challenge to the out-group.

In this report the new Chief Inspector reiterates the belief that schools in challenging circumstances can deliver an outstanding education. Spielman cites the relentless drive of the leadership teams at two schools that has resulted in these schools moving from judgements of *requires improvement* in 2014 to *outstanding* in 2017. In doing so Her Majesty's Chief Inspector extends the activities, norms and values of the in-group by confirming schools that 'are best at preparing children for Year 1 are *going beyond* the framework [statutory framework for the early years' foundation stage] and setting more challenging targets' (ibid, p. 8; my emphasis). Thus, Spielman appears to be following the path set by her predecessor. However, the report explicitly acknowledges that the 'chronic underperformance' of some schools may result from 'systemic barriers to improvement' that have resulted from a failure to deal with 'local needs' (ibid, p. 10); and acknowledges

the potential of the Government's 'Opportunity Areas' programme to address these needs. By doing so, the inspectorate recognises the need for the education system to engage with partners in order to foster improvements in standards of education, and ultimately, levels of social mobility. This need is exemplified by the Independent Chair of Bradford Opportunity Area partnership board, who states:

> Through the Opportunity Area, we are bringing together Bradford's best headteachers, its world-leading researchers, local voluntary sector and international business partners, all committing to work together with national and local government to deliver this plan (Canning, 2017, p. 6).

Spielman concludes her commentary on failing providers by claiming that where schools have failed to secure the significant and lasting improvement required, '[w]e need to better understand why this is and what we might do differently when this happens' (Ofsted, 2017, p. 10). For many, this call for a better understanding of contextual factors represents a challenge to the legitimacy of the previous regime's judgements; while the use of 'we' suggests the regulator will be more disposed to working with, rather than simply judging schools. However, most significantly, the regulator heralds a change in socially shared knowledge that may lead to a shift in the activities, norms and values of both the in-group and the out-group; and present to many, the opportunity to re-construct a more meaningful identity. By making this statement Spielman offers those in the out-group the opportunity to demonstrate resilience rather than compliance. This notion is reinforced by the Chief Inspector who suggests that:

> when Ofsted endorses something, it can lead to professionals adopting it whether it is the right approach for their context or not. This can lead to an approach where people tick boxes or comply *without thinking independently* about what is *best for the people they serve* (ibid, p. 20; my emphasis).

4.8.1 Applying a Theoretical Lens

A review of the images contained in the report reveals an increase in the percentage of non-white children included moving from 25 to 29%; however, more significantly, the images attempt to create a picture of inclusivity with 72% of the images containing children showing a diversity of ethnicities. This notion of inclusivity and diversity is

emphasised by the image on the page immediately facing the HMCI's commentary which shows an Asian child with an adult in a headscarf; and is reinforced in the next image which shows a black student in a headscarf. However, the images presented also contain elements of stereotyping with one image showing three black boys playing the bongo drums, one showing four white pupils learning to play the keyboard/piano, and another showing 10 white ballet dancers.

In her commentary Spielman acknowledges the diversity of cultural beliefs and norms that underpin society and that parents want their children's education to be underpinned by these beliefs and norms; but emphasises the message that 'the effective functioning of British society depends on some fundamental values as well as a culture of mutual tolerance and respect' (ibid, p. 8). However, Spielman leaves out the right to individual liberty, and effectively enacts, consciously (Youdell, 2000) or unconsciously (Gillborn, 2016), the principle of *Whiteness as property* by refusing the activities, values and norms of non-whites the 'privileges of normativity' (Bonnett, 1997; quoted in Gillborn, 2016, p. 46). This tenet is further evidenced in her concerns over the activities of some faith schools. For example, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector confirms that a growing number of 'conservative religious schools' (ibid) are 'deliberately choosing' (ibid) not to engage with these fundamental values, and that the resulting tension is leading to the creation of 'illegal schools that avoid teaching the unifying messages taught in the vast majority of schools in England' (ibid). Spielman confirms that these schools 'seek to isolate young people from the mainstream, do not prepare them for life in Britain or, worse, actively undermine fundamental British values' (ibid, p. 15); the report substantiates the size of the problem by confirming that 291 possible unregistered schools have been identified since January 2016, with 38 being issued warning notices and 34 closed; while others remain under investigation. The report confirms that within the state education system some schools are promoting values and beliefs shared by the community the school serves that clash with equality laws and FBV; the Al-Hijrah School in Birmingham is offered as evidence of this growing concern. Despite not referencing any perceived potential of indoctrination, radicalisation and extremism, by exemplifying this school, its perceived activities, norms, values, and its location, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector reminds us of the potential threat posed to society by the Muslim community. By confirming that a number of Christian, Jewish and Muslim schools in the independent sector had been judged less than good due to a failure to comply with safeguarding standards and the need to promote shared values,

the inspector reminds us that Faith schools in general are a potential threat to society. Spielman closes her commentary on *shared values* by reinforcing the need for adherence stating:

> the British values of democracy, tolerance, individual liberty, mutual respect and the rule of law are the principles that keep society free from the radical and extreme views that can often lead to violence (ibid, p. 16).

However, despite the regulator's earlier call for a better understanding of local needs and the need to work in partnership, the report fails to give a voice to those of colour; for example, the voice found in reports published by the Muslim Council of Britain (2015) and Demie and Mclean (2015). However, more striking is its failure to hear the voices that underpin the findings of parliament's Social Mobility Commission report (SMC, 2017) titled, *The Social Mobility Challenges Faced by Young Muslims*; a failing that immediately brings into question the regulator's adherence to these values.

4.8.2 Focus for the following Academic Year

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector concludes her commentary by announcing the key areas of focus for the coming year, these include: engaging in research into why some schools are 'trapped in cycles of underachievement' (ibid, p. 20) in order to determine what 'we, and others, might need to do differently' (ibid); identifying how 'some of the best faith-based institutions meet their obligations under equalities law, in a way that is in line with their religious beliefs' (ibid); and, significantly from the perspective of this research, the Chief Inspector confirms that the focus on reducing the 'burdens of inspection' (ibid) is acknowledgement that, 'inspection should not create a compliance culture or put up barriers to achieving excellence' (ibid). Thus, in her first annual report, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector offers school leaders and teachers a vision of a future that for many will restore a belief in the meaningfulness of their professional identity. However, for those from BAME communities, the additional challenges to the meaningfulness of their identities remain.

4.9 Annual Report 2017-18

Despite emphasising in her last report that the current model of regulation should not engender a compliance culture, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector legitimises the findings

presented by confirming in her introductory letter that they are 'underpinned by evidence from over 30000 inspections' (Ofsted, 2018, p.3); and that 'We should be proud of the achievements of all the many professionals who have this year delivered a good, and often improving, standard of education and care' (ibid). Thus, the audience is reminded that the number of inspections is ever increasing; and that to be valued in this profession you need to be part of an organisation that is at least judged *good*. The growing threat of inspection is heightened by the positioning of inspection statistics at the start of each section e.g. Early Years inspection statistics form the introduction to the Early Years section.

In what appears to be an attempt to bolster the spirits of teachers, Spielman begins her commentary by drawing attention to the positive responses she has witnessed in relation to the use of research and proposed changes to the curriculum. Her first point is to suggest that the education sector can no longer be criticised for 'not making enough use of evidence and research to improve their practice' (ibid, p. 7). She confirms that this criticism 'may have been valid in the past, but our conversations this year show that this is now far from the truth' (ibid). Spielman confirms 'I have been struck by how enthusiastically teachers, … are discussing and debating how to improve their practice on the back of evidenced-based research, including Ofsted reports and surveys' (ibid). In her second point Spielman acknowledges the 'really positive response to the focus we are bringing on the substance of the education - the curriculum' (ibid), and confirms that across all sectors, 'there is a real understanding that we need to regain our focus on substance' (ibid). In making these acknowledgements Her Majesty's Chief Inspector offers teachers the prospect of a more meaningful identity. At a first reading, this introduction suggests that teachers are, at last, doing the right thing: they are engaging with Ofsted reports and surveys; they are discussing and debating what works; they are engaging with the notion that '[w]hat is taught matters' (ibid, p. 26). However, her apparent enthusiasm for the responses she has witnessed in the past year must be challenged on two fronts: firstly, on the basis of their legitimacy; and secondly, on their potential to develop the meaningfulness of a professional identity.

The legitimacy of the chief inspector's first point must be explored in context. This can be done by considering what Spielman means by 'in the past'; and 'to improve their practice'. In the case of the former, if Spielman is referring to the Wilshaw era, which would appear a natural conclusion as her comment is based on 'conversations this year', then we are faced with an acknowledgement that school improvement was driven by the

implementation of practices and processes that had been proven to work, practices and processes disseminated by 'successful' leaders and exemplified in Ofsted reports and studies. The regulator's reporting during this era clearly established the activities of the in-group as being based on what was known to work and therefore did not need researching; therefore, given a lack of context, resulted in the tick box compliance culture identified by Spielman in her previous report (Ofsted, 2017, p. 20). Having acknowledged the existence of this culture and established the issue of stuck schools, it would appear the chief inspector is acknowledging the uniqueness of each school and the need to re-engage teachers with intellectual processes. However, Spielman's central comment poses questions that will potentially impact on the development of a more meaningful identity. First, what does 'improv[ing] their practice' mean - is this about improving pupil attainment or developing pupil understanding and their resilience to failure? Second, does the comment 'on the back of evidence-based research' suggest the foundations of an anti-intellectual structure will remain intact? Although this comment does not preclude the exploration of the teaching theories and those that underpin teaching and learning e.g. Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs respectively, the emphasis remains on *what works* and not what the barriers to teaching and learning are e.g. poverty. Finally, the chief inspector exemplifies Ofsted reports and surveys as resources used by teachers; and therefore, reinforces the model of school improvement evolved by the previous regime. This argument is supported by the change in frequency of explicit referencing of Ofsted research as 'our research'. Between 2013 and 2016 this identifier was used only twice, while in her first two reports Spielman has used it 12 times.

By acknowledging that in 'in recent years' the substance of the curriculum 'has lost out to performance tables and data in the priorities of many in the sector', the chief inspector effectively confirms that the compliance culture established during the previous regulatory regime has resulted in a less than rigorous education for all pupils, despite improvements in inspection outcomes and year on year exam results. She consolidates this notion by confirming that 'Across all the sectors we inspect and regulate, there is a real understanding that we need to regain our focus on substance'. In doing so, Spielman attempts to engage with teachers on a common understanding that '[w]hat is taught matters' (ibid, p. 26). By using the pronouns 'we' and 'our' Spielman establishes that it is everyone's role to re-establish the curriculum as a key component of providing a rigorous

education for all. This is confirmed in her rallying call that 'all of us need to do more to return our focus to that real substance of education' (ibid, p. 26). The use of 'regain' and 'return' offer the notion that teachers have been forced down a path from which they can now return. Spielman offers teachers assurance that this initiative will take hold by confirming the Education Inspection Framework to be launched in 2019 will 'rebalance inspection to take more account of what is taught' (ibid, p. 26). She concludes the section by stating:

> The framework will reward nurseries, schools and colleges that are doing the right thing by their children and learners, particularly the disadvantaged, and providing a rigorous education to all. It will move the focus of leadership away from progress data, arbitrary tracking of pupils' scores and all the workload that those create for staff, and instead will allow teachers to get on with their core role: designing the curriculum, sequencing knowledge, ensuring mastery and improving learning: in short, teaching pupils and making sure they learn the right things (ibid, p. 26).

Clearly there are a number of questions to be considered when reviewing the inspectorate's vision; for example, who decides what the *right things* are? However, for many teachers in both the in-group and out-group, this statement offers them the possibility of re-engaging with a more meaningful identity.

In this report not only does Her Majesty's Chief Inspector infer that the modus operandi of the previous regime was at the heart of issues including the degradation of the curriculum and the establishment of a compliance culture; but she also revokes the previous regime's assertion that schools must act as surrogate parents. She states '[w]e cannot expect nurseries and childminders to do the parents' jobs for them, and neither can we expect schools' (ibid, p. 20). Spielman emphasises the importance of the role of the parent and declares that '[r]ather than expecting educational institutions to pick up the jobs of parents, parents must step up here' (ibid, p. 20). By doing so, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector signals a break from the key tenet of the previous regime. The regulator builds on the notion that schools can only do so much by confirming care and education providers must work with outside agencies, e.g. the police and health services, to tackle wider social issues. Thus, the regulator offers many the prospect of a more meaningful identity. However, the report

conceals a tension in policy mediation. Despite the explicit acknowledgement in her first report that some schools *stuck* in a cycle of 'chronic underperformance' (Ofsted, 2017, p. 10) may face 'systemic barriers to improvement' that have resulted from a failure to deal with 'local needs' (ibid, p. 10), the chief inspector suggests '[w]e need more outstanding schools and school leaders to help these stuck schools' (Ofsted, 2018, p. 8); and in doing so, reinforces the compliance model she challenged in her inaugural annual report. The regulator goes on to confirm that they will be working with the DfE to determine 'what they [stuck schools] can do to improve' (ibid, p. 29); there is no mention of collaboration with outside agencies or departments responsible for other areas of social policy. The report goes on to confirm that 'stuck schools are more likely to have become academies and to be in multi-academy trusts (MATs)' (ibid, p. 45); with the implication being that more will follow as a consequence of the DfE's recently released 'principles for a clear and simple accountability system' (DfE, 2018, p. 4), in which the department confirms it remains 'committed to academy conversion as a positive choice for schools and will continue to aid conversion as it has done previously' (ibid). The regulator confirms that:

> MATs now generally take responsibility for making many significant decisions, not just about the financial management of schools but also what is taught in them and how it is taught and assessed (Ofsted, 2018, p. 25)

From the perspective of the leader and teacher working in a MAT, and those threatened with academisation, this statement presents a threat to them being an *active* component in developing the core activities that will result in 'making sure they [pupils] learn the right things' (ibid, p. 26). For some this statement will reinforce the notion of being trapped in a 'system of 'terror'' (Ball, 2010, p. 49), a system underpinned by the principle of compliance. This notion is fortified by the regulator's decision to stagger the MAT inspection process which will enable *head office* to manage the shifting of goalposts (Courtney, 2016), fabrication (Ball, 2003) and simulation (Page, 2017) that characterises post-panoptic performativity (Perryman et al, 2018; Page, 2017).

4.9.1 Applying a Theoretical Lens

A review of images contained within the report reveals 38% of children included are non-white, an increase of 9% on the previous report. However, there is only one image of a non-white teacher/adult; and that figure is located deep in the background of the image. As

with last year's report, the images present a picture of inclusion. Notably, the content's page is headed by the image of two female students, one white and one non-white - potentially Asian - working together, while the full-page image preceding the HMCI's commentary shows a white female adult caring for a young child presumed to be of mixed race. Notably, there are no images suggesting stereotyping; however, there are two images that not only present the notion of inclusivity, but also of assimilation. The first image shows a teenage white girl and teenage Asian boy, a Sikh, climbing a mountain wall frame as part of a P.E. lesson. The second image shows what is assumed to be the school band/section of orchestra with two Asian heritage pupils, one playing a brass instrument. However, despite this focus on inclusivity, diversity and assimilation, there are no images of females in headscarves as there were in the last two reports; this can be interpreted as reinforcement of Spielman's support for a Headteacher who in January 2018 banned the wearing of the hijab. Following the school's board of governor's decision to overturn the ban, Spielman confirmed in a speech at the Church of England schools conference that:

> I want to put on the record my full support for Neena Lall, the headteacher of St Stephen's school in Newham, and her leadership team, … Schools must have the right to set school uniform policies as they see fit in order to promote cohesion. It is a matter of deep regret that this outstanding school has been subject to a campaign of abuse by those who want to undermine the school's position (Adams, 2018)

Despite this apparent focus on inclusivity, diversity and assimilation, the selection of images opens the regulator up to charges of enacting the tenets of *interest convergence* and *whiteness as property*, as well as failing to uphold the Fundamental British Value of *individual liberty*.

In her commentary Her Majesty's Chief Inspector reminds us of the regulator's constant pursuit of unregulated schools that 'circumnavigate legal loopholes in order to operate' (Ofsted, 2018, p. 8); and confirms that some children in these settings 'are at risk of radicalisation' (ibid). Spielman emphasises the importance of the issue by confirming the 'first successful prosecution of an unregistered school led to convictions in October this year' (ibid); and stressing that 'legislation needs to be strengthened so that these settings can be closed down and others deterred from operating them' (ibid). In the section titled *Unregistered schools* the report builds the case for the strengthening of legislation. The

report confirms that approximately 240 settings were investigated as potential unregistered schools. The authors claim they have spoken to young people that have attended these settings and who have subsequently left them 'unable to read English and without basic mathematical skills' (ibid). They also state that '[w]e also know that some of these settings are operated by those with fundamentalist religious beliefs. That means that children in these settings can also be at risk of radicalisation' (ibid). The regulator confirms that the Al-Istiqamah Learning Centre in Ealing was the first unregistered school to be prosecuted after failing to cease operation once served with a warning notification by the regulator. Ofsted consolidate the significance of this landmark judgement by announcing 'the courts recognised our serious concerns about these types of settings and sent a clear message to all those running them that, if needed, we will prosecute them' (ibid, p. 21). In concluding this section of their report, Ofsted confirm that the 'unregistered schools taskforce has undoubtedly made good progress' (ibid), despite having to engage 'in a game of cat and mouse' (ibid) with the many settings; 'particularly faith settings such as yeshivas and madrasas' operating 'on the cusp of the law by exploiting loopholes in definitions' (ibid); specifically, the terms *education* and *full-time*. The discourse clearly perpetuates a link between education, radicalisation and the Muslim problematic (Miah, 2017); but also establishes Judaism as a significant concern at a time when notions of antisemitism permeate mainstream politics. By confirming the creation of a *taskforce* and the act of *engagement*, the regulator implies the threat has increased significantly. However, despite committing to 'highlighting how some of the best faith-based institutions meet their obligations under equalities law, in a way that is in line with their religious beliefs' (Ofsted, 2017, p. 20), the regulator fails to provide case studies or anecdotal evidence. Instead, it announces that in 2018-19 the regulator will investigate, in partnership with the faith inspectorates of religious education:

> what it can look like when schools with a declared faith successfully navigate potential conflicts between equality legislation and how they teach their beliefs and express them in their ethos and practices (Ofsted, 2018, p. 28).

At no point does the regulator contextualise the problem or give voice to these communities e.g. Muslim Council of Britain (2018) and British Muslims for Secular Democracy (2018); and therefore, is guilty of maintaining its racist foundation.

4.10 Lived Experience and Mediation of Policy

The analysis carried out suggests that the *lived experiences* of the incumbent chief inspector has influenced the mediation of policy. Wilshaw's lived experienced contributes to a tenure underpinned by a belief that 'exceptional schools can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people' (Ofsted, 2013b, p. 5); schools in which leaders and teachers 'often become surrogate parents' (ibid). The beliefs espoused by Wilshaw are initially legitimised and given authority by the *hero status* conferred on him by leading politicians (Wilby, 2010; Kulz, 2017) following his *success* as a super-head; in particular, at the Mossbourne Academy. As a result, his tenure is characterised by: a failure to consider the context of a school; the sanctioning of a restricted curriculum (Ofsted, 2013; Ofsted, 2008) in order to improve attainment; and the evolution of a culture of post-panopticism (Courtney, 2016; Perryman et al, 2018). Wilshaw's unapologetic approach to driving standards up is reinforced in the conclusion to his final report in which he says:

> I look forward to watching my successor work with ministers and the government to uphold this organisation's strong track record of using accountability to improve the education and skills – and therefore the life chances – of the next generation (Ofsted, 2018, p. 19)

In contrast, Wilshaw's successor does not have teaching experience, although she has experience of the education sector having been Director of Research and Policy at the Ark chain of academies (Gov.UK, 2018). Prior to her appointment, Spielman had accrued more than 15 years of experience in strategy consultancy and finance and investment for global organisations including KPMG and Kleinwort Benson (ibid). Therefore, it must be considered very likely that she developed mental models underpinned by the need to engage with the notion of contextualisation. This is evident in her acknowledgement that the 'chronic underperformance' of some schools may result from 'systemic barriers to improvement' that have resulted from a failure to deal with 'local needs' (Ofsted, 2017, p. 10). Her desire to engage with context and expand the organisation's research beyond the boundaries of performativity is evidenced by her discussions with leaders and teachers regarding the need to regain a focus on substance; and re-engage with a more intellectual process to improve practice (Ofsted, 2018). We can conclude that, by perpetuating the mental model that achieved his hero status, Wilshaw engaged in a discourse that acted to intensify the *terrors* of this post-panoptic era; while Spielman, by engaging with the notion

of context, challenges the prevailing socially shared knowledge and offers actors potential respite from the panopticon, and the opportunity to engage in a discourse and practice that has the potential to lead to the (re)construction of a more meaningful identity. However, it must be considered highly likely that, due to the government's policy of academisation, these opportunities will be restricted to those working in academies within MATs that have the *best* leaders and teachers, specifically, those leaders and teachers that are models of compliance and therefore responsible for driving up standards across the trust.

Chapter 5.0 Conclusion

From the perspective of the state, policy as mediated by the school's regulator has resulted in the development of resilient leaders and teachers in that a system is created, through the compliance of its members, that results in the improved metrics that justify government policy. This *improvement* is achieved within the boundaries of education policy by effectively managing the minds of relevant actors, e.g. leaders and teachers, through the legitimisation of socially shared knowledge. Ofsted, as regulator of education policy ultimately constructs, disseminates and legitimises this knowledge. The legitimisation process is underpinned by a discourse that embeds the notion that this knowledge is a result of the activities, values and norms of leaders and teachers devoted to overcoming the barriers to improving educational outcomes for all young people. This is exemplified in a case study in which an Assistant Principal confirms that his school makes sure that 'the right kids have the right intervention at the right time with the right people' (Ofsted, 2013a, p. 35). Thus, this process establishes *good* and *outstanding* practice as the result of a consciousness that is underpinned by an integrity that locates the learner at the heart of agency.

Ofsted's annual reports are used as a principle vehicle in the dissemination of this knowledge. By sharing the attitudes, ideologies, norms and values of *good* and *outstanding* schools, and perpetuating a regime characterised by post-panoptic performativity, the regulator acts to influence discourse and interaction at a micro level to ensure this knowledge is propagated and ultimately embedded throughout all education establishments and society in general. The result of this process has been the annual ramping up of expectations of leaders and teachers and the evolution of an environment in which it is almost impossible for the practitioner to escape the bonds that restrict their freedom to share or practice what they believe is in the best interests of their charges. Therefore, many leaders and teachers are forced to engage with the processes of fabrication (Perryman et al, 2018) and simulation (Page, 2017) in order to survive and maintain or develop any self-interests. For some, the challenge posed by these processes, e.g. pretence and the feelings of guilt that a accompany being part of an unspoken conspiracy, will lead to the *ruminative exploration* (Negru-Subtirica et al, 2016) that results in the de-construction of the meaningfulness of their identity due to a growing realisation that there is no longer a moral link between their professional identity and their professional values. As a consequence, these individuals either accept what they believe to be the inevitable and become the

compliant individual, or, take the decision to leave the profession or stand their ground and wait to be managed out of it. It must also be noted that policy and the discourse underpinning it e.g. Morgan's confirmation that 'We will continue to move to an increasingly school-led ITT system … so that the best schools and leaders control which teachers are recruited and how they are trained' (DfE, 2016b, p. 28) ensures that more and more teachers are created compliant.

Despite Spielman's attempt to focus on contextualisation, both regimes fail to hear the voice of subordinated peoples, and therefore fail to understand the world they have created. They are, as I have shown, both guilty of acts underpinned by the principles of interest convergence, differential racialisation and whiteness as property; and therefore, are guilty of preserving the racism that for so long has infested the education system. In the case of the regulator's portrayal of the Muslim community, this guilt goes beyond the act of preservation. From 2014 the regulator's discourse has contributed to the construction and maintenance of 'certain 'truths'' (Miah, 2017, p. 101) about the Muslim community; this despite the House of Commons Education Committee (2015) failing to find evidence to substantiate the claims of a plot to take over schools in Birmingham; and being highly critical of the Department of Education and Ofsted's response to the alleged conspiracy. At no point in the annual reports analysed does the regulator in any way acknowledge the Education committee's findings; nor does it consider that schools should engage with research and guidance that has long been available on understanding the needs of Muslim pupils e.g. DfEE (2000), Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (2004), Muslim Welfare House Trust (2004) (an organisation sponsored by the Home Office Race and Equality Unit); and Muslim Council of Britain (2007). Instead, the regulator has maintained a singular and rigorous focus on the establishment of Fundamental British Values to counter the perceived threat of radicalisation in schools. As a consequence of these actions and failings, leaders, teachers and learners from ethnic minority groups are further impacted by an environment that renders their lived experience illegitimate and valueless. Thus, leaders, teachers and teacher trainees from BAME groups experience an additional set of challenges to the meaningfulness of their identity; challenges that present barriers to their career progression and may account for them leaving the profession; challenges that may be contributing to school-based training programmes e.g. School Direct, not being able to recruit sufficient numbers of teachers from an ethnic minority

background; challenges that result in many trainees from BAME communities failing to complete their initial training.

In the case of the BAME learner, not only are they subjected to teaching practice that fails to promote a resilience to failure (Ofsted, 2015); but many experience the racism that challenges the value and importance of their identity as learners in the education system. It is a racism that manifests itself in many ways, including the conscious and unconscious enactment of the notion of *whiteness as property.* My analysis reveals several examples of this tenet, including the failure to consider:

- why the attainment gap between advantaged and disadvantaged Black Afro-Caribbean young people is smaller than that of White young people
- male Muslim teachers as key role models in the fight against radicalisation
- that for some communities, e.g. the Muslim communities of Blackburn, Burnley, Oldham and Leeds, the academisation process has not been a success.

Therefore, in response to my first research question[3], we can conclude that Ofsted's mediation of policy conceals the spectre of White privilege; and presents a truth that denies the legitimacy of the plurality of interpretations to be found in a diverse society. If we accept Beauregard et al's assertion that a meaningful identify is 'a powerful source of resilience' (ibid, 2017, p. 114), and that many leaders and teachers from all main ethnic groups have been denied such an identity due to the regulator's mediation of policy, then we must accept that the regulator has failed to develop an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy. Instead, we are left with the notion that membership of the in-group is dependent on the property of Whiteness and compliance, rather than resilience.

In response to my second research question[4], the application of a theoretical lens provided by critical race theory has revealed that the regulator has failed to hear the voice of subordinated peoples; and is guilty of acts underpinned by interest convergence and differential racialisation. The enactment of these critical race theory tenets is not restricted to the mediation of education policy, as demonstrated by the Windrush scandal and the continued construction of the Muslim community as a *suspect community* (Hickman et al, 2011) e.g. Williamson (The Independent, 2017) and Rudd (Travis, 2017). Therefore, we

[3] To what extend does Ofsted's mediation of policy reflect an inclusive approach to developing resilience as a policy strategy?

[4] How far does this mediation reflect contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics?

can conclude that Ofsted's mediation of policy reflects contemporary issues in racially-inflected identity politics.

Finally, the analysis has shown that by ramping up expectations year on year, the regulator has evolved a culture in which teachers operate under continuous surveillance; a culture that has reduced teaching to an act of deception. As a result, many learners have been denied the challenge required to develop a *resilience to failure* (Ofsted, 2015). This belief is supported by research carried out by the Education Policy Institute who claim the gap between the 'persistently disadvantaged [the unseen children] and advantaged' (Hutchinson et al, 2018, p. 13) at the end of Key Stage 4 in 2017 was 23.4 months (ibid) – a gap very similar to that recorded in 2011 (ibid). The renewed focus on developing learner character and resilience (DfE, 2019), and its positioning as one of the top three priorities of the DfE (Gov.UK, 2019), strongly suggests that the English education service is failing to deliver a workforce for the future that will secure the economic prosperity of the nation (DfE, 2010). Thus, my analysis reveals a tension between Ofsted's mediation of policy, and the government's stated objective of reforming education to allow *every* child to 'shap[e] their own destiny, and becom[e] masters of their own fate' (ibid, p. 6). Therefore, in response to my final research question[5], the implications appear clear. From the perspective of developing resilience as a strategy to improving levels of social mobility and countering the threat of radicalisation and extremism, the regulator's mediation of policy has failed to enable a culture that supports the development and maintenance of a meaningful identity - 'a powerful source of resilience' (Beauregard et al, 2017, p. 114); and values *real* teaching and learning. If the government is to achieve its stated objective (DfE, 2010), then policymakers and the regulator must take a more balanced approach to research into the development of resilience, i.e. re-engage with academia, and acknowledge the importance of context and identity by ensuring the voices that make up our diverse society are heard and acted on.

5.1 A Transformative Process

Since 2013 my teaching and leadership experience has been dominated by the demand to adopt and adapt strategies and processes that are a consequence of Ofsted's mediation of policy - though it is acknowledged that mediation of policy at both macro and micro levels has also been influenced by other factors. Despite the rationale presented at macro and

[5] What are the implications of Ofsted's mediation of policy for Education in England?

micro level for many of these strategies and processes, I have found it increasingly difficult to acknowledge or accept any rationale other than that of improving school attainment data and/or meeting the demands of Her Majesty's Inspectorate at all costs.

Some may have interpreted this *obvious difficulty* as an act of cynicism or naivety. However, my difficulty is founded on the development of a critical lens that has led me to an understanding that the government, and by extension Her Majesty's regulator, has no real desire to close the attainment gap between disadvantaged and advantaged learners, but is simply engaged in managing *the problem* at minimal cost to the state. The government's, and Ofsted's, continued failure to acknowledge the importance of local context, as evidenced in my analysis of the regulator's annual reports, and ultimately the importance of other social policies e.g. housing, along with the current political imperative that failing schools can be transformed through the multi academy trust programme, has only strengthened my belief that education policy and its mediation is not focused on developing young people's resilience to failure, and therefore improving their learning, be they from disadvantaged or advantaged backgrounds.

Therefore, during this programme of study I resigned my position as a leader and teacher in a mainstream setting and am now practising in an environment where the development of young people's self-esteem, self-belief and resilience, is a priority. This environment, a secure CAMHS unit, is still subject to regulation by Ofsted. However, in this environment, *progress* is not primarily focused on an analysis of academic assessment data. Working in a multidisciplinary team consisting of teachers, doctors, psychiatrists, occupational therapists and health care workers, where the focus is on improving the mental health of young people, negates the need to engage in the act of fabrication. Finally, I feel strongly that the voice of the oppressed is heard in this environment, a voice that is frequently key in the presentation and diagnosis of the young people in our care.

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Appendix A - Population data

A.1 Population by ethnicity claiming state support

Figure 1. Population by ethnicity claiming state support (ONS, 2018; DWP, 2017)

Ethnicity	Number	%	% Family units claiming state support
Asian	4,213,531	7.5	48
Bangladeshi	447,201	0.8	56
Chinese	393,141	0.7	30
Indian	1,412,958	2.5	46
Pakistani	1,124,511	2.0	53
Asian other	835,720	1.5	44
Black	1,864,890	3.3	54
Black African	989,628	1.8	
Black Caribbean	594,825	1.1	
Black other	280,437	0.5	
Mixed			45
Mixed White/Asian	1,224,400	2.2	
Mixed White/Black African	341,727	0.6	
Mixed White/Black Caribbean	426,715	0.8	
Mixed other	289,984	0.5	
White	48,209,395	86.0	
White British	45,134,686	80.5	59
White Irish	531,087	0.9	
White Gypsy/Traveller	57,680	0.1	
White other	2,485,942	4.4	42
Other	563,696	1.0	49
Arab	230,600	0.4	
Any other	333,096	0.6	

Appendix B - Media Coverage

B.1 Media Providers

Organisation	Available at
Independent (I)	https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/poor-children-are-being-let-down-by-schools-warns-ofsted-8665870.html
Telegraph (T)	https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/10131155/Ofsted-Unseen-children-need-the-best-teachers.html
Guardian (G)	https://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/jun/20/ofsted-chief-wilshaw-education-poor-children
Daily Mail (DM)	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2344947/Hit-squads-teachers-sent-rescue-failing-rural-seaside-schools-says-chief-inspector.html
Daily Express (DE)	https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/408891/Unseen-pupils-are-being-let-down
Metro (M)	https://metro.co.uk/2013/06/20/ofsted-chief-send-national-service-army-of-top-teachers-into-failing-schools-3848891/
Evening Standard (ES)	https://www.standard.co.uk/news/education/poor-children-in-lovely-affluent-south-east-england-being-let-down-by-schools-says-head-of-ofsted-8667487.html
The Mirror (TM)	https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/ofsted-chief-warns-disadvantaged-pupils-1972606
The Sun (TS)	https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/811286/super-sirs-to-rescue/
Manchester Evening News (ME)	https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/uk-news/ofsted-report-shows-poor-pupils-4687084
Belfast Telegraph (BT)	https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/uk/national-service-teachers-call-29358685.html
BBC News (BB)	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-22970674
ITV News (IT)	https://www.itv.com/news/anglia/story/2013-06-20/schools-failing-poorer-pupils/

B.2 Report Details

Organisation	Journalist	Date/Time	Headline	Sub
Independent	R. Garner	20/6/13 00.00	Poor children are being let down by schools, warns Ofsted	The TeachFirst initiative is narrowing the attainment gap between rich and poor pupils
Telegraph	T. Ross	20/6/2013 06.00am	Bring the unseen children into the spotlight	Britain will struggle to compete in the world if schools are allowed to give the poorest children a raw deal, says Sir Michael Wilshaw
Guardian	R. Adams	20/6/2013 10.50am	Schools failing poor children, says Ofsted chief	Sir Michael Wilshaw to deliver speech calling for improved education for disadvantaged children 'unseen' by current system
Daily Mail	A. Levy and M. Chorley	20/6/2013 10.14	Hit squads of top teachers should be sent in to rescue failing rural and seaside schools, says chief inspector	Sir Michael Wilshaw warns of 'poor, unseen children in mediocre schools'. Demands new focus on failure in coastal and countryside areas. Government should contract the best teachers to parachute into schools.
Daily Express		20/6/2013 00.14	'Unseen' pupils are being let down	
Metro	T. Tahir	20/6/2013 08.43am	Ofsted chief: Send 'National Service' army of top teachers into failing schools	An army of top teachers should be sent in to help pupils in leafy suburbs, market towns and seaside resorts being let down by schools, the head of Ofsted has said
Evening Standard		20/6/2013 18.36	Poor children in 'lovely, affluent south east England' being let down by schools, says head of Ofsted	Sir Michael Wilshaw today announced a crackdown on outstanding schools that are failing their poorest pupils, amid concerns that an "unseen" group of children is being let down by a mediocre education.

The Mirror	Mark Ellis	20/6/2013 20.59	Ofsted chief warns that disadvantaged pupils are being failed even at outstanding schools	Sir Michael Wilshaw warned that outstanding schools that are failing their poorest pupils face losing the top ranking.
The Sun	Kevin Schofield	23/6/2013 23.00	Super Sirs to rescue	Pupils boost
Manchester Evening News	Brian Welton	23/6/2013 11.38am	Schools letting down 'invisible minority' of poorest pupils	New National Service Teacher proposals are announced after Ofsted find disadvantaged children are under-performing
Belfast Telegraph		23/6/2013 No time specified	'National Service Teachers' call	*Sir Michael Wilshaw says an 'invisible minority' of disadvantaged children are being let down*
BBC News	Angela Harrison	23/6/2013 No time specified	'Invisible' poor children let down by schools, says Ofsted head	Many of the poor children being left behind in schools now are in suburbs, market towns and seaside resorts rather than big cities, England's chief inspector of schools has said.
ITV News (Anglia)		23/6/2013 7.34am (plus three updates)	Schools failing poorer pupils	*Schools in the East of England are claimed to be failing their poorest pupils.*

B.3 Report Analysis

Quote or reference	I	T	G	DM	DE	M	ES	TM	TS	ME	BT	BB	IT
Quote 1: The urgency and scale of the problem is all too apparent, and so we need radical solutions	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quote 2: *The quality of education is the most important issue facing Britain today*	*X*	*√*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*√*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*√*	*√*	*X*	*√*
Quote 3: *In the long term, our success as a nation – our prosperity, our security, our society – depends on how well we raise and educate our young people across the social spectrum*	*X*	*√*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*√*	*X*	*X*	*X*	*√*	*√*	*X*	*√*
Quote 3b: There are stark consequences for our nation if we do not act with sufficient urgency. We will continue to lose our place as a competitive nation and bear great economic costs of failure.	X	R	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quote 4: Our report shows that **poverty of expectation is a greater problem than material poverty** because we know of examples of schools serving areas of great disadvantage that are doing very well by their children	X	R	√	X	√	X	√	R	X	X	X	R	X
Quote 5: It is sometimes said that '**schools cannot do it alone**', but this is not quite true," Sir Michael said. "**Exceptional schools** can make up for grave disadvantages faced by young people. In the process they almost become **surrogate parents**	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quote 6: However, the job of schools is made so much easier, or so much harder, by the expectations that families have for their children. So as a society **we have to create a**	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X

culture of much higher expectations for young people, both in our homes and in our schools													
Quote or reference	**I**	**T**	**G**	**DM**	**DE**	**M**	**ES**	**TM**	**TS**	**ME**	**BT**	**BB**	**IT**
Quote 8a: *Kettering, Wokingham, Norwich and Newbury.*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*X*	*√*	*√*	*R*	*R*
Quote 8b: *It is in these areas, in coasting or sometimes sinking schools, that unseen disadvantaged children remain unsupported and unchallenged*	*R*	*X*	*X*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*X*	*R*
Quote 9: West Berkshire is an example of a much wider problem affecting the relatively prosperous counties of south-east England. On the surface, the overall outcomes for these areas may look good but, for children eligible for free school meals, **they hide deep and shocking failure**	X	X	X	R	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	R	X
Quote 10: Peterborough has the lowest proportion of poorer pupils - those eligible for Free School Meals (FSM) - achieving five GCSEs at grade C or above, including English and maths at 19%. The second lowest was West Berkshire at 22%. At the other end of the scale, 77% of FSM pupils in Kensington and Chelsea reached this standard, along with 65% in Westminster	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	R	X
Quote 11: *Today, many of the disadvantaged children performing least well can be found in* ***leafy suburbs, market towns or seaside resorts***	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*R*	*√*	*R*	*√*	*R*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*
Quote 12: *Often, they are spread thinly as an 'invisible minority' across areas that are relatively affluent. These poor, unseen children can be found*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*

*in **mediocre schools** the length and breadth of the country.*													
***Quote 13:** They are **labelled, buried in lower sets, consigned as often as not to indifferent teaching**. They coast through education until – at the earliest opportunity – they sever their ties with it.*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*X*	*X*	*R*	*√*	*X*	*√*	*√*	*√*	*√*
Quote or reference	**I**	**T**	**G**	**DM**	**DE**	**M**	**ES**	**TM**	**TS**	**ME**	**BT**	**BB**	**IT**
Quote 15: This may require government to work with teaching schools (specially designated to aid in the training of teachers) to identify and incentivise experienced and effective teachers to work in less fashionable, more remote or challenging places. The concept of **a 'national service teacher'** should be considered.	√	√	X	*√*	X	R	R	R	R	R	√	R	√
Quote 16: The country's most talented teachers and heads should be put on central contracts so they can be parachuted into **schools that are failing disadvantaged pupils**	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Quote 17: Today's evidence is expected to show **a transformation of standards in inner-city schools** – particularly in London, Birmingham, Greater Manchester, Liverpool and Leicester	R	R	R	R	X	R	R	X	X	R	R	R	R
***Quote 17b:** the distribution of underachievement has shifted. 20 or 30 years ago, the problems were in the big cities. Inner London schools were the best funded and worst achieving in the country. Now, schools in inner and outer London are the best performing, and performance*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	X	R	R	R	R

in parts of Birmingham, Greater Manchester, Liverpool and Leicester has also improved													
Quote or reference	**I**	**T**	**G**	**DM**	**DE**	**M**	**ES**	**TM**	**TS**	**ME**	**BT**	**BB**	**IT**
Quote 17c: *the areas where the most disadvantaged children are being let down by the education system in 2013 are no longer deprived inner city areas, instead the focus has shifted to deprived coastal towns and rural, less populous regions of the country, particularly down the East and South-East of England. These are places that have felt little impact from national initiatives designed to drive up standards for the poorest children*	X	X	R	R	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Quote 18: where the **TeachFirst initiative** (which sends the brightest graduates into inner-city schools) flourishes. As a result, the gap in attainment between rich and poor pupils is now closing	R	X	X	R	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Referenced	**I**	**T**	**G**	**DM**	**DE**	**M**	**ES**	**TM**	**TS**	**ME**	**BT**	**BB**	**IT**
Black Caribbean and Asian	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Black Africa or Bangladeshi children	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
White British pupils	X	√	X	√	X	X	√	X	X	X	X	√	X
Poor parenting	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	√*	X
Surrogate parents	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	R*	X
Similar backgrounds	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

(*) Not ethnicity specific

Quote	X	R	√	% X	% R or √
1	12	0	1	92	8
2	8	0	5	62	38
3	8	0	5	62	38
3a	12	1	0	92	8
4	7	3	3	54	46
5	11	0	2	85	15
6	11	0	2	85	15
7	7	3	3	54	46
8	1	7	5	8	92
8b	3	10	0	23	77
9	9	2	2	69	31
10	10	1	2	77	23
11	0	3	10	0	100
12	0	5	8	0	100
13	3	1	9	23	77
14	2	5	6	15	85
15	2	6	5	15	85
16	0	13	0	0	100
17a	3	10	0	23	77
17b	1	12	0	8	92
17c	10	3	0	77	23
18	10	2	1	77	23

Key words:

Key word and Frequency	I	T	G	DE	M	ES	DM	TM	TS	ME	BT	BB	IT
Unseen (Sp = 8, PR = 4)	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1
Hidden	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Invisible (Sp = 4 PR = 1)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	2
Sunlight (Sp = 1, PR = 0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Darkness (Sp = 1, PR = 0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spotlight (Sp = 4, PR = 0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Shadows (Sp = 2, PR = 0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hide (Sp = 1, PR = 0)	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Army	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1
Parachute	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
National service (Sp = 2, PR = 1)	1	3	1	0	3	1	2	0	1	2	4	2	4
Crackdown	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hit squad	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crack (Sp = 1, PR = 0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Rescue	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

*Note: 'Sp' and 'PR' refer to speech and press release

Appendix C - Sir Michael Wilshaw

C.1 A short biography

In October 2011 Sir Michael Wilshaw was unveiled as Her Majesty's new Chief Inspector of Ofsted. A brief review of his career prior to his appointment provides an insight into the influence he may have had in the construction of the knowledge shared by the coalition government; and offers us an insight into the *lived experience* that may have underpinned his activities, values and norms (van Dijk, 2016). Wilshaw attended Clapham College Grammar School for boys, where the ethos was underpinned by the notion that the best way to realise the unique potential of the individual is 'through education' (Xaverian Brothers Generalate, 2017). At this school he claims the influence of 'exceptional people' guided him to strive for a career in teaching (Wilby, 2010).

Wilshaw completed his teaching training at St Mary's, a Catholic college in Twickenham, and then, while teaching at struggling schools in areas of high social deprivation, completed a part-time history degree at London University's Birkbeck College. Thus, Wilshaw presents as a 'self-made aspirational subject' (Kulz, 2017, p. 92). Wilshaw's first headship was at St Bonaventure, a Boy's Catholic located in Newham, London. During his eighteen years at the school he turned it from one facing closure, to one 'hailed for outstanding results, particularly among African-Caribbean boys' (Wilby, 2010). By 1998 he had developed a reputation as a 'troubleshooting headteacher' (ibid) and was seconded to a secondary school in Canning Town to reverse their fortunes. By the turn of the millennium Wilshaw had established himself as a 'super-head' and was awarded a Knighthood for 'services to education' (London Gazette, 1999, p. 2). Wilshaw attributed the turnaround of St Bonaventure to the removal of weak staff found at all levels of the organisation (Wilby, 2010; McInerney, 2015) through the implementation of staff disciplinary processes, and significant use of early retirement packages. He also claimed that 'The great thing about inner city schools is that parents trust you to do what's best for their children without question' (McInerney, 2015); he suggests that the additional support provided by teachers is appreciated by parents as it fills the void left by their own inability or capacity (ibid). By making these claims Wilshaw reinforces the notion that the school and education system is fundamental in improving social mobility.

In 2004 with Wilshaw at the helm, the Mossbourne Academy in Hackney opened on the site of the former Hackney Downs School. By 2012 89% of students achieved 5 A* - C

grades including maths and English at GCSE level (Telegraph, 2013), approximately 30% above the national average (Ofsted, 2013d); this despite its cohort containing very high proportions of pupils eligible for free school meals and coming from ethnic minority backgrounds (Ofsted, 2010). The proportion of pupils with special educational needs and English as an additional language was also above the national average (ibid). In 2012 the then Prime Minister David Cameron, announced that in some of the country's poorest areas, independent head-teachers were 'working miracles' (Cameron, 2012) and highlighted the story of Mossbourne Academy which he suggested had achieved GCSE results that were 'stratospherically above the national average' (ibid). He claimed that these new academies heralded a 'great revolution in education' (ibid), attributing their success to head-teachers that can: 'hire their own staff; shape their own curriculum; set their own discipline; and, captain their own ship' (ibid). Lord Adonis claimed that Mossbourne provided a blueprint for the future of education by 'pioneering opportunity, social mobility and the reinvention of the inner-city comprehensive' (Adonis, 2012. P. 7). Wilshaw attributed the success of the school to a 'clear philosophy and 'radical leadership'' (Kulz, 2017, p. 88) claiming this was something he had realised 'not by reading a book about it, but by trial and error and experience' (ibid). Kulz (2017), who carried out an ethnographic study at the academy (2008 - 2011), suggests that Mossbourne's mission to achieve equality for all its pupils was founded on the notion that 'Working-class parents are the 'problem' with detrimental parenting skills and poor attitudes' (ibid, p. 93). Thus, Wilshaw had cultivated a 'structure liberates' ethos (ibid, p. 93) and instilled an 'evangelical belief in mobility and the enterprising, acquisitive self' (ibid, p. 92). The former is founded on Wilshaw's belief that children that come from unstructured and often unhappy backgrounds need more structure (ibid); To this end Kulz confirms that '[t]eachers are explicitly required to become 'surrogate parents' who 'substitute and take over where necessary'' (ibid, p.93). The latter affirms Wilshaw's belief that this is the 'sole solution' to the problem of inequality (ibid, p. 92). Following his appointment as Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, Wilshaw espoused his belief that schools can make a difference in reversing the fortunes of inner-city children on the national stage. Fowler (2011) wrote:

> Already he has ruffled feathers with his claim this week that schools like his own must act as "surrogate parents" for children of "dysfunctional families", often offering them an alternative to gang culture

Wilshaw reinforced the link between results and teacher commitment and resilience when stating:

> There are a growing number of schools producing fantastic results in areas of deprivation, because of the effort they are putting in, and the high aspirations of the children … It can be done. We have got to stop making excuses for background, culture and ethnicity and get on with it (ibid)

Thus, we may conclude from the analysis above that it is unsurprising that Sir Michael Wilshaw was identified as the Secretary of State's 'preferred choice' (Gov.uk, 2011) to spearhead the regulation of the coalition's evolving education policy.

However, whilst accepting the hero status afforded him by Gove (Wilby, 2010; Kulz, 2017) and others, Wilshaw failed to acknowledge other factors that may have underpinned his success at the Mossbourne Academy. The success of Mossbourne is often presented by politicians and the media, e.g. the Daily Mail (Hardy, 2011) and the Telegraph (Fowler, 2011), in the context of achievement against the school *it replaced*; a school that was closed down in 1995 after being labelled the *worst in Britain* (The Times, 2009; Miles, 2001); 'a cause célèbre' (Harris, N, 1996, p. 109). However, as Connor et al (2000, p. 260) claim, the school was:

> Failed ... by market forces created by government policies, by near-criminal resourcing for building and maintenance over a long period, and by local council political in-fighting, bureaucratic incompetence and vacillation by the local education authority

Mossbourne was purpose-built and opened nine years later during which time Hackney had been going through a process of gentrification with middle class families purchasing properties in the area anticipating a good school and a significant increase in house values (Wilby, 2010; Smallwood, 2019). Its admissions policy ensured a 'solid group of high achievers in each year' (Shackle, 2011); but most significantly, the annual intake of year 7 students was not formed of 'conscripts' (Wilby, 2010). We are left to consider that the rise of Mossbourne Community Academy and the fall of Hackney Downs School, were the result of neoliberal policy; with the former's leader being the embodiment of the resilient subject (Kulz, 2017).