“Examining perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on ‘behaviour management’ – a case study analysis”.

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Aisling Anne Culshaw.

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Declaration

The material being presented for examination is my own work and has not been submitted for an award of this or another HEI except in minor particulars which are explicitly noted in the body of the thesis. Where research pertaining to the thesis was undertaken collaboratively, the nature and extent of my individual contribution has been made explicit.

Signed - 

Date - 18-02-25

Abstract

"Examining perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management' – a case study analysis". Aisling Anne Culshaw

This thesis seeks to examine the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management within schools. My primary objective was to solicit the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and examine how they felt it influenced their school community, as well as any benefits or challenges associated with its implementation. The genesis of the study stemmed from my experiences as a family support worker and educator, where my observations of marginalisation and the effects of trauma and adversity on children's educational experiences, prompted an exploration of alternative approaches to how behaviour is understood and managed in schools. The concept of trauma informed practice and its restorative and reparative functions (McCluskey, 2018; Zehr, 2002; Evanovich et al., 2020; Mullet, 2014; United Nations, 2006) sparked an inquiry into whether such practices might offer a more compassionate and nurturing framework for supporting behaviour in schools, in contrast to punitive measures and zero-tolerance policies.

To delve deeper into this research inquiry, I conducted a qualitative case study in a school that self-identified as trauma informed. To contextualise my study within current scholarly discourse on educational practice, I employed Foucauldian notions of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1977) to illuminate the various dynamics which shape how behaviour is managed in schools, both within the school and beyond. Furthermore, the theoretical frameworks of further key thinkers such as Bronfenbrenner and Bourdieu, helped to situate the concept of behaviour management in schools within broader societal and environmental influences and systemic beliefs.

I employed an interpretive approach, utilising inductive reasoning to analyse interview data collected from school staff, followed by applying Braun and Clarkes reflexive thematic analysis (2006;2019) method, to select overarching themes detailing the importance of school staff demonstrating mutual respect, empathy, and effective leadership and support in fostering a trauma informed ethos within the school. My research identified that for effective learning to occur in schools, a framework of expansive learning, where continuous professional development and collaborative learning is prioritised, is central to this process. In response to these insights, and to propose a structured pathway for implementing alternative practice in schools, I used Engeström's expansive learning cycle (2001), alongside a later adaptation by Lindley and Lotz-Sisitika (2019), to create 'Engeström's Expansive Learning Cycle – Supporting Trauma Informed Practice in Schools'.

Whilst my study highlighted the positive influence of trauma informed practices within the school, it also underscored the challenges faced in maintaining such practices amidst demands for performativity and bureaucratic measures in education. Despite these challenges, my study exhibits the transformative potential of trauma informed practice in supporting staff to promote empathy, respect and understanding within school communities. As such, my study presents as a valuable resource for educators and policymakers seeking to create a more inclusive and equitable education environment for staff, children, and their families, particularly those who have been impacted by trauma or adversity.

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Dedication

Steven, Lailah and Maebh, this is for you.

Scholarly Activity

Publications

Bodfield, K. S., & Culshaw, A. (2024). The place for diagnosis in the UK education system? *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, *28*(4), 316-328. https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2024.2316398

Culshaw, A., & Bodfield, K. (2024). Trauma-informed education: a case for compassion-focused teaching? *Pastoral Care in Education*, 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2024.2318776

Brett, A., Bodfield, K., Culshaw, A., & Johnson, B. (2024). Exploring LGBTQ+ teacher professional identity through the power threat meaning framework. *British Educational Research Journal*. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.4060

Bodfield, K. S., & Culshaw, A. (2024). Applying the power threat meaning framework to the UK education system. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2024.2316589

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Bodfield, K., & Culshaw, A. (2024). 'It would be very strange to make an artificial cut off point at 18 that trauma suddenly isn't relevant'–Perspectives of trauma-informed practice in higher education. *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 14779714241308505. https://doi.org/10.1177/14779714241308505

Conference Presentations

"Examining perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management – a case study analysis"., 33rd International Congress of Psychology, Prague, Oral presentation, **https://icp2024.com/**. 2024

Curriculum for wellbeing: year 2, growth, findings and reflections., Students at the Heart Conference, Liverpool John Moores University, Oral presentation. 2024

Applying the Power Threat Meaning Framework to the UK Higher Education System, APSS FACULTY RESEARCH CONFERENCE, Liverpool John Moores University, Oral presentation. 2023

Curriculum for Wellbeing, Students at the Heart Conference, Liverpool John Moores University, Oral presentation. 2023

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

My thesis aims to examine the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management within schools, in a bid to understand how nurture and relationship building can be brought to the forefront of educational practice. The genesis of the study stems from my experiences as a family support worker and educator, where my observations of marginalisation and the effects of trauma and adversity on children's educational experiences, prompted an exploration of alternative approaches to how behaviour is understood and managed in schools. The concept of trauma informed practice and its restorative and reparative functions (United Nations, 2006; Zehr, 2002; Mullet, 2014; McCluskey, 2018; Evanovich, et al., 2020) sparked an inquiry into whether such practices might offer a more compassionate and nurturing framework for supporting behaviour in schools, in contrast to punitive measures and zero-tolerance policies.

Research indicates the commonality of adversity and trauma in schools, where almost 50% of children will have experiences of at least one form (Young Minds, 2021). For some children, their vulnerabilities might be evident in, for example, their characteristics, demographics, or parenting (Fondren et al., 2022) and can manifest on how they behave in schools. Children who have experiences of trauma and adversity are more likely to have difficulty pertaining to the routines and boundaries of schools (Timpson, 2019; Hebert, 2018; Weissman, 2015) and as a result can find themselves at the hands of strict, punitive behaviour management procedures (Timpson, 2019). For these children, adverse experiences become the impetus for feeling othered or outside of accepted societal practices, where their inability to abide by the school rules and boundaries is perceived as their fault, setting the tone for feeling othered within society.

> Infants and children cannot get themselves back from the back roads; they need adults to help them return to homeostasis (emotional and psychological balance). If they don't get back to balance with the help of adults, then they will stay in the back roads and learn to live from there. They will learn to exist here and existing is not the same as being fully alive (Forner, 2017, p.70).

Forner's quote realises the crucial position of adults in schools when supporting the most vulnerable learners, where school staff have the potential to provide a reservoir of hope, calm and optimism (Sherwood, 2017), where children can be supported to thrive in a caring and nurturing environment. However, such is not a consistently applied approach in education where guidance such as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) focuses on how to manage behaviour and tackle challenging behaviour, rather than promoting the importance of mutual respect, connection, and child-

centred practice. My research interrogates why current educational practice relies on punitive practices and the need to 'manage behaviour' in schools, where children who are already vulnerable, due to adversity and trauma, are at risk of being further stigmatised. Where helping them "back from the back roads" (Forner, 2017, p.70) is not explicitly stated in such guidance.

To delve deeper into this research inquiry, I conducted a qualitative case study in a school where staff, through an awareness of understanding the impact of trauma and adversity on the developing child, social emotional learning, and professional development, identified as trauma informed. My primary objective was to seek out the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and examine how they felt it influenced their school community, as well as any benefits or challenges associated with its implementation. To contextualise my study within current scholarly discourse on educational practice, I employed Foucauldian notions of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1977) to illuminate the various dynamics which shape how behaviour is managed in schools, both within the school and beyond. Furthermore, the theoretical frameworks of Bronfenbrenner and Bourdieu, helped me to situate the concept of behaviour management in schools within broader societal and environmental influences and systemic beliefs.

I employed an interpretive approach, utilising inductive reasoning at first, to identify common themes to analyse the data collected from the interviews with school staff, followed by applying Braun and Clarkes reflexive thematic analysis (2006;2019) where, with consideration of my own positionality and experiences, emerged overarching themes detailing the importance of mutual respect, empathy, and effective leadership and support, in fostering a trauma informed ethos within the school.

Whilst my study highlighted the positive influence of trauma informed practices within the school, it also underscored the challenges faced in maintaining such practices amidst demands for performativity and bureaucratic measures in education. Despite these challenges, my study, through listening to the views of school staff, exhibited the transformative potential of trauma informed practice in promoting empathy, respect and understanding within school communities. As such, the study presents as a valuable resource for educators and policymakers seeking to create a more inclusive and equitable educational environment for staff, children, and their families, particularly those who have been impacted by trauma or adversity.

1.1 Thesis structure

The thesis begins with an introduction chapter stating the research question and aims and following this an account of the rationale for my interest in this research area. Chapter 2 describes the scholarly

influences used within my study and briefly situates them in relation to the theme of trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management within education. Chapters 3 to 5 present a critical review of literature pertaining to trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, where the scholarly influences of predominantly Foucault, alongside insights from others such as Bronfenbrenner and Engeström, are applied. The literature review provided emerging themes in the field of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, which were used to create prompts to support the semi-structured interviews that followed.

Chapter 6 on the research context provides an overview of the school that was used to conduct my research. The aspects covered in this chapter help to illuminate the trauma informed status of the school and the aspects in which the school apply to identify as trauma informed.

The research methodology is detailed in Chapter 7, where the approach and methods applied to conduct the study is identified and how the overarching themes emerged from reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019).

The findings and discussion in Chapter 8 showcase the examination of an array of quotes from the interviews that help to identify the prominence of the four themes that derived from the data analysis. Lastly, the conclusion in Chapter 9 summarises the findings and discussion and identifies how my research can support future practice and pedagogy in schools, when seeking to consider an alternative way of promoting positive behaviour in schools.

1.2 Research Question

What are the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management' within schools?

1.3 Research Aims

1. To gain insight into school staff perspectives on trauma informed practice and how it influences how behaviour is supported within schools.

2. To identify benefits and barriers that school staff experience in the implementation of trauma informed practice in schools.

1.4 Research Rationale

Whilst there exists some research on trauma informed practice in schools (Carello & Butler, 2015; Milot et al., 2016; Maynard et al., 2019; Hickey et al., 2020; Gomez et al., 2021), more is required on what underpins the success and consolidation of this practice. Many studies on trauma informed practice relate to quantitative methods of research for example surveys, evaluations, or school reports (Anfara et al.,

2015). Latimer et al. (2005) also found that research on trauma informed practice remains heavily weighted in criminality and prison reform. Morrison and Vaandering (2012) note that there is a lack of "conceptual clarity" (p.148) on what trauma informed practice looks like in educational contexts. Thus, the need to conduct further research on how it is perceived and understood by those who implement and engage in the practice in schools, something Mullet (2014) refers to as a shift towards advocating for restoration and repair in supporting behaviour and away from punitive disciplinary measures.

I have always had an interest in the ecology of the child, where children are shaped by a multitude of factors within their environments, for example their homelives, and how and if it was considered when providing enabling learning environments for children in schools, particularly the most vulnerable. A large part of my career was based in the context of early childhood, which essentially centres around a play-based curriculum that prioritises developing key skills such as personal, social, and emotional development and cognitive development (Department for Education, 2024b). In later years, my interest and studies led to children in primary and secondary education and how their development, particularly their personal, social, and emotional development, is supported when they leave the Statutory framework for the early years foundation stage (EYFS) (Department for Education, 2024b). It appeared that the priority focus of personal, social, and emotional development reduced after the early years and academia and core curriculum subjects take focus.

The expectations or early learning goals for these areas (see Appendix 2) indicate that having the opportunity to focus on developing these skills in early childhood support self-regulation skills, which will aid them in abiding by the rules and routines of school, where the primary focus becomes academic progress. Early years foundation stage profile data (Gov.uk., 2024a) indicates that most children do reach the expected levels of development for personal, social and emotional development by the end of the EYFS, where in the 2022-2023 academic year it was at 83.2%, indicating that this is positive if it works. However, the statistics indicate that almost 17% of children in the last academic year, will not achieve this at such a young age. Take for example children who have been, or are still subjected to trauma or adversity, the ability to control their emotions, make relationships and feel good about themselves is hampered (Scoglio et al., 2018). For children who have been identified as vulnerable, most schools will be competent in identifying need and putting effective support systems in place. However, trauma and Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) symptoms and characteristics are not always identifiable, and children may not even be aware of the adversity they are enduring. As the priority of personal, social and emotional development appears to be overtaken by academia in formal education as children progress through the National Curriculum (Department for Education, 2011), the need to abide by the rules and boundaries of school becomes greater. If children have not managed to regulate their behaviour and

emotions, behaviour management strategies are often the next step. In punitive or traditional disciplinary environments this is often conducted using shame and sanctions (Mullet, 2014).

My initial research interest in trauma informed practice began when I became involved in conducting research in schools on how they could explore alternative ways of supporting positive behaviour. Through both teaching and carrying out research projects with schools on trauma informed practice, my insight into its benefits but also its possible limitations were observed. I intended to gain insight into how trauma informed practice worked in a school environment, by understanding further the perspectives of those who engaged in this practice daily. It was not my intention to measure how effective the practice was, as to do so would be superficial and in conflict with the proposed bespoke relational and unique nature of trauma informed practice. I wished to understand other ways of supporting children and staff in schools, rather than measuring its value. Hence my decision to conduct research in one particular school, a school which describes itself as trauma informed. I used the context of the school to better understand trauma informed practice in a given space and what factors were involved that enabled the school to consider alternative ways of supporting children and their families.

Trauma informed practice offers an alternative way to frame how behaviour is supported in schools. While accepting that there are rules and boundaries, how these rules and boundaries are upheld are more in keeping with supporting the wellbeing of all. A key aspect of trauma informed practice is restorative practice, where the focus is on using discussion to understand the impact of wrongdoing, for example behaviour that is seen as challenging, and to allow those responsible to acknowledge this impact and take steps to put it right (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2022).

Taking a more trauma informed approach to behaviour management in schools is, in my view, positive practice and something that I have seen work successfully. From an extensive review of research and literature pertinent to the theme of trauma informed practice, alongside observations of the approach in practice, it was apparent (Latimer et al., 2005; Morrison et al., 2012; Anfara et al., 2013) that more research was required to better understand trauma informed practice in schools. Furthermore, I wished to use my research as an opportunity to challenge my own assumptions about trauma informed practices in schools to understand the multiplicity of factors that must be considered to enable its successful implementation. Where much of the discussion and literature reviewed returned to the discussion of power and discourse in education, I wished to delve deeper into the views of those who work in schools, namely school staff, with the intent to understand further the voice of those within schools who are both subjected to and wielders of power and discourse daily (Sugden, 2022; McInerney, 2009; Kilinc et al., 2016; Hoy & Miskel, 2006; Adler & Borys, 1996).

Many schools claim to adopt a trauma informed approach, which is often noted in their behaviour policy, or indeed in scripted procedures of dealing with challenging behaviour (Department for Education,

2024a). I also anticipate that the seismic shift in language that supports understanding and restoration in the latest Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) supports schools to think about behaviour management differently. This change might indicate that policies, guidelines, and procedures are beginning to advocate for practices that are trauma informed, however it is less clear if this is manifesting in practice in schools and what school staff feel about this movement towards a shift in practice. To gain more clarity and insight into the voice of staff in schools, I conducted research that held their voice as central to identify their interpretation of trauma informed practice.

Returning to the prominence of power and discourse in literature related to education, alongside my experiences of how policy and practice in schools appears to be influenced by dominant accepted norms and practices, I wished to foreground my research in theoretical underpinning. The application of a theoretical foundation provided a lens through which I could interpret my research and subsequently situate my findings within existing academic research. The following chapter denotes the primary philosophical and theoretical influences applied to my research.

Chapter 2 Philosophical Perspectives

To ensure that there was a consistent philosophical thread informing my research from the outset, I read extensively to examine differing perspectives and sought to understand how they might align with my research intent. Such concerns resonate with research by Shotter (1999), whereby doctoral students can often lack an informed awareness of how philosophical perspectives informed their research due to 'after-the-fact-justificatory-rhetoric', where students slot the philosophy into their thesis retrospectively. As McLachlan and Garcia (2015) note, philosophical perspectives are formed in relation to the specific topic and goals of doctoral research, therefore alongside conducting a literature review on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools, I too examined philosophical underpinnings that aligned to my research inquiry and research philosophy which is examined in the Methodology chapter. While my research refers to a number of philosophical viewpoints, the intent of this chapter is to discuss the most prominent philosophical and theoretical perspectives applied, with Foucault as the primary philosopher, and where my findings required analysis beyond the realms of Foucauldian thought, additional insights were drawn from other key thinkers such as Bronfenbrenner and Engeström.

2.1 Situating Foucault

Michel Foucault's interdisciplinary approach continues to challenge conventional thinking, opening up new avenues for enquiry. Ali (2016) describes Foucauldian thought as an endeavour to question what we know, how we know it, who produced the knowledge and how it became accepted truths. Such an example might be how behaviour is managed in schools, where discipline and sanctions can be construed as practice norms.

Foucault viewed knowledge and an individual's perception of reality through an intersubjective lens, which is constructed through shared meanings, conventions, practices, and rituals, which create accepted discourses (Olsson & Heizmann, 2015). From a methodological stance, I wished to examine the perspectives of school staff on the phenomenon of trauma informed practice, where Foucauldian notions of how accepted discourses are realised aided in my decision to collect data through semi-structured interviews. Again, this could be referred to behaviour management in schools, where historically ways to control behaviour in schools have evolved from methods that involved physical punishment (Middleton, 2008), to more current punitive punishment such as removals or expulsions (Hambacher, 2018). While in the past few decades, behaviour management approaches using punitive punishment have evolved further into educating children on introspection which support self-regulation, the changing view of

behaviour management in schools is an example of shared meanings that create accepted discourses (Rose et al., 2015).

Foucault (1977) applied the term moral orthopedics to describe how rather than historically imposing power through physical disciplinary measures, current power is upheld through coercive psychologies, where the soul and mind are corrected and rehabilitated into desired behaviours and practices. A historical example within schools might be caning, whereas a more current approach might be suspensions or removals. Foucault (1977) described how, with increasing demand for education, the ability to reproduce moral frameworks through the means of schooling became a key function of society. As such, moral orthopedics shape, mould and regulate individuals to maintain social control, a theory that aides in better understanding how systems, such as behaviour management in schools, work to maintain power structures.

Foucault used the term genealogy to define not just periods in history but also the ideas and discourse of different time periods. "As Foucault emphasised, genealogy is a method for identifying the way in which individuals are subjectified through discourse", (Christensen, 2016a, p.763). This was integral to my research as I wanted to identify if a change in practice, such as being trauma informed, would change how behaviour is viewed in schools. Another key aspect to consider is the role of dominance and power in shaping the past and present. The successes of history are maintained and created into "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p.131) by those who are most dominant, the powerful force that can construct social and cultural realities. Christensen (2016a) discusses how genealogy can be applied to educational research, for example how we manage behaviour in schools, as it allows opportunities to understand how accepted practices that are inequitable came into fruition, and with this knowledge might permit a consideration of possible alternatives.

2.1.1 Discourse

When considering how behaviour is managed and viewed within schools, I felt it was necessary to consider the role of power and knowledge in determining what is deemed positive or negative behaviour. Foucault (1995) describes how humans are constructed through not only changes in time but also by the productive power of discourse. According to Foucault, discursive spaces are created from accepted discourses that "offer it objects of which it can speak, or rather.... they determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object" (Foucault & Smith, 1995, p.46). Foucault's theory of power and knowledge situates the dominant power in all of society as the wielder of truth or knowledge on who is defined as worthy and who is not, describing the privilege of power as the "right to take life and let live" (Foucault, 1990, p.136). Foucault describes how society is built upon subjugation, where there is a need for, 'the good' and 'the bad', 'the appropriate' and the 'not

appropriate', (Tamboukou, 1999) to maintain control. Those in control can dictate what is true, where the role of power in society or in an institution, such as school, requires subjugation to uphold traditionally more punitive behaviour management procedures. The use of power and control in schools will prioritise those who are valuable or important to society, for example the 'well-behaved' child who follows school rules and boundaries and who is considered academically able, and to neglect the 'badly-behaved' child who is challenging and disruptive. These notions of power, dominance and subjectification, as construed by Foucault, resonated closely with my research as such themes aided the contextualisation of how behaviour management systems operate within schools.

In education, it is not often enough questioned why we do what we do and the body of knowledge that leads to accepted practice, particularly when considering how behaviour is managed. Schools, like any institution in society, consist of rules and boundaries where there are usually consequences if a breach is made. If students apply themselves correctly and abide by the rules and boundaries of the institution, then all will be well. However, if they do not, they have misapplied themselves and are to blame for their downfall. The institution remains unscathed and instead results in marginalised voices in education, parents, and vulnerable groups (Smyth & McInerney, 2013; Ralph, 2019). Acknowledging that vulnerable groups are marginalised may even be ambitious as these groups are often completely ignored or made in some way to be perceived as not as important as other groups in society.

McNicol Jardin (2005) applies Foucault's writings to education and professes that his analytic tools encourage us to question further the intent of current practice.

> What actually happens to the child (and the teacher) as a consequence of practices actually enacted in the classroom? What specifically causes these effects? If this is not what we want, what do we do to understand, or do, differently, perhaps despite our good intentions? (p.39).

This is particularly interesting when looking at behaviour management strategies in education, are the processes and guidance, like Behaviour in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a) in place to control or educate?

Foucault notes that to maintain control and power, an institutional system, such as that of a school, must create procedures and policies which prescribe what is deemed as acceptable practice. Anything other than this proclaimed practice must be seen as unacceptable, disruptive even. "The whole indefinite domain of the non-conforming is punishable", (Foucault, 1977, p.178). Gillies (2013) comments on how Foucault describes normalising judgement as "a small penal mechanism" that lies at the heart of all disciplinary systems. Examining the words of 'power' and 'discipline' within the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), it appears that this attitude to normalising judgement continues to ring true where, emphasis on control perpetuates a culture reflective of this where abiding

by policy guidance, for children and staff alike, might supersede reflection in practice, again limiting the autonomy of school staff.

Foucault and Smith (1995) states that discourse involves an examination of the relationships and contexts that shape it, where instead of accepting discourse as a concrete reality, it should be seen as something that is actively influenced by a wide range of external factors. The discursive spaces of schools are determined by many aspects such as the adults, or school staff. This is a viewpoint upheld in studies such as that of Maija and Brunila (2019) where they state that, "disturbing behaviour becomes discursively produced in the school every day as teachers interpret situations", (p.684). Manning and Bucher (2001) synthesise what makes a positive classroom environment into three key aims. Firstly, that teachers demonstrate harmonious communication that considers how children feel. Secondly the classroom is a collaborative environment where children are active contributors; and lastly, that punishment is reduced with a focus on reinforcement of rules and routines. "…. avoiding autocratic behaviours; recognizing the need to seek alternatives to punishment; using "I" messages instead of "you" messages; conferring dignity on students; accepting and acknowledging children and their feeling, and providing appreciative praise rather than evaluative praise", (Manning & Bucher, 2001, p.215). The first aim of considering how a child feels when communicating with them lends itself to effective pedagogy, where the teacher considers the capacity of the child in the learning experience. This theory is also reflective of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943) where the basic needs of children must be addressed to allow higher order functions such as self-actualisation.

Current educational practice favours the docile child, who listens implicitly and behaves as required. As a result, this child is seen as educated and regulated. "The well-adjusted individual who does not question the traditions of the establishment but adapts himself or herself according to the established norms of what it means to be a 'normal', decent and respectable student, employee and citizen" (Po Tao, 2010, p.17;18). Foucault (1977) talks extensively about disciplinary power in modernist institutions, such as schools, where he posits that power is upheld through the redistribution of disciplinary procedures in three ways – hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination. This results in discursive spaces created in institutions such as schools, where discipline, surveillance, training and monitoring, exercises a constant normalising judgement. Foucault describes how governmentality aims for a modern society which is "a disciplined society" (Merquior, 1985, p.114), where individualisation was applied to mark exclusion, "this was what was operated regularly by disciplinary power from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the psychiatric system, the penitentiary, the reformatory, the approved school and, to some extent, the hospital", (Foucault, 1977, p.199). For those who do not comply to the 'norm', differentiation emerges. In a school context, the 'good' children are those that are capable of adhering to

the projected normalising structures and the 'bad' children must be seen to be punished until they adhere too.

2.1.2 Panopticism

I wished to examine how school staff perceived behaviour management systems operated in schools, for example the integration of school-wide rules, boundaries, and practices, and how these actualise as both explicit directives such as established polices and classroom rules, to implicit practices such as accepted behaviours and norms. This led me to Foucault's theory of the panopticon and its implications for surveillance in schools. Foucault's (1977) theory stems from Bentham's panopticon theory (1995), where his interpretation of self-policing and panopticism was that, just like within such institutions, society too is structured in a way that it infers on its subjects a conscious permanent visibility of governance.

Current behaviour management strategies, such as those in schools, often rely on the concept of observation to reinforce expected behaviour for both children and school staff. Foucault's interpretation of Bentham's panopticon theory; "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1977, p.201), explains how society is structured in a way that constantly observes behaviour and self-expression. Navigating away from the expected norms of the dominant power in a society results in negative implications for the individual, or child or staff member, if referring to a school context. The panopticon theory incorporates how society is governed in multiple ways where in a school the rules and boundaries may be decided by those who are in charge, such as senior leaders, teachers, and governors, but the implementation and upkeep of the rules and boundaries are a shared process. Children and adults alike know the rules and will often police themselves and others in ensuring they are obeyed. Foucault describes panopticism and the power of the 'invisible gaze' and how it produces a "guarantee of order", "if they are schoolchildren, there is no copying, no noise, no waste of time", (Foucault, 1977, p.200;201). The fear of being 'caught' even when not being watched is enough to encourage conformity. The power of the 'gaze' is that it is hidden in plain sight so that, "the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its activity" (Foucault, 1977, p.201).

As attendance at institutions in society such as schools increased due to compulsory school age, individual disciplining was harder to implement. The gaze supports behaviour management as it makes individuals control their own behaviour, to conform with the rules and regulations of society where "the discipline comes from the child itself…. a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power", (Foucault, 1977, p.201). By applying engrained rules, boundaries and accepted practices within schools, the panoptic gaze manages behaviour in schools by creating a system of constant surveillance and monitoring that encourages self-surveillance and discipline among children and staff.

Foucault (1977) asserts that the mere presence of the gaze and the assumption of surveillance can be enough to exercise power and discipline, but states that the awareness of being watched stifled creativity and individuality and prioritised conformity. Something that punitive behaviour management systems will do in schools, where children who have the capacity to follow rules and boundaries will prioritise conformity over self-expression and children who are unable to regulate their behaviour, respond with survival behaviours such as anger or avoidance (Muris, 2015). This accepted and expected normalisation eradicated free will and independent thought, creating what Foucault termed "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1977, p.135). Such actions of surveillance impact on children in schools as the child becomes conscious of their own actions and subjectivity. This alters behaviour and how individuals who fail to act within the realms of accepted norms are considered in society. Discourse becomes entrenched in 'this is how we do things', and as a result other possible versions of reality are denied. Such realities or accepted practices or norms traverse into how behaviour is managed and modified in schools. Indeed, in my own past experiences and in discussions with school leaders, comments such as 'we had no other choice but to exclude,' have been used when discussing children who are seen as challenging or disruptive. A further reflection to discern from this comment is how ill-equipped schools are to deal with children who are vulnerable, where limited pastoral and therapeutic support means that children fail to receive support in schools, where, due to limited resources, 'no choice but to exclude' appears to be the only available option. Drawing parallels between panopticon theory and punitive behaviour management practices in schools permitted a deeper understanding of the power/knowledge dynamics at play and helped me to delve further into the inhibiting impact of such practice.

The Foucauldian perspective of panopticism is also influential in changing discourse, as Po Tao (2010, p.20) points out; "the panoptic setup also serves as a laboratory in which to carry out experiments on people, to alter behaviour, to train and correct individuals". This observation reinforces the power that institutions, such as schools, have in eliciting what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, however, there is ambiguity when defining what they mean. "The specific articulation a moral value receives (for example justice) depends on the social, cultural and political context", (Veugelers, 2017, p.413). Systems within the school are a microcosm of their community and wider society. Diverse and far-reaching factors such as the demographics of the school, the schools' external community, and the cultures and beliefs that incorporate it, the quality of teaching, the philosophical beliefs, and even the latest Ofsted rating, can impact on how schools' measure acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. What a confusing concept for a child, particularly a child who is experiencing adversity in their lives.

2.1.3 Docile Bodies

Foucault (1977) uses the term docile bodies to describe how the dominant power in society uses discipline to shape minds and bodies to what is deemed acceptable. When considering how certain individuals have the ability to abide by rules and boundaries whilst others do not, Foucault's writing on 'docile bodies' acts as an aide to understand how in schools the well-behaved are celebrated, whilst those who struggle deserve to be disciplined and shamed. Foucault argued that modern discipline, although often exercised via disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) and less physically violent, has a deeper and more long-lasting impact. When examining the term docile bodies in schools, I considered what makes a 'good' student. This description often lends itself to homogeny, someone who is disciplined, well-behaved and conforms. A docile body responds well to current disciplinary practices where, repetition of routines and boundaries, through practices such as panopticism, eventually become entrenched and self-maintained.

Foucault indicates that the docile body is the individual that conforms, that abides by the given rules, which in a school can be perceived as the children who are seen as 'well-behaved' (Bowlby et al., 2014). According to Foucault (1977), the act of disciplinary power eradicates free will and independent thinking, creating "docile bodies" (p.135). This means that children who are behaving may be doing so at the expense of their own individuality. This docility is an intentional act by those in dominance to create individuals who are capable of performing the functions 'needed' for society with little concern for specific needs or human agency. Therefore, punitive behaviour management systems in schools do not support the expressiveness or uniqueness of anyone, be it the docile or 'rebellious' child.

Foucault (1977) uses the analogy of the soldier to exemplify docile bodies, and how the ability to conform to strict practices is seen as honourable and respectful. A good soldier, through being conditioned and trained to act in a certain way, is commendable and a martyr for their society due to their strict obedience –

> A political anatomy, which was also a 'mechanics of society' was being borne; it defined how one may have a hold over other bodies, not only so that they do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed, and the efficiency that one determines. Thus, discipline procedures subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile bodies' (p.138).

I argue that the idea of docile bodies presents as an anomaly. The Cambridge Dictionary (2022) defines docile as "quiet and easy to influence, persuade or control". This definition is oppressive and could be perceived that an individual who is docile is weak and easily led. The anomaly arises when viewing docile bodies in Foucault's vision, where he observes that in society, the docile body is championed as being

respectable, well-behaved and a good citizen. These qualities are celebrated in schools (Department for Education, 2024a), where the more children adhere to the routines and boundaries of school, the more they are celebrated. Campos et al. (1989) posit that parenting plays a critical role in the development of these skills, and children's self-regulation is closely tied to success in many domains of functioning. Broadly speaking, children who have consistent caregiving and the luxury of secure attachment relationships with key people in their lives, are more likely to abide by the routines and boundaries of school. Cassidy (1994) supports this by asserting that secure attachments play a significant role in emotion regulation. The more positive experiences children have with key people in their lives, such as consistency, love, and nurture, the stronger their working model (Bowlby et al., 1952), which is a child's unconscious perception of themselves. For children who have not had the fortune of experiencing secure early relationships, a further opportunity presents in school, where staff can act as positive role models, demonstrating nurture, love, and consistency. However, due to earlier negative attachment experiences, vulnerable children may not yet have the skills to abide by established school rules and boundaries, and as such might impact on positive relationship building between children and school staff. Without an understanding of the impact of attachment on regulating behaviour, school staff may see children's inability to regulate their behaviour as a choice, a conscious decision to present as challenging and detached, whilst it is likely that the opposite is more accurate.

2.1.4 Power

Foucault (1990) writes extensively on the pervasiveness of power and its ever-presence in society, and explores how power and dominance controls discourse, which reinforces norms in many ways such as what is deemed good and bad, e.g., sexuality, sanity, ability, beliefs, etc. This discourse subjugates and categorises what is socially acceptable and what is not, "bodies become docile and are used to exclude individuals who do not fit socially acceptable understandings or categories", (Zaidi et al., 2021.p.74). Sugden (2022) explores the Foucauldian definition of biopower in present day and describes how the intended 'normalisation' of the dominant society is "permeated at and through sites as diverse as schools, television shows, urban centres and social media", (p.881). Cultural and societal norms are reinforced and regurgitated through institutional norms and practices such as in schools, where how behaviour is managed, rather than how positive behaviour is promoted.

With panopticon theory and the docile child in mind, I wished to examine how accepted discourses are maintained and permitted in the site of school. Biopower, in Foucauldian terms is a form of "anatomo-politics of the human body" (Foucault, 1990, p.139), where collective forces stipulate how to behave in every respect, the "conduct of conducts" (p.172), where the masses believe that such subjugation is in the name of "social good" (Zaidi et al., 2021, p.74). In a school, biopower reinforces 'norms' such as

acceptable behaviour; those who do not conform to the intended norms are seen as challenging and a threat to the biopower of the school. The ability to adhere to routines and boundaries can be impacted by adverse experiences in childhood, so the inability to conform can result in vulnerable children feeling othered (Weissman, 2015), potentially fuelling a self-fulfilling concept of inadequateness. Governmentality is a key ingredient in Foucault's notion of biopower, where through stable expectations and intention of norms it generates such practices. According to Foucault (1977), governmentality aims for a disciplined society where an accepted view of appropriateness is created and so too is perceptions of inappropriateness, with school being a typical site to reinforce and reproduce these beliefs.

From an institutional perspective, the use of disciplinary power in schools has the potential to create an environment that appears ordered, where children and school staff apply themselves and get results, helping the school to meet performance measures. The institution contributes to maintaining sovereignty where the voice of those within the school, such as children and staff, is silenced, reinforcing an inequitable and deterministic reproduction of behaviourism. There may be some children and staff who did not quite make it, but that is their fault, despite many efforts they could not be helped. In these cases of 'failure', criticism is always deflected away from the theory itself, or its institutional practices, and back onto the individual, the heterogenous individual who does not fit and as such a product of disciplinary power. This led me to think about what a change in practice in a school, such as becoming trauma informed, might have on challenging sovereignty and disciplinary power and what factors might be disrupted as a result.

This process of disciplinary power is further reinforced through behaviour management structures where students who do not abide by the rules and boundaries will be seen as choosing to disobey the system or the institution, in this case the school. Children who are seen as challenging become subjected to behaviour management procedures which are deemed the order of things, where their incapacity to behave permits an acceptance that they should be disciplined as the rights of the school have been violated. The institution remains unscathed. This results in marginalised voices in education, parents and vulnerable groups. Using Foucault's process of genealogy, it helps to ask, as McNicol Jardin (2005) suggests, what our intent is when applying behaviour management practices in school and what the effect these practices have on those involved, such as students and teachers. "'The fallacy of 'if only' an idea has been enacted correctly, negative effects would have been avoided", (p.38).

Foucault's writings on power, knowledge and docile bodies, capture the essence of the impact of dominance and power on thriving in society, but I believe that it did not provide enough theory to underpin the impact of socioeconomic status and environment, essentially field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) in education. I wanted to examine the influence of forms of capital, such as cultural capital, and

how a person's environment and experiences influence if said capital is one that is deemed as lucrative to employment and life chances. Hannus and Simola (2010) define Bourdieu's theories as a way to analyse how education or schooling can affect, "patterns of social access, social justice and changes in equality", (p.5).

2.1.5 Resistance

A further point to consider when perusing Foucault's concept of power and how that leads to the subjugation of docile bodies, was his views on those who do not confirm and whether they are wholly and always suppressed and silenced. It led me to examine further his notion of resistance, which according to Butin (2001) is often misappropriated in educational research, "due to its unidimensional on the constraining and disciplinary nature of relations of power", (p. 157). Pickett (1996) also posits that Foucauldian thinking is foregrounded in his concept of resistance which contests more accepted claims that Foucault views power as paralyzing. Butin (2001) coins the term "Foucauldian fallacies" to describe the misinterpretation of Foucault's scholarship and alongside, "negation of agency" and "the capitulation to radical relativism"; denotes "the exclusion of the potential for resistance to domination" (p.158). To the contrary, Foucault saw resistance as inherent within power relations, and saw it as a means for self-transformation, "there is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight', (Foucault, 2001, p. 346). Ralph (2023) states that Foucault refrained from viewing power as a phenomenon but instead sought to get to the crux of domination and the factors that construct it.

This alternative Foucauldian position, appears to feature more often in his later writings on regimes of truth and power. Picket (1996) identifies Foucault's emerging thinking on resistance, beginning with the introduction of resistance in his writings in the 1960's and evolving to the increase in terms such as 'struggle' and 'resistance' in the 1970's, where power becomes a central focus of his thinking (Ralph, 2023), where he sees history and societal practice mesh together to create 'truth' and normalising judgement. The power and value of the institution, such as schools, and its crucial position in the biopower of dominance were key to Foucault's thoughts on the distribution of power. This thinking evolved further in Foucault's later years where he defined power as something that exists through action, "predominantly a relationship of force", (Ralph, 2023. p.15). Butin (2001) claims that in Foucault's vision, dominance ignites resistance and agency, where counterpower creates emancipation from which new regimes of truth can emerge.

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault, 1991. p.194).

This positions Foucault's view of the institution in another frame, where instead of being "merely the factories of obedient behaviour" (Leask, 2012. p.57), schools might instead be the locus for change and agency through resistance. Deacon and Parker (1995) further contextualise Foucault's perspectives on resistance to schools, and children and staff in particular, where they are objects of both power and knowledge, "and their actions are always implicated in the very relations upon and within which they act", (p. 117), which in Foucauldian thought their existence is grounded and dependent upon their points of resistance in their role of "adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations", (Foucault, 1981. p.95). Therefore, using Foucault's 'toolbox' (Leask, 2012. p.57) to understand the prominence of power and dominance in education may increase the likelihood of agency to prevail, as Foucault stated, "where there is power, there is resistance", (Foucault, 1981. p.95). Perhaps then, even within the confines of educational performativity and bureaucracy, children and staff still possess agency and responsibility, rather than being subordinates of governmentality. I was interested to examine if, in my interviews with school staff, they referred to the influence of power and if they identified resistance or agency within their interpretations. I wondered if, within the new trauma informed direction of the school, they might identify with the willingness, or perhaps requirement to resist accepted structures, in a quest for change. For example, would behaviour displays from children that are seen as challenging or disruptive be viewed by school staff as "anti-authority struggle" (Ralph, 2023. P.16) or instead would be seen as acts of power and agency on their part that requires empathy, respect and value.

2.1.6 Care

In a bid to understand the prospect of schools adopting a trauma informed approach, practice that is somewhat different to the existing accepted behaviourist model of managing behaviour in schools (Department for Education, 2024a), Foucault's writings of the ethics of care/care of the self offers a scholarly underpinning. The care of the self applies to his later work, where he examines the notion of the "cultivation of care" (Foucault, 1986, p.42), which translates to the importance he applies to tending to one's own needs before being equipped to support others. Foucault defines care of the self as practice and techniques that cultivate self-awareness, ethical self-governance, and self-improvement, where from taking care of oneself will permeate the importance of self-care to others. "…. you have to take care of yourself: it is you who takes care; and then you take care of something which is the same thing as yourself, [the same thing] as the subject who 'takes care", (Foucault, 1986a).

I construe here that Foucault is emphasising the importance of self-worth and from there, individuals are better equipped to show care and concern for others. The decision to adopt an alternative way of framing and supporting behaviour in schools, might suggest that a school community intends to cultivate care of the self internally. In Foucauldian thought, he offers a further layer of complexity, where ethics of

self can impact on one's ability to become empathic, where in the case of my research this could apply to school staff. Foucault (1997) discusses ethics and moral approval and describes them as often self-imposed practices which are cultivated by what we believe is acceptable and unacceptable practice, or that defines our actions as consistent with our moral code. Ball and Collet-Sabe (2022) relate Foucault's views on ethics and moral subjectivity to education and posit that Foucault believed that the regimes of truth within education limit educators' ability to think beyond the parameters of what is considered acceptable, moral and ethical practice. By a school opting to adopt alternative ways of supporting positive behaviour in schools, might indicate a willingness to challenge and question regimes of truth.

Through exploring evolutionary change via genealogy, Foucault (1977) explains that a more transparent analysis can be conducted where the "errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist," (p.146) can be examined. When considering another way of supporting behaviour in schools, I first wanted to understand why the current punitive behaviour management approach is the default practice and how this came to be accepted. This was a complex process, as accepted practice, such as how behaviour is managed, has correlations to life beyond the school walls, such as culture, politics, and social dominance. Tamboukou (1999) describes the examining of a phenomenon as a "strong gasp…at the epistemological and theoretical tension involved in asking how our educational practices function as they do", (p.766). I approached my research with a pragmatic understanding of how the notion of questioning accepted practice in schools might create tension where notions of conformity, docility, oppression might be an unsettling concept to examine. I was conscious that I was questioning a widely accepted practice, that many see as the only way to uphold control within schools, where power and discipline is seen to maintain order. However, Foucault's writings on the importance of appraising, questioning, and evaluating accepted norms and practice to inform future discourses reinforced the need to do just that, in a bid to inform change and as such understand practices in schools that support the creation of trauma informed practices.

While conducting an extensive literature review into the theme of trauma informed practice in education alongside seeking to align the literature with theoretical underpinning, the work of Foucault repeatedly resonated with my interpretation of existing literature and research in this field. In essence, trauma informed practice as an alternative to traditional existing educational practice, particularly in relation to behaviour management where the focus flips from a behaviourist to a restorative approach (Drewery & Kecskemeti, 2010). Questions can be raised around why, given the rising awareness of the impact of adversity and trauma on vulnerable children (Gomez et al., 2021), we remain rooted within a deterministically behaviourist model in schools which is premeditated by policy and guidelines that do little to sway away from such practice. The ever-increasing bureaucracy of education (Kilinç et al., 2016), where schools continue to be regulated through assessment, key performance targets and the

inspectorate, aligns with Foucault's writings on governmentality and the panoptic gaze (Foucault, 1977), where the need to 'behave' supersedes the ability to celebrate and advocate for transformative emancipatory practice.

2.2 Further theoretical underpinnings

My research intent was to gain insight into the views of staff who work in a school that identifies as being trauma informed. I hoped to understand staff perspectives on trauma informed practice, and how they felt it was represented in their role as an educator and in the school community. Foucault, whilst highly regarded, is also subject to critique by some, largely around his oversimplification of the constructs of power and overreliance on historical perspectives to undermine social progress (Ball, 2019). Much of Foucault's work, particularly before his later writings, assumed a pessimistic view of progress, limiting the potential for collective actions and transformative practice (Constâncio & Faustino, 2018), a concept that I did not want to frame my research solely upon. When considering the influence of trauma informed practice in schools, I wanted to focus upon the multifaceted factors that exist within a school, where the uniqueness of schools and those that access it are considered in how the culture and ethos of the school is constructed, for example on how positive behaviour is promoted.

2.2.1 Bronfenbrenner

Bronfenbrenner emphasises the role of environment such as family, community, relationships and wider societal contexts in how individuals develop. In seeking to understand the influence of trauma informed practice in schools I felt it necessary to consider the ecological as well as power and societal structures in place, and therefore applied Bronfenbrenner's writings to my research as a lens for interpreting the interrelationships between the child and their environments.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory (1979) focuses on a number of systems that interact with each other and lead to the shaping of a child's development. The microsystem links to the child's immediate environment such as their family, the mesosystem links to environments which children again have frequent contact with, such as school, the exosystem is the child's wider environment such as the neighbourhood in which they live, the macrosystem is factors that impact on quality of life such as socioeconomic status, policy that informs practice, ethnicity, cultural views, and finally the chronosystem links to how dimensions of time influence an individual's development. These systems are interconnected and interrelated, where, for example, an issue in ecological systems may influence experiences in another (Hawkins et al., 2021). The notion of education not just influencing children within school but beyond and into the home and the community, and in turn the influence of these systems on children, resonated with

my view of how children are supported in schools to understand their behaviour and how these experiences can shape their realities and impact the spheres in which they exist. “Correlations between insecure attachment and behavioural problems are stronger among children living in high-risk environments (such as poverty and illness); similarly, social support may act as a protective factor with respect to the effects of insecure attachment styles”, (Assailly, 2022, p.111). Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory resonates with Foucault’s analysis of power and knowledge as it highlights how macro level structures, such as policies, norms, and surveillance in schools, can shape an individuals behaviour. When applying trauma informed practices to schools, the synthesis of Foucault’s writing on systemic power constructs and Bronfenbrenner’s writing on the multi-layered impact of a child’s environment aid in a recognition of the factors that influence child development and the potential impact of trauma and development on their progress. I was intrigued to understand if through my interviews, school staff would consider the child’s wider world when seeking to understand their behaviour and in promoting positive behaviour in schools.

Bronfenbrenner’s model enabled me to consider further the impact of societal and environmental factors on an individual and how within trauma informed practice, this is an integral part of achieving a person-centred approach. These factors helped to enhance my analysis as it recognises a complex system of influence on a developing child not just in school but beyond, for example when examining the role of parent as partners and whether trauma informed practice is more likely to be effective in schools from areas of affluence or areas of deprivation.

Although the work of Bronfenbrenner aids a deeper understanding of the influence of social and environmental factors on the developing child, the ecological systems theory has been criticised for not giving enough consideration to individual agency in response to define and understand the forces of the systems in which they exist. For example, Christensen (2016b) posits that Bronfenbrenner’s model, similar to Foucauldian thought, does not offer a broad enough understanding of what stimulates individuals to become influenced by and in turn influential to their environments, something Christensen asserts is linked to the development of resilience. Resilience is a key structure in practices that seek to support individuals through restoration and reparation, such as trauma informed practice in my research, because it refers to the ability to “successfully withstand, overcome, and adapt to adversity” (Twum-Antwi et al., 2020. p.79). The need for resilience to be included in the model is further supported by Engler (2007), where resilience is seen as a route to understanding individual capacity and a way to understand how individuals overcome trauma and adversity in their lives. This was an interesting concept for me to ponder, as Engler’s observations resonated with the notions of traumatisation and toxic stress, where factors such as attachment, support and resilience will play a part on the lasting impacts of trauma and adversity in a child’s life. Like Bronfenbrenner’s model, the environment in which a child exists will

influence their development, but so too will their sense of self and how they perceive the world based on relationships they hold and have experienced with others.

2.2.2 Engeström

While my research aimed to ascertain the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools, I was also interested in exploring if my findings might contribute to a deeper understanding of how meaningful change can occur within education and the facets required to enable this change. The forthcoming literature review chapters, alongside my research findings, indicated that for effective change in general, particularly within educational practice, it is essential that a collective decision is fostered, and in response to addressing need or enhancing the wellbeing of all involved (Perry & Daniels, 2016; McCluskey, 2018; Courtney, 2019; Brady & Wilson, 2021). Alongside indicating the importance of considering those involved in bringing about change, namely school staff, I wanted to consider how change is consolidated and maintained, where practice remains transformative and perpetual, and prioritises the unique needs of a school community, rather than the bureaucratic and performative requirements of education. This led me to consider Engeström's expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987) as a framework to understand how schools can bring about change as a result of identifying questions or dilemmas in practice (Mørck, 2010).

Engeström (2001) posits that organisations often focus on training individuals on "acquiring stable knowledge" (Lindley & Lotz-Sisitka, 2019, p.9), which limits the opportunity to seek and consider new forms of activity, where instead expansive learning theory is founded upon inner contradictions that are analysed longitudinally in a bid to create change, which opens up, "new possibilities for action and development (p.339). Engeström and Sannino (2010) state that "traditional modes of learning are not enough", (p.3), (namely the traditional behaviourist 'management' model which will be discussed in more detail in the coming chapters), when dealing with complex situations, such as in the case of my research, the unique needs of a school community. Expansive learning theory assumes that new knowledge is created in response to a dilemma or question (Tessier, 2022) and is shaped over time through reflection and readjustment and influenced by those involved in it. Robertson (2014) defines expansive learning as a sociocultural theory of learning which is situated within social contexts.

Engeström used research by Davydov (1988) to summarise expansive learning theory into a cycle of seven steps, "including questioning, analysis, modelling the new solution, examining and testing the new model, implementing the new model, reflecting on the process, and consolidating the new practice", (Yu, 2023, p.4335). Lindley and Lotz-Sisitka (2019) state that 'contradictions' or tensions can be based on ethnographic evidence from the "activity system" (Young, 2001, p.158), which includes the different facets involved in change, for example the school, children, parents, and the inspectorate. Through talking

with school staff, I wanted to ascertain if the motivation to move towards practice that was trauma informed began with questioning how effective current practice was, and if aspects such as less than good Ofsted ratings and rising student and family needs, and staff wellbeing, were of concern. The next point on the expansive learning cycle (Engeström, 2001) is 'analysis', which encourages a vigorous interrogation of "the cultural and historical origin of current practices", (Lindley & Lotz-Sisitka, 2019, p.9). Literature indicates how behaviour management practice in schools alludes to control and hierarchy, namely through modes of governmentality (Foucault, 1977) that have resulted in accepted punitive practices. By analysing the history of practice and considering "actual empirical analysis", (Engeström, 2001, p.152) in my research with school staff, I wanted to examine if through analysing the 'problem' with punitive behaviour management in schools, another way of framing behaviour can be contemplated.

The third step in Engeström's cycle is to collaboratively create new solutions or other possibilities of practice, "collaborative envisioning and a deliberate collective change effort", (Engeström, 2001, p.137), or in the case of schools, different ways of how behaviour can be supported through relational approaches rather than managed. In the case of my research, I wished to explore how change came about within the school, and if school staff felt part of the transition to becoming trauma informed and in framing behaviour management differently. Engeström's (2001) fourth point on the expansive learning cycle is 'examining', where the new model is tested to gauge its viability. Again, I wanted to learn how staff were supported and included in the process of testing alternative practices, and if they were provided with resources to become more educated and engaged in trauma informed practices. Following the 'examining' step, Engeström's (2001) cycle leads to the 'implementation' of the new model or change through a process of modelling and monitoring effectiveness (Engeström, 2001; Young, 2001). Again, I was curious to hear staff perspectives on how the change in practice was implemented within the school. Engeström's cycle functions as unidirectional where steps can be revisited through reflection (Dochy et al. 2011), where progress can be considered and discussed and adjustments and changes can be made when required (Engeström, 2001), within an endless cyclical process (Young, 2001). The final step within Engeström's cycle (2001) is the importance of consolidating practice, where the sustainability of an approach is considered to ensure its longevity. Perhaps the most integral in developing trauma informed practices within schools to ensure it lasts. I was keen to listen to staff views on the sustainability of trauma informed practices within the school.

The strengths and limitations of the theoretical underpinnings of predominantly Foucault, with other key thinkers at points, helped to inform my research by first seeking to understand and deconstruct existing literature and policy on both trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools. Through engaging with philosophical frameworks and viewing trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools through this lens, the requirement to examine the nuanced and unique social and

cultural contexts of schools and their communities became even more apparent. The prevailing themes found within the literature review correlated to the theme of power, control and knowledge, aspects which led me to consider if such themes would be prevalent in my data collection process. As such, the initial step of uncovering philosophical underpinning had been a fundamental step in creating a secure foreground for my research. Unearthing the philosophical themes of power, resistance, control, and knowledge under the guise of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, aided the next phase of my research, where literature related to these themes is examined.

Chapter 3 Trauma and its Effects

Trauma can often be referred to as the event itself, however the impact of the event can define the level of trauma experienced by the individual during and long after the event has occurred, something Quiñones et al. (2022) refer to as traumatisation. Music (2019) defines trauma as what happens when an individual is overwhelmed by an experience, challenging their normal ways of coping and managing, disrupting normal functioning and impacting on holistic development. Ford and Coutois (cited in Milot et al., 2014), define trauma as involving repeated or prolonged exposure to traumatic events. De Bellis and Zisk (2014) report that trauma typically begins in childhood or adolescence occurring during stages of development which poses a severe threat that may seriously disrupt typical holistic development. However, there is no consensus for the definition of trauma or traumatisation (Krupnik, 2019) and therefore controversy persists about its meaning, and in turn what trauma informed practice means. Due to such ambiguity, within this chapter I wanted to clearly define my perception of trauma and adversity for the purposes of my research. This will be followed by my interpretation of what constitutes positive behaviour and challenging behaviour in schools in Chapter 4.

In considering the concepts of discipline and power as described by Foucault (1977) and his view on who is more likely to be docile and who is more likely to be in control, the role of attachment theory is central to shaping a person. Therefore, I will also review how attachment styles contribute to identity and a sense of self. This will help to examine what, in relation to behaviour management in schools, makes a child more likely to be controlled or be in control.

3.1 Trauma, adversity and Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs)

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) happen during childhood or adolescence and can directly harm a child or negatively impact their environments. The term ACEs was coined by Felitti et al., in 1998 following research into the prevalence of trauma and adversity in childhood. The 17,500-participant study denoted a link between toxic stress in childhood and developmental health problems later in life. The seminal study created an awareness of the association between ACEs and diseases and conditions affecting adult health such as mental health issues, cancers, auto-immune disease, and liver disease, to name a few.

Van der Kolk (2014) summarises key findings from the original ACE study and further subsequent studies indicating that there is a direct link between childhood trauma and adversity, such as ACEs, and adult onset of chronic disease, as well as depression, suicide, being violent and a becoming victim to violence.

Felitti et al. (1998) state that seven out of the ten leading causes of death are linked to adversity in childhood. Young Minds (2020) estimate that almost half of adults in England have been exposed to at least one form of adversity in their childhood or adolescence. An ACE survey with adults in Wales found that compared to people with no ACEs, those with 4 or more are more likely, to have been in prison, develop heart disease, frequently visit the GP, have committed violence in the last 12 months and have health-harming behaviours such as high-risk drinking, smoking, and drug use (Office for National Statistics, 2021).

Upon examining the impact of trauma or adversity on the developing child, for example children within primary schools, I came across Forner (2017) who describes trauma as an event or events which move a "child's inner physiology into a place of fear for life and that fear does not get dealt with in a positive and healthy manner", (p.65). Forner explains how the inner unconscious neurobiology of the individual is what determines the impact of trauma where the longevity of trauma can affect an individual's self-worth. The embodiment of trauma or adversity on a child's perception of self led me to think about how this might manifest in how a child views their worth within a school context and furthermore how the school community and accepted practices work to support children with such negative earlier experiences. The Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (2014) describes how trauma can involve key figures in a child's life. The innate human need to attach (Bowlby et al., 1952) is compromised when a carer does not fulfil their nurturing role, causing confliction for the child to wish to connect but also wish to feel safe. This conflict is not something a child may consciously recognise or understand and is likely to struggle to resolve independently. Again, thinking about vulnerable children in schools, where confusion or chaotic relationships with key people in their lives has created complexity in securing attachments with others, I wonder how these children are supported and whether their potential apprehension in making connections with school staff and others is seen as a vulnerability or an act of defiance.

The potential impact of adversity and trauma beyond the event itself sparked my research interest as it made me reflect on children who are deemed 'challenging' in schools and how often they are likely to have experienced or continue to experience adversities in their lives. Regardless of the trauma or adversity, Krupnik (2019) posits that the construct of trauma is often linked to posttraumatic stress disorder where stress, or toxic stress as a result of trauma or adversity is what can have lasting effects on a person. My research focuses upon trauma and adversity through the context of traumatisation from the impact of a traumatic event (Quiñones et al., 2022) rather than on the event itself. This was an integral aspect to define at the outset of my research as rather than focusing on the traumatic event itself, I was interested in seeking to understand how school staff use their perspectives of trauma informed practice to support all children in schools. I wished not to home in on the level or description of trauma a

child had experienced and how schools looked to support individual children, but rather to look at practices in place that support and ready school staff to promote an environment where trauma informed practice is part of the school culture, rather than an intervention that is applied for children in crisis.

3.2 The prevalence of trauma and adversity

Adversity in childhood is common where the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) in the year ending March 2019, estimated that approximately 8.5 million adults aged 18 to 74 years experienced abuse before the age of 16 years. This is equivalent to 20.7% of the population aged 18 to 74 years. A child who experiences trauma or adversity will rarely experience just one type where, Milot et al. (2016), report that studies conducted with neglected children show that, "child neglect, alone or in combination with other forms of maltreatment or risk factors, is associated with increased risk of developing trauma-related symptoms such as dissociation and posttraumatic intrusion/avoidance/hyperarousal as early as the preschool years", (p.90). These multifaceted symptoms made me reflect upon children in schools who act 'outside' of expected behavioural norms such as failing to follow rules or appearing to choose not to communicate or concentrate and whether such actions are a result of trauma or adversity, where subjecting them to behaviour management processes will further exacerbate their feelings of unbelonging (Weissman, 2015; Breiner et al., 2016).

Children are moulded by their experiences and relationships (Bowlby et al., 1952). If they are subjected to stressful and traumatic events in childhood their default brain function may be hard wired to trauma response. McFarlane (2021) describes how a traumatised individual can be changed by their experiences where their initial view of the world may be that it is unsafe. "The resulting constant vigilance and assessment of threat is mentally and physically exhausting and means that relaxation does not come easily", (McFarlane, 2021). Considering this perpetual feeling of worry and imminent attack, it is not surprising that the body reacts with difficulty in finding calm. The ever-present feeling of threat and uncertainty is bound to be further heightened in environments such as schools, where there is an expectancy to concentrate, listen and to follow rules, where the inability to do so is likely to result in being subjected to behaviour management procedures. I am concerned that for children, particularly those who have experiences of trauma or adversity in their lives, the impeding threat of being sanctioned for failing to 'behave' creates further exhaustion on their mental and physical wellbeing, where school may become a site of stigma, rather than a place to flourish.

3.3 Stress and the developing child

A further point to consider was how trauma symptoms manifest in the body and result in aspects already mentioned by McFarlane (2021), where prolonged stress activation, especially when children do not have

secure and consistent attachment figure/s, is what translates a traumatic or adverse event into traumatisation. Brooks (2019) describes toxic stress as "prolonged, severe stress in early childhood, without the buffer of a secure attachment relationship, can have long-term damaging effects", (p.11) Before discussing toxic stress I wish to note that children can overcome stressful or traumatic situations if in a nurturing and caring environment. If this environment or opportunity is unavailable the likelihood of toxic stress increases dramatically.

Toxic stress can occur when children do not receive the nurture they require which is often the result of poor attachments and inconsistent caregiving from their primary caregivers. Nurture, secure attachments, and consistent caregiving support children in developing a positive "internal working model" (Bowlby et al., 1952). This working model supports self-worth, confidence, and resilience. Bronfenbrenner's (2005) comment that "every child needs one adult who is irrationally crazy about them", concurs with Bowlby et al's. observations. "Excessive stress occurs when demands made on an organism exceed that organism's reasonable capacity to fill them", (Mate, 2019, p.29). When contextualising these findings to my research and children in schools, the lack of a consistent caregiver at home may already be a trauma symptom or indeed a predisposing factor for further exposure to adversity in their lives, and as such emphasises the links between trauma, attachment, and toxic stress. Burke-Harris (2018) uses the useful analogy of the 'bear in the woods' when describing stress activation (see Appendix 1).

However, stress is not always unhealthy (Quiñones et al., 2022) and is part of human nature and can support resilience building, grit, and learning. The National Institute for Mental Health (2021) describe how stress prepares the body for fight or flight which are functions that aide survival. Phang (2017) describes stress as the body's reaction to events that happen internally and externally. It has been hard-wired into human biology for survival and is therefore an asset in healthy development. The Wave Trust (2021), an international organisation dedicated to conducting research and training to reduce the causes of childhood trauma and adversity, discuss how stress can be subdivided into different categories: positive stress, tolerable stress, and toxic stress. Positive stress is what has been previously described as healthy, and an essential part of typical development. Tolerable stress results in the stress response system becoming more heightened. Whereas toxic stress is the result of, "strong, frequent and/or prolonged adversity which results in changes to their baseline state", (2021).

Stress when repeated or prolonged can go from 'being helpful and lifesaving to unhelpful and life-changing', (Phang, 2017). This prolonged adversity results in extended activation of the stress response system which can disrupt typical development (Harvard University, 2021). If stress remains positive or tolerable and the child has access to positive relationships with adults that help the child to adapt and recover, the disruption to typical development is significantly reduced. If this is not the case, the impact

of repeated and prolonged activation of the stress response system can disturb the developing physiology of the brain and body. “The presence of social-emotional buffering such as a healthy relationship support from an adult determines whether the resulting stress response will be tolerable or toxic”, (Harvard University, 2021). Forner (2017) situates the important role of the adult in times of adversity, where children will benefit from support and guidance from a secure ‘buffer’. In relation to my research, this is where adults or school staff who are trauma informed, have the opportunity to do just that.

3.4 Trauma, attachment and behaviour

The pervasiveness of adversity or trauma in childhood is decreased with the support of a secure buffer, usually in the form of what Winnicott (1953) referred to as a ‘good enough’ caregiver. The impact of adversity is significantly increased when the caregiver is unable to provide enough care for the child to feel safe in the world. Therefore, when exploring trauma and its effects, attachment must be considered. Children need to feel safe, in fact it is an innate human need to feel safe. “When we are very scared, very sad, very alone, and/or overwhelmed, we need others to help regulate us, especially as children”, (Forner, 2017, p.69). When young children feel unsafe or are under stress they will turn to their attachment figure, often seeking physical comfort or verbal reassurance. This repetitive practice of comfort and reassurance from caregivers helps to promote a positive internal working model (Bowlby et al., 1952) resulting in the child forming secure attachments. From this secure attachment, children have the advantage of becoming ready to learn the skill of self-regulation. This can include beginning to understand their feelings and emotions and in turn helping them to control impulses and manage difficult situations. The crucial impact of relationships with others on the developing child led me to regard attachment theory as a fundamental factor in trauma informed practice, where relationships underpin positive outcomes for children (Erozkan, 2016; Toof et al., 2020).

Phang (2017) considers children who live in families that provide inconsistent care and nurture and how, as a result, these children may develop coping or survival methods that help them to function and survive. This lends itself to insecure attachment styles such as ambivalent, avoidant, and disorganised where for these children, survival might include maintaining distrust in adults, such as school staff, and seeking to protect oneself from the inconsistent caregiving and support that they have experienced so far in their lives. On examining the work of Bowlby and Ainsworth, Geddes (2014) explores research findings where observations of infants and their mother’s responsiveness to them impacted on the child’s future expectations of adults. Where, from their experiences, expecting the worst from adults in their lives is safer than expecting the best. These learnt behaviours make sense when threat and fear is ever-present. “As a child grows up and encounters situations and relationships that are safe, these adaptations are no

longer helpful and may in fact be counterproductive and interfere with the capacity to live, love, and be loved", (Phang, 2017).

The role of attachment on a child's perception of the world, alongside Foucault's writings on knowledge and power, led me to consider the construction of behaviour that is deemed challenging, and the influence of social and environmental, as well as psychological factors on this. I interpret the literature thus far to acknowledge that perceptions of behaviour are manifested from both psychological factors, such as the impact of attachment on the developing child (Bowlby et al., 1952), and institutional labelling and norms (Foucault, 1977). These notions of trauma, adversity, attachment, and stress helped me to contextualise how children's experiences will influence how they present in schools and also how schools consider these factors in understanding children. Within schools there will be children who are subjected to prolonged toxic stress and as a result will have their stress activator switched on more often than not. This is the brains instinctual response to feelings of fear and anxiety, resulting in a fight, flight, freeze response (Cannon, 1915). When in a state of fight, flight, freeze, some behavioural characteristics might include hypervigilance and struggling to concentrate or abide by the routines and boundaries of a classroom environment. For some children this may mean being on high alert, awaiting danger at every turn. The freeze response can present in just that, freezing, or the inability to regulate as the mind is preoccupied with the stressful experience it is reliving or attempting to process (Curwin et al., 2018). Brooks (2019) describes how difficulties with self-regulation will have a negative impact on a child's learning and progress, particularly within educational contexts. "If a child's internal view of themselves is that they are bad and worthless, then their persistence in the face of difficult tasks will be very low", (p.15). Regardless of the characteristics of the fight, flight freeze response, a unanimous reaction can be distrust in adults (Hepp et al., 2021). This is often due to adverse experiences being at the hands of trusting adults. This experience understandably makes children suspicious of adults even the most trustworthy.

The apparent co-construction of both psychological and environmental factors on how behaviour is both shaped and perceived indicates the central position of nurture and relationships in my study. I hope that alongside engaging with literature, the interviews with school staff will further uncover the interplay between these perspectives and the role they play in understanding behaviour in a school community.

3.5 Attachment styles

When exploring trauma and its effects, the attachment style between a child and key people within their lives must be considered. Children need to feel safe and Palaiologou (2021) uses Maslow's hierarchy of

needs to explain the importance of safety for children. “He (Maslow) mentions that precisely in cases of threat or pain, the infant understands that ‘the whole world suddenly changes from sunni-ness to darkness and needs ‘all-powerful parents who protect and shield him from harm’, (p.343). When young children feel unsafe, they will turn to their attachment figure, often seeking physical comfort or verbal reassurance. The reinforcement of love and nurture from a secure attachment figure will also develop into a holding theory (Bahn, 2008) where the assurance that key people in their lives holds them in mind, even when not in physical contact, assures the positive attachment.

Unfortunately, the feeling of safety and security is not something that every child will naturally receive. As posited by Bowlby et al. (1952), for many children, particularly those who have suffered a traumatic or adverse experience in their lives, the attachment figure is not secure, resulting in the child developing a warped view of relationships with others and with themselves. Bowlby, alongside Ainsworth asserts that with consistent love, nurture and reciprocity, children feel loved and secure, this translates to feeling safe and confident. However, if the attachment is insecure and children are provided with inconsistent caregiving and paucity of love and affection, their working model will be distorted and fragile, fuelled by failing to be made to feel safe by key people in their lives.

> Our sense of self is closely based on the few intimate attachment relationships we have or have had in our lives, especially our relationship with the person who raised us. These potent relationships, whether secure or insecure, loving, or neglectful, have a profound significance for us (Bowlby, 2012, p.9).

Bowlby’s theory lends a way to understanding why children, who have had experiences of trauma or adversity might struggle to accept or initiate positive relationships in schools. McInerney and Putwain (2017) state that attachment continues to be important throughout life and is the threshold to relationship building. Such observations indicate the potential of school staff in building and maintaining positive relationships with children, where their sense of self can thrive as a result of consistent love and nurture.

In 1952, Bowlby developed the Maternal Deprivation Theory to illuminate the impact that relationships with key people can have on a child’s developing self. “A carer’s ‘attunement’ and responsiveness will result in positive emotional development; lack of such experiences however results in limited ability to cope with stress, anger, terror and shame,” (Powell & Smith, 2017, p.82). If children are treated with a lack of love and face rejection, they are likely to present as avoidant and are more prone to display avoidant behaviours which can impact on relationship building with others and internalising themselves. These children may present in schools as disassociated and appear disinterested or disengaged. Rholes et al. (2006) define the origin of avoidant attachment styles often being when an infant seeks out and fails to receive comfort and reassurance from caregivers in times of uncertainty or stress, “or if they elicit an

unpredictable mixture of acceptance and rejection, insecure attachment patterns typically develop", (p.275). Children with avoidant attachment styles can often try and become self-reliant and will go to great lengths to avoid asking for help or appearing vulnerable. In a school context, children may struggle to make relationships with peers and staff due to the fear of being rejected. If children are treated with anger and confusion and are living in chaotic environments where love and nurture is inconsistent or even absent, the child is more likely to become resistant where they may struggle to trust adults or believe that anyone could have their best interests at heart. The lack of trust in others due to previous experiences may result in children appearing hyperalert or defensive, resulting in behaviour that is seen as challenging. More recent years have seen the creation of a fourth attachment style, ambivalent, which is often a result of unreliable, confusing, or inconsistent care from key people. Bahtiyar-Saygan and Berument (2022) describe ambivalent attachment as originating from, "unpredictability and irregular responsivity of the caregiver", which "affects the child's adjustment to the social contexts and inclines a constant feeling of fear", (p.535). These children can often present in school as clingy or exaggerated which Elliott (2022) describes as being, "borne of a learnt expectation that they are underserving of automatic, unsolicited attention". In considering the working model concept it is easy to understand how children, who are subjected to characteristics which relate to the ambivalent attachment style, can develop a sense of self which defines them as 'beneath' consistency, love, and affection. Rather than repetition of attunement, responsiveness and containment from key caregivers, the child receives chaotic, sporadic attention, which is supplied on the terms of the carer rather than on the needs of the child. It is little wonder that children who have had such experiences may struggle to feel secure and valued in schools.

Elliott (2022) uses existing research to project that around 55% of the UK population have a secure attachment style whilst 23% have avoidant, 15% have resistant/disorganised and 8% have ambivalent attachment styes. In a typical class of 30 children, Elliott's figures indicate that almost half would have an insecure attachment style such as insecure, for example avoidant, resistant/disorganised and ambivalent. If considering the characteristics that make a "docile body"; (Foucault, 1977, p.138), a child who is more susceptible to following the routines and boundaries of the school and that secure attachment styles play a large factor in this, this could prove complex for just under half of the school population. Having a secure attachment, namely experiences of consistency, security and trust in their lives contributing to self-regulation skills, is likely to support children in abiding by the rules and boundaries of school, where they see adults as trusting and supportive figures and therefore may correlate with behaviour Foucault describes as docile (Foucault, 1977). If, due to having experienced adversity in their lives, children struggle to abide by behaviour management strategies, their existence in school can be bleak, where rather than thriving and engaging in practices that will help them to develop and succeed, these children

are subjected to behaviour measures that negatively impact on their wellbeing, their working model, and the self-fulfilling prophecy of not feeling good enough continues.

When considering the impact of insecure attachment styles on children's experiences of school, these statistics on the commonality of the different attachment styles would suggest how profound this can be. Marland (2006) refers to research where the correlation between the initial parent-child relationship and a child's attitude and behaviour at six and in the late teens is evident. "This extensive research is so central to the core of pastoral care throughout schooling as it enables us further to develop our understanding of pastoral dimensions of relationships across the school", (2006, p.50). Geddes (2006) exemplifies this analogy by describing how a child feeling unwanted by a parent can result in them believing they are unwanted by anyone. This feeling can result in a lack of stability, being unanchored in a world where they should feel a sense of belonging. This bleakness, personified by the child's initial experience of key people in their lives, has a danger of being further affirmed in schools where their lack of ability to 'behave' is seen as malicious and a conscious choice. Sternberg (2011) explains the links between self-fulfilling prophecies and self-belief and describes how the experiences we have shape who we are and, as a result our expectations of life; "a stressed and fearful person is less likely to interact with others in a positive way, further fulfilling his or her prophecy that the world is a dangerous and evil place," (p.99). For children who have experienced adversity in the lives, and, as a result may feel undeserving and lack the ability to follow school routines and boundaries, the capacity to thrive is compromised.

3.6 Attachment styles and schools

Sohn et al. (2019) examine the importance of support and nurture in early childhood, and how, if self-regulation skills are fostered, children can apply these skills, "within relationships by regulating and reducing behaviours that could be problematic, and further, utilize the obtained self-regulation skills to minimize problem behaviour when faced with difficult situations during childhood and adolescence", (p.298). Kim and Kochanska (2012) discuss the benefits of an early "mutually responsive, positive, harmonious, synchronous", (p.1275) dyadic parent-child relationships which may resonate with children who have secure attachment styles. However, the notion of harmonious and synchronous is ambiguous and unquantifiable where there requires consideration of the child's social and environmental world as central to defining relationships with key people. Nantel-Vivier et al. (2014) note how children's social skills are developed by their environment and key people within their lives. They describe how these observations can affect later socio-emotional behaviour development. Returning to the work of Bowlby and how the working model of oneself is shaped by how children are treated by key people in their lives, and in considering the work of Nantel-Vivier et al., the working model can also be influenced by how key

people model their own behaviours. In relation to my research, children are likely to present in schools with learned behaviours from their primary carers, rather than behaviours that they choose to use to be challenging or disruptive, yet within schools, this can be how their behaviour can be construed. Kim and Kochanska (2012) discuss the significant implications that children's relationships with parents can have on a child's emerging self-regulation. This can also be linked to how school staff model their behaviour in schools, for example, how they respond to behaviour that is seen as challenging. Although for staff I believe this is even more complex as they must also contend with rules and regulations alongside accepted norms, where their reaction to behaviour might not be a choice but instead informed by other factors such as educational bureaucracy and performativity (Hempel-Jorgensen, 2009; McGregor, 2015; Maija & Brunila, 2019). Lackner et al. (2018) describe how trauma and stress, can impact self-regulation skills particularly in times of stress or uncertainty, where direction or care and nurture from key people in their lives is not consistent and reliable. With stress and uncertainty comes fear and a lack of security which will often, for children, result in behaviour that is deemed worthy of behaviour management strategies in schools.

This is where behaviour management in schools requires further investigation. If dysregulated behaviour characteristics are linked to acting from a place of fear or as Cannon describes as a fight, flight, freeze response (Cannon, 1915; McCarty, 2016); more concern, empathy and investigation must be applied to why the child is acting in this way rather than finding ways to stop them from displaying this unwanted behaviour. I posit that a restorative investigation into why the child is unable to abide by the routines and boundaries of the school would be a much more compassionate and educational approach to understanding children and subsequently their behaviour. While I believe this is the preferred approach for supporting vulnerable children in schools, I also appreciate the complexity of a change in practice, where the process must involve more than the goodwill of a staff member.

Another point is what is deemed as wanted and unwanted behaviour. In Foucauldian terms and returning to the analogy of the soldier, the more able an individual is to abide by 'societal norms' the more their behaviour is celebrated, or even accepted. Lemm et al. (2014) describe Foucault's theory on how 'societal norms' are forms of governmentality where, "norms transform every individual into a specimen, and conversely groups of human beings become subspecies in and through this individualization", (p.171). Governmentality constitutes acceptable conduct in society, which Foucault terms as 'biopower', to explain the collective forces that stipulate the "conduct of conducts", (p172). In a school community biopower can enable stable expectations and intentions of 'norms' where norms in regard to acceptable behaviour can generate from such practices. For example, schools are celebrated for having good Ofsted ratings that focus on academic success and 'good' behaviour. Therefore, biopower is a form of power which collectively targets a population and enforces norms which individuals conform to, or at least

docile bodies conform to. Those who do not conform can be seen as challenging or perhaps even a threat to the biopower of the school. For children who have had negative early experiences, the feeling of not-fitting into the norms of an environment may not be a new one. Also, the perceived lack of belonging can often fuel a self-fulfilling prophecy that reinforces this feeling.

3.7 Parentification

A potential added complexity for children who have experiences of trauma and adversity in their lives is the likelihood of added responsibilities in the home. Schoor and Goldner (2023) state that adversity in childhood predispose children to parentification. Masiran et al. (2022) examines the construct of parentification (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973), where typical parent/child relationships can be reversed due to the vulnerabilities of parents. Such vulnerabilities might include parents who are subjected to domestic abuse (Callaghan et al., 2016), psychological wellbeing, substance misuse or parental divorce or separation (Luttik et al., 2020). Jurkovic (1998) notes how parents might abdicate responsibility either consciously or unconsciously due to their emotional needs and in instances where deprivation, abuse, capacity to care and sociocultural factors are present, it can increase the likelihood of destructive parentification. Such observations indicate the negative influences of parentification on children and how the burden of responsibility might impact on how they present in schools. For example, children might experience heightened stress and anxiety due to their home conditions and may result in prolonged stress activation (Burke-Harris, 2018) and fight, flight freeze (Cannon, 1915) responses in school.

In contrast, Hooper et al. (2008) denote that studies on parentification often centre upon the destructive effect this can have on children, however, little has been examined on how resiliency in children and young people can be enhanced by parentification. Engelhardt (2012) posits that while a small amount of parentification can be supportive in developing children's resilience, the process can quickly become pathological where children become burdened by aspects such as emotional responsibility for their parent which, "results in interpersonal deficits in the child that can carry on into adulthood" (p.45). The lack of control within parentification means that the negatives will outweigh the positives, as maintaining a small amount, as noted by Engelhardt (2012) denotes the ability to control and measure as it is a psychological dynamic that children find themselves in due to parenting incapacity rather than a conscious choice by parents to support children's independence. In a review of existing literature on parentification, Dariotis et al. (2023) examined how it can occur both intentionally and unintentionally on the part of the child and the parent.

3.8 Ecology and attachment styles

Assailly (2022) notes that attachment is innate and that attachment behaviours fulfil the need for protection. “Attachment is ‘secure’ when we are confident in the availability of our key attachment figure, but ‘insecure’ when we are not sufficiently reassured about it”, (p.93). Brooks (2019) reports that as many as 40% of children may have insecure attachments. She uses NICE statistics from 2015 to contextualise this further by showing that, “some children may be described as having ‘attachment problems’ and as many as 80% of children who have been abused or neglected may exhibit ‘disorganised attachment behaviour”, (p.29). These high statistics again evidence the need to consider how aspects such as behaviour management is applied in schools, and to ensure that practices applied refrain from the potential to retraumatise or trigger a vulnerable child.

The long-term effects of a traumatic or adverse experience are significantly increased when the caregiver is unable to provide enough care for the child to feel safe in the world which can result in children having very different experiences in early childhood. “To remain within easy access of a familiar individual known to be willing and able to come to our aid in an emergency is clearly a good insurance policy, whatever our age”, (Bowlby, 1988. p. 27). The presence of nurturing school staff, who are equipped with the knowledge to understand the impact of insecure attachment on children, are more likely to identify the benefits of children having positive relationships in schools. Furthermore, the presence of supporting policy guidance, and ongoing practice guidance and training on the impact of attachment, adversity and trauma onpare the developing child must also be in place, otherwise the message provided is confusing and inconsistent and is unlikely to emanate any long-term change.

3.9 Self-regulation

Etkin (2018) describes self-regulation as a learnt process, where… “the objective for understanding self-regulation in a school setting is to provide students with the tools necessary to help them focus, find a state of calm, and regulate themselves, while strengthening their personal wellbeing”, (p.35). A child’s adaptability to self-regulation will not only be a result of school experiences, but also home and attachment relationships with key people in their lives. Palaiologou (2021) describes self-regulation as one of the “most influential psychological processes for humans to build social skills”, (p.242). She explains that self-regulation is a fundamental skill to support learning. In considering key skills that are required to support learning including concentration, the ability to follow rules and routines, and the ability to listen, are necessary skills in adhering to curriculum teaching, particularly in key stage 1 and beyond.

Self-regulation is highlighted in depth in early years curricula. The Statutory Guidance for the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS, Department for Education, 2024b) posits self-regulation as an early learning goal (see Appendix 2) which children are assessed upon as they reach the end of the foundation stage. Non-statutory guidance such as Birth to Five Matters (Early Education, 2021) and Development Matters (Department for Education, 2023), address the concept of self-regulation repeatedly and describe how it is central to learning. Interestingly, on a word search of the term 'self-regulation' in the National Curriculum in England framework for key stages 1-4 (Department for Education, 2014) the search returned with no links. The Education Endowment Foundation (2021) describes the cruciality of opportunities to develop self-regulation in primary education which indicates its importance, but the lack of mention in statutory guidance suggests that there is an expectancy that this should be mastered, or at least the foundational skills of self-regulation mastered, before children leave the early years foundation stage.

Early Years Foundation Stage Profile data (Department for Education, 2023a) notes that the percentage of children at expected levels of development across all 17 early learning goals was 65.6% nationally with the Northwest region being the lowest at 61.7%. These statistics suggests that many children leave the early years without the skills detailed above in the self-regulation early learning goal. The fact that the key stage 1 curriculum does not explicitly address self-regulation is worrying.

Mann et al. (2006, p.74) build on Palaiologou's earlier definition and describe self-regulation as "an array of complex mental capacities that include impulse and emotion control, self-guidance of thought and behaviour, planning, self-reliance, and socially responsible behaviour". It is a complex process that exists beyond the child with their ecology playing an influential role on self-regulation development, notably the child's attachment style and the impact of relationships with key people in their lives has on their ability to understand and, in-time, learn to manage their feelings and emotions. Foucault's theory of biopower again rings true here where it could be argued that self-regulation is used for subjugation (Taylor, 2014). In Foucauldian theory the school is seen as a crucial site in societal biopower, where the accepted practices and norms of society can be exercised and disseminated (Ralph, 2023), where the ability to self-regulate enhances the ability to follow rules and conform, where governmentality thrives through the creation of docile bodies.

Naughton (2013) comments on how insecure attachments can lead to not only poor self-regulation but more likelihood for children to develop a lack of empathy, to engage in violence which in many cases can extend into acts of criminality (please see Appendix 4 for more information on the school-to-prison-pipeline). A systematic review of existing literature in this area was carried out by Ogilvie et al. (2014) where the "results indicated that insecure attachment was strongly associated with all types of criminality (i.e., sexual offending, violent offending, non-violent offending, and domestic violence)",

(p.322). Naughton (2013) describes how the strength of a child's relationship with their key caregiver, "provides a measure of their capacity to control emotional states such as aggression, impulsivity, sadness, joy and boredom". The attachment figure provides a sense of safety from danger. When we feel safe and secure, the hormone oxytocin is released which relaxes and calms our bodies (Uvnäs-Moberg et al., 2015). This repetitive practice of comfort and reassurance from caregivers helps to promote a positive internal working model (Bowlby et al., 1952) resulting in the child forming secure attachments. From this secure attachment, children have the advantage of becoming ready to learn the skills required for self-regulation. This will mean that for children who have been fortunate to have these positive experiences in their lives, their ability to exercise self-regulation such as those identified in the EYFS Early Learning Goals (Department for Education, 2024b) will be optimised.

In a systematic review conducted by Maynard et al. (2019) a range of studies were found to suggest young adults who have experienced adverse experiences, including insecure attachment relationships with key caregivers, are at, "significant risk for impairments across various cognitive functions, including IQ, memory, attention and language/verbal ability; poorer academic performance and school-related behaviours such as discipline, dropout and attendance; and higher rates of behavioural problems and internalizing symptoms,'' (p.2).

> If the child goes through life swathed in cotton wool and nobody ever gets in their way, then a disorganised attachment will not cause the person a problem. But as soon as they meet frustration or a stressful point where somebody contradicts them, they will be sent over the edge (Balbernie, 2010).

Balbernie's statement suggests that for children with insecure or disorganised attachments, their ability to regulate their behaviour and responses in times of distress is challenged as they do not have the foundations of secure attachments experiences. In a school context such children may appear to act intentionally challenging and defiant, where in fact their presentation may be a reaction to fear and uncertainty, the fight, flight, freeze response (Cannon, 1915). The child requires safety and security from key adults, for example school staff, to help them to begin to understand their feelings and emotions and in turn help them to control impulses and manage difficult situations. "When we are very scared, very sad, very alone, and/or overwhelmed, we need others to help regulate us, especially as children", (Forner, 2017, p.69).

Brooks (2019) describes how difficulties with self-regulation will have a negative impact on a child's learning and progress, particularly within school contexts. "If a child's internal view of themselves is that they are bad and worthless, then their persistence in the face of difficult tasks will be very low", (p.29). As discussed, a child's internal working model is created in response to their environment and key people within it. If a child is subjected to rejection and a lack of nurture, this further fuels the notion of worthlessness, that they are unlovable, that they are to blame for their circumstances. In revising

Cannon's fight or flight theory (McCarty, 2016), a reaction to feeling displaced or detached will make children feel insecure which can result in anger, frustration or dissociation.

A further factor for vulnerable children may be the dominance of power in the institution of school, where accepted behaviour is reinforced through disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) which may impact on a child's sense of belonging to the accepted norms. Taylor (2014) examines Foucault's writing on disciplinary power and remarks on how techniques of control 'regulate' the individual into the expected behaviour for the context in which they inhabit at that time. Disciplinary power is created, modelled, and reinforced and are made into psy-disciplines that regulate and shape acceptable practice and represent an "explanatory diagnosis" when required (Maija & Brunila, 2019, p.686). This reductionist approach is the dominant method in education where rules and boundaries reinforce docility and conformity, limiting expressiveness and understanding of oneself, which I argue are key ingredients in developing self-regulation skills.

Reeve et al. (2012) describe the importance of having clear steps to promoting self-regulation and how positive relationships with staff will advocate for more autonomy and self-regulation in children. However, a further concern here is the bureaucratic structures of education in general, where freedom and autonomy are "thwarted" (p.228) due to performance measures and accountability frameworks. Such derailment in terms of relationship building and time to promote skills such as self-regulation, result in more reactionary disciplinary procedures which results in behaviour management, and the power to reinforce remains firmly within the hands of the adult (Bailey et al., 2019).

3.9.1 Self-regulation and introspection

In regard to behaviour management practices in schools and a more trauma informed approach, a further point is the role of communication such as how individuals interact with each other and how that relates to both the mind and the body. Price and Hooven (2018) discuss how the body and mind interact and influence how information is retrieved and understood, and how this results in unique reactions. "Introspection is an internal sensory system in which the internal physical and emotional states of the body are noticed, recognised/identified and responded to", (Goodall, 2020, p.20). Therefore, in self-regulation there requires a need to understand oneself and how experiences can influence current state. Self-regulation is a term that continues to be increasingly applied within education such as how it is deemed important to promote self-regulation skills in children in schools through behaviour management practices. However, as Price and Hooven (2018) state, for true self-regulation an individual must understand oneself for the regulation to come from within rather than it being another rule or process that needs to be followed to avoid getting in trouble.

The westernised view of the separation of mind and body makes introspection harder to grasp where it is more aligned to an Eastern mind-body awareness. This relates to the fight, flight, freeze response (Canon, 1915) and the impact that adversity or trauma can have on emotion regulation. Anna Alvarez (cited in Music, 2022) discusses how vulnerable children can be described as 'undrawn', (p.65) where parts of them have never become fully alive due to the experiences that they have been subjected to.

While the ability to self-regulate is an internal response, the practices and experiences required to support these skills occour as a result of their environment and experiences, where securely attached children are more likely to have the capacity to follow practices such as the rules and boundaries of schools. This again ignites thought on the Foucauldian notion of 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977) and provides an understanding into why some children are more likely to 'behave' than others in schools. Much of the literature reviewed in this chapter supports the point that, if children are unable to abide by school rules and boundaries, there is often a reason for this, such as being subjected to adversity or trauma or due to having insecure attachment relationships with key people in their lives. However, instead of trying to understand the needs of these children in society, they are often seen as 'challenging' and as a result are subjected to behaviour management measures which contribute to a culture of the need to control and dominate, rather than to consider the child's wider world in a bid to understand their needs. If government guidance primarily focused on strategies around promoting introspection and self-regulation strategies for all age phases rather than focusing on procedures to follow when dealing with challenging behaviour, a shift towards understanding behaviour rather than managing or controlling it might ensue.

While this chapter has illuminated the profound impact that adversity and trauma can have on children and subsequently their behaviour in schools, it has also led me to recognise the crucial need to consider school staff in this context, and the integral role they play in supporting positive behaviour in schools. School staff, like any adult, will have experiences of adversity and trauma in their lives that will shape their perspectives, responses, and interactions with others. Like children, notions of prolonged stress activation (Phang, 2017; Burke-Harris, 2018) and the fight, flight, freeze response (Cannon, 1915) will be present in adults too, indicating that the literature and research reviewed applies to all those within the school community. With these points in mind, the following chapter will examine how school staff might perceive behaviour in schools and how policy and 'accepted norms' might influence such beliefs.

Chapter 4 Problematising 'behaviour management'

The prevalence of trauma and adversity are high (Emerson, 2022), and with such stark statistics, an assumed reaction would be an immediate response to how ill-equipped schools are at supporting children and school staff, where exposure to adversity and trauma is part of their lived experience, however such an immediate response is yet to be realised, particularly around how behaviour is managed in schools.

I wish at this point to exert my dislike of the term 'behaviour management' and my distain that educational practice seeks to 'manage' a child's behaviour rather than seeking to help children understand themselves, their behaviours and subsequently helping them to make positive choices, a term I will coin as 'promoting positive behaviour' for the purposes of my research. Educational policy in England uses the term 'behaviour management' and to align to current policy and literature, I will use the term within my research, in a bid to differentiate between 'behaviour management' and 'promoting positive behaviour'. A purpose of this chapter is to clarify how I interpret both 'behaviour management' and 'promoting positive behaviour', within my research.

In a study by Dingwall and Sebba (2018) it was found that teachers felt unconfident in supporting children who had been subjected to adversity or trauma, where training on such areas is not explicitly taught in teacher training programmes (Department for Education, 2011). The lack of training is in contrast to current literature that evidences the potential impact of repeated exposure to traumatic or adverse events where studies (Freeman, 2014; Perfect, 2016; Maynard et al., 2017) indicate a higher risk of problems regarding social-emotional-functioning, school related behaviours, and internalising symptoms. By forgoing training on the impact of trauma and adversity on the developing child and the influence this might have on their behaviour, teachers are ill-equipped to support vulnerable children in schools. A further point is the impact such challenging experiences might have on teachers themselves, where teacher wellbeing such as the impact of working with vulnerable children and links to burnout (Venet, 2019) are areas that teachers might find in their practice rather than through training programmes and ongoing supervision. It is no wonder that punitive behaviour management measures are applied in such instances, where school staff do not have the knowledge or tools, or indeed the professional support, to work alongside the child and explore the reason for the behaviour.

Smith (2013) describes how government continues to favour management of school systems from a central source of power. "Where the term 'policy' was more naturally taken to include policies of particular schools, it is thus now more readily applied to government policy, extending to ever more detail", (p.2). Policy in schools now inform practice in greater detail, astutely directing staff and children

on what is 'best practice'. Simons (2017) notes how with such emphasis on what is deemed best practice ignites more reliance on performability and accountability in educational outcomes, reinforcing 'tried and tested' practice and suppressing innovation as a result. Jones et al. (2018) found that school policies and procedures are often reactive rather than preventative when addressing challenging behaviour. "These current systems do not consider what the child is experiencing in and outside of school that might affect their behaviour", (p.1). This led me to explore what government policy guidance exists that supports schools with 'managing' behaviour. Although such guidance applies to all school pupils, the nature of these documents often works to address challenging behaviour, which is often displayed by dysregulated, vulnerable children.

4.1 Behaviour in schools

The departmental guidance for English schools on behaviour is the document Behaviour in Schools: Advice for headteachers and school staff (Department for Education, 2024a). To explore how guidance informs practice an exploration of the document, alongside reference to related literature, is referred to throughout my research to interpret what the guidance stipulates and what message this gives in relation to supporting all children and staff in schools.

The Behaviour in Schools guidance (Department for Education, 2024a) details advice for headteachers and school staff to support with the development of the school behaviour policy and "includes guidance on support for pupils to behave well and the powers of staff when responding to misbehaviour", (p.4). The guidance is the latest publication following the original House of Commons Education Committees, Behaviour and Discipline in School 2010. 23 years previous to the report, the 1989 Elton Report (Department of Education and Science, 1989) reviewed discipline in schools where it was highlighted that effective education requires order in schools. The report was the biggest structured survey ever completed on teachers' perceptions of behaviour in schools in England (Davey, 2016).

Foucault's theory of genealogy (Foucault, 1977) offers a lens to critically understand the historical and social contexts that shape contemporary practices, which I felt was necessary to analyse how behaviour has been viewed within schools over time. By comparing the recommendations of the Elton Report (Department of Education and Science, 1989) with those found within the latest Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), I wanted to trace shifts in views of behaviour management, for example if there has been a move towards more inclusive and supportive approaches to promote positive behaviour in schools, or if mechanisms of control and power still dominate.

The Elton Report had no fewer than 138 recommendations (Department of Education and Science, 1989) which offers insight into issues existing at the time of its publication which still prevail today. In relation

to the theme of behaviour management in education, recommendations from the Elton Report that relate are -

- Socially responsible parenthood

The report and subsequent recommendations focus on the integral impact parenting has on child development. It uses the term "socially responsible parenting" (p.134) with the definition "include self-respect, respect and concern for others, self- discipline and moral qualities such as truthfulness and honesty" (p.134). The wording of this recommendation infers an expectance that parents have an organic awareness of being socially responsible. The ambiguity of this term leads to questions around what exactly 'social responsibility' is and what it looks like in reality. A further interesting quotation is, "Our impression is that, whereas many parents are highly skilled in guiding their children towards adulthood, others are less so. A few seem not even to recognise the need for such skills at all" (p.133). This statement has an undertone of classism. Who are these families who apparently do not 'seem to recognise the importance of truthfulness and honesty' and indeed what is in place to support those who require more help to be 'socially responsible'?

A further recommendation highlighted in the Elton report focuses on understanding behaviour where it categorises views on behaviour origins into 'tough' and 'tender'. Tough is where parenting is judged as "irresponsible, immoral and hostile to the values represented by schools" (Department for Education and Science, 1989. p.135) whereas the tender is where parenting is judged as influenced by external factors such as poverty, marital breakdown which impact on effective parenting.

The term tough and tender appears too stereotypical however the year of publication must be considered and there appears to be insight of some understanding in the recommendation that other factors are integral to understanding behaviour. I find this reassuring to see, however there is still no indication of societal blame for adverse or traumatic experiences, but there is insight of considering factors that might impact on all children unable to act according to the homogenous environments that schools require. The agency of parents here is unfair to suggest that modelling was conscious and educated, again what is seen here as acceptable and unacceptable modelling is a preconceived notion that returns to the initial unexplained term of 'socially responsible parenting'.

- Problem Children

The report comments on the increase of challenging behaviour in schools and notes that children use "aggressive behaviour as a means of getting the teachers attention" (Department for Education and Science, 1989. p.134). This indicates power and agency on the child's part where there lacks consideration of the rationale for this behaviour rather than it being children's failings. Such interpretations resonate with the Foucauldian notion of resistance where indeed an individual, or indeed a child in the case of my research, might use their counterpower to enable emancipation and agency

(Foucault 1981;1992; Butin 2001; Leask, 2012; Ralph, 2023). However, the tone of the report ignores the potential to examine why the child might use such strategies to gain attention other than as an act of aggression.

- Problem Parents

The Elton Report (Department for Education and Science, 1989) discusses the impact negative parenting has on children. However, terminology used aside, there is an emerging awareness of the ecology of the child and motivations around behaviour. This is positive to see and additionally, this recommendation considers attachment styles and the impact they can have on how children behave. The report also highlights how some teachers use their understanding of parents to protect children from harm where they may not inform the parent of a child's misbehaviour in school to avoid the child receiving physical punishment at home.

From reviewing some of the recommendations from The Elton Report, although published in 1989, it reflects many policies and procedures in schools currently. Steer (2005) details how the Elton Reports message of a whole school approach in supporting behaviour remains integral to providing a positive school experience for all. However, Steer further comments that schools have evolved and continue to do so, and staff and leaders must be attuned to this change. "Changes in society have created new challenges", (Steer, cited in Education England, 2010).

I will now focus on the latest publication of Behaviour in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a) with the intent to unpick what current guidance stipulates if such aspects can be deemed supportive or unsupportive of trauma informed practice in schools. Greene (2018) discusses the need to continuously examine educational practice to ensure all children are adequately supported and prepared for the modern world.

4.1.1 Behaviour management guidance in schools.

The latest publication of the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) has seen a significant shift towards practices and procedures that I construe as more aligned to trauma informed practice. Terminology used is significantly different to earlier publications with less focus on words such as power and discipline (as in the previous 2016 Behaviour and Discipline in Schools document) and more focus on creating a culture and whole school approach to managing behaviour.

However, Greene (2018) describes how school behaviour management guidance, such as in the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), tends to focus on modifying behaviour and provide strategies for school staff to impose in the form of sanctions and consequences.

Greene (2018) challenges this by proposing a restorative model where the focus is changed to unearthing and understanding problems that might be causing these behaviours. “This behaviour is simply the signal, the fever” (p.23). The integration of a restorative model noted by Greene would change the focus of behaviour management, where the power balance might shift, and the ‘power and discipline’ strategies are challenged. This forces the educational system to view the child in a different light, considering their needs beyond the classroom, something that many staff and indeed parents might resist due to their lack of understanding and indeed support and guidance in this area. It is refreshing to see a closer alignment to this practice in the latest Behaviour in School’s document (Department for Education, 2024a), but due to its continuing focus on managing behaviour rather than nurture and restoration, more work is required. Parents perception of behaviour management in schools can often influence how they too deal with behaviour at home. This was identified by Ofsted chief Amanda Spielman in the watchdogs 2019, ‘Managing Behaviour Research Findings’. It was reported that, ‘It gives parents a sense of involvement, provides a consistent message and helps their understanding of procedures and rules’, (Gov.uk, 2019). This asserts that the culture around discipline and behaviour in schools goes beyond the classroom.

The punitive method of behaviour management in schools is based largely on power. Foucault (1977) describes the important use of power/knowledge and how the dominant power in society decides who is worthy and who is not. In relation to the Behaviour in Schools document, “…. the powers of staff when responding to misbehaviour”, (Department for Education, 2024a. p.4) infers that for this power/knowledge practice to continue, there must always be both dominant and subservient categories in society, in schools. Tamboukou (1999) states Foucault’s view of the need for ‘the good’ and ‘the bad’, ‘the appropriate’ and the ‘not appropriate’, to create conditions for subjugation where, the classical privilege of power is the “right to take life or let live,” (Foucault, 1990, p. 136). In the context of my research, I posit that those defined as ‘the bad’ and ‘not appropriate’ are more likely to be children who have had experiences of adversity or trauma in their lives, and because of these experiences the ability to abide by rules and boundaries may be more difficult to attain.

School disciplinary policies and procedures traditionally operate on a deterrence model of behaviour management. Jones et al. (2018) describe this model as where compliance is obtained through fear and punishment. These practices are one key aspect of government maintaining sovereignty in society. Returning to Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the influence of education on the developing child, and in turn their environment, the current view in society perpetuates the importance of ensuring power and discipline is instilled. Historically power was more visible in physical violence, hangings, beatings, etc. (Meda & Brunelli, 2018) where subjects were made an example of to instil fear and order in the masses. Current power in education is educated via disciplinary power, training, exercise, control, and exclusion (Foucault, 1977).

Martin (1998) notes that the domination of children by school staff is a key power system in academia. He contests the notion that learning is 'in partnership' and believes that the student voice is largely nominal and tokenistic. Ralph (2019) adds that children, particularly those from marginalised groups, often believe that their voice is not valued. A counterargument to Martin and Ralph might be that domination is essential to ensure current educational practice persists. However, this lacks standing as NHS England (2023) statistics state that 1 in 5 children have a probable mental health condition, which has risen from 1 in 9 in 2017. There is recognition of the importance of supporting vulnerable learners in education (Department for Education, 2024a) such as guidance which advises settings to consider the mentoring and coaching (of staff), supporting pupils' social, emotional, and behavioural needs, and activity and resources to meet the specific needs of disadvantaged pupils with SEND. This indicates a positive step towards considering aspects such as mental health and wellbeing, but the ambiguity of advising settings to 'consider' such steps indicates a lack of immediacy, which is at odds with recent primary school specific statistics indicating that more than one in ten primary school children aged 5-10 have an identifiable mental health condition (Mentally Healthy Schools, 2024). Skovdal and Campbell (2015) discuss the need for schools to support and protect children, and to take seriously their role in reducing inequalities and actively addressing wellbeing beyond academic progress such as considering the impact of hardship and disadvantage.

Power and disciplinary procedures are categorised in current educational practice and the application of these procedures change over time. Before ratification of the Education Act (1986) corporeal punishment was a legal and advised approach to maintaining discipline in schools. Disciplinary measures have now evolved into another form, prioritising non-physical conditioning, control, and exclusion. The practices of suspension and exclusion equate to isolation, removal of agency due to failing to follow the given societal or institutional policies and practices. Jones et al. (2018) warn about the perilous impact of exclusion and isolation for children and how this contributes to a self-fulfilling prophecy and disconnect between the child, school, and school staff. Hickey et al. (2020) link poor self-esteem to adverse educational outcomes. Jones et al. (2018) state further that in their study interviewed children discussed key barriers to a successful educational experience and subsequent well-being as, "mobility, lack of agency, lack of trust of the 'system' and feeling completely 'on their own", (p.69). It could be argued that this is the process used in managing criminality in society, but these are children who are developing and learning, this is the point in which children should be supported and nurtured rather than judged and isolated. Aiming to enable 'reform' in a nurturing and restorative way in childhood is much more effective than mirroring treacherous correctional procedures later in life.

Studies indicate that there are correlations between adult offenders and them being excluded from school in childhood. In 1995, Graham and Bowling found that "three quarters of males and nearly half of

the females who had been temporarily excluded, and all the males and over half the females who had been permanently excluded from school, were offenders", (p.42). Exclusion data remains high with the latest statistics noting that there were 3,200 permanent exclusions in 2019/20 (up 5% from 2018/19) and there were 178,400 suspensions (up 14%). Persistent disruptive behaviour being the most common reason for permanent exclusions and suspensions (Office for National Statistics, 2022). The study concluded that children from more affluent areas and with two parent families were given more tolerance, and subsequently were more likely to avoid exclusion. The literature suggests that there are correlations between vulnerable children who find themselves subjected to behaviour management in schools and them being more likely to be involved in the criminal justice systems in adulthood (Appendix 4). Such infers the need to look at how beneficial these behaviour interventions in schools are in supporting children to understand their behaviours and support regulation.

In 2015, Slee revisited the work of Furlong (1991) which stresses the importance of looking within oneself as a professional and as an institution at habitual practice around dealing with challenging behaviour. "In particular, there is a case for determining the extent to which educational psychology, and indeed the sociology of education, has embraced its own attempts to broaden its analytic and critical applications and interrogate the construction of epistemic frameworks", (Slee, 2015, p.4). Such guidance as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) and the terminology used offer direction and prescribed practice to further feed the habitual epistemic boundaries that Slee and Furlong speak of. This style of guidance reduces autonomy and creativity, it tells school staff what to do which creates a culture of staff wanting top tips and answers for what to do when dealing with challenging behaviour. Such boundaries still appear in the latest guidance where it states, "De-escalation techniques can be used to help prevent further behaviour issues arising and recurring and schools may use pre-agreed scripts and phrases to help restore calm", (Department for Education, 2024a. p.15). Slee (2015) reflects on his own practice when working with school staff and requests he received such as, "Give us answers; we want steps, strategies, formulae, programmes for obedience, for discipline", (p.4). Requests I too received when working with professionals from schools. It would be unfair to say this is unreasonable, particularly as schools are guided by government policy. But with processes comes a lack of consideration for anything that deviates away from what is deemed correct procedure, where this lack of concern derives from the requirement to conform, rather than choice on the part of school staff. For children who have or continue to experience adversity or trauma in their lives, their potential incapacity to conform to these procedures alienates them more and further fractures their relationship with school staff. Therefore, the need for 'power' and 'discipline' creates a negative experience for children and school staff.

4.1.2 Teachers' Standards

In considering the use of power to manage behaviour, the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) indicates that the power is held by staff. Although when considering the role of disciplinary power, panopticism and the reinforcement of accepted norms (Foucault, 1977) in schools, it would appear that staff are conduits rather than holders of power. The Teachers' Standards also state that power is seen as part of the role of an educator for example, Standard 7 indicates a premeditated behaviourist approach in classroom practice prioritising praise, rewards, and sanctions as the preferred way to obtain intended "high expectations of behaviour", (Department for Education, 2011, p.12). It also suggests a concrete definition of what high expectations of behaviour are and fails to consider underlying causes of why some children do not meet high expectations, something Armstrong (2021) notes as a "wicked problem" (p.981) when seeking to meet the behavioural needs of children in schools. Some children, perhaps the child who is more susceptible to surveillance or the 'docile child' (Foucault, 1977) might have a wider capacity to identify what is defined as high expectations of behaviour, whereas a child, perhaps one who has experiences of trauma and adversity might not be yet able to do, as such creating a wider divide between those who 'can' and those who 'can't'. Critics of the behaviourist approach would challenge the use of tokenism associated with the use of praise, rewards, and sanctions and how these can fuel extrinsic motivation and a fixed mindset (Dweck, 2017), rather than internal motivation and a growth mindset. Much of this can also translate to school staff, who may be subjected to a performative culture bestowed upon them by regulation, bureaucracy, and the inspectorate, where their value is measured in how well they produce academically capable and well-behaved students (Holloway & Brass, 2018).

Curwin et al. (2018) question the use of threats, punishment, and rewards. They use the scenario of being held at gun point and asked, "your money or your life". Whilst choices have been given, they are seen as a threat due to the instinctual fight, flight, freeze response enacted when under perceived fear. "The only choice is to do as told or to not do as told", (p.26). Curwin et al. (2018) proffer that although obedience might infer a sense of 'power and control' for the teacher, it limits responsibility and creativity, and fosters suppression. Dowling et al. (2003) suggest a need for a more humanistic approach in considering the school as key to influencing children's behaviour. Rather than using this knowledge to instruct and manage behaviour, there lies opportunity for a multi-disciplinary approach working with children and their families, features that resonate with trauma informed practice.

A key issue associated with developing a trauma informed approach in schools is a willingness to implement change or transformation. There is a well-established, deep rooted approach to behaviour management using approaches such as reasoning, punishment, ignoring, detention, discussion, referral to another teacher, and withdrawal of privileges [see the Elton Report, DES, 1989, p.240]. School staff have the potential to act as agents of change but there requires a wider biopolitical shift (Foucault, 1977)

to enable them to act against engrained practices. Curwin et al. (2018) explores the context of changing mindsets on behaviour and removing the need to see it as 'managed'. Using autonomy and self-direction allows children to feel a sense of worth and self-actualisation, which will lead to a more meaningful understanding of positive behaviour. This reduces the use of shame and the need for children to surrender and become subservient to the wishes of the teacher. This too could apply to teachers and their surrender to guidance such as the Behaviour in Schools document. Skinner et al. (2021) argue that teachers commitment is negatively impacted by educational bureaucracy and performance targets which impacts on professional identity. I wonder if the lack of guidance and support in seeking alternative ways to promote positive behaviour in schools might further contribute to a culture of power and control. I also wonder if, from the interviews with school staff, findings will be different in the school involved in my research, due to their apparent commitment to trauma informed practice and the understanding of trauma and adversity on the developing child.

While the Teachers' Standards (Department for Education, 2011) details that power lies with the teacher or adult nominated by the headteacher, the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) adds description to how this authority can be exercised. This level of description leads to the question of who exactly the power relates to, and that school staff are facets of a larger institutional force. "To give the teacher the feeling of control, whether or not the control is real", (Curwin et al., 2018, p.30). This illusion of power might become glaringly obvious for school staff as they become more familiar with the influence of bureaucracy in their role, which might ignite them to question their authority, professionalism, and agency.

4.2 Teacher expectations

Padmakumari and Chandrasegaran (2018) discuss the importance of teachers creating self-fulfilling prophecies in children's mindsets. If teachers harbour a negative view of a child, it is likely that this will impact on the child's performance in school. "Teacher expectations have always been considered to be a powerful pedagogical tool, playing a crucial role in influencing students' academic outcomes", (Good & Brophy, cited in Padmakumari & Chandrasegaran, 2018, p.9). A further point is the origin of these 'teacher expectations' that Good and Brophy refer to, something that is fuelled from the already discussed function of biopower where the "conduct of conducts" (Foucault, 1977. p.172) is created and reinforced, where the 'negative view of a child' is created in response to their lack of ability to conform. In consideration of behaviour management in schools, the more emphasis on positive behaviour, the more it should promote positive behaviour. However, guidance such as the Behaviour and Discipline in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) describe how to deal with negative behaviour with little guidance on how to promote and celebrate positive behaviour other than the following allusive

statement, “Creating a culture with high expectations of behaviour will benefit both staff and pupils, establishing calm, safe and supportive environments conducive to learning”, (p.4). The document instead focuses on how to control and tackle misbehaviour…. “…. the powers of staff when responding to misbehaviour”, (p.4). Therefore, negative behaviour gets the most attention rather than prioritising the promotion and celebration of positive behaviour and self-regulation skills. The focus on control also limits the power and autonomy that school staff hold, where their role is to reinforce ‘high behavioural expectations’ as this is how ‘good’ practice is measured.

Due to less authoritarian and historically physical measures to demand control in the classroom, children require a teacher that works with them to promote understanding their feelings and behaviour, supporting self-regulation skills. The objective of promoting positive behaviour must go beyond the need to adhere to classroom behaviour norms, but to equip children with the skills to become a positive citizen and achieve success in life beyond the school. This is why all those involved in schools, such as children and staff, require a fundamental understanding of the importance of aspects such as self-control and regulation. Otherwise, the behaviour management strategies in schools are likely to become tokenistic with children unable to apply these skills in other facets of their lives, and staff being unable to see the fundamental intent of promoting positive behaviour in schools. Rogers (2011) explains that behaviour management approaches must exist within a “dynamic technique” …. “technique, strategy and practices are only as good as the human relationships in which they occur, and they are not value-free; if we believe that the dignity of the individual is important, we will eschew discipline that uses humiliation, sarcasm, ridicule, verbal aggression and put-downs”, (p.7).

In schools, there remain preconceived, idealist notions of how a child should behave, which are reinforced through practice guides such as the Behaviour and Discipline in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a). Maija and Brunila (2019) discuss how these preconceived notions fuel the “wider discourse and ethos in education and society”, (p.685). The discourse surrounding behaviour management in schools can also be fuelled by what Foucault coined psy-disciplines (Foucault, 1977), which refers to how psychiatry, psychology and psychoanalysis contribute to governmentality, and how we understand ourselves and others. In terms of behaviour management in schools, psy-disciplines regulate and shape what is seen as acceptable and unacceptable. Also, psy-disciplines define what is seen as atypical development and constitute when an “explanatory diagnosis” is required (Maija & Brunila, 2019, p.686). Maclure et al. (2012) and Watson (2016) warn of the dangers of framing behaviour in such simplistic and reductionist terms. The discourse of what is acceptable and unacceptable is not only concerned with the presentation of behaviours, but also power hierarchies where the dominant class (Foucault, 1977; Tombouko, 1999) depicts the fine line between both. Such notions resonate in Maija & Brunila’s description, where “Race, class, and gender heighten the risk of psy-diagnosis, while at the same

time the very process of psy-diagnosis deflects attention from racialized, or gender discrimination, or poverty in the lives of children and young people", (2019, p.689).

4.2.1 Teacher satisfaction

In 2018, Jones et al., found that school staff routinely cite behaviour as a key job stressor. A government survey researching the working lives of teachers and leaders found that 54% thought their workload was both unacceptable and that they did not have control over it (Department for Education, 2024c). Worth and Van den Brande (2020) explores teacher satisfaction further and found that the more autonomy a teacher has, the stronger student/teacher relationships are, which in turn supports positive behaviour.

Staff retention continues to be a growing issue within education with stress and burnout noted as key components (Bingham et al., 2021). Guha et al. (2016) note that recruitment and retention is even more challenging in schools serving vulnerable populations due to higher levels of need and the unpreparedness of staff. This can result in the most vulnerable schools experiencing a "revolving door of teachers", (p.1) where opportunities for relation and connection are limited. Darling-Hammond et al. (2018) suggest that effective, research informed practices, promote an innovative pedagogy where the healthy growth of everyone within the school is considered, but posit that this practice must be informed and accepted by all stakeholders, and within policy and practice. Although research informed practice may appear an obvious approach when teaching and learning within education, the practicalities of applying research informed practice, or indeed conducting research, appears to be a barrier to its implementation. Ostinelli (2016) refers to educational research as key to knowledge mobilisation in education, but barriers arise that infiltrate the dissemination of research into educational practice, such as educational bureaucracy, government, funding councils and local authorities. In fact, a need for more informed educational research has been at the centre of political debate for many years (Flynn, 2019) where currently research to inform and evidence future practice can be cherry picked to align with the vision of those in power. Nelson and Campbell (2017) note that educators have challenged the potential biased dissemination of research through agendas such as the teacher led Research Ed movement and the Chartered College of teaching. These agendas advocate for research informed practice in education but stress the need for it to be adapted and critiqued on a case by case, or school by school, basis to ensure its meaningful implementation. Ostinelli (2016) notes how policy changes often derive from research findings which are first applied to a small number of pilot schools, then, if successful, rolled out to the masses. Roberts (2015) challenges this and warns that this can be construed as impractical research which without firm foundations, is unlikely to be beneficial for every setting.

When research liberates an informed and relational pedagogy that is meaningful to the needs of the school community (Galloway, 2012), a sense of connection and ownership can increase.

Foucault (1977) describes how practices of maintaining sovereignty, through the practices of key society representatives such as schools, leads to the creation of disciplinary power. Taylor (2014) explores the concept of disciplinary power noting how the body is made more obedient and relies on techniques of control and training to regulate behaviour. “Foucault goes further in his analysis to impart a sharp sense of how disciplinary power gets going and keeps going. He attributes the success of this power to several basic techniques: hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, and the examination”, (p.30;31). Constant surveillance through engrained rules, boundaries and practices perpetuate practice which is defined as acceptable in schools, where disciplinary procedures such as suspensions and loss of privileges remind the school community, children and staff alike, of the importance to conform to avoid being viewed as a subject of inappropriate.

The panopticon gaze is a key factor on how power and discipline is exercised, particularly in institutions which were increased in the move from pre to post industrialised society, the manifestation of new realities such as schools, prisons and mental institutions. Foucault (1977) questions the benefits of panoptocism where being ‘watched’ is so engrained into the conscious of individuals that the masses are conditioned to behave within the boundaries set by the powerful. The idea of teacher dissatisfaction and stress might align to such concepts, where the gaze and ever-present threat of being observed reduces creativity and essentially, enjoyment in their roles.

Panoptocism supports bourgeoise capitalism. According to Bourdieu (1984), the habitus of educational practice is composed by the bourgeoisie, because historically it was those of this socioeconomic group that accessed it. Therefore, many aspects of education are dominant and internalised practices of a “cultural wealth which has been accumulated and bequeathed by previous generations”, (1984). Bourdieu (cited in Ball, 2004) defines education systems and policies as a key factor of the social mechanisms that repeatedly produce unequal opportunities for children from low socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, the possession of certain cultural capital will either complement or ostracise a child’s identity within schools, such as language used at home, or experiences that children might have outside of school such as access to extra-curricular activities. Sweeney (2002) further describes the practices and experiences of education as embodied dispositions and capacities that impact on how different classes perceive the social space of education as alien to them. This aligns with Foucault’s views that the dominant discourse of society determines the discursive milieu. I wondered if school staff might consider these aspects in the interviews, such as what children possess in terms of capital and if that influences their experiences within school.

4.3 Teacher agency

Banduras (1977) theory asserts that humans are mostly influenced by what they observe, imitate and model from others, particularly individuals that they hold in high regard. In a school context, key adults are seen as figures of authority and so assumed that children will see them as suitable role models to observe and imitate. Djigić and Stojiljković (2011) describe how consistency must involve all aspects of classroom practice such as behaviour management and the importance of considering teacher characteristics and the wider school and the impact that this can have on how children act and respond. Robertson (2014) defines the most effective educators as those who have a clearly articulated understanding and belief of their practice, where they can problematise and question, and work collectively to develop a system in which they are invested in, to "construct a wider alternative context", (Engeström, 2001, p.138). Lopes Silva et al. (2017) examine self-efficacy in education and how the practice of a teacher may be mediated by their own self-efficacy. Whilst questioning and collective change, such as that described by Engeström's expansive learning theory (1987; 2001) does not directly promote self-efficacy, it can instead enhance reflection, voice and agency amongst school staff, aspects which contributes to the development of self-efficacy.

The Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) repeatedly stipulates the power school staff hold, however it would appear instead that staff hold little power and are instead conduits of governmental power, and such guidance, where the role of power is seen as central to how behaviour is managed, informs a culture of control which understandably, as this is departmental guidance, many schools will reinforce as a result. Pratto and Stewart (2011) describe how social dominance is reproduced through hierarchical structures and prejudice is almost always on subservient populations such as the economically disadvantaged (Carvacho et al., 2013). Policy that informs schools of the steps to take in response to challenging behaviour offers a premonition of the certainty of challenging behaviour and, given the awareness that adversity in childhood and economic deprivation increase vulnerabilities in children, an added premonition of who those that will be seen as challenging will be. This again results in a form of symbolic violence where it is anticipated certain children will fail, and there is a readiness to discipline and manage them when they do. "The incorrigible child became the disturbed individual who 'already resembles his crime before he has committed it' (Foucault, 1999, p. 19).

However, while teachers can have an impact on the culture of a school, it would be unfair to say that they have freedom and hold power. The ever-increasing bureaucratic structure of education will limit teacher creativity (Kilinç et al., 2016; Keddie, 2018). The opportunity for teacher expression through liberation in teaching and learning is curbed by hefty curriculum content, school improvement plans and the inspectorate. From the perspective of behaviour management, teachers and school staff may be

subjected to specific strategies and procedures which may not align to their pedagogical beliefs. Due to limited teacher agency, anything that is seen as disrupting the status quo, for example challenging behaviour, can be seen as contributing to a negative discourse. Also, Maija and Brunila (2019) warn of the added pressure of the teacher being seen as incapable if classroom order is not maintained. The behaviour of the child is what is seen as the issue, rather than the pressures surrounding education such as bureaucracy, an example of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977).

4.4 Towards 'promoting positive behaviour'

This chapter has defined the construction of 'behaviour management' in schools through the lens of control and power within society where schools, and those within it, such as children and school staff, are part of the 'biopower' (Foucault, 1990) for normalising judgement and setting accepted norms. The institute as a place of authority depicts the status quo, where children and staff engage in the practices that are deemed appropriate as depicted or managed by policy and role modelling, with the fear of punishment being enough to refrain from steering towards anything different. It appears that 'behaviour management' is more than just an accepted term but instead the catalyst to how children's behaviour is viewed not just in school but in society. I posit that a change in this term would help to initiate to flip the narrative on how children's behaviour is viewed, where the practice of helping children to 'promote positive behaviour' would instead encourage the practice of supporting children to understand themselves, to explore the feelings and emotions they have and how these might influence their ability to regulate their behaviour and responses. A counterargument might be that I am still in support of behaviour management but in another guise, and I think that perhaps there still remains a need to do that to help children to thrive within the current construct of schooling and beyond. Children in schools require support to understand themselves and what is deemed as acceptable behaviour in given contexts within society, and I believe that schools are the ideal place to promote this. By synthesising the theoretical concepts of Foucault's view on systemic power constructs (Foucault, 1977) with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), there emerged a more nuanced contextualisation of the critical role key sites such as schools play in supporting children to understand themselves. Trauma informed practices emphasise the need to support children's awareness of their emotions, identities and their position within the spheres in which they exist (Office for Health Disparities, 2022; Gomez et al. 2021; Zehr, 2002), which can foster the development of self-regulation skills in a non-threatening manner, offering an alternative to traditional punitive approaches that may be counterproductive and even harmful (Phang, 2017). Foucault's theoretical concepts of power expose that even within practices that are trauma informed, power and knowledge constructs will continue to exist, but the philosophy is person centred and built on nurture and restoration as opposed to shame (Mullet,

2014) and alienation (McInerney, 2009). I wish to further identify how such desired acceptable behaviour is promoted, where trauma informed practices and its influences on understanding, reparation and restoration can support children and school staff in a sphere where there is no fear of threat or punishment, where 'promoting positive behaviour' is child-centred with the view to helping children to understand themselves, rather than helping them to learn the rules and regulations so that they don't get in trouble.

4.5 Parents and schools

Traditionally schools adorned signs detailing how far parents can progress into the school community, where the line between care of parent and care of school was clearly defined (Cullingford & Morrison, 1999). However, in more recent year's partnership between home and school continues due to recognition, through theoretical understandings such as Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory (2005), and how integral a holistic understanding of the child is in supporting learning and development in education. The routes into effective parent/school relationships and restructuring the normalised practice of the home/school partnerships continues to be a complex area for many schools, with one such reason being the perceived power relations involved (Ishimaru, 2014). Traditionally, schools were seen as authoritarian institutions where rules and boundaries could exist within the school which were different from the outside world. Teachers were seen as strict authoritarians with the power to punish and chastise where they saw fit. Such practice, although not accepted currently, instils an ingrained view of schools where they are seen as objects of authority and power.

In 2010, Campbell conducted research into parental involvement in education and found that parents own experiences of schooling played a large factor in their relationships with school. The research used a case study of a parent of a child who was at risk of exclusion, and how her own behaviour resulted in her being banned from her child's school. However, when the school communicated further with the parent, it was found that the parent was subjected to severe bullying throughout her schooling which in turn made her feel fearful and defensive for her child.

If parents themselves have had childhood experiences of engagement with professionals such as social services or police, the fear of professionals might remain. Studies (Xuan et al., 2021; Horrell et al., 2001; Such & Walker, 2002) indicate the intergenerational transmission effect of deprivation and other adverse conditions. Sousa and Rodrigues (2012) explore why considerable effort by professionals to support vulnerable families is not met with more successful results and hypothesise that one detrimental factor is professionals not committing time to building trusting relationships with families. This lack of commitment is often seen as not a choice by professionals but instead challenging due to time restrictions with the ever-increasing bureaucratic demands of education. Mann and Gilmore (2021) posit

that a commitment to relationship building cannot be a standalone intervention by one teacher but rather an investment that is modelled and advocated by educational bureaucrats and school leaders.

4.6 Behaviour and social class

Bourassa (2018) explores the concept of educational biopolitics and hypothesises that, "what types of life do school validate, and what types of life do schools negate?". Dittman (2016) describes how individuals use their nation of origin as their fundamental personal identity where the norms that they are subjected to in their society depict social norms. A further layer to this is an individual's class position in their society and how that class position can contribute to their sense of self and subsequently how they behave.

The significance of social class and the likelihood to thrive in education is depicted in damning statistics year after year. Figures from the Child Poverty Action Group (2022) show that children who spend their formative years in poverty will have an average of 20% lower cognitive development scores than children who have not grown up in poverty. Hebert (2018) explores the attainment and development gap by using Maslow's hierarchy of need (Maslow, 1943) to explain. For children living in economically disadvantaged environments, it is less likely that their basic needs such as food, shelter, water and safety are being met in comparison to their economically stable counterparts. "These students then attend school more concerned with their own need for food and safety; they are subsequently unable to be motivated by educational promises such as self-fulfilment", (p.232). In deprived areas, such as where my research school is located, the likelihood of such basic needs not being met might impact on their readiness to engage, learn, and 'behave'. In considering the impact that marginalisation such as economic disadvantage might have on how children behave in schools, the Child Poverty Action Group (2022) note some common characteristics such as frustration, embarrassment, social insecurity, and worry. Additional to this, there are compelling links between deprivation in childhood and ACEs (Walsh, 2019), which can add a further layer of concern or burden for the child in school. These feelings and the potential sense of feeling like an outsider might personify as challenging or disruptive behaviour in the classroom.

Another point is the origin of what is seen as acceptable behaviour. In Foucauldian terms the dominant power will prevail in reinforcing practices and regimes that align to their norms (Foucault, 1977). In considering behaviour in schools, and what schools validate and negate as acceptable behaviour, it is important to explore the power discourse and how this might help or hinder a child's sense of belonging in school. Furthermore, what qualities children might entail or indeed inherit that can impact on their susceptibility to abide by the required rules and boundaries. Silva (2015) denotes the importance of class

in capitalists societies such as Britain, where class hierarchies and inequalities are omnipresent. Lawrence (2000) comments on the British obsession with class and describes it as an "all-embracing word for describing (and defining) distinctions based on perceived social differences", (p.307).

Hebert (2018) comments on the value of education and the need to ensure that all children are supported to thrive. This strengthens the need to focus on aspects that contribute to the attainment gap such as a child's socioeconomic status. There are countless reports and government initiatives such as the 2022 Department for Education's White Paper: Opportunity for All that provide guidelines to tackle the attainment gap with strategies, etc. However, there is a lack of information on developing a deeper understanding of class division and what that can do to not only support academic attainment but also to how it can impact on a child's sense of belonging and in turn their behaviour. Hebert (2018) describes how, as social creatures, we crave acceptance and belonging but for some students their "impoverished backgrounds often find the values of their social and family group dynamics may not align with the objectives of educators", (p.232). A typical example being the school involved in my research, where their working-class background and practices might not align to the middle-class structure of curricula and learning.

In 2022, the Department for Education reported that just over 2.1 million children in Britain are eligible for Pupil Premium, where children who are eligible can receive additional funding where the child's school is tasked with utilising that funding, using the set 'menu of approaches' (2022) dictated by the Department for Education, to support children to make good progress in their education. Fortunately, a number of options on the menu of approaches do ascribe to the social, emotional, and mental health needs of children such as, "mentoring and coaching (of staff), supporting pupils' social, emotional, and behavioural needs, and activity and resources to meet the specific needs of disadvantaged pupils with SEND (Department for Education, 2022, p.7). This is positive as it leans towards an understanding that children who are struggling academically require their holistic needs reviewed as well as their academic performance. This view is supported by Jensen (2009) who discusses the impact economic disadvantage can have on the developing brain and how ongoing stress, as a result of adversity for example, can further impact on effective cognition and the capacity to learn. What children are experiencing at home, away from the influence of school, could be sabotaging and compromising their ability to behave in a way that is seen as desirable in education.

Warren (2022) discusses the impact that social class can have on a person's psyche. He compares individuals from different social classes and posits that those from more affluent social classes are more self-assured and have "a greater degree of narcissism". Warrens views are supported by Manstead (2018) who believes that "material conditions" (p.267) in which people grow up in impact on their social identities. Manstead explains further how a person's perception of themselves will impact on how they

view their environment and their sense of acceptance within it. An interesting concept to apply to my research due to the school being situated within an area of high deprivation. Key institutions such as schools and universities foster the practice and norms of middle-class society, or the bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984). In considering Warren (2022) and Manstead's (2018) claims that the ruling dominant middle-class produce practices which align to their social identities, making it a potential barrier for other classes, with other social identities, to immerse within. "Social class differences in identity, cognition, feelings, and behaviour make it less likely that working-class individuals can benefit from educational and occupational opportunities to improve their material circumstances", (Manstead, 2018, p. 268).

Laurin and Engstrom (2020) examine the origin of living in deprivation and having poor education outcomes and describe how such circumstances are understood in two ways in society. The first is that society disables individuals from lower socioeconomic status' from advancing, one reason being that the habitus of education is aligned to the field of middle class (Bourdieu, 1984); and the second is that status and lack of outcomes is personal and as a result perceived as "laziness" (Laurin & Engstrom, 2020, p.107) and due to a lack of drive. This categorisation of 'causes' of deprivation and disadvantage is also reflected in public discourse, where some will believe that the socioeconomic system is fair and those who end up in deprivation deserve it, such ideologies resonate with Young's (1958) seminal notion of meritocracy, where intelligence and effort are seen as ingredients of success with little concern for family background or other social and environmental factors, ideologies that are reflective of Thatcherite Britain (Jones, 2020). Bourdieu's theory on cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984) adds a further layer where it is not just the habitus, field, and cultural capital that individuals possess that situates their societal position, but these elements also contribute to how some groups in society are perceived as inadequate or different. On the other hand, opposing groups see the system as unfair and structurally broken, where intergenerational poverty leads to less accessibility to good schooling, etc. as well as, due to class position and the beliefs of other groups, individuals are demonised for being poor through prejudice and discrimination.

4.6.1 Cultural capital and social dominance

In considering class based social dominance Carvacho et al. (2013) states that prejudice on subservient cultures is likely, which is often the most deprived working class. I query if educational practice works to alleviate prejudice or further cements class-based hierarchies, which resonates with the Bordieuan notion of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). Carvacho et al. (2013) posit that, "the connection between social class and prejudice is explained by the endorsement of system-legitimising attitudes", concluding that, "people of the working class generally endorse an ideological configuration that is well suited for legitimating the social system" (p.272). This questions the role of education when considering

prejudice and how it might act to reproduce prejudice instead of diluting it. “Most of them have assumed that high levels of educational attainment led to decreased levels of prejudice,” (Carvacho et al., 2013, p.272). This infers that the more education one obtains the less likely prejudice will be held on others class, however an alternative view was held by Bourdieu (1984) who hypothesised that education is used to reproduce and maintain current social hierarchies.

Leo (2020) explores the term self-fulfilling prophecy and the role this plays in reproduction of outcomes for individuals. “Student attitudes toward education and opportunity are not passive reflections of their own potential for success and failure but can have a real bearing on their academic performance” (Leo, 2020, p.1568). Self-fulfilling prophecy stems from belief in oneself, be it optimistic or pessimistic, where factors outside of an individual will shape their working model (Bowlby et al., 1952) such as early attachments, relationships with others, self-belief, and self-esteem. Leo (2020) posits that the more optimistic view a child has of themselves, the more likely they are to overcome barriers and build resilience. However, Leo (2020) warns that optimism and resilience do not negate the impact of class disparities on success in education and explains that different classes value different class-based skills. Collins (2009) and Lareau and Weininger (2003) discuss how school readiness is class-based where, based on their socioeconomic status, some children will have varying skills and dispositions that will influence their success. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) report that education is more equipped for middle-class children and as a result of their class-based skills, they are better prepared to abide by the routines and expectations of the school environment and as a result working class children can feel ostracised and need to navigate new skills to conform. Again, thinking about the impact that such experiences might have on the working model of a child, it is easy to understand how these feelings of unbelonging might present in behaviour that is seen as challenging. “These processes may facilitate the development of oppositional identities among the working class toward schools as a way to protect their dignity and reject the stigma carried by school failure (Willis, 1977; MacLeod, 1987; Bettie, 2003; Weis, 2004)”, (Leo, 2020, p.1569).

> Nearly all stable societies can be considered group-based dominance hierarchies, in which one social group – often an ethnic, religious, national, or racial one – holds disproportionate power and enjoys special privileges, and at least one other group has relatively little political power or ease in its way of life (Pratto & Stewart, 2011, p.1).

Pratto and Stewart’s quote can be contextualized to schools, where children and adults from middle class identities will have a greater sense of belonging to engrained practices and routines, increasing their ability to abide by rules and boundaries. Whereas those from working-class backgrounds must not only engage in teaching and learning but also navigate practices and routines that they do not familiarise with.

Power is often retained through force and oppression of other groups, for example class-based ideologies. Foucault writes about the changing forms of practices to permit control and power on people and describes how physical violence and public shame were used historically to achieve this. Foucault (1977) cites Beccaria and his argument against torture and capital punishment, “Let the idea of torture and execution be ever present in the heart of the weak man and dominate the feeling that drives him to crime”, (p104). In keeping with current social structure and common law, school behaviour management is no longer conducted using physical force, but often through behaviourist approaches where the intention is to condition children into replicating desired behaviour through rewards and punishments (Department for Education, 2024a). Strictly speaking, the more you do of what is asked, the more praise you receive; the more you do of what is not asked, the more punishment you receive. Although this punishment will not include any physical intervention, it will often instead use shame-based strategies (see Appendix 3 for a useful analogy to understand shame using Nathanson’s Compass of Shame Scale).

4.7 Bureaucracy of education

Aspects such as social dominance, power and cultural capital can be influential in the phenomenon of educational bureaucracy (Punch, 1972). Schools in Britain continue to ascribe to a bureaucratic education system which is narrated by curricula and policy drivers, commandeered by both hierarchical managerial systems and government watchdogs such as Ofsted. Punch (1972) argues that, for bureaucracy to thrive, it relies heavily on, “adequate conceptualisation, description and measurement of the phenomenon under consideration”, (p.254). While there are benefits to such bureaucratic practice in education, particularly in terms of quality assurance such as Ofsted ratings and key performance indicators to track school progress, therein lies a temptation to align to procedures and interventions that have been tried and tested to result in practices that are deemed successful or in Ofsted terms ‘Outstanding’. As a result, Kilinç et al. (2016) state that, “schools are characterized by the rules controlling and directing student and teacher behaviour, as well as the standard procedures shaping organizational behaviour,” (p.617). An example of this is evident in the latest Ofsted School Inspection Handbook (2022) where it states that –

> The behaviour and attitudes judgement considers how leaders and staff create a safe, calm, orderly and positive environment in the school and the impact this has on the behaviour and attitudes of pupils.

In achieving the calm, orderly, clear routines and expectations required by Ofsted, a bureaucratic approach can work well where an authoritarian hierarchical structure, “encourages a school culture focused on control and command, where operational processes are rigidly controlled and closely supervised” (Kilinç et al., 2016, p.617). On paper, or indeed, on inspection, this process will produce

convincing evidence that, because guidance is being closely followed, the school is performing well. However, in terms of autonomy in both pedagogical practice for teachers and in fostering children's individualism, the willingness to instil creativity into practice and pedagogy becomes limited due to the fear of an alternative approach being negatively judged when it comes to measuring success. Researchers such as Hoy and Miskel (2006) and Adler and Borys (1996) (cited in Kilinc et al., 2016), express concern at the dangers of bureaucracy instilling a sense of powerlessness and lethargy on school staff and children due to oppressive organisational structures.

4.8 The interplay of dominance and social norms

The work of Bourdieu provides a wider contextualisation of how schools play a key role in social reproduction, "by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the education system fulfils a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the "social order"", (Bourdieu, 1973, p.84). Through symbolic violence, the dominant habitus can create a hierarchy between children from different socioeconomic classes, where their definitions and values can be imposed upon others without recognition to the subservient groups. Whilst symbolic violence and Foucault's (1977) disciplinary power bare similarities in examining the role of power and control through behaviour regulation, Bourdieu's symbolic violence focuses more specifically on the often disguised social and cultural domination. Bernstein (1973) describes the impact habitus can have on children from more economically disadvantaged groups, leading to reduced rights and status, for example their engrained behaviours and values being seen as unacceptable, challenging and disruptive within schools. Bourdieu and Passeron (1996) discuss the influence of teachers in creating social spaces in classroom environments. They describe teachers as "specialised agents" (p.57) who have the power, through the distribution of knowledge, to both reinforce and diminish social practices within the classroom. Although teachers possess some power in being change agents, there requires a more multifaceted approach to ensure the habitus and field of others is accepted within educational spheres (Nash, 1990). Nevertheless, how teachers respond to different groups will impact on how that knowledge is perceived. "Such 'fixing' positions of learners in particular ways classify and defines them, exposing them to different knowledge forms and differing consciousness that shapes their view of their place and existence in the world" (McGillicuddy & Devine, 2018, p.89).

McGillicuddy and Devine (2018) liken these practices of social reproduction through schools to symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) and the need for the dominant class to require legitimacy to perpetuate power. Scott (2012) concurs and posits that it is important to consider both gentility and violence when theorising symbolic violence in social practice. Scott (2012) explains further that symbolic violence continues to strengthen "an already existing social structure founded on and strengthened by

social inequality" (p.532). An example could be punitive behaviour management systems in schools where isolation and exclusion are accepted and not seen as problematic. However, just because these practices are wholly accepted and reproduced, it does not negate the potential harmful effects of these interventions on children, particularly the most vulnerable. Before the out ruling of corporeal punishment in schools in 1986, behaviour management using physical force was acceptable practice. It bears the question of what societal views on punishments such as isolation and exclusion will be in 30 years' time. Societal norms are created by what the dominant class deem as important, and what will further enhance the groups power hold. Bourdieu, with Passeron (1990) criticise the functions of schools and describe them as institutions which further fuel social inequalities as opposed to creating autonomy and liberty.

Scott (2012) further explores the notion of symbolic violence, and how the dominated groups can become conditioned over time into misrecognition, where they fail to see how they are being supressed by dominant practices and 'societal norms'. "In the case of symbolic violence, we become predisposed to misrecognizing the structures that manipulate us in the social fields we traverse", (p.532). When children are subjected to behaviour management measures in schools, the punitive reaction will be that they have chosen to disrespect the routines and boundaries of the school, therefore they are culpable to disciplinary procedures. Bourdieu (1977) points out how arbitrary accepted behaviour actually is, due to societal acceptance and norms being reinforced by a dominant group.

4.9 Discursive spaces in education perpetuated by 'behaviour management'

de França Sá (2021) posits that the function of school is societally seen as an institution that provides knowledge to children and supports them to learn and comply to the norms depicted by a given society. The knowledge shared and the practices that are deemed normal will be dependent upon, "cultural behaviours and values that are shared and disseminated in each society", (p.599). Education can shape consciousness and understanding through both what is taught, and also through systems that surround the pedagogical process such as how behaviour is managed. Before conducting the empirical part of my research with school staff on their perspectives of behaviour management and trauma informed practices, I wanted to examine further, through philosophical underpinning and existing literature, the concept of discourse in schools, and how it can shape what is deemed positive and negative behaviour.

While the objective of behaviour management remains as systems of discipline to obtain desired behaviour, the functions of how this is achieved have transformed over time. Foucault (1977) uses the case of Damien's the Regicide to discuss how historically (1757 in Damien's case) behaviour management practices were executed through punishments which were physical and gruesome, where theatrical public executions were performed to 'make an example' of the condemned and to instil fear in others.

Whilst the practices of behaviour management in education did not reach the horrific heights of the case of Damien's the regicide, corporeal punishment remained an accepted and encouraged method of behaviour management in schools up until 1986. This too was carried out in public, or in the case of a school, in front of the child's peers, to again, as in the case of Damien, instil fear into anyone who would dare follow suit. Sovereignty prevails through the use of force to maintain power and to perpetuate social dominance, just with a slightly different, socially acceptable guise.

Returning to de França Sá's (2021) definition of the function of school as an institution that provides knowledge and education on social norms, where through the creation of discourse in differentiating between those who can abide by the routines and boundaries of school and those who cannot, the subjugation of bodies begins. As noted by Zaidi et al. (2021), "bodies become docile and are used to exclude individuals who do not fit socially acceptable understandings or categories", (p.74) where such subjugation creates the perfect breeding ground for the already discussed Foucauldian theory of biopower.

Trauma informed practice can create space for pupil-school staff dialogue and as such, can contribute to accepted discourses. Through the promotion of a culture that encourages understanding, restoration and reparation, the theme of 'behaviour management' in schools can evolve to a more collaborative environment where positive behaviour is promoted through characteristics such as trustworthiness and safety (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). However, for trauma informed practice to be fully embedded, staff voice and their needs must also be actively considered.

In considering promoting positive behaviour in schools, particularly the use of trauma informed interventions, the dialogue regarding such interventions must be in place in theory as well as in practice. Suppose a newly developed behaviour policy details that school staff must talk to children about the events surrounding an incidence where challenging behaviour was displayed in a bid to ignite more communication and an alternative way of addressing behaviour. The policy might depict 'best practice', but staff deserve a more fundamental understanding of the purpose and rationale to this change in practice if the intent is to put down roots and change discourse on behaviour management long-term. This is where many schools fail with alternative behaviour support strategies that are less punitive (Jones, 2022). Schools can quickly adopt current, on trend initiatives, and for fear of appearing radical or to be caught in the process of transition, ready-made convenience strategies such as that of Paul Dix (2017) (though I feel obliged to point out that this does not appear to be the intent of Dix's philosophy) are quickly adopted and rolled out.

In past research, in an interview with a group of school staff, I asked what the intent of their newly created behaviour policy meant in practice. Staff replied stating that they were not fully clear on the policies intent, and that they were given lanyards and told to follow the attached script when dealing

with challenging behaviour. This is dialogue but without any truth, and without question leading to queries of its authenticity and its longevity. “Liberation is not simply removing the obstacles in concrete practices; empowerment requires transforming the social and political conditions and relationships”, (Veugelers, 2017, p.414). Failing to collaborate with school staff on change and not inviting them to be an integral part of the process devalues their voice and subsequently the success of the new change in practice. Brown et al. (2021) discuss the “double-voiced” (p.449) nature of becoming a teacher, where authoritative discourse, such as neoliberal agendas, can be at odds with teachers “internally persuasive discourses” (p.458). For staff in schools, their voice and rights can be constricted by measures of performativity and policy (Keddie, 2018), aspects which are deemed to contribute to children’s ‘success in school’, where docility of both the child and staff means that they are conforming to disciplinary power. This indicates the perpetual influence of neoliberalism influencing school governance, where schools are subject to quasi-marketisation that dictates, directs and informs (Savage, 2017). Perhaps, the pressure of performativity means that school staff voice or indeed identity (Ball, 2003) is less important, less measured and less valued (Skinner et al., 2021). I anticipated that such themes might arise from my interviews with school staff, such as their role or voice in the implementation of trauma informed practices within the school, and if this resulted on what they thought about how it influenced how behaviour was managed.

In its broadest sense discourse is rooted in dialogue. Freire (1972) defines dialogue in very different terms to the oppressive and reductionist description already discussed within this chapter. Freire comments on the potential of dialogue advocating freedom, critical thinking, expression and as a result, a constant evolving process of transformation. Freire (1972) further encapsulates the potential of free form thinking and dialogue in education by viewing the school as a site of ‘cultural syntheses’. This feels exciting and optimistic and indeed offers a valid potentiality of what schools may be capable of providing. However, the reality of schools depicts a much more blinkered view of advocating for free expression, hampered by strict curriculum guidelines and even stricter behaviour management systems. The functionality of education is being throttled by bureaucracy and the belief that children must know certain things and act certain ways to enable them to thrive. It has also been argued (Maija & Brunila, 2019; Hempel-Jorgensen 2009; McGregor 2015) that such emphasis on performativity in education coerces teachers and schools into producing a typical docile child aligned to the desired prototype of the dominant society.

Jones and Magalhães (2020) use Marxian, Vygotskian and Freirean theories to rationalise the need to upturn current systems of practice in education and consider transformational practice which, “may contribute to the progressive transformation of social relations more generally”, (p.4). This aligns to Freire where he posits that, “the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well”, (Freire, 1972, p.21). In Freirean terms, dialogue holds the key

to change, to transformation, which as Veugelers (2017) suggests, is in opposition to the banking system of education, which is traditionally used in schools, where oppression is engrained into educational practice.

4.9.1 Alienation

In 2009, McInerney conducted school-based research to review the engagement of youths in education. A key aspect found was the idea of 'otherness' amongst students and how this created a barrier to their educational success. As already discussed, and posed by previous research (Pratto & Stewart, 2011; Leo, 2020) the current education system aligns most closely to the habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) of the dominant middle-class in society. I do not find it difficult to understand why some children, for example those who have been subjected to adversity in their lives, live in deprivation, or are from minority groups, might develop a sense of alienation to current school behaviour management structures. Weissman (2015) posits that children who are othered or alienated due to being outside of the social and behavioural norms of the school culture are more likely to be subjected to "negative labelling" which "cuts to the core of a person's identity" (p.189).

McInerney (2009) states that although alienation is understood as a barrier to educational success, the reasons for alienation tend to focus on the ill-fitting of the child, rather than oppressive institutional structures, a typical example of Foucauldian power knowledge construct (Foucault, 1977). McInerney (2009) believes that student alienation can be at least, in part, due to, "notions of subjectivity, oppression and liberation….in terms of the dehumanizing forces operating within schools and societies at large", (p.24). When children cannot see themselves or identify with school culture, for example children who have experiences of adversity and trauma in their lives, alienation permeates. This recognition of self within the school environment evokes a sense of belonging which in turn can realise "human agency" (McInerny, 2009, p.24) and the potential of liberation. If, because of the lack of cultural synthesis and alienation, the othered feeling of children leads them to being more susceptible to being at the hands of behaviour management practices, there emerges a potential understanding of how alienation contributes to the school-to-prison-pipeline (see appendix 4), where there are correlations between being excluded from school and increased likelihood of engaging in criminality (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Office for National Statistics, 2022).

> Zero tolerance school disciplinary policies ignore the structural, underlying conditions that define students' lives, and instead respond to symptoms of misbehaviour by using social control processes that mimic the oppression these students experience in their school as a sort of dress rehearsal for the criminal justice system (Weissman, 2015, p.206).

Weissman argues that such punitive procedures fail to address the underlying needs of children but instead reinforce feelings of ill-fitting and unbelonging, where the school environment can act as a precursor to the criminal justice system. School's should be a site where children feel safe and secure, even if they display behaviour that is seen as disruptive or challenging, where instead of shaming or disciplining children for their 'defiant' behaviour, time and space to explore their feelings and emotions and to work on self-regulation skills should be the next step.

Casey (2016) further explores the Freirean notion of the link between human agency and liberation by discussing how agency, and subsequently liberation, exists within a dialogue between oppressed and oppressor and that it requires more than realisation of feeling oppressed to reach liberation. The recognition of oppression also requires dialectical understanding between both the oppressor and the oppressed. If school staff are presented with rules and boundaries that limit their creativity (Keddie, 2018), and the discursive space implies that a single way of thinking or knowing is universal, it translates to a form of oppression. To reach liberation is to attempt to, "articulate the ways in which human beings presently lead alienating and dehumanizing lives due to the presence and ongoing historical realities of oppressive ideologies: from racism to genocide, heterosexism and patriarchy to capitalist exploitation," (Casey, 2016, p.22). This reflection resonates with my previous research where teachers had a tokenistic understanding of the newly applied school behaviour policy, the fundamental understanding and rationale for the approach was amiss. Even before considering the impact of this uneducated approach on the children involved, the agency and liberation had already been diminished from the school staff, due to the lack of dialogue in support of changing the discourse of how behaviour is managed within the school. It would appear that the need to roll out what is considered 'best practice' in terms of performativity or quasi-marketisation (Savage, 2017) results in the diminished professional autonomy of school staff.

Maija and Brunila (2019) discuss the paradox of teacher agency and behaviour management in schools. There is an assumption that teachers have a fundamental understanding of how to promote positive behaviour, however on review of statutory and non-statutory guidance such as the Teacher's Standards (Department for Education, 2011) and Behaviour and Discipline in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a), the literature infers how they must react to challenging behaviour when it arises. There is an acute lack of information on educating or indeed empowering school staff on factors that might impact on a child's ability to abide by the routines and boundaries of a classroom, for example, experiences of adversity or trauma or the impact of socioeconomic status. It would be unfair to suggest that schools and the wider educational environment do not recognise or attempt to address alienation as, already discussed, marginalisation such as social class or vulnerability due to earlier adverse experiences are topics which are evident in policy drivers for example pupil premium funding and non-statutory initiatives

such as Opportunity for All white paper (Department for Education, 2022). This can also be seen at school level, where schools use a trauma informed approach and concern nurture and empathy for all children, particularly the most vulnerable. However, there lies a juxtaposition, where practice might stipulate empathy and understanding, but the wider framework still centres on control through meeting government regulatory measures.

Foucault (1977) describes the inextricable connection between knowledge and power and how this is what affirms dominance at both institutional and societal level. McInerney (2009) comments that when children display behaviour which is seen as disruptive in schools, the reason for the challenging behaviour remains down to the child, and the idea that the problem could lie with the institution or school or indeed society is not explored, or even considered. The process of individualisation (Foucault, 1977) is projected through disciplinary power leaving the institution unscathed and the individual or child excluded.

The discourse of blame is contagious, further fuelling the notion that children 'choose' to rebel against the structures and routines of the school. McInerney's (2009) study offers insight into how this discourse is evident in dialogue with school staff where some students who present challenging behaviour are described as "not motivated, bums and lazy", (p.29). This is also evident when students themselves are interviewed, such as one student noting that they are, "too dumb to go to university", (p.29). It is important here to acknowledge the already mentioned wider framework of governmentality due to the bureaucracy of education (Kilinc et al, 2016; Hoy & Miskel, 2006; Adler & Borys,1996) as a further factor that adds to negative discourses from both school staff and children. Teachers and schools must perform, because the repercussions of not doing so can have serious ramifications for jobs, reputation, the inspectorate. To perform you must conform.

4.9.2 Discourse on challenging behaviour

Maija and Brunila (2019) comment on how challenging behaviour continues be one of the biggest issues in education. OECD data (2014, p.9) reports that on average one in three teachers, lose "quite a lot of time" due to behavioural problems in school. It is supported in further research (Lopes et al.,2017; Sun & Shek, 2012) where classroom disruption due to challenging behaviour is seen as a main issue for teachers. The lost time impacts on time spent instructing students and as a result, decreasing their learning opportunities (Lopes et al., 2017).

Lopes et al. (2017) explore how the definition of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour is ambiguous, as well as behaviour management systems. They refer to wider research (Hagenauer et al., 2015; Doyle, 1986; Brophy, 1998) to identify behaviour management strategies in schools as "one of the most

important variables to understand students' classroom misbehaviour", (p.470). Also, what defines challenging behaviour can be changeable from school to school, and even classroom to classroom. An extensive study by Ofsted (2015) reports that trying to define behaviour "has always been an unsatisfactory enterprise". "It is a historically and socioculturally formed coming-together of various intersecting power-related discourses that make claims about individuals and contexts", (Maija & Brunila, 2019, p.682). Maija and Brunila (2019) further hypothesise that challenging behaviour is in conflict with an idealised, docile (Foucault, 1977) view of the child which offers limited flexibility of what constitutes the 'ideal', which is perpetuated by "increasing emphasis on management and measurement in school", (p.682). It appears that much deliberation is given to determine what is exemplary behaviour, or what the definition of a well-behaved child is. It leads me to think about the purpose of this, why is this image so important to grasp, and what if the focus instead changed to helping children to learn about themselves, their feelings, their emotions, their reactions to experiences in their lives. Within current education practice, it appears that being seen to be doing is more important than actually doing, where meeting regulatory measures supersedes the need to examine the needs of school communities, such as children and school staff, based on their individual needs and contexts (Savage, 2017; Keddie, 2018). Just like school staff when adopting a new approach, where the likelihood of success is staff understanding and buy-in, I posit that seeking to engage and involve children in the promotion of positive behaviour rather than being enthralled in behaviour management strategies, might be a much more beneficial enterprise.

The examination of literature related to class and education illuminated the complexity of both factors where the frameworks provided by Foucault and Bourdieu, offered valued insights in obtaining a better understanding of how power operates within education, and the implications this can have for children from different socioeconomic groups. The literature motivated me to prod deeper into accepted practices within schools, namely how we define and accept certain behaviours and from there validate the punishment of others and to examine the dangers of accepting societal norms without questioning their equity and diversity. Schools should be a place where every single child feels valued and welcome, irrespective of their class, background or indeed behaviour, where the function should be to unify difference rather than segregate further.

Chapter 5 Practice that is Trauma Informed

In this chapter I examine perspectives on trauma informed practice in schools in a bid to further recognise the intricate relationships between trauma, adversity and educational outcomes and how a more restorative and nurturing approach, such as practice that is trauma informed, might support all children within schools, particularly the most vulnerable.

In the wake of growing awareness on the impact of trauma and adversity on children, educationalists are in search of alternative ways to promote positive behaviour in schools. Drewery and Kecskemeti (2010) declare that restorative approaches, such as trauma informed practice, are largely seen as the best direction to take due to its person and citizenship-centred philosophy and describe the potential positive impact that this can have for the whole school community. However, they indicate the complexity of this change, "if we accept this philosophy, the curriculum for teacher education will require significant changes in what students are taught about behaviour and classroom management", (2010, p.6). Currently, there is limited mandatory training and ongoing support on the impact of trauma and adversity on the developing child which therefore limits the potential of school staff having the knowledge to understand how this might influence behaviour in schools (Kearns & Hart, 2017; Dingwall & Sebba, 2018; Kim et al., 2021a). Furthermore, the increasing bureaucratic and performative nature of education diminishes the professional autonomy of school staff where meeting performance indicators is prioritised (Reeve et al., 2012; Kilinc et al., 2016; Savage, 2017; Bailey et al., 2019). A key aspect of trauma informed practice is acknowledging the approach as a philosophical shift which encourages expansive learning (Engeström, 2001) rather than a fixed strategy that is applied to change practice. Anfara et al. (2013) warn against adopting a trauma informed approach without gaining a fundamental understanding of its values. I posit that the longevity of trauma informed practice will be based on a deep understanding of the philosophy and how best it works for the setting or institution and those who act within it. Vaandering (2010) posits the need for such practice to centre upon "the development of relationships and community" rather than "solely in terms of student conduct" (p.145). These observations from literature were instrumental in my justification for adopting a qualitative interpretivist approach to my data collection as I wished to better understand how the practice of being trauma informed has influenced the school community in terms of how behaviour is managed, rather than quantifiably measuring its effectiveness.

5.1 Defining trauma informed practice through the application of restorative practice

Conkbayir (2023) examines the role of trauma informed practice in promoting self-regulation skills in children, which I believe is the paradigm shift that is required to remove punitive measures and instead promote restorative practice. Having a knowledge of trauma informed approaches reduces the use of strategies that shame and belittle children and focuses on strategies that are educational and restorative. "This can help us to be more curious about children's behaviour and the underlying causes for it, rather than reprimanding them for the behaviour we see", (Conkbayir, 2023, p.204).

As discussed, trauma informed practice in schools cannot simply be an approach which is 'put on' to children and staff. The concept of trauma informed practice needs to consider the needs of all involved such as children and school staff. Yu (2023) discusses the requirements for interconnectedness in changes of practice, where involved parties have the ability to question and express their views, "to practically solve the inner contradictions through negotiation, dialogue, and debate", (p.4334). Conkbayir (2023) discusses the importance of applying compassion and mindfulness into staff support as it will help staff to understand and recognise their own needs and as a result be better equipped to reflect and respond to the needs of the children they work with.

A key critique of trauma informed practice is that there lacks a recognised definition and procedure (Office for Improvement in Health Disparities, 2022). A call for clarity on the meaning of trauma informed practice and what it should look like has resulted in programmes and interventions that attempt to answer this, often in expensive ready-made packages that schools can purchase (Maynard et al., 2019). Whilst aspects of such packages are useful, if staff are trained on how to understand and deliver the information, it is a starting point in a shift to promoting positive behaviour in schools. However, such packages lack the opportunity to create an approach which is bespoke to the needs and requirements of the setting. Gomez et al. (2021) identify the rising awareness of trauma informed practice in education but recognise the need for more research to observe its benefits in supporting more equitable outcomes for all children and indeed all those involved in education. In defence of schools, exhausted, overwhelmed and time-poor are adjectives that are understandably part of teacher's vocabulary due to aspects such as the bureaucracies currently associated with education, where as a result, the capacity to initiate or engage in change might feel unobtainable. This is where the concept of trauma informed practice can appear exhausting and overwhelming, where it is not as simple as creating a policy or adopting an approach. It runs deeper and requires more time and effort for the approach to become intertwined within the culture and ethos of the setting. Engeström's expansive learning theory (1987;2016) resonates with the concept of change, such as becoming trauma informed, where ongoing change occurs within dynamic, complex environments, that emerges from the identification of problems

or contradictions. “The theory of expansive learning enables a longitudinal and rich analysis of inter-organisational learning and makes a specific contribution in outlining the historical transformation of work and organizations”, (Engeström, & Kerosuo, 2007, p.336).

Mullet (2014) describes restorative approaches in promoting positive behaviour as a values-based discipline as opposed to punitive. It is essential that a fundamental understanding of the rationale for the approach is achieved by those that implement and engage in it, for example school staff and children. This becomes even more crucial when a change in practice is introduced or considered, where there does not exist a blueprint of the approach but instead a need to consider how change can effectively transform practice. Tessier (2022) examines expansive learning, where cyclical actions led to progressive development, where in the context of my research, staff and children might be encouraged to be a part of developing an alternative way of interpreting and understanding behaviour that is seen as challenging. Engeström (2001) sets expansive learning theory apart from other theories of learning as it acknowledges that, “people and organisations are all the time learning something that is not stable, not even defined or understood ahead of time”, (p.137), and instead encourages change to be the product of expansive and collective search and analysis, aspects which will assure the acceptance and ongoing application of transformative change.

A common misconception is that trauma informed practice means there are no rules and children simply ‘get away’ with challenging behaviour (Scott & Jenney, 2023). On the contrary, trauma informed practice employs boundaries which aim to, “protect relationships with people, material and the environments”, (Mullet, 2014, p.159). The philosophical nature of trauma informed practice such as restorative practice means that the approach is not just a method and requires reflection and self-examination to guide practice. Similarities are observed here between the need for introspection and Foucault’s theory of self-examination (1988) which, in Foucauldian terms, allows for both internal reflection and consideration of how an individual’s behaviour impacts their environment.

Children thrive in environments where they feel a sense of acceptance and belonging (Gleason & Narvaez, 2019), a key aspect of achieving this is through positive attachments with key people in their lives, such as school staff. Drewery and Kecskemeti (2010) report on how teacher attitudes can determine the types of relationships they build with children. This further reinforces the importance of gaining a fundamental understanding of the values of trauma informed practice and the need for self-evaluation to execute it accordingly. A key concept of trauma informed practice is respect which includes the need for acceptance of the beliefs and attitudes of others, or “cultural consideration”, (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). This can relate to class disparities in England and how the habitus of the education system is more aligned to middle-class groups.

Another common critique of trauma informed practice in behaviour management is that it is not a scripted method that can be replicated. The values of trauma informed practice encourage collaboration on rules and boundaries that are created with the needs of the participants, be that the institution or the community, at its core. Mullet (2014) comments on this factor resulting in educators feeling anxious about the process. The practicality of the approach is intentionally ambiguous; however, this is in contrast to many other structured practices that are ready-made within current educational practice. Due to the growing bureaucracy of education (Kilinc et al., 2016), the opportunity to display autonomy from both a school and staff perspective is increasingly limited. Morrison (2007) highlights a further critique being that children will not always accept the opportunity to engage in a restorative process and seek retribution. This results in schools, even those with who advocate for a trauma informed approach, offering different options in behaviour management strategies which can include punitive methods.

Anfara et al. (2013) describe alternative restorative approaches to promoting positive behaviour as more democratic but because of the need for personalisation to ensure its effectiveness, this can be seen as a barrier to its application. However, extensive research (Anfara et al., 2013; Mullet, 2014; Greene, 2018; Okilwa & Briscode, 2017; Jones et al., 2018) suggests that punitive practices are ineffective and a requirement for an alternative is needed with trauma informed practice being a willing candidate. Such restorative practice, "emphasizes mutual respect, the use of dialogue to ensure fair processes, a balance between structure and support, and a commitment to building relationships rather than strictly focusing on misbehaviour", (Anfara et al., 2013. p.57). This paradigm shift is in opposition to current behaviourist systems of managing behaviour in schools where the focus is on dealing with challenging behaviour. Suvall (2009) explores the dominant behaviourist practice of behaviour management where, "Schools rely on exclusion through suspension and expulsion, harsh mandatory punishments, surveillance and partnership with law enforcement to address behaviour problems", (p.547). These processes result in the dominant power using subjugation to reinforce their "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p.131) via the institution, in this case schools, further limiting the voice and autonomy of school staff. In contrast, Anfara et al. (2013) conducted an overview of research concerned with restorative practice (Vaandering, 2010; Fields, 2003) and detail that the approach not only supports the promotion of positive behaviour, but it also fosters a positive classroom culture and as a result a healthier school climate. It appears that the more agency and voice those involved have in developing school culture, the more likely they are to invest in and advocate for ongoing implementation (Ralph, 2019), aspects which again resonate with expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001), where the possibility of new learning is developed through opportunities to interpret and question. Anthony et al. (2014) defines expansive learning in schools as a means to position school staff as, "co-learners who contribute to the construction of a new object and concept for the collective activity", (p.282). The literature on punitive and restorative

approaches illuminates the stark differences between both in theory and in practice, something that I was interested to examine further in my research with school staff, to examine if they too identified stark differences between both approaches when managing behaviour in schools.

5.2 Improved shame management

Gomez et al. (2021) explore how restorative approaches to promote positive behaviour can support with shame management (Appendix 3). Shame displacement occurs when shame is maladaptively managed where the individual struggles to understand the "link between their actions and the consequences of those actions, which, in turn, increases the likelihood of inflicting harm in the future", (Gomez et al., 2021, p.459). In contrast to shame displacement, shame acknowledgement is where an individual is supported to recognise and understand the impact of their actions and as a result a willingness to make amends emerges from this understanding. For some children in schools, take for example those who have experiences of adversity or trauma, shame displacement may be the default reaction for them. The role of schools in this instance is not to assume that every child has an awareness of how to manage their shame in a positive way, but instead identify those who need more support and guidance in reconceptualising their reactions to shame. Positive shame management in the form of shame acknowledgement is a central focus to trauma informed restorative approaches in education. Gomez et al. (2021) discuss the benefits of helping children to use shame experiences in a "reintegrative rather than stigmatising manner" (p.460). In considering punitive practices such as exclusion, removal and loss of privileges, I construe that these actions inflict further shame on a child, which can lead to decreased self-esteem and alienation, where their 'wrongdoing' makes them susceptible to be excluded. Again, I was intrigued to see if school staff might infer an awareness of such shame-based interventions in the interviews.

5.3 Being reactive to popular concern

Punitive behaviour management can be particularly evident in schools that brand themselves as having 'zero-tolerance' procedures. Teske (2011) conducted a study of zero tolerance procedures in schools and found that the rationale for this approach was often described as a need to create a safe learning environment through order, aspects which resonate with Foucault's disciplinary power (1977). Teske's (2011) study then reviewed a multi-agency approach to supporting positive behaviour strategies and found that, "a multi-systems approach that targets the reasons for disruptive behaviour improves student educational and behavioural outcomes", (p.88). The reduction of punitive behaviour management strategies, such as zero-tolerance procedures, and the premise to understand behaviour improved outcomes for the child involved. Zero-tolerance settings will often have consequences for

challenging behaviour that are applied regardless without consideration of the individual involved. However, even in a court of law, the character of the defendant is taken into consideration, surely this should also apply to when managing behaviour in schools. Krezmien et al. (2006) also question the benefits of zero-tolerance procedures in schools and query if exploration into whether such punitive procedures "mitigate or exacerbate serious offending" (p.225) is required.

As discussed, children are more likely to be subjected to behaviour management sanctions if they are from a lower socioeconomic class, from a minority group or have social and emotional behavioural needs (Hebert, 2018). This further highlights the need to consider these vulnerabilities in schools with one such way developing policies and practices that are inclusive and highlight the importance of considering the ecology of a child to best support them. I consider the value of expansive learning theory here, in particular Engeström's expansive learning cycle (2001) where questioning could begin with the suitability of behaviour management practices on marginalised groups. Robertson (2014) posits that Engeström's cycle begins with questioning, and then through a sequence of analysis, a new solution can be modelled and tested and adjusted and amended as required before reflection and consolidation. The dynamic function of the cycle means that it is unidirectional, and that movement can occur back and forth as required (Dochy et al., 2011).

Sullivan et al. (2013) describe the role of the educator being unbiased, and constantly conscious of providing equitable education with optimal learning opportunities. Punitive approaches perpetuate a hierarchical "us versus them" attitude (Kline, 2016, p.101), where the lack of relationship and belonging can increase recidivism. McCluskey (2018) asserts the benefits of restore and reparation as opposed to penalising or ostracising the wrongdoer. As a result of a large-scale study into restorative practice in education in Scotland, a widely used definition was developed, "restoring good relationships when there has been conflict or harm, and developing school ethos, policies and procedures to reduce the possibility of such conflict and harm arising", (p.4).

Research on the application of trauma informed practice has identified aspects of practice that support its ethos. McCluskey (2018) comments on the diversity of strategies and practices and includes teacher training, a relationship focused curriculum, classroom management initiatives, use of restorative language and collective, solution focused interventions, to name a few. Hurley (2015) denotes that research has not yet identified what is most central to the successful application of trauma informed practice. It's ambiguous nature is something that can appear unnerving to schools, particularly when they are conditioned to the oppressive structure of the current bureaucratic education system. However, the undefined and open-ended potential should be what entices schools to adopt this philosophical change.

McCluskey (2018) refers to studies (Wadhwa, 2016; Riestenberg, 2012; Morrison, 2007) to exemplify how restorative practice offers "a uniquely coherent framework within which relational values, principles and actions are experienced as internally congruent and effective", (p.6).

As already mentioned, the contentious issue of alternative methods to behaviour management remains. McCluskey (2018) reports that many will still advocate that it is punitive discipline that children require to understand their wrongdoing. However, research continues to evidence that whilst punitive behaviour may work in the short-term, the long-term impact is lacking and limiting. Another crucial aspect to consider here is the impact of punitive behaviour management strategies on the wellbeing of children involved. Despite the growing body of evidence to support restorative practice, Morrison and Vaandering (2012) claim that the default response to behaviour that is seen as challenging is "punitive, individualising and pathologizing" (p.17).

5.4 Navigating the nuances of trauma informed practice

The value of trauma informed education has gathered momentum in recent years (Maynard et al., 2019), however the evidence to support its effectiveness remains in its nascent stages (Gregory et al., 2016) particularly in the areas of student outcomes and staff wellbeing in primary education settings. McCluskey (2018) states that schools and education systems are seen as the culpable party in declining standards of behaviour and as a result, "come under significant and contradictory pressures to increase their systems of surveillance and zero tolerance of misconduct", (p.13). These findings contribute to a discourse that children need to be managed and controlled to be 'behaved' which strengthens regimented, zero-tolerance punitive practices and weakens the more bespoke practices of being trauma informed. Indeed, a highlighted obstacle to trauma informed practice is the lack of conceptual clarity and that the lack of structure can disillusion willing candidates. Maynard et al. (2019) posit that there remains a lack of clarity of what exactly it means when a school is using a trauma informed approach, despite the growing theoretical understanding of its philosophy.

Swarra et al. (2017) acknowledge the obstacles to trauma informed practice and how it can be seen by school staff as burdensome or another requirement to add to their workload. Anfara et al. (2013) also note that it is important to highlight that for some school staff, there is a reluctance to navigate away from punitive behaviour management approaches. Morrison and Vaandering (2012) state that many schools have entrenched practices and policies that are upheld by control and compliance and the idea of a shift towards restorative approaches is somewhat daunting. In the short-term, quick fix behaviour management approaches, such as exclusions, may be more accessible. However, studies continue to

evidence the long-term effects of punitive behaviour methods such as exclusions, for example, "increased academic failure and dropout rates, the cost of new prisons, the loss of social capital", (Anfara et al., 2013, p.61).

As mentioned, trauma informed practice is a cultural shift towards how the school community addresses all behaviours, both positive and challenging. It is not about a scripted way of responding to a situation or an intervention but instead should lend itself to an expansive learning model (Engeström, 1987;2001), where change originates from questioning and collective dedication to change. In 2008 Kane et al. were commissioned by the Scottish education department to conduct a large-scale qualitative study which identified benefits of restorative approaches in education and communities. A willingness to adopt a shift towards more trauma informed and restorative approaches was evidenced in schools and local authorities leading to a transformation in thinking and practice. The engagement of staff was observed as a key aspect of the shift in practice with one teacher commenting, "now it's OK to be seen (by other staff), to be talking things through—not necessary to be seen to punish" (p.52). This comment exemplifies the resistance that can be communicated on an approach and how even if an individual desires a shift in practice, the approval of others is needed. The success of this project led to Scottish nationwide policy support and professional training in restorative practice in both education and the community. McCluskey (2018) reports that since its application the commitment to trauma informed practice continues to be firmly established.

In recent years there has been some growth in UK based studies into professionals or school staff's attitudes towards trauma informed practice in education. For instance, Robertson et al. (2021) conducted a quantitative study with UK-based teaching staff as participants from a range of different early years, primary and secondary education settings with the aim to explore how staff's individual or contextual factors impact on their attitudes towards trauma informed practice. Maclochlainn et al. (2022) conducted a mixed method study measuring personal attitudes and compassion fatigue following whole-school trauma informed training intervention with post-primary professional staff in Northern Ireland. Both studies exemplified that for trauma informed practice to be embedded into a setting it must be a collective response and dedication to change. Conkbayir (2023) elaborates on the shift towards trauma informed practice by stating that the practice must be, "infused in an organisations culture and ethos, providing that golden thread across all policies and practices", (p.207).

Furthermore, Maynard et al. (2019) discuss how the UK continues to raise an awareness between trauma and adversity and the wellbeing of children. They report that The Department for Education and National Health Service use ongoing data collection such as surveys and pilot projects to assess how to actively

promote a wider understanding of how to support our most vulnerable learners. Skinns et al. (2009) explored the attitudes of school leadership teams towards trauma informed practice and it to be positive, that it led to increased attainment and the reduced use of exclusion. In fact, the Department for Education and Scottish Government (2015) found that exclusion and expulsion is declining in all four nations of the United Kingdom. However, of the four nations England remains the highest and also remains one of the highest nations in Europe. McCluskey (2018) adds that exclusion on disciplinary grounds is not permitted under any circumstances in a number of European countries.

The raising awareness of the impact of trauma and adversity on learning permits a more humanistic way of supporting children to develop an understanding of themselves and the factors that might impact on how they behave. This will be tarnished in instances such as school exclusions where the child is removed from that community and the opportunity to repair and restore is removed or paused due to the need to adhere to disciplinary procedures. This again bears substance to Foucault's notion of disciplinary power (1977) and how the rule of power remains the priority. A juxtaposition arises here as punitive behaviour management procedures are often the go-to approach for schools; however, the benefits of restorative approaches continue to prove more valuable for all involved. Kline (2016) amongst many other studies, hypothesises that restorative practice, in contrast to punitive practice, supports reduced school exclusions, "and ultimately eliminates (s) the disparities in discipline data across the nation", (p.97). As discussed, school exclusions can be the tipping point for ongoing academic failure and can increase a child's likelihood to enter the school-to-prison pipeline (Office for National Statistics, 2023; Appendix 4). The feelings and associations linked to being subjected to exclusion and removals can be long-lasting for many, and whilst the exclusion may be short term, the self-fulfilling prophecy of having behaviour that is unmanageable in 'normal 'practice can remain. This can impact all children but children who have already experienced adversity or trauma in their lives are particularly vulnerable to lasting effects (Jones et al., 2018).

When adopting a new approach such as becoming trauma informed, it involves not only a change in practice, but deconstructing and exploring engrained beliefs and stereotypes held by those who work within the setting (Silger & Aamindor, 2005; Brunzell et al., 2021), such as the traditional view of teachers being held in higher regard than support staff such as teaching assistants (Neaum & Noble, 2023). To challenge and subsequently attempt to transform perspectives on power imbalances between teachers and teaching assistants, might cultivate individual reactions to this, and such a process may rattle existing power frameworks. Dunne et al. (2008) explore professionalism in teaching assistants and discuss how the culture of the school creates a platform for the exercise of power and the parameters in which it is upheld or shared. Foucault examines the intersection between acceptance and change and discusses the need for individuals to be ready to "find our surroundings strange and singular; a certain relentlessness in

ridding ourselves of our familiarities and looking at things otherwise", (Foucault, 1996 [1980], p.305). As key principles of the working definition of trauma informed practice (Office for Health Disparities, 2022) include collaboration and empowerment for both staff and service users, in the case of my research concerning school staff and children, I was intrigued to see if reference towards hierarchy and power imbalances based on position would be referred to within the interviews. I wondered if school staff would consider such aspects within their perspectives of trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management.

While there exists a willingness to praise trauma informed practice in education, this chapter has ensured that I have highlighted and perused potential obstacles to its application. As McCluskey (2018) states, the divisiveness of power must be considered. It is essential to not assume that trauma informed practice will benefit every child and every school setting in the same way, but to consider the force of power relations on societal groups and how that can impact on areas such as behaviour management systems in education. A lack of willingness to acknowledge this would present naivety and would indeed challenge the intent of trauma informed restorative practice. As McCluskey (2018) states, more work is required in developing trauma informed practice to "ensure that it is culturally responsive and experienced as positive by all students, and indeed staff" (p.21).

Chapter 6 School Context

This chapter will describe how the context of the school was an imperative part of interpreting my research and making meaning to the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on how behaviour is managed. To protect the confidentiality of the school, I will refer to the school in the pseudonym of Pinewood Primary.

I was made aware of Pinewood Primary while working on a previous project, where I was part of a research team auditing trauma informed practices within schools across a local authority and from there, I gained an understanding of the school's intent towards developing practice that was trauma informed.

6.1 Area demographics

Pinewood Primary is in the northwest of England. The area in which the school is located is often referred to as 'The borough of two halves', depicting the vast contrast of extreme wealth and extreme poverty in a relatively small demographic. To contextualise the levels of deprivation in the area, I referred to the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019) to provide statistics on what is classed as the seven distinct domains of deprivation. The statistics below exhibit the levels of deprivation regarding the seven domains within the area in which the school is located –

1. Income (22.5%)
2. Employment (22.5%)
3. Health Deprivation and Disability (13.5%)
4. Education, Skills Training (13.5%)
5. Crime (9.3%)
6. Barriers to Housing and Services (9.3%)
7. Living Environment (9.3%).

The Indices of Deprivation also depict five Lower-layer Super Output Areas which have been ranked as the most deprived Local Authorities, one of these five areas being where Pinewood Primary is situated, within the 'most deprived decile' where in relation to national averages the area falls within the most deprived 10% of neighbourhoods in England. The deprivation level of the area in which Pinewood Primary is located was crucial to understanding school context, particularly when examining themes such as the impact of trauma and adversity. As discussed in Chapter 4, a child's socioeconomic position can have a profound impact on their emotional and cognitive development, and poorer children will likely not

achieve as much as their wealthier peers in education (Sherwood, 2017; Hebert, 2018; Child Poverty Action Group, 2022). Furthermore, there are links between deprivation and a child's increased likelihood to experience adversity or trauma in their lives (Felitti et al., 2008; Walsh, 2019).

A report conducted by Barr et al. (2022), reviewing children and young people with mental health issues in the region between 2018 and 2021, commented on the harmful impact of adversity in childhood and how it can affect development throughout an individual's life, stating that, "one in three diagnosed mental health conditions in adulthood are known to directly relate to adverse childhood experiences", (p.1). As Felitti et al. (1998) revealed, the pervasiveness of adversity can lead to implications on learning, behaviour and health which supports the report's findings which acknowledges the impact of adversity and recommends that a "whole family approach", (p.1) and a focus on building resilience and confidence is key to alleviate this issue. This notion of a whole family approach resonates with the English working definition of trauma informed practice (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), where collaboration and cultural considerations are denoted as key values. I wondered if, in my data collection, that staff at Pinewood Primary would refer to such aspects when discussing trauma informed approaches within the school.

The school is located right in the centre of the suburb. The suburb has not been without its challenges over the years due to criminality such as violence and sexual offences, criminal damage and arson, public order and anti-social behaviour being the most reported crimes (Merseyside Police, 2023). The high-levels of crime in the area rated at decile 1 on the Multiple Deprivations Index (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019) include gang warfare, county lines, drugs, knife, and gun crime (Merseyside Police, 2023), which motivated the community police and school to forge links to attempt to promote positive relationships between the community and police (School Self Evaluation Form, 2023). Bradford and Myhill (2015) examine factors that contribute to public confidence in the police and state that negative attitudes towards police are common in areas of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage, such as the area in which Pinewood Primary is located. They refer to wider research, conducted in both the United States and England (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Sampson, 2004) to suggest that negative attitudes towards policing in deprived areas can be caused by constant surveillance and policing that can foster feelings of being targeted rather than protected. The union between the school and police might be an attempt for children and their families to meet police in a non-threatening and relational way rather than in times of distress.

6.2 The school

In large scale research conducted in 2019 by Local Trust, the community was identified as one of 225 left behind neighbourhoods in England. Such stark findings indicate the level of need not just across Pinewood Primary but the community in general. School leaders noted that they were acutely aware of this need and posited that, “as a school, we hope to address the barriers our community face compared to other communities” (School Evaluation Form, (SEF), 2023). There appeared to be an awareness on the part of school leaders of the needs that children and families faced, and the impact such environmental challenges might have on the children that attend Pinewood Primary. I perceive the intent of school leaders in seeking to ‘address’ barriers faced as a positive stride towards support, but the stark statistics also indicate the potential enormity of issues faced by the community indicating needs that are far greater than the school’s response alone.

The SEF (2023) reported on the lasting effects of the Covid Pandemic and how this continued to impact on the mental health and wellbeing of parents/carers and subsequently their children. Indeed, such findings were confirmed in government research where the Centre for Mental Health estimated that 1.5 million children and young people may need support in the aftermath of the pandemic (Local Government Association, 2024). This resulted in further safeguarding referrals being made by the school with 16% of children being referred in the 2022-2023 academic year (SEF, 2023). This rise in safeguarding referrals was a national pattern, where government data indicates that England saw a 59% increase in school referrals to children’s services (Gov.uk, 2023), where the pandemic seen children at an increased risk of abuse and neglect.

The latest statistics from Pinewood Primary revealed rising numbers in children classed as vulnerable. For example, the school SEF (2023) reported that children with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND), Pupil Premium, safeguarding, English as an Additional Language (EAL), bottom 20% readers, are carefully tracked and actions for support and impact are reviewed half termly. The current numbers / percentages of vulnerable groups of children were at an average of 84% vulnerable group children per class. In the SEF (2023), school leaders commented that the instability of the Covid pandemic had a detrimental impact on the school community which was still evident. Pupil Progress Meetings are completed for every child, every half-term, to discuss any emerging needs of pupils such as SEND, safeguarding concerns, wellbeing, and attendance. These statistics indicate the acute level of need across the school community and suggest that most children and families who access Pinewood Primary, have had or continued to have experiences of trauma or adversity in their lives.

It was positive to see that leaders at Pinewood Primary appeared to recognise the increase in need and

use reviews to support the ongoing needs of children recognised as vulnerable. Tonceanu and Tulloch (2022) and L'Estrange and Howard (2022) report how it is becoming increasingly acknowledged that planning environments that are trauma informed can help children to feel relaxed and calm, and improve their social-emotional competence, and in turn minimise the display of behaviours that is seen as challenging. I wished to query further, through discussion with school staff, what happens to support children in general in the school, not just those classed as vulnerable, but what happens day to day, in practice that promotes an environment that is trauma informed.

6.3 Changes in the school in response to community need and increasing vulnerabilities.

To address the ongoing and pervasive impact of the pandemic and the subsequent rise in vulnerability amongst children and their families, the leaders and staff at Pinewood Primary adopted a new ethos which was coined, 'Every Child Deserves a Champion' (SEF, 2023). I construe this as school leaders recognising the influence of a positive role model in a child's life (Bandura, 1977) who they can look towards for guidance and support. Where, regardless of if these children have a 'champion' at home, there is another chance for children to develop these bonds within the school community. This practice also resonates with the statutory role of the 'key person' in the EYFS (Department for Education, 2024b) where the framework stipulates the key persons role is, "to help ensure that every child's care is tailored to meet their individual needs", (p.21). The role of the key person is not explicitly noted in guidance beyond the EYFS, which is likely due to adult: child ratios rising to approximately 1 teacher to 30 children per class (NASUWT, 2024). I was intrigued to examine further how the school seeks to emulate effective role modelling support for children and what staff perspectives were on this.

At the turn of the millennium, areas such as Pinewood Primary, had access to a Sure Start Children's Centre (Bate & Foster, 2017). In fact, the centre was in the school grounds where families accessed targeted and universal services frequently. The Children's Centre building has since been handed back to the school where they use the premises for targeted interventions with pupils, a family support hub for parenting classes, etc. and a social supermarket that parents can access freely. So, whilst the Sure Start element of the service has terminated, Pinewood Primary still offer support to parents. Schools providing support to parents is indicated in research conducted by Hornby and Blackwell (2018) where schools are developing broader parental support roles due to declining support from outside agencies. With the removal of children's centres nationally, there bares the question of where families can access universal support or enquiries, things such as support with promoting positive behaviour, for example. This notion of 'early intervention' was integral to the ethos of Sure Start where professional help was at hand to support families with "long-term gains" (House of Commons, 2010, p.5) to reduce the likelihood of them entering into requiring targeted support from agencies such as social care. Naturally, families are seeking

support elsewhere, and schools tend to be the place they go (Churchill, 2013), which appears to be the case in Pinewood Primary. Again, findings from the school SEF and related literature in the field of family support led me to query if school staff would make reference to not just the needs of the children they teach but also the needs of the child's wider family.

An example of a response to promote a more inclusive environment within Pinewood Primary was the aim to reduce exclusions where possible. School leaders reported (SEF, 2023) that exclusions were a last resort when every other avenue has been exhausted and that the safety of children and staff was at extreme risk. In the summer term of 2022, there was two exclusions applied; a child for two days following physical assault to another child, and a child for three days following persistent disruptive and risky behaviour, which continued after police involvement. The reduction in the use of exclusions (suspensions) is positive within the school, but it is sadly not reflective of national statistics where exclusions rise year after year, for example in the 2022-2023 academic year, rising to 786,961, up from 578, 280 in 2021-2022 (Gov.uk, 2024b).

Research (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Timpson, 2019; Bell et al., 2021) identifies that vulnerable children, such as those who have had experiences of adversity and trauma in their lives, are more likely to be excluded, therefore the efforts by Pinewood Primary to avoid exclusions where possible indicates a willingness to identify and address the root cause of the behaviour and the needs of the child. I perceive this as an act of seeking to support the child through relational and restorative practice, where the child's 'champion' can also personalise processes in place to support children to feel valued even in challenging times. However, I have concern for the use of exclusions and suspensions in any capacity, given the evidenced impact it can have on a child's outcomes long-term in relation to social exclusion. This is addressed by Gill et al. (2017), where they examine key factors in rising exclusion rates and identify that the increasing number of children with complex needs, such as experiences of trauma and adversity in their lives, and a lack of workforce development on such factors, means that the school community is not equipped to deal with such needs.

To continue to reduce exclusions where possible, Pinewood Primary utilised an additional building on the school premises to support a small number of children who displayed extreme behaviours daily. This provision was reflective of a Social Emotional and Mental Health base. An alternative timetable was created for these children with a central focus on intense therapeutic work to "develop their self-regulation, relational skills and to build their confidence", (SEF, 2023). These interventions were deemed to be successful (SEF, 2023) as the children returned to their classroom with support from staff. Due to successful funding, Pinewood Primary acquired external support for the alternative provision with visits from clinical supports workers and therapy-based interventions from the ADHD Foundation. The alternative provision was also used as a drop-in base for short-term interventions when required. Perhaps

interventions such as these indicate that leaders and staff at Pinewood School are aware of the negative impact of exclusions and suspensions and work to use the additional building to tackle this issue.

6.4 Curriculum enrichment

Leaders described children as both “word poor and world poor” (SEF, 2023), where raising the cultural capital (Ofsted, 2019) of children was seen as a key objective. In response to this objective the school initiated a ‘100 Things to do Before you Leave [school name]’ with the intent to provide opportunities to enhance children’s cultural capital. Such practices infer an awareness of the limited capital possessed by children from deprived areas such as where Pinewood Primary is located and how this might limit their ability to progress in life in comparison to their more affluent peers. Where their limited capital might result in a lack of ability to identify with the accepted norms of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) of life beyond their immediate community. Practices that encourage children to increase empowerment might allude to a sense of resistance, where school leaders encourage children to widen their experiences and skills to challenge the accepted discourse that children from such deprived areas are expected not to thrive (Lauren and Engstrom, 2020). Again, Foucauldian notions of resistance resonate here where power is situated as something that exists through action (Ralph, 2023), where dominance ignites not just resistance but agency to prevail against all odds (Foucault, 1991; Butin, 2001).

In response to the changing needs of the school community, leaders enrolled on the Department for Education funded Therapeutic School Status programme. This was a whole school approach that supported staff development in creating a culture with a trauma informed lens (TPC Therapy, 2024). The programme is described as underpinned by neuroscience and trauma theory, with the intent being to “upskill staff to become trauma informed and attachment aware in a practical, tangible way”, (SEF, 2023). The school also registered with the Research School Network and the Education Endowment Foundation Effective Learning Behaviours Programme with a focus on social and emotional learning and Parental Engagement. These interventions may have been the initial shift in Pinewood Primary seeking to become trauma informed, where all staff members accessed a detailed programme via inset days and twilight sessions on gaining a foundational understanding of trauma and its effects, and how to develop practice that is informed by these findings with the view to creating a trauma informed philosophy.

School staff are research active where leaders advocate the use of ongoing research to continuously improve practice in all subject areas within the school. Staff are given a ‘reading and research day’, where they are then invited to share findings with colleagues. This resonates with what Flynn (2019) describes as communal constructivism, which is where, “understanding is enriched by the process of joint exploration and discovery…. (and) is more likely to survive and act as a fund for the building of understanding within and across learning communities”, (p.65). Engaging in research days enables staff to gain a wider

understanding of facets that will support the needs of children and families that they work with. I interpret this as using research to liberate an informed and relational pedagogy that is meaningful to the needs of the school community.

Using research informed practice that is personal to Pinewood Primary and its community resonates with the work of Bronfenbrenner and the premise that a child is both a representative of, and a product of their environment. In relation to education, Bronfenbrenner (1979) notes the importance of relationships and interconnections between the child, school, and surrounding environment to promote meaningful and beneficial learning. Focusing on the needs of the child in one context provides a segmented and false representation of their holistic needs. The bioecological systems theory encourages consideration of societal and environmental factors and the influence they have on individuals. In exploring the impact of societal and environmental factors further, Assailly (2022) notes that insecure attachments and behaviour problems are higher for children living in adverse environments which may impact on their ability to conform to blanket policies that are created at government level. Mate (2019) also notes the need for individualised support to reduce stress and promote wellbeing and to avoid an organism, "exceed(ing) reasonable capacity" (p.29). By conducting research that informs practice, and by applying this to observed need, there lies more potential to personalise teaching and learning that is within the needs and capacity of those involved.

6.5 Staff wellbeing

Leaders discuss the importance of prioritising staff wellbeing and (SEF, 2023) note that they have an Open Door/ Communication drop-in which is well established and intended to support staff. Weekly briefings continue with all staff to ensure clear communication alongside dedicated weekly drop-in sessions for staff to raise wellbeing issues or concerns. Staff are encouraged to signpost when their own mental health or that of colleagues is dipping. Furthermore, the school subscribed to the Education Staff Wellbeing Charter (Department for Education, 2022). The charter is a declaration for, and set of commitments to, the wellbeing and mental health of those working in education where, as of 2024, just 3000 schools across England had signed up for (Department for Education, 2024d).

These claims of interventions surrounding staff support and wellbeing resonate with the values of trauma informed practice where "the organisation asking service users and staff what they need and collaboratively considering how these needs can be met" (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). Such interventions indicate a willingness of school leaders to address not just the wellbeing needs of children but also school staff. Dingwall and Sebba (2018) note that teachers in England indicated a lack of training on supporting vulnerable children in education due to a lack of focus on such topics within teacher

training programmes (Department for Education, 2011), where training on programmes such as the Therapeutic School Status and engagement with the Research School Network and the Education Endowment Fund Effective Learning Behaviours Programme, might help to mitigate feelings of concern and develop staff confidence in prioritising and supporting their own and others wellbeing. Brady and Wilson (2021) and Rose et al. (2019) stress the need for pupil and staff wellbeing to be of central focus whilst amid rising mental health concerns and a recruitment and retention crisis. Kearns and Hart (2017) state that current teacher education programmes overemphasise subject centric pedagogy and classroom behaviour management strategies, and subsequently undermine the importance of relational practices in schools.

The implementation of specific programmes, such as those described above are often criticised as being over-simplistic and offering a 'top-down' approach, and research continues to question the benefits of continuous professional development interventions in education (Cordingley, 2015; Tyagi & Misra, 2021; Bendtsen et al., 2022). However, the use of staff research days and the invitation to engage in research relevant to the needs of the children within Pinewood Primary, made me consider if these training interventions were instead a bolt-on to practices already in place in developing trauma informed practices within the school and whether the approach was more likened to 'expansive learning' (Engeström, 1987;2001), where inquiry is encouraged and school staff are at the centre of 'research-into-practice" (Manfra, 2019, p.163). I also wanted to use the interviews to interrogate further if the information provided in the SEF around staff wellbeing was in line with staff perceptions. I was keen to see if more clarity would become apparent when speaking with school staff in the interviews.

6.6 Ofsted

Pinewood Primary was graded as 'Good' following an Ofsted inspection in November 2022. Before this the school had a 'Requires Improvement' rating since 2018. The school's progress from a 'Requires Improvement' rating to a 'Good' rating reflects significant progress and where the development of trauma informed practice might be seen as a contributing factor. The latest Ofsted report comments on the nurturing ethos which was central to the theme of the opening section of the report, where inspectors described Pinewood Primary as a caring and harmonious environment where children have numerous opportunities to develop their character (Ofsted, 2022). The Ofsted report's emphasis on such aspects indicate value on such areas of nurture and care which could positively influence the perception of the school within the local community and beyond. For example, parents may feel more confident in enrolling their children at the school and it may also enhance the school reputation, fostering stronger community ties and support.

Given Pinewood Primary's rating of 'Requires Improvement' on a number of inspections resulted in a notice to improve a new senior leadership team. It would appear that the school was 'stuck' (Munoz Chereau et al., 2022), with a less than good rating and change was required. "Explicit statement that link the placing of schools in special measures/notice to improve/satisfactory…are difficult to find…it is implicit that local authority involvement and monitoring are intended to promote improvement", (Jones & Tymms, 2014, p.322). I wonder if being in such a precarious situation aided senior leaders and staff at Pinewood Primary to adopt change and increased the school communities commitment to trauma informed practices.

Ofsted holds almost complete power on how schools are measured in England and will focus largely upon parental choices on where to send their children (Bokhove et al., 2023). Ofsted can be seen as the nucleus for accepted practice in schools and for the functioning of educational bureaucracy (Punch, 1972) were performance indicators, regulation and advised practices characterises how schools exist (Kilinç et al.,2016). However, with such rigid practices comes a lack of willingness, or even perhaps fear, of schools considering alternative practices, for example on how behaviour is supported in schools. It is positive to see characteristics of wellbeing referred to in Pinewood Primary's latest inspection report, but this should not be the only way in which schools are measured. For example, Waters and McKee (2023) highlight and refer to research (YouGov, 2023) that evidences the lack of concern for staff wellbeing during and after inspections (Case et al., 2000). Regardless of this, the inspectorate remains the dominant power in dictating quality of practice in schools. I was curious to see if the influence of Ofsted would be articulated in my interviews with school staff when discussing their perspectives on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in Pinewood Primary.

6.7 Conclusion

The selection of Pinewood Primary as the focal point of my research is rooted in its unique context and the pressing challenges it faces. The demographics of the school, such as the rising trends in safeguarding referrals, and the area in which it is situated, such as the high levels of crime where disparities significantly exceed national averages, exemplified the need for effective trauma informed practices (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). As school leaders describe Pinewood Primary as adopting a trauma informed approach, this led me to seek further understanding of how such an approach supports the school community, and the perspectives of school staff who work there. I wished to ascertain how much agency and voice school staff have in developing and maintaining trauma informed practices within the school, and how they are supported to do so. These compelling factors align closely with the aims of my research, providing a rich context for exploring how trauma informed approaches can influence behaviour management and school culture.

Chapter 7 Methodology

This chapter explains the research methodology I used to elicit the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management within schools. Alongside my own reflections, it justifies the methods involved by using analysis from the literature review chapters and consideration of school context, which has informed the data collection process of semi-structured interviews with school staff and the reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006;2019) method applied.

At this point I feel it is important to confess my initial intent of this research. Naively, when I first began my research, I aimed to create a study which evidenced how positive and effective trauma informed practice in schools is. I wanted to prove how the approach could be applied to any school, and how it would benefit all involved, children and school staff alike. However, after conducting an interrogation of literature related to the field of trauma informed practice, it was clear that my research needed to better understand the views and perspectives of those involved in the approach, the research participants and I included, and what other factors contribute to it, such as school context. A further point realised was that I needed to challenge my own assumptions on how trauma informed practice could be a universally transferable approach that would benefit all involved. Whilst my interrogation of literature in the field of trauma informed practice and behaviour management ignited the need to delve deeper into the nuances and complexities of both themes, my time within Pinewood Primary heightened my awareness of the need for any change in practice to be rooted within the culture and ethos of a school, where aspects such as children, family, and staff buy-in are essential ingredients both in its application and longevity. My initial insistence on trauma informed practice being a one-size fits all approach became challenged, which also challenged what I thought schools required to support all children, particularly those who have had experiences of trauma or adversity in their lives.

Cooley's (1902) notion of the "looking glass self" (p.184), resonated with the need to examine my own beliefs and attitudes towards trauma informed practice and how this might contribute to research findings. Being acutely aware of my own evolving understanding of trauma informed practice and ensuring that I reflexively reflected on this throughout the data collection and analysis process, better equipped me to present research using a critical eye which reduced producing potentially biased findings. However, as Pillow (2003) notes, reflexivity should be seen as a methodological tool rather than a methodological power and applying reflexivity does not then result in an exact science of findings where objectivity is not considered. It instead exhibits the binaries, assumptions, and perspectives of individuals involved in research, including myself as the researcher, and congeals these facets to produce unique and bespoke findings. With the consideration of reflexive epistemology, such factors can become

unashamedly part of my research, rather than something hidden, and subsequently biased. Al-Natour (2011) describes how, within research, the researcher is, “never truly outsiders, yet never wholly insiders either; however, we are partial in examining our research results”. By adopting a reflexive stance throughout my research, such as biases or assumptions on the benefits of trauma informed practice, aspects that I describe in more detail later in this chapter when discussing reflexive thematic analysis, I enhanced both the richness and credibility of my research findings.

My study was in opposition to typical school performance measures, where I had no concern for measuring progress through scales or academic success. In considering literature such as previously mentioned Drapeau (2002), and its ever-increasing bureaucratic nature (Kilinç et al., 2016), qualitative research such as this might be deemed insignificant due to its immeasurable nature. The longevity of practices, such as in alternative ways of supporting children in education, can be seen as enduring and time-consuming, and as a result might detract political interest. These reflections where what drove me further as a researcher to explore such areas of education.

The intent of my research was to understand and gain insight into the perspectives of school staff who worked in a school which had fostered trauma informed practice. Pinewood Primary proudly describes itself as trauma informed and has been praised by parents, local authority personnel, academics, police (SEF, 2023), and Ofsted as a caring and harmonious environment that sets high expectations (Ofsted, 2022). My research intended to understand staff perspectives whilst also considering crucial elements such as school and demographic context. I wanted to examine the concept of trauma informed practice to better fathom barriers and challenges associated with the ongoing application of the approach, and to appraise the role of the person within the process and their belief on its outcomes for everyone involved. Upon interrogation of these aspects, I intended to seek understanding of school staff views on trauma informed practice, and if it could become a more accepted behaviour management approach in schools in place of punitive methods that further subjugate, alienate, and suppress (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Office for National Statistics, 2022).

7.1 Research type

To complement the perceived ethos of trauma informed practice being a prescribed approach which lends itself to a culture of safety and relationship building (Office for Health Disparities, 2022) within a setting, which McCluskey (2018) defines as “a unique coherent framework…internally congruent and effective”, (p.6); the need to research and represent the narrative of those who engaged in this approach, not just an evaluation of its effectiveness, was a crucial element of my research. Therefore, the chosen approach of my study was through inductive qualitative research. Whilst quantitative research intends to, “presuppose objective truths and a singular, unequivocal reality” (Paley, 2000, p.143), the purpose of my research lent itself to qualitative research, to understand the application of an approach through

exploring the subjective views of those who applied it, and what their perspectives and understanding of it was.

7.2 Research paradigm

To better understand sociological concepts involved in an approach, such as trauma informed, which school leaders claim as an alternative way to promote positive behaviour in education (SEF, 2023), a subjective approach was required. By applying and permitting a subjective lens to researching trauma informed practice through listening to the perspectives of school staff, there was opportunity to interpret factors beyond the approach itself, and to investigate how the perspectives of those who engaged in this practice influenced it's application at whole school level. I felt that to conduct research where the phenomena of trauma informed practice was interpreted, its basis must concern with the views and actions of those who act within it, namely school staff. Where the 'moving parts' permitted a constructionist view of reality and lived experience contributes to an ever-evolving meaning making process (Bryman, 2012), which is continuously being accomplished by those who act within it. My research aim was to understand school staff perspectives on trauma informed practice. Instead of seeing the approach as a pre-existing application or truth, knowledge and understanding, through social interactions and experiences, contributed to my understanding of how it works within a school.

Guba and Lincoln (1989) note that an understanding of the subjective world of human experience is the epitome of the interpretivist paradigm. The intent of my research was not to reach a final assumption of how best to apply trauma informed practice in schools but rather to examine how school staff within one setting view its application. This constructivist epistemological stance helped to expose my evolving understanding of trauma informed practice in schools, and how my interpretations that what is perceived as challenging and disruptive behaviour in schools can be a manifestation of both psychological factors, such as the impact of attachment or lack thereof; and social and environmental factors such as living in deprivation, and the impact of institutional labelling and norms. My research aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the influence of trauma informed practice in schools, by considering both the social construction of behaviour and the psychological factors at play. Through assuming a subjectivist epistemology, as a researcher my knowledge construction throughout the data collection process contributes to how meaning is made and how a relativist reality derived from it (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Throughout my research, I used my understanding and experiences of both trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, alongside the data collected, to create a diverse perspective of reality on the views of school staff on these themes. The relativist ontology translates my belief as a researcher that, "the situation studied has multiple realities", (p.33) and the realities is the construction of meaning of those within it, in this case the phenomenon of trauma informed practice, the researcher and the research participants.

7.3 Research design

While the concept of trauma informed practice gains momentum in people-facing services in England, such as in education (Lang et al., 2015), feedback on professionals within schools, or the view of school staff in relation to the approach, remains under-researched. It was apparent that an exploration into the views of school staff towards the approach itself, and how they regard its effectiveness required examination. Dennis (2014) observes research from a utilitarian perspective, and comments on how the most effective research is gathered if we understand the motivations of participants. This analogy can also relate to trauma informed practice in schools, where a commitment to better understanding the beliefs and attitudes of staff will support not only its application but its contribution to a longitudinal view of understanding and responding to behaviour.

7.3.1 Case study

Yin (2018) describes a case study as an in-depth investigation of a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context. When exploring the best possible design for my research, the motivating factor was to allow for a thorough examination that considered not just the theme of trauma informed practice but also the factors that contribute to its application. I was conscious not to disregard any aspects of the inquiry process and case study design appeared to be the best fit as it allowed me, through interviewing school staff and reviewing the school evaluation form, an in-depth insight into how the application of trauma informed practice works within a school. Gillespie (2023) advocates for case study research design when aiming to focus on a small-scale study or issue, where the data collected is adaptable and conclusions complement and build upon existing understandings of the theme. Whilst case study research design supports in-depth insight into a phenomenon, it also permits an investigation into the links between the phenomena and the context in which it exists (Yin, 2018). Through interrogation of existing research and philosophical underpinnings that resonated with trauma informed practice, it was apparent that factors outside of the phenomenon itself impacted on its effectiveness, such as social and environmental, for instance staff attitudes and school context. My intent to examine trauma informed practice and how it works in one setting to better understand those who act within it, meant that a case study design worked best. As Gillespie (2023) notes, data collected from case study research might apply solely to the 'case' studied, but by immersing the new data within existing literature and research, conclusions can be drawn which can add to existing knowledge in the field, and in turn support its application in other spheres of educational practice.

Stake (1995) identifies case study research design as being collective, intrinsic, or instrumental. The latter is described as where an intrinsic or collective case study can lend itself to identify factors that can be used to develop a wider understanding of the phenomenon (Mukherji & Albon, 2023), namely trauma

informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools. As such, the classification of the case study in my research is instrumental where the intent is to connect the current case with existing knowledge (Stake, 2000).

While I decided that a case study was the most appropriate research design, I did not disregard potential challenges around reliability and validity. Cousin (2005) identifies case study research as, "concerned with description, exploration and understanding", (p.426). Bassey (1999) reflects on case study research in education and posits that the aim should not be to research certainties but instead seek to predict 'fuzzy generalisations', where probability is predicted in terms of 'might' rather than 'will' (Cousin, 2005). Bassey (1999) states further that to avoid 'narrative fraud', a series of 'ethics of caution' are advised. The first being to exercise reflexivity to reveal the researcher position and potential biases, something that has been at the forefront of my research from the outset. Next, applying triangulation when drawing conclusions from data, which in the case of my research was conducted in using existing literature, empirical data, and contextual information. The researcher must ensure a 'thick description' of the case is provided so that readers can share in the interpretation of the research. I achieved this by conducting an initial thorough literature review followed by a detailed research context and finishing with a rich account of the findings and discussion. Lastly, that researchers make a clear stance that the intent of the research is not to, "map and conquer the world but to sophisticate the beholding of it", (Stake, 1995, p.43) where my constructionist paradigm emphasises the influence on social interactions and cultural norms on the application of trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools.

7.3.2 The reflexive self

Holmes (2020) describes the importance of researchers acknowledging and recognising how their, "ontological and epistemological beliefs influence their research", (p.1). This is even more pertinent when examining and analysing the views of others in understanding an approach such as trauma informed practice. When exploring my understanding of trauma informed practice, I examined how my own experiences, values and beliefs impacted on how I approached and conducted research in this field.

Firstly, my interest in trauma informed practice stemmed from a decade long employment as a local authority family support and early years worker. I was employed under the rebranded Children's Centre's of 2003, which superseded the original Sure Start Local Programmes and built on the core offer of, "integrated early education and care, parental outreach, family support, health services….and workforce training", (Lewis, 2011). Within this time, my role involved working with the most vulnerable and hard to reach families in the community in which I was based. While Sure Start Children's Centres were in areas of deprivation, the services offered were universal (Bate & Foster, 2017). I found that although my role was open to all service users, many, if not all the families that I was assigned to work with and encourage engagement with the service, were families affected by marginalisation due to societal and

environmental barriers such as deprivation, socioeconomic position, demographics, and classism. This is supported in a 2019 Institute of Fiscal Studies investigation into the health effects of Sure Start (Cattan et al., 2019), where it was found that the programme did have bigger benefits for children from disadvantaged areas. These experiences of working with vulnerable children and their families, and recognising the barriers they faced, which were often beyond their ability to change independently, was my first real life experiences of marginalisation in society and its effect, often intergenerational, which was concentrated in pockets of communities.

One commonality I observed was the similar school experiences of many of the children I worked with from the vulnerable and hard to reach families. This has been found in studies, such as the National Child Development Study, where parental experiences of social isolation and exclusion in childhood can impact on adulthood and parenting (Hobcraft, 1998). The children often struggled to abide by the rules and boundaries of school and, as a result, due to their behaviour being seen as challenging, found themselves subjected to punitive behaviour management procedures such as loss of privileges, detentions, suspensions, and expulsions (Timpson, 2019). From having the advantage of working with both children and their families, I learned how parents often reported that they too struggled in school and were subjected to behaviour management procedures like their children. This resonates with research by Thornberry et al. (2009) where they concluded that, "the roots of antisocial behaviour extend back at least to the parent's adolescence, and parenting interventions need to consider these long-term processes.", (p.80). It drove me to reflect on how these children's parents engaged in this perpetual cycle of punitive behaviour management procedures, and now their children were undergoing the same experiences. It evidenced that for these children, and indeed their parents, this process appears to have been somewhat ineffective.

Applying reflexivity also helped me to reflect on the prominent philosophical underpinnings of my research. My past experiences of marginalisation in education, through my roles as a support worker and educator, resonated with Foucauldian constructs on power relations and knowledge (Foucault, 1977) and provided a lens for me to articulate the implications of class, positionality, and hierarchy on the differential capacities for success and vulnerability amongst children in schools. Foucault's theories of governmentality, panopticism and the care of the self, acted as robust tools to help me understand the challenges faced by school leaders and staff striving to adopt a different practice on how behaviour is managed, such as becoming trauma informed. Foucault's discourse on the docile body prompted me to critically examine the weight placed upon the need to 'behave' in schools and whilst being able to regulate is a predisposing factor to helping children learn, the punitive measures enacted on children when they are considered challenging or disruptive.

Additionally, the theoretical contributions of Bourdieu (1984), particularly his notions on habitus and cultural capital, helped me think critically about the demographic composition of staff and children in schools and how these factors might facilitate or hinder social and academic development. By iteratively embedding philosophical insights such as Foucault and Bourdieu into my research, I demonstrated how these theories interweave with my experiences as both an educator and a researcher.

7.4 Time horizon

I conducted cross-sectional research, where the data was collected through semi-structured interviews with 8 members of school staff over one week in Pinewood Primary, with the intent to receive a snapshot of staff views on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management. Cross-sectional studies enable the researcher to obtain a representative sample of a cohort, in this case a sample of Pinewood Primary staff. Sedgwick (2014) praises the use of cross-sectional research to review the prevalence of a behaviour, which was to gather school staff views and attitudes towards trauma informed practice. Further advantages of conducting cross-sectional research are that it is inexpensive and fast to perform (Mukherji & Albon, 2023), factors that were imperative in my research choice due to being in full-time employment and without any research funding. Indeed, future research might involve a longitudinal design that might involve observations of practice and include children. Due to the limited time available, in the current research it was not possible to conduct an ethically robust (Crane & Broome, 2017) longitudinal study where children were fully informed and as such provided assent to become participants. Cross-sectional research also allowed for multiple factors and outcomes to be studied simultaneously. It was important that my findings welcomed and considered any variables derived from the data to adequately consider factors that might both support and challenge the application of trauma informed practice in schools and its influence on how behaviour is managed.

7.5 Sampling strategy

As my intent was to examine the views of those who work within a phenomenon, namely school staff who work in a trauma informed way, the sampling method meant that participants were required to work as staff within Pinewood Primary. Mukherji and Albon (2023) describe the two distinct methods of sampling in research, the first being probability sampling, where the sample is representative of the whole population, and might include random sampling to test a hypothesis, a method often suited to quantitative research. The second categorisation is non-probability sampling, where there is no requirement for the sample to represent the whole population but instead is chosen to include specific categories, hence why non-probability sampling was used in my research.

7.5.1 Non-probability sampling

Uprichard (2013) defines non-probability sampling as a deliberate selection of cases or participants from a particular population where the intent is to, "not necessarily know (more about) the population, but to simply extend and deepen knowledge about the sample itself", (p.3). The data collection period was during a week in term time in Pinewood Primary. As such, participants were invited to participate based on two aspects, firstly their availability and their accessibility, which links to convenience sampling (Vehovar et al., 2016) and secondly, their knowledge of trauma informed practice within the school, and subsequently their specific expertise on the phenomenon, which is categorised as purposive sampling (Mukherji & Albon, 2023). Therefore, a combination of convenience and purposive sampling was applied.

As already noted, the research was collected in a primary school setting where to protect the schools confidentiality in my research, the pseudonym Pinewood Primary was used. The context data for the school was supplied in Chapter 6, the School Context. Upon gaining consent to conduct research in Pinewood Primary, I met with the senior leaders to discuss my research intent. It was agreed that the most effective way to collect data was to immerse myself in the school community for a period of one week. During this time, I familiarised myself with the school culture, pedagogy, and practice, alongside reviewing the policies and procedures in place to support behaviour management in the school.

As my research aim was to explore the views and attitudes of school staff in relation to trauma informed practice, I hoped to invite staff working in the school to participate. I anticipated that my time in Pinewood Primary would allow me to speak with 6-8 staff members. 8 interviews represented a small but healthy sample size for qualitative research, the sample size reflected one third of the teaching and support staff within the school. Given limitations around time released to conduct the research, conducting 8 interviews allowed for less time restrictions during the interview process itself.

7.5.2 Research participants

7.5.2.1 Teachers and Support Staff

It was hoped that my research would allow school staff to discuss what they see as benefits and barriers to trauma informed practice and its influence on the school community, such as in regard to behaviour management. When deciding to undertake the research, I wished to gain an 'on the ground' snapshot of the phenomenon where those who engaged in the interviews had a confident level of understanding of both trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools and that worked with children in classrooms and subsequently families on a regular basis. Therefore, those with professional roles within schools, namely teachers and support staff, were the most suitable research participants. While senior leaders expressed interest in participating in the research, my decision to reject senior leadership input was again linked to ensuring that the data was reflective of staff members who were working with

children in classrooms daily. A further aim was to identify if, in the interviews school staff would refer to school leaders, and in what tone they would regard them in relation to trauma informed practice within Pinewood Primary. Research suggests that effective school leadership is imperative in supporting change and a positive staff and school culture (Leithwood et al., 2006; Berkovich & Eyal, 2018; Morris et al., 2020). Indeed, although the research did not include senior leaders as participants, the interview data resulted in many references towards the leadership team.

7.5.2.2 Recruitment

To lobby interest, I gave a short talk to all the staff from Pinewood Primary at a whole school staff meeting, where I briefly described my research and invited them to participate. Following this, school staff were invited to add their names to a list expressing interest in participating in my research where 8 names were required, however 16 staff members expressed interest in taking part. To comply with the aim of having time to conduct the interviews in an open-ended manner, I required a maximum of 8 participants. As my research was a case study of the school, it was imperative that the data collected was representative of every key stage, early years, key stage 1, and key stage 2 (Department for Education, 2011). At this point, stratified sampling was applied (Mukherji & Albon, 2023) where the staff members who expressed interest were divided into the subgroups of where they worked, early years, and key stages 1 and 2. A further variable was then applied to ensure that the sample was representative of both teaching and support staff within Pinewood Primary, with the aim to have one teacher and one support staff member from each key stage subgroup, this resulted in a teacher and teaching assistant from early years, a teacher and teaching assistant from key stage 1, and two teachers from key stage 2, as no support staff from that subgroup volunteered to take part. The school also employs Emotional Literacy Support Assistants (ELSA's) who work across the school and the different key stages. Two ELSA's volunteered to take part in the research, and as their role is fundamentally linked to social, emotional, and mental health (ELSA Support, 2023), aspects which resonate closely with trauma informed practice (SAMHSA, 2014), I invited both to take part in the interviews.

7.6 Ethical considerations

Gillespie (2023) posits that good research is ethical, and ethical research is good, therefore a balance between both was essential in conducting a high-quality research inquiry. The first step in gaining ethical approval was to create a proposal outlining my research intent, where I provided a detailed overview of my research aims where approval was granted from the University of Chester Ethics Committee on 27-04-23 (Appendix 7). The universities ethical guidelines were adhered to, alongside The British Educational Research Association's (BERA, 2018;2024), where aspects such as ensuring the research provided is comprehensive and accurate, showing a true reflection of the data gathered, informed consent was sought from research participants (see Appendix 5 and 6) and that their rights to withdraw were clearly

communicated, participants confidentiality and anonymity was upheld at all times and data gathered was stored in a secure manner in line with the Data Protection Act 2018. As previously noted, to protect the confidentiality of the school further, I adopted the pseudonym of Pinewood Primary throughout my research.

Farrimond (2017) discusses the need for researchers to be accountable and responsible for research participants and that their rights and safety are protected throughout the process. Furthermore, and in line with my research theme, I ensured that I conducted my research in a trauma informed manner and that "person-centredness" (Farrimond, 2017, p.174) was at its core (Cascio & Racine, 2018). The relational nature of trauma informed practice, where those who act within the approach develop respectful relationships, is fundamental to promoting positive support and behaviour in schools (Teske, 2011), and as such, a key ethical consideration in my research, alongside the typical ethical guidelines required, was to promote a person-centred process where participants felt comfortable and respected to share their views (Kost et al., 2013).

7.7 Data collection method

To complement the research paradigm, design, and theme, I confirmed a data collection method that would derive the data required with sensitivity to the inquiry as a whole. Bowling et al. (2005) describes qualitative research as a way to access an insider's view of their reality. Again, my intent to assure that the research process remained relational and person-centred throughout was of utmost importance, and as such it was anticipated that there was engagement between the researcher and research participants (Cascio & Racine, 2018), where interviews were decided as the most appropriate data collection approach.

7.7.1 Interviews

In-depth interviews present a versatile approach to enabling participants to explain, in their own words, how they perceive or feel about a phenomenon in a "deceptively familiar social encounter" (Knott, et al., 2022, p.1). I intended for the data collection process to be as comfortable as possible, where participants could expand on topics at their wish, rather than being subjected to closed, survey style data collection. To adhere to the research theme, I first created a series of prompts (Appendix 4) which were grounded in the literature review. I used these prompts as an aide when required during the interviews. Jimenez and Orozco (2021) advocate for the use of prompts rather than questions in in-depth interviews and refer to other research (Gerson & Damaske, 2020; Seidman, 2019) to posit the need for the prompts to be a result of an extensive review of the research topic identifying related concepts.

Through conducting a review of literature on the theme of trauma informed practice in education alongside reflexive and theoretical underpinning, themes began to emerge -

- Ambiguity in the definition of trauma informed practice (Maynard et al., 2019; Office for health disparities, 2022).
- The role of policy in promoting trauma informed practice (Morrison & Vaandering, 2012; Department for Education, 2024a).
- Attachment and self- regulation and how this links to behaviour management (Bowlby, 1952; Winnicott, 1972; Nantel-Vivier et al., 2014).
- Docility and the role of power and control in education (Foucault, 1977).
- Educational attitudes and social class (Bourdieu, 1984).
- Discursive spaces in education perpetuated by behaviour management systems (Foucault, 1977; de França Sá, 2021; Jones & Magalhães, 2020).
- Restorative practice strategies in behaviour management (Wilson, 2011; Mullet, 2014; Scott & Jenney, 2023).
-

I used these emerging themes to create a series of prompts (Appendix 4) to support the semi-structured interviews. Whilst I anticipated that the semi-structured interviews would be predominantly led by the participant, "as this enables respondents to project their own ways of defining their world", (Cohen et al., 2000, p.147), the compilation of prompts were at hand to support if required. For pragmatic consideration, a semi-structured approach allowed for a selection of questions which were informed by existing literature (Vasileiou et al., 2018) whilst also offering scope to veer off the prepared question and allow for a more "flexible interview protocol", (DeJonckheere & Vaughn, 2019, p.1).

Knox and Burkard (2009) raise some interesting points about the process of interviews and the need to conduct an incisive data collection exercise, whilst also ensuring that research participants are in a space where they feel comfortable enough to discuss the theme in question. In my research, and in consideration of the layers that also needed to be considered, such as staff availability, time allocated, etc. the semi-structured style was the most conducive.

7.8 Data collection

Following completion of the participant consent form (Appendix 6), where participants consented to the interviews being audio recorded, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in an assigned room in the host school. Staff were able to select a time that worked best for them with guidance of allowing up to one hour per interview.

To accommodate a natural environment, the semi-structured interviews were conducted as a discussion, where I did not make notes during the process but instead I audio recorded the interviews, which allowed for more accurate transcription than solely notetaking (Opdenakker, 2006). This was to encourage a conversational environment and to support participants to feel safe and comfortable to

share information with me. Both Muswazi and Nhamo (2013) and Opdenakker (2006), discuss the advantages and disadvantages of notetaking during interviews and comment that notetaking can prevent participants from sharing sensitive and confidential information and it may also disrupt a communicative relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. The authors also highlight that refraining from notetaking can decrease chances of the researcher missing crucial information.

7.9 Data analysis

As already noted, the interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, which were prepared with prompts (Appendix 8) that I created from a combination of reflexivity and an extensive literature review. My desired next step was to capture the data from the interviews in the most organic way possible, to exhibit what was shared and how the findings correlated with, or indeed opposed existing literature in the field of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in education.

7.9.1 Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Kiger and Varpio (2020) define thematic analysis as a flexible and powerful data analysis tool which is applicable to a variety of paradigmatic or epistemological orientations that intend to gain insight into the experiences, behaviours, or attitudes of a data set. For example, in interpretivism, thematic analysis helps to sharpen the lens on the social, cultural, and structural context that influence experiences of phenomena through the social construction of meaning derived from both the researcher and the researched (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) describe thematic analysis as foundational to qualitative research, where the researcher can be described as the research apparatus, where their ability to interpret observed experiences and perceptions is what conveys meaning. In further developing the research analysis tool, in 2019 Braun and Clarke posited that that the term thematic analysis be viewed as an “umbrella term” (p.483) where three broad approaches (coding reliability; codebook; and reflexive) allow a more accurate representation of the sometimes “radically different conceptualisations of themes”, (p.483). Campbell et al. (2021) define the reflexive approach as the “Big Q qualitative orientation”, (p.2013) where the research is qualitative and conducted within an interpretative paradigm. Reflexive thematic analysis emphasises the role of the researcher more than coding reliability and codebook, where researchers are open to discovering unexpected themes through the data analysis process, aspects which I felt were integral to understanding the richness of the data, alongside my own knowledge, experiences and understanding in the theme of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in education, hence the suitability of reflexive thematic analysis for my research.

Braun and Clark (2013) state the importance of rigorous focus in identifying patterns or themes within data to ensure the credibility of such a research process. Identifying themes is much more than summarising data where researchers instead must make sense of findings and seek to understand its

meaning (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). In the context of reflexive thematic analysis, the term theme means a "patterned response or meaning", (Braun & Clarke, 2006. p.82). These themes inform the research question which in turn presents the analytical findings (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). The recorded and subsequently transcribed data from the interviews, identified a wealth of rich data, which then required careful interpretation to convey its meaning in the context of staff perspectives on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools. While the initial literature review helped me to convey themes or prompts to support the semi-structured interviews, I wished to seek new "latent themes" (Braun & Clark, 2006, p.84), rather than trying to fit the interview findings into a preconceived thematic framework. Indeed, Braun and Clark (2013) describe using interview questions as themes as a common pitfall in thematic analysis.

Braun and Clark (2019) employ a six-phase framework for conducting reflexive thematic analysis, which has been applied to support the data analysis of my research.

1*. Familiarising yourself with your data*

When all the interviews were completed, I listened to the audio recordings of each alongside the transcription to ensure that the transcript matched the audio recording. I repeated this process a second time to sense check and to ensure that every transcript was accurate. I then read the interviews and began to highlight and make notes of any initial reflections, recurring themes, or interesting aspects found within the data. I then conducted a second read through to concur with the originally derived reflections and to add anything more if found. At this point I was able to identify initial codes within my data.

2. Generating initial codes

After the second read through, the highlighted text and any notes were compiled to generate 66 initial codes. The codes were then organised to identify similarities and differences which supported the emergence of overall themes. Braun and Clarke (2021) describe the role of reflexivity in the coding process where 'shared meaning' is derived from both the data collected and the analytic and interpretive work of the researcher, where the need to reflect on assumptions help shape and delimit their coding. I achieved this by considering potential bias and the need to apply reflexivity throughout my research process. I also considered 'contextual understanding' of Pinewood Primary and the needs of the community in which it is located when interpreting the data alongside consideration of existing literature in the field of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools. Furthermore, I regularly took advantage of a feedback loop from my supervisory team to ensure that my interpretations reflected a comprehensive understanding of the data.

3. Searching for themes

At this point a series of themes were chosen, which the earlier codes fitted within, these themes are evident in the table below.

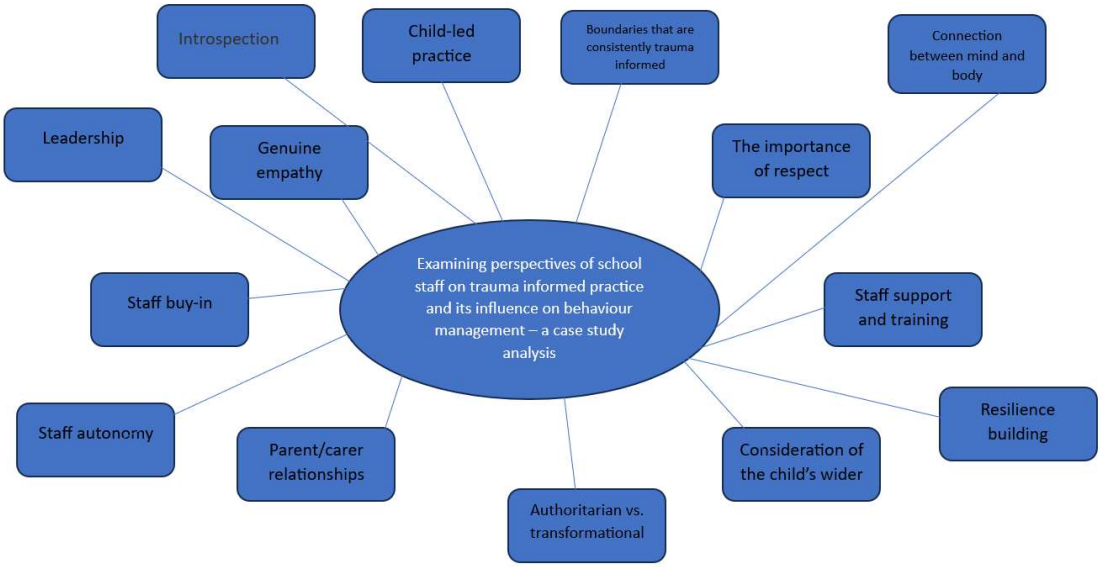

Figure 1 – Emerging themes from coding process

4. Reviewing themes

To ensure the themes were reflective of the whole data set, I first added the codes to confirm that they all fitted within at least one of the themes. Then, I returned to the full data set again to review for a fourth time to ensure that there were no further codes that applied to the developed themes, and indeed if any further themes were found.

5. Defining and naming the themes

When reviewing the emerging themes against the whole data set, whilst no new themes emerged, I found that they could be further categorised into 4 overarching themes –

Figure 2 – Overarching themes following completion of reflexive thematic analysis.

6. *Producing the report*

The overarching themes were then used to provide a nuanced understanding of the perspectives of school staff as articulated within the interviews, where direct comments served as a critical foundation for supporting each theme. I have worked to not only highlight salient points made by school staff but also to contextualise their perspectives within existing literature and theoretical frameworks. The upcoming Findings and Discussion chapter will analyse and produce a scholarly report of the research inquiry findings.

7.10 Methodological limitations

While I acknowledge the strengths of my study it is also important to acknowledge the limitations. As Resnik and Shamoo (2017) state, the quality and rigour of research is often defined by its limitations and as such, in the following section, possible methodological limitations to my research are considered.

The choice to conduct research in one school setting might be seen as a limitation due to a decreased generalisability of findings (Gilbert, 2016). However, the intent of my research was to explore the attitudes of those who engage in trauma informed practice and their understanding of the approach whilst working in a school which identifies as being trauma informed. Mukherji and Albon (2023) also cite a possible limitation to case study research as selective sampling, where the researcher might apply bias when choosing the case they wish to study. The intent of my research was to explore the phenomenon of trauma informed practice in action and to better understand the views of school staff within it. Therefore, it was important to choose a school to study that is described as trauma informed that actively engages in the practice. It was not to measure what is needed for trauma informed practice to be effective in every school, but rather to gather staff perspectives on how it works in a particular school, with its history and

demographics considered, and in turn provide recommendations of how aspects of this practice can support other schools in developing a trauma informed culture.

7.11 Conclusion

Through interrogation of the many elements of methodology involved in my research, this chapter produced an informed account of the ways in which the research was conducted beginning with the research paradigm to the chosen data analysis method. The various complexities were examined with consideration of relevant literature and related studies in the field of trauma informed practice in education. In a bid to succinctly summarise the research methodology, I have applied Saunders Research Onion (Saunders et al., 2007), as I believe the model aides as a structured framework for selecting appropriate research methodologies and techniques. A common critique of Saunders Research Onion is that it is over-simplistic and does not address ethical considerations (Melnikovas, 2018), however simplistic was my aim in this conclusive statement in a bid to produce a concise summary of the research and indeed methodology chapter. In relation to ethical considerations, such was applied at every step of the research and as a result ethics is weaved through each 'layer' of the research onion below.

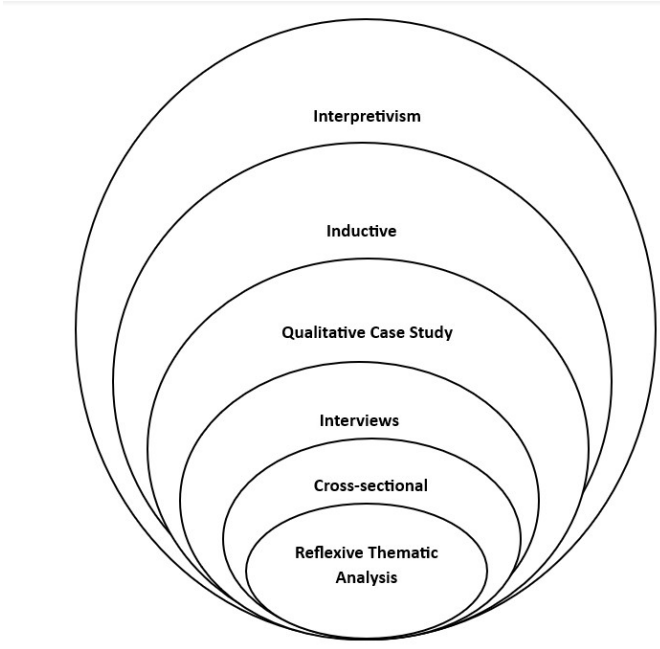

Figure 3 – Adapted Research Onion (Saunders et al., 2007).

Chapter 8 Findings and Discussion

As stated in the methodology chapter, reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006;2019) was employed to analyse the interview data. The six-step process of reflexive thematic analysis allowed me to identify and categorise themes within the data which resulted in four overarching themes -

1. Mutual Respect and Empathy
2. Leadership and Support
3. Parents and Carer Partnerships
4. Child-centredness

The intent of this chapter is to present and discuss the four themes by analysing the comments derived from the interview transcripts that showcase the rich and nuanced insights obtained from the interviews. Lingard (2019) discusses the benefits of quotes in qualitative research but labours the need for the chosen data to be illustrative, succinct, and representative of the data set. Each comment derived from the research was examined where I delved deeper into the interpretations of each theme, the implications of them and how they resonated with my own reflections, alongside literature and theory in the field of trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools. This chapter further bolsters the emergence of the four overarching themes by exhibiting pertinent comments that were both representative and illustrative of the various contextualisation's of each.

8.1 Theme 1. Mutual Respect and Empathy

While respect and empathy are considered key constructs of trauma informed practice (Centre for Early Child Development, 2023), these terms are not commonly visible in educational guidance. For example, in the Behaviour in Schools guidance (Department for Education, 2024a) there are occasional mentions of the importance of school staff and leaders exercising respect for all but there is no mention of the word empathy at any point. Indeed, when taking a more traditional view of education with a behaviourist lens, the notion of respect in school would be that pupils should respect those in a position of authority, where they should respect the rules and their place in the hierarchical structure of power within schools (Irby & Clough, 2015). The notion of empathy might entail seeking to understand another's position and subsequently their behaviour, an action that would not comply with punitive, zero tolerance rules and boundaries. This juxtaposition of the function of schooling contributes to the place and function of respect and empathy within it; is school a place where rules, boundaries and societal norms can be indoctrinated and reproduced, or is it instead a place where children can thrive, and their unique qualities are celebrated and encouraged.

In considering this notion of respect and empathy being a mutually responsive process in education, and a key characteristic of trauma informed practice, it was pleasing to see this become an overarching theme of my research. The notion of mutual respect and empathy was referred to at many points in the interviews, but instead of in the traditional sense of needing to respect each other, it emerged through examples of how school staff engage in their daily interactions with children, peers and parents, where understanding and the acknowledgement of needs was threaded into their work and relationships with others. The following comments, derived from the interviews, have been selected to evidence the prominence of mutual respect and empathy amongst the school staff interviewed.

The first comment by Cara, indicates how trust is created through practices that advocate for mutual respect and empathy -

> ***"it's like we never walk past a child in the corridor. Regardless of year group, even when we've got people (school staff) that start afresh, we tell them that we just never walk past a child in the corridor without greeting them, smiling, bringing them in. Trust can start there", (Cara).***

Cara's comment centres on the role of respect in trauma informed practice, and the need for regard for all involved (Zehr, 2002). The example of greeting children in the hallway signified how respect was not just applied during on-task teaching times but was part of the everyday culture of the setting. Cara highlighted how such practice helped to build trust, something that children who have been subjected to trauma or adversity might have limited experience of. For example, Bahtiyar-Saygan and Berument (2022) state how an insecure attachment styles can originate from unpredictable, irregular, and chaotic responses from key caregivers.

Cara discussed how 'trust can start' from brief interactions with children, this is supported by Tschannen-Moran (2014) who refers to the interconnectivity of trust, respect, and empathy in schools and how it is fundamental to positive relationships between students, staff and parents. Mitchell et al. (2018) investigated the inter-relationships between student trust in teachers and the impact on students' academic success and found that "health affective and cognitive identification with school is highly dependent on positive relationships with others", (p.135). Cara's comment describes strategies that adults can initiate to build trusting and positive relationships with children. Such early acts of building trust might also contribute to 'bringing them in', making them feel safe, secure, and welcome which will contribute to their ability to engage in wider learning. The intent of such interactions is to build positive mindsets in children which enhances a self-fulfilling prophecy (Padmakumari & Chandrasegaran, 2018).

This practice of greeting all children can also support relationship building with staff who might not necessarily work with the child, for example, staff who work in other year groups or in other roles providing opportunities for relationships to be forged across Pinewood Primary. It also reinforces

"unconditional positive regard", (Rogers, 1957, p.98) where members of the school are seen as part of the community regardless of their identity as a child, teacher or parent. Trauma informed practice emphasises mutual respect and commits, "to building relationships rather than strictly focusing on misbehaviour", (Macready, 2009, cited in Anfara et al., 2013, p.57).

Aisha's comment indicates school staff's views on respect and empathy as the foreground for building relationships with children -

> ***"I think if you don't have the relationship with the child, then there's absolutely no chance, especially those trickier characters, unless you build a relationship with them, unless you've shown you will be there no matter what happens", (Aisha).***

Aisha infers the importance of seeking to develop positive relationships with children, particularly with those who it may be 'trickier' to establish. Aisha appears to identify that making relationships is not always a straightforward and immediate process between teacher and child, something that is important to highlight as this might become even more complex with vulnerability or those who are seen as disruptive or challenging in schools. Furthermore, whilst policy and curricula guidance, and education in general are founded upon middle class ideals (Bourdieu, 1984; Pratto & Stewart, 2011; Leo, 2020), it is possible that children who are considered 'trickier' might be children with experiences of adversity or trauma or children from working class backgrounds (Walsh, 2019). Their incapacity to identify with the norms of the school might result in behaviour that is seen as challenging (Brooks-Gunn et al., 2021).

While a caring and compassionate adult who values positive relationships with the children they work with, is the nirvana for all those within the school community, Aisha's comment exemplifies the accountability of staff in creating and maintaining such relationships. The argument here is not whether positive relationships between staff and children should or should not be the case, but rather the consideration of what is in place at strategic and policy level to enable school staff to provide such experiences which are authentic and meaningful to all involved. Countless guidance and literature in the field of education repeatedly posit the importance of positive relationships (Cooper, 2004; Skinns et al., 2009; Gehlbach et al., 2012; McCluskey, 2018; Conkbayir, 2023) however, there exists much less government guidance on pragmatic considerations such as teachers having time to build relationships with vulnerable children or mandatory training on further understanding the impact of adversity or trauma on the developing child, to enable every teacher to actively achieve this. Perhaps the schools intent on developing practice that prioritises concern for the child's wider world and the impact this can have on learning has provided Aisha with awareness of building positive relationships with children.

Done and Murphy (2018) draw upon the work of Foucault to examine his perceptions of power and biopower and how school staff are "responsibilised" (p.142) to comply with both policy and government

guidance and socially and morally just agendas. As noted, Pinewood Primary is categorised as a school with higher levels of need (SEF, 2023), which might indicate that there is a wider budget to attend to the pastoral needs of children. This may enable further opportunities for practices described above such as relationships building. A larger budget to address the pastoral needs of children might also permit staff in schools the 'power' (Foucault, 1977) to work to build positive relationships with children, such as described by Aisha. However, budgets for pastoral support in schools continue to be reduced with more emphasis on funding being linked to specified or diagnosed need (Graby & Homayoun, 2019) and as a result the pastoral responsibility returns to school staff. Done and Murphy (2018) note that discourse in policy and guidance positions school staff as morally obligated to responsibilise care, inclusion, and social change, but the ongoing decrease in funding means that 'being there no matter what happens' becomes harder to achieve.

Korpershoek et al. (2016) stress the key role that school staff have in shaping effective education and describe from their study, the "startling" (p.643) effect of achievements students can gain with a highly effective teacher. Aisha's maintained focus on the importance of positive relationships with all children, especially those that are described as 'trickier characters' might suggest an awareness of how such relations support positive behaviour in the classroom. Practice, where relationships are central, is deemed more humane and respectful, aspects which resonate with the trustworthiness, empowerment and culturally responsive aspects of trauma informed practice (Office for Health Disparities, 2022).

Aisha notes that children require repeated exposure to commitment to maintaining relationships with them, 'unless you've shown them you will be there', an aspect that aligns with the Winnicottian 'holding' metaphor (Winnicott, 1972), where a modern and school specific interpretation might suggest how the school community can provide a physical and mental safe base for children to increase their sense of belonging. "In such an environment security is bolstered and learning is optimized" (Hyman, 2012, p.205). Winnicott (1972) regards the holding environment as one which preserves the uniqueness and individuality of the child, aspects that cannot be achieved without knowing and understanding children, where the emergence of respect and awareness of other thoughts, feelings and perspectives, will also emerge from here (Abrahamsen, 2012).

Aisha's insistence on the importance of relationship building aligns to trauma informed values (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), however it is not prominent practice in education. Some schools, such as Pinewood Primary, may have the confidence and positionality to become trailblazers in adopting and engaging in alternative ways of supporting the needs of their school community, but many will fear steering away from accepted, bureaucratic norms (Kilinc et al., 2016) and await direction from policy, which is informed, or should be, by research informed practice.

Sam continued to discuss the theme of wellbeing and the importance of seeking to build trusting relationships with children and helping them to respect themselves -

> ***"When you give them those stepping-stones and those guidelines to help themselves, you'll notice that they start to become more empathetic, and they start to help those other children too. And it's creating them as more of a whole person rather than them coming to school just to learn how to behave", (Sam).***

Sam describes the role of empathy when working with children and the role it has in supporting not only positive behaviour but holistic wellbeing. Sam's comment centres upon the crucial role of the educator in guiding or providing 'stepping-stones' to help children to help themselves, which Sam then notes, leads to children helping others.

Malti et al. (2016) describe empathy as a key component of social emotional development throughout a person's life and that, within schools, interventions that promote empathy are more effective when introduced as early as possible. Sam comments on the process of developing empathy, where children are first guided to help and care for themselves, then, following this, children begin to show concern and care for others. This aligns to Malti et al.'s (2016) description of the processes of empathy where they describe the importance of individuals developing and being susceptible to "emotion contagion, other-orientated concern and cognitive components", (p.719) where respect and empathy for themselves equips children to be more susceptible to the needs of others.

Hoffman (2000) refers to empathy as an evolutive characteristic that begins with a newborns reactive cry and continues to emerge through practices which children model on acts of empathy, which they have experienced. Indeed, the opposite can emerge when children experience adversity such as inconsistent caregiving or exposure to adverse childhood experiences. This resonates with Sam's comment, where she notes the need to provide guidance to children on acts of empathy, which they then internalise and reproduce with others. Sam indicates an awareness of the function of school as 'creating them (children) as more of a whole person' rather than focusing solely on the need to behave. This might indicate that Sam, or perhaps the school in general, are questioning a problem or dilemma, and using this to reflect upon alternative practice, aspects which resonate with Engeström's expansive learning cycle (1987;2001), where change occurs based on recognised need. However, on reflection of Sam's comment in relation to current educational policy, guidance such as the Discipline in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) continues to focus more on the need to behave and conform.

In further considering Sam's comment and the role of both school staff and children in the function of modelling and developing empathic behaviours, Foucault's writing on care of the self resonates with this process. Foucault, in his later writings, explores the "cultivation of care", (Foucault, 1986, p.43) and

emphasises the importance of tending to one's own needs before being adequately equipped to support others. Sam attributes the children being able to help themselves as a prerequisite for having empathy for others. She emphasises the need to help children by 'give(ing) them those stepping-stones and those guidelines to help themselves', which in turn will equip them to show empathy to others, an example of the cultivation of care as described by Foucault. Sam also posits that school is more than a place where children 'come to learn how to behave' or conform, which might, alongside care of the self, infer links to the Foucauldian notion of introspection or self-examination, where looking within oneself can permit reflection and change. Where the skills or 'stepping stones' that Sam talks of helps children to become equipped to help themselves and in turn show empathy and help others. Foucault (1996) discusses the confines of modern thought which are dictated by epistemic rules which must be challenged, "to imagine another system is to extend our participation in the present system", (p.30), where in my research, staff are imagining an alternative to a behaviourist culture. Ball and Collet-Sabe (2022) unpick Foucault's viewpoint further, and highlight that, for transformative practice, there requires autonomy where children are recognised as ethical beings who are capable of "responsibility for their identity and their social relations" (p.11), highlighting the need for ongoing introspection to continually inform and critique the politics of the self, which in turn contributes to the political culture of society.

Sadie infers that care for oneself promotes confidence -

> ***"Having it in a way that they can just walk up to me regardless of who's there, (referring to child who had just approached the staff member during the interview and asked for a banana) it's usually something he needs when he asks me for a banana. It's a signal to me that there is an issue. So, I will get the banana and we'll go for a walk to my room. And on the walk, we'll have a chat. But knowing him and his background, knowing his family around him and the implications that that has on him, his experiences in school, but mainly at home and with his family, not just his parents but also his siblings, knowing all those things helps me to help him", (Sadie).***

The importance of connection and relationships is exemplified by Sadie in this comment. A further reflection is the emphasis on the importance of knowing the child's background and situation, and how this knowledge enables the child to be more readily supported.

Sadie's comment infers an awareness of the need to identify the child's request for time out with her, where they 'go for a walk, have a chat', and Sadie uses her knowledge of the child to understand and empathise with them. A theory which aligns to this perspective is Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory (1979), namely how crucial the relations between; the characteristics of children in schools and the surroundings in which they live; and the relationships and interconnections between them, are.

Bronfenbrenner's work centres on the impact of connection and positive influences on promoting better outcomes for children (Bronfenbrenner, 2005), something that resonates with Sadie's actions in the comment. In considering Bronfenbrenner's theory, I interpret Sam's comment as stemming from the ethos of Pinewood Primary which is supported and led by senior leaders, and subsequent training the staff team have received to support trauma awareness (School SEF, 2023), and as such, positively supports outcomes for how staff interact and understand children. I see this as a true example of empathy and trauma informed practice, but it does bear the question of how much the ecology of a child is considered beyond Pinewood Primary and in education overall. The foundations of trauma informed practice still remain largely dependent on an individual school or settings decision or indeed position to implement, rather than a paradigm shift in how we understand behaviour in schools.

A further point is the openness on the child's part to be helped and supported. Sadie remarks on the signals the child gives her to indicate that they want attention. This resonates with a function of attachment building which is the serve and return analogy or "reciprocal interaction" (Todd, 1998, p.8). Such an interaction features the essential ingredients of any successful attachment relationship and is borne from trust and consistency, and for children who may have been starved of such qualities for much of their lives, the likelihood to engage in this type of interaction will increase over time rather than an immediate response to an offering of support.

Something that is prominent in Sadie's comment is how she appears to have time to spend with the child when he requires support. Time to allow a sense of collegiality and community is something that is constricted by national curriculum requirements and key performance indicators. Aspects of educational bureaucracy and the impact this has on allowing time for interconnectivity and relationality (Hoy & Miskel, 2006; Adler and Borys, 1996; and Kilinc et al., 2016). Sadie's role as an ELSA means that her predominant role is to meet the social and emotional needs of children within Pinewood Primary, hence having more capacity to take time out with them. The addition of staff tasked with pastoral roles within schools is not a statutory requirement and can only be implemented if school budgets permit it. Surplus funding is often sourced from Pupil Premium and SEN budgets, again returning to the need for labelling and diagnosis to receive additional support (Bodfield & Culshaw, 2024a). Also, additional funding is provided on an individual basis so increased number of needs increases the overall budget a school receives. Schools who have fewer children who are eligible for funding have less of a budget to spend on additional support such as pastoral care and employment of additional support staff. The employment of such staff, such as Sadie's role as an ELSA is a positive implementation for all children in school, not just for those classed as vulnerable (Gov.uk, 2023). However, the inconsistency of support across school communities remains sporadic.

A further example of empathic practice is highlighted by Sadie -

> ***"Like we get in the hole with them. We don't just try and sit up there and kind of tell them what to do. That's empathy, you've got to have empathy. And you know what? Even if you don't understand, be there still and just say, 'I don't know how that must feel'", (Sadie).***

Rather than focusing on interventions or initiatives, Sadie discusses the need to empathise and listen, to be 'in the hole with them'. Her comment infers value on listening and empathy, and coincides with emphatic listening, a skill which Myers (2000) describes as, "a relational, interactional variable unique to each therapeutic encounter examined and not reducible to a technique or skill", (p.148). The positionality used in Sadie's comment also infers an awareness of hierarchy within schools, where staff 'sit up there' and tell children what to do, where little concern is given to their unique needs. Sadie defines empathy by 'getting in the hole with them (children)' where hierarchy is removed, where the needs of children are prioritised even when staff 'don't understand'. Sadie refers to basic actions of listening and being with children in challenging times. The simplicity of these actions is something that I feel are fundamental requirements of trauma informed practice, where the use of, "pre-agreed scripts and phrases to help restore calm", (Department for Education, 2024a, p.15) are not required, but instead time to be with the child and to listen. However, time to listen and empathise will be in competition with other requirements of school such as curriculum demands, which of course are also a key requirement of educational practice.

While Sadie identifies the nurturing qualities of empathy and listening, she does not explicitly connect them to trauma informed practice, so on reflection I question the willingness to empathise and if it comes from being trauma informed or from an intrinsic compassion for others. Indeed, much debate remains around the origins of empathy and if it is an innate or acquired skill (De Waal, 2012; Mafessoni & Lachmann, 2019). Given that Pinewood Primary staff have received training and guidance from leaders in developing and applying trauma informed practices, I assume that Sadie will have learned about the value of using listening and empathy to help children to build trust and connections (Office for Health Disparities, 2022) which may or may not have built on an innate ability to already do so.

Chismar (1998) discusses how the terms empathy and sympathy are often referred to interchangeably, however the terms are somewhat different.

> To empathise is to respond to another's perceived emotional state by experiencing feelings of a similar sort. Sympathy, on the other hand, not only includes empathizing, but also entails having a positive regard or a non-fleeting concern for the other person (p.257).

Similarly, Bloom et al. (2018) defines sympathy as a further concern for another person, rather than just feeling the same emotion. On reflecting on the definitions of sympathy and empathy, I query if in her

comment, Sadie is referring to sympathy rather than empathy. Chismar (1998) uses the term, "stepping into another's shoes" (p.257) when describing sympathy, which mirrors the "getting in the hole with them", comment made by Sadie. This willingness to sympathise rather than empathise may be what enables school staff to 'get in the hole' and support families.

Regardless of if Sadie's comment is an act of sympathy or empathy, Aisha's comment details what I believe is an example of empathy -

> ***"I know as an adult if I've done something wrong, I wouldn't want someone to scream at me and make me sit in silence on my own and then have to go through it all in my head on my own, because the thoughts in your head after you've trashed a classroom, I know some of our children feel so guilty about it", (Aisha).***

Aisha interprets the feelings associated with displays of behaviour that are seen as challenging and the impact that this can have on the child following the event. She infers that feelings of guilt and remorse are often associated after a display of challenging behaviour and the impact that this can have on a child's sense of self (Bowlby, 2012) if these feelings are reinforced by key people in their lives, in this case school staff.

Aisha alludes to typical punitive behaviour management practice, where the 'offender' or child is often removed or excluded following a disruptive event such as trashing a classroom, where they may be told to 'think about what they have done', with the intent that they will feel shame and guilt which will in turn reduce this happening again. Such a process aligns with educational policy, such as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), where guidance stipulates the power staff hold in managing behaviour in school through aspects such as rules and sanctions (James et al., 2021). Indeed, policy upholds its procedures by identifying as supportive guidance that, "includes guidance on support for pupils to behave well and the powers of staff when responding to misbehaviour" (Department for Education, 2024a, p.4). While such guidance does provide support for school staff when challenging behaviour arises, I query, when guidance stipulates the authoritative power rights of school staff, how much consideration is given to the context around the child's behaviour, such as social and environmental factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and how that impacts on the developing child. As James et al. (2021) note, to date, there have been much more concern for how the child acted in the moment and less around what is going on in and around them. In the case of Aisha's example, the focus might be the damage the child has done by trashing the classroom rather than seeking to understand why he acted in that way in the first place. Given the supposed trauma informed culture of Pinewood Primary, it appears that the school does in fact consider the child's ecological world when understanding their behaviour, and where Aisha lays concern for the impact disruptive behaviour has on the child, this strengthens this consideration further. The school SEF (2023) indicates that leaders have been relentless in following their

pursuit to best support Pinewood Primary children and families and that they conduct this through a strong leadership team and a supportive and dedicated workforce. Having buy-in from the school community might make forging an alternative approach to aspects such as managing behaviour easier to attain.

Aisha's observation of how children experience guilt and remorse following a disruptive event aligns with the philosophy of restorative practice (Evanovich et al., 2020), a prerequisite of trauma informed practice, where an aim is to support social emotional behaviour competencies through allowing children time to address the behaviour and repair any damage (both physical and emotional) that has occurred. Using Aisha's example, a restorative approach might include giving the child time and space to discuss and reflect on the event and aspects surrounding it, and then working with them to consider how they can repair, restore and move on from this. This might involve the child considering the impact trashing the classroom has on themselves and others, and what might have been another way to express how they were feeling at that time and inviting them to consider how they might help repair the "wrongdoing" (Evanovich et al., 2020, p28). McMorris et al. (2013) suggests, that with such opportunities, when adopted consistently and as part of whole school practice, has been successful in not only decreasing the need to discipline, but also increase engagement, a positive school climate and increased academic performance. The change from dealing with the needs of the child, rather than focusing on the wrongdoing is what is different on how behaviour is 'managed' here.

A counterargument to such an approach which does not include sanctions or discipline, is that it is at odds with how discipline and behaviour management is societally understood. A typical reaction to misconduct is that the culprit must pay for their crimes, an eye for an eye, and is reflective of how criminality is managed in society. It might be posited that children need to learn the rules of society and what it's like in the 'real world'. However, if such an approach is embedded within schools, this limits opportunities for children to develop a meaningful understanding of conduct and how such procedures are in place, to support them and others. Without support and the ability to restore, repair and learn, children, especially the most vulnerable, are more likely to feel like 'outsiders' of societal norms as their 'inappropriate and disruptive' behaviour is seen as outside of accepted boundaries, leading to a self-actualisation (Rogers, 1962) of less then, or othered, feelings and notions of identity that can continue throughout one's life. Negative perceptions of oneself can contribute to later criminality (Okilwa & Briscode, 2017), where punitive behaviour management and exclusion in school can lead to children becoming 'prison ready' (Jones et al., 2018; Appendix 4). Returning to Aisha's comment, the more times a child is condemned for their wrongdoing, with no opportunity to make sense of their actions and understand their needs, the more they will feel wrong, othered and ill-fitting, feelings that they will carry

beyond school and into later life. It is these feelings that might increase a person's likelihood to engage in criminality.

This notion of empathy and respect continues with Sam's comment, where a child may have an awareness of the imbalance of power -

> ***"Why should I try for you when as soon as I do something, or I get upset your just gonna throw me out and pretty much gonna say you don't belong, and I don't want you here. I don't think we realise the negative connotations that that genuinely has on children and how that impacts them and their thought process or how they look at school and teachers and authority figures in general", (Sam).***

Sam highlights the role of power and dominance in behaviour management processes in schools. She exemplifies a zero-tolerance approach to managing behaviour which is stipulated by the dominant power through surveillance, monitoring and the establishments of norms which are overseen by authority figures, in this case, Sam refers to the teacher. This is reflective of Foucault's disciplinary power where the reproduction of the societal expectations of the dominant power remains a priority (Foucault, 1977). If the child cooperates and is docile, the imbalance of power may not be as visible, but when the child fails to conform, the power imbalance is what is used to reinforce dominance and control. Sam's perspective offers insight into the connotations of behaviour management, such as being removed from class, on the child involved and the potential lasting impact for them. She emphasises the symbolic impact of being subjected to punitive strategies such as being removed from class, and how that might influence how children perceive key people in their lives, such as school staff, where positive relationships have an end point, which can be reached by the child pushing boundaries. Sam uses the term 'authority figures' and how children perceive people who represent authority, such as school staff. Surveillance and monitoring are what upholds civilisation, and it is integral to building citizenship within society, but how authority is executed is what will differentiate children from feeling vulnerable in their relationships with key people or 'authority figures' in their lives, to feeling supported in their journey to understanding the role of authority through communication, empathy and respect.

As discussed, "proper regard for authority", is echoed in educational policy such as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a, p.7) and the advised way to achieve this is by removal of power from the child to condition them to display the desired behaviour. This resonates with Sam's comment where the child indicates an awareness that they will be the subject of punitive strategies should they push boundaries or present behaviour that fails to meet the regulated norms. However, Mullet (2014) notes that such interventions as removal or loss of privileges are quick-fixes and although they may suspend the issue in the moment, the long-term effects on the wellbeing of a child are at risk, in relation to Sam's comment, how children might perceive 'authority figures in general'. These

quick-fix interventions remove or pause capacity for restoration and the opportunity for children to understand why their behaviour is seen as unacceptable, and most importantly limits time to discuss and understand and explore alternative ways of regulating their behaviour in the future (Zehr, 2002). Sam's comment is powerful and indeed ignites a sense of anger and confusion as to why anyone would wish to affect the wellbeing of a child in this way, particularly adults who have chosen to work with children in education. From working on the premise that indeed nobody enters the education profession to devalue the wellbeing of children, I posit instead that these engrained punitive practices have become the default response to dealing with challenging behaviour in schools where there remains a focus on the need to maintain control and dominance rather than insight into the impact that this can have on the developing child. Hence the requirement for research such as this to question currently accepted behaviour management practices.

This need or belief that power and dominance must be upheld can result in school staff pathologising behaviour (Toshalis, 2012) where teachers can view children at fault for their failings. Okilwa and Briscode (2017) identified similar attitudes in staff where children from adverse conditions were viewed as "sub-standard", (p.103). Again, the origins of this pathologising must be questioned, and I ponder if such reactions from staff fight are flight, freeze responses (McCarty, 2016) to feeling out of control and in constant threat of the impending rules and regulations that they are subjected to (Kilinç et al, 2016). Furthermore, a lack of training in understanding trauma and its effects means that staff do not have the essential knowledge to understand the impact of such experiences on how children behave in schools. Without knowledge it is not surprising that school staff resort to engrained practices of punitive behaviour management strategies.

Sam's comment infers the need for secure attachments, where the bond between a child and adult is more than master and student, but instead a collaborative partnership built on mutual respect and attunement. The awareness that supporting positive behaviour is not just that children must abide by the rules and boundaries of the school, but instead to be guided on how to understand themselves through support from key people in their lives, where positive relationships from 'authority figures' helps children to thrive. Also, the characteristics and actions of those perceived to be in power is detrimental to how a child views themselves and others, such as in social learning theory, where Bandura posits that humans are mostly influenced by those they hold in high regard (1977). If children are provided with nurture and unconditional positive regard by key role models in school, they are more likely to develop a positive working model (Winnicott, 1953) and feel a stronger sense of belonging to school, which in turn promotes the likelihood for them to feel safe and ready to learn, where their perception of 'authority figures in general' will be supportive and positive.

This notion of staff and children building positive relationships and seeing children from an empathetic rather than authoritarian stance, flips the lens of how behaviour is traditionally viewed. Hayley's offers another example of empathic rather than judgemental understanding -

> ***"You might see someone who has ran off. So, you say, what's the matter? They tell you and you think, I'd probably feel the same if that happened to me. Validating how they feel rather than screaming, 'get back into class!'", (Hayley).***

Hayley is discussing the importance of empathy in practice and uses an example of how they might respond to a child who has removed themselves from class due to feeling dysregulated. She emphasises the importance of seeking to understand why the child is no longer in class, rather than immediately resorting to punitive behaviour management and insisting the child returns to class. Gomez et al. (2021) describe such practice as in contrast to the "just-desserts" model of punitive behaviour management in education (p.453). Hayley discusses the importance of 'validating how they (the child) feels', which indicates an awareness of the need to acknowledge a child's feelings, even in times when their behaviour displays might be considered outside of the expected routines and boundaries of the school. Hayley also infers an awareness of the intrinsic link between how a child feels and their actions, which resonates with Cannon's fight, flight, freeze response (McCarty, 2016), where Hayley appears to predominantly focus on how the child is feeling, rather than why they left the classroom.

The practise described by Hayley is indicative of an empathy-based philosophy, where applying empathy within educational practice is seen as integral to children's wellbeing and the enhancement of self-esteem and personal, social and emotional development (Lanas & Brunila, 2019). Empathy-based philosophy is a key element of trauma informed practice, as it centres upon the relational nature of behaviour with a view to understanding and repairing from there (Mullet, 2014). A further reflection on Hayley demonstrates a relational approach of first seeking to understand what happened to the child, rather than focusing on the rule breaking, which is in contrast to disciplinary power where surveillance, monitoring, training and discipline, work to maintain the norms of the dominant power or institution (Foucault, 1977). In a typical punitive behaviour instance, Hayley might immediately perceive the child out of class as a deliberate act of defiance, and as such permit the child to be subjected to behaviour management, to be told 'get back into class', without seeking to understand why the child is no longer in class. Such a shift in practice, where empathy and understanding are prioritised over rules and regulations, is at odds with the much-accepted behaviourist approach of educational practice (Department for Education, 2024a) where it is anticipated that support from school leaders and the wider school community will depend on its consistent application and success. Given what is already known about Pinewood Primary and their intent on providing a trauma informed approach, such applications of empathy-based philosophy might be easier to apply than in other schools due to the apparent buy-in

from school staff alongside the support and guidance offered by leaders. Perhaps the school culture is different because of this, where the reproduction of norms stems from a culture of understanding and empathy, which is in opposition to the earlier discussed Foucauldian depiction of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977).

A further point to consider is whether empathy can be taught or is it an innate quality. Ezhilrajan (2015) defines empathy as a muscle which becomes stronger with practice but warns that schools need to exercise these skills more than is currently done. I consider if the practice of empathy does in fact challenge existing power relations within schools, and if seeking to understand the feelings, emotions and reactions of others is seen as disrupting accepted norms. I ponder the purpose of school here, where if the intent should include both enhanced social wellbeing and academic performance in equal measure (Salle et al., 2018), then the need for expression should supersede docility, where in cases, like in Hayley's comment, seeking to understand why a child has left their classroom should be the priority rather than taking offence that a rule has been broken. As noted, Pinewood Primary appears to advocate for such empathy-based practices, and as a result Hayley believes that such practice is consistent across the school community, resulting in an empathy-based school climate. This school wide application is integral to its success (Salle et al., 2018) not just for the children involved but for staff, families, and the wider school community also, a "multidimensional construct…based on the patterns of students', parents', and school personnel's experiences of school life", (p.384). This suggests that empathy involves both a personal willingness and a collective belief in its value in educational practice. Hayley's decision to empathise rather than resort to punitive behaviour management infers a willingness to frame how behaviour is understood in another way, maybe not just for the benefits of the child but for her own wellbeing too. Indeed, studies continue to find that empathetic teachers possess higher morality, have more effective relationships with children and are better motivators of learning (Goroshit & Hen, 2016; Aldrup et al., 2022). Hayley's willingness to empathise with children supports these research findings.

In the following comment, Layla describes how trauma informed practice still contains rules and boundaries where the difference is how children are supported in these areas in schools -

> ***"but still making sure they're (the children) aware that like if for example, if it was that they were hitting someone else, that it's not acceptable and we're (school staff) not gonna let them go round like that, they still need those boundaries, but it's how you deal with it in the moment when they're really struggling", (Layla****).*

Layla highlights structure in trauma informed practice, which is contrary to common misconceptions that it is elusive and lacks boundaries (Scott & Jenney, 2023). Her assertion that staff support children with learning how to understand and meet boundaries as they 'still need' them, indicates an awareness of the importance of children being able to comply and regulate their behaviour accordingly in schools, but her

reference to ‘it’s how you deal with it in the moment’ emphasises the impact of how that support is provided where opportunity for restoration, understanding and repair, supersedes the need to discipline. This also indicates a willingness on Layla’s part to question and analyse typical punitive practice, where modelling different ways of ‘dealing with’ behaviour appears to be something school staff are willing to consider, aspects which resonate with expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001; Mørck, 2010). Trauma informed practice is grounded in a values-based discipline, where boundaries are employed to “protect relationships with people, material and the environments”, (Mullet, 2014, p.159). This aligns with Rogers (2011) view that rights and respect are fundamental to helping children thrive in education and that behaviour management strategies must be rooted in joint rights for all. A key factor in achieving a conducive learning environment is positive relationships, something Drewery and Kecskemeti (2010) note as often determined by teacher attitudes. Layla stresses how boundaries are important, but it is how behaviour is responded to and how school staff ‘deal with it in the moment’ that counts. Her awareness of how school staff respond relates to the Foucauldian notion of self-examination (Foucault, 1988), where she indicates the importance of staff considering how they respond to the child’s behaviour rather than just focusing solely on the child. Zehr (2002) describes how restorative practice requires reflection and self-examination, which aligns to Foucault’s (1988) teaching on the technologies of the self which involve practices and strategies that individuals use to understand and transform themselves. Layla’s awareness of how staff react indicates an introspective approach to supporting behaviour in schools, where through self-examination staff can reflect on how their behaviour impacts on their environment. This process of self-examination can be likened to reflective practice which is well documented in literature (Tarrant, 2013; Aubrey & Riley, 2019; Palailougou, 2024; Stephenson & Gill, 2024) and key policy such as the Teachers’ Standards (Department for Education, 2013) and Behaviour in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a), but the emphasis is mostly on encouraging children to reflect on their behaviour rather than staff. I stress here that I am not insinuating that self-examination should be written in as a requirement or regulation of practice, but rather as a reminder that staff have feelings and emotions, and they too may need to examine how they react ‘in the moment’ and the impact that this might have.

This process of self-examination is therefore twofold, where the promotion of positive behaviour in trauma informed practice includes opportunities to repair and restore (Zehr, 2002), using relationships between children and adults as the seedbed to its success. Layla’s comment highlights this practice, where challenging behaviour such as a child hitting their peer is addressed but with a conscious awareness from the adult of how the child may be feeling such as ‘really struggling’ in that moment, and how best to make the interaction restorative rather than punitive. Where for example, instead of immediately removing the child, the teacher might instead take the opportunity to work with the child to help them understand how their actions are harmful to others and discuss alternative ways of

channelling their anger when they are 'really struggling'. This will help to maintain positive connections between staff and children and also support children to understand school rules and boundaries. This returns me to attachment styles and the impact this can have on a person's ability to feel wanted and a sense of belonging (Geddes, 2006). Layla refers to considering how school staff react to children in challenging situations, where the child can be 'really struggling', where insecure attachments might contribute to children presenting challenging behaviour. Stenberg (2011) makes links to a child's self-fulfilling prophecy and self-belief and how early attachment experiences can shape how they feel and interact with others. As discussed, children who have experienced adversity in their lives, have a higher likelihood of having insecure attachments (Forner, 2017) which as a result they may feel underserving of love or care, which can impact on their ability to abide by the boundaries and routines of the school community. This examination of behaviour as communication and considering the reasons for how a child presents and how staff react in these moments, such as in Layla's comment, is what I believe sets trauma informed practice apart from punitive, zero tolerance strategies in schools.

Below, Cara offers a further perspective on how she believes behaviour is understood in Pinewood Primary, not just in class but throughout the school day –

> ***"with relentless routines, we are all on the same page of what they are. For example, there is no running in the corridors but there are different ways to phrase that, so it's giving children the reason, 'I really want you to be safe or I want to keep you safe so let's try using our walking feet'", (Cara).***

Firstly, the term 'relentless routines' refers to an approach which Pinewood Primary have adopted and adapted from behaviour expert Paul Dix (2017). Relentless routines consist of five pillars of practice, where Dix (2017) describes the importance of key non-negotiable routines such as the importance of meeting and greeting children in the classroom every morning; rules are limited to three words: ready, respectful, and safe; and deliberate teacher routines which are consistent across the school community to support transitions. The SEF (2023) notes that Pinewood Primary staff and leaders use Dix' (2017) relentless routines as a foundation for practice but have made adaptations to best fit the school culture. For example, rather than meeting the children at their classroom, school staff greet the children and their families at the school gates. These adaptations to best fit the needs of Pinewood Primary might indicate an example of expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001), where staff and leaders at Pinewood Primary have worked together to collectively analyse, examine and reflect (Yu, 2023), upon the suitability of practice before consolidation and all staff, 'are on the same page of what they are'.

The reference made by Cara in relation to relentless routines might signify the regard she holds for collective consistency in school procedures. It appears that such practices as relentless routines which have been agreed and embedded by school staff contributes to a positive school discourse (Anthony et

al., 2014). The example that Cara uses, where a child is asked to walk rather than run in the corridor, indicates another way of executing a rule which is phrased in a way that prioritises the child's safety, and staff communicate their desire to keep children safe instead of focusing on the misconduct of running in the hallway. This implies the power of dialogue in fostering a nurturing and restorative discourse. Dialogue is a driving force in discourse which has long been explored in theoretical contexts (Freire, 1972; Vygotsky, 1962; Dewey, 1938), where Freire (1972) refers to the hopeful potential of dialogue where it can promote transformative practice, this can be likened to Cara's comment where she uses respectful positive language to communicate with the child. A further example could be the use of relentless routines across the school community. The more frequent and immersed such practices are, the more likely it is to mesh into the culture of the school and possibly beyond. Cara's indication that she believes staff are 'all on the same page', infers the importance she places on a collective and consistent response to supporting children to understand the value of rules and boundaries in helping them to thrive, rather than seeing them as restrictions that keep children managed and controlled.

Cara also makes correlations to wellbeing. Graham et al. (2016) discuss the importance of behaviour management strategies being rooted in wellbeing such as promoting positive relationships, safety and belonging. This shift in reframing an instruction to a child where their safety is identified as the main priority again contributes to a discourse of empathy and nurture (Lanas & Brunila, 2019). Conkbayir (2023) argues for such a relational approach where children are constantly reminded that their wellbeing is priority. This resonates with the Foucauldian notion of ethics of care (1997), where children are encouraged, through the rephrasing of support such as the one described by Cara, to consider the importance of looking after and caring for themselves, instead of seeing rules and boundaries as functions to maintain order and compliance. Given the context of Pinewood Primary, and the levels of adversity that many children and their families face (School SEF, 2023), I query if such reminders about self-care are rare experiences. Indeed, on reflection of my own experiences as an educator, the example used by Cara sparked awareness of the punitive dialogue I have used in practice, where priority might appear to be on the importance of children abiding by the rules, rather than making it abundantly clear that it is for their safety and wellbeing.

A further reflection is the lasting impact of how instructions or rules are delivered to a child. Baumrind (2012) discusses how children are supported to behave and cites that confrontative non-coercive discipline is most advantageous to them. Positive instructions and the opportunity to restore and repair help children to understand acceptable routines and boundaries in a way that is non-threatening or punitive (Drewery & Kecskemeti, 2010; Mullet 2014). This approach offers the opportunity to engage in self-examination, something Foucault states as essential to reach, "happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection" (Foucault, 1988, p.18). Cara's example in rephrasing how children are encouraged to

understand rules and boundaries through a fairer and rational person-centred lens appears less stressful for both school staff and children, where perhaps through the process of self-examination higher states of moral development emerge.

While Cara evidences an awareness of reframing instruction to help children see boundaries and rules as a means to keep them safe, Roz further contributes to the notion of helping children to self-regulate in age-appropriate ways rather than being immediately subjected to punitive behaviour management procedures -

> ***"Because of the age that I work with a lot of them don't yet know how they're feeling and so, like, in a lesson I did a few weeks ago on how your body feels and they were so quick to tell me that their stomach feels different sometimes and we spoke about how that could be linked to feeling nervous. So now, in like, certain situations when they're feeling sad and nervous, etc. we talk about the connections because I think that helps them recognise their own emotions", (Roz).***

Roz exemplifies a pedagogical approach to helping children in her reception class make connections between mental and physiological reactions to feelings. She infers that when teaching young children, they require support on identifying links between how they feel and how that can impact on their physical state which in turn will help them to 'recognise their own emotions'. This is a critical skill when developing an understanding of oneself, which in turn increases the likelihood to regulate one's behaviour (Goodall, 2020). While the definition of trauma informed practice remains ambiguous (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), an accepted value is empowerment (Conkbayir, 2023) and the benefit of supporting children to understand themselves. The awareness of staff in schools helping children to make connections, such as in Roz's example, resonates with social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), where practices modelled and permitted in education can influence how children imitate, behave and role-model. Roz advocates for children to observe their feelings and physiological reactions, and then uses this observation to encourage introspection (Price & Hooven, 2018; Goodall, 2020) to better understand themselves and how experiences make them feel. In the case of schools, and in Bandura's theory, the regard that a child holds a staff member in will influence their capacity to have an impact on their growth and development, be it positive or negative. Roz is supporting this process as a key adult in their lives, and therefore permitting children to explore their feelings and emotions. Conkbayir (2023) discusses the need for a more relational approach in education to promote self-regulation skills which encompasses trauma informed practice. In social learning theory, Bandura (1977) places great value on how children will take guidance from key people in their lives, where they are more likely to mirror the practices beyond the intervention or observation itself and into their developing lives. Teaching children

introspection, such as in Roz's comment, allows them to make links to their internal bodily state and how this can present on how they respond or behave (Price & Hoovan, 2018; Goodall, 2020).

Roz's example relates to children in the Reception year, where they are still subjected to the EYFS (Department for Education, 2024b) where 'self-regulation' skills development is highlighted in depth across statutory and non-statutory guidance (Early Education, 2021; Department for Education, 2023; Appendix 2). However, the term 'self-regulation' is not used in curricula beyond the EYFS in the National Curriculum in England Framework key stages 1-4 (Department for Education, 2014). This insinuates that self-regulation skills are taught in the early years where children can apply these foundational skills in later education. Indeed, interventions of support, such as the one described by Roz, will help children to understand their feelings and emotions, but I query if all children will have the tools required upon leaving the reception class to move to their next level of learning. Based on ecological factors already described (Bronfenbrenner, 1984), individuals will have different levels of introspection, and for children who have experienced adversity in their lives, their awareness can be less so, or "undrawn" (Alverez cited in Music, 2022, p.65). Perhaps Roz' s intervention is in reaction to her awareness of the levels of need of the children that she teaches. Mills (2005) examines the emotion of anger and posits that it is a learnt behaviour rather than an innate one, which is often modelled by key people in a child's life, for children who have been subjected to violence and arguing in the home, they can accept this behaviour as normal and so re-enact it, unaware of this being an issue. Such actions are what can find children at the hands of punitive behaviour management strategies, where instead of children having support and guidance in exploring other ways of regulating their feelings and emotions, they are instead subjected to practices that make them feel further othered and less than.

Marion (1994) emphasises the need for schools to support children with understanding and managing their feelings as for many children, particularly those classed as vulnerable, these skills may not be taught at home, hence the acute need for such practices in school, as described by Roz, where a further example is offered by her below -

> ***"So, one of the ELSA's taught me to do this (puts palms out flat) and I've used it every day, and they're (children) always climbing all over me. Its showing that I'm open. I do it every morning now pretty much and the children come over and give me a hug", (Roz).***

Roz is referring to a technique that she was taught by an Emotional Learning Support Officer (ELSA), to show children that she is open and willing to communicate and connect. Roz reflects on the response she has received from practising this technique daily, where she describes physical reactions from children such as 'climbing all over me…. come over and give me a hug'. Roz appears to focus on communication via physicality and how she uses these observations of touch to identify that children feel safe and connected with her. She describes first the signal she gives children to indicate that she is willing to

engage, and when the children 'come over and give me a hug', it is signalling that they are willing to communicate and engage in response. The notion of touch and its prominence within this comment signifies the link between mind and body and how children might seek out social cues from adults to help them feel safe and grounded (Von Mohr et al., 2017).

While the importance of human connection and touch is an extensively evidenced concept (Honig, 2005, Von Mohr et al., 2017; Fotopoulou et al., 2022; Morrison, 2016; Cascio et al, 2019), the use of touch within schools is often guarded or restricted due to aspects such as safeguarding, professionalism, and policy directives (Owen & Gillentine, 2011), an example of the panoptic gaze and its production of self-policing (Foucault, 1977). Hedlin et al. (2021) describe the sensitivity of teachers' physical interactions with children and how they are surrounded by "norms and regulations" (p.485), which make it difficult for staff in schools to interpret. Campell-Barr (2017) posit that difficulties arise from a fear culture which is steered by a media driven, moral panic of being accused of inappropriate touching. However, in terms of connection, respect, and relationships building, such as in Roz's comment, there lies concern that due to such fear children are being deprived of normal human interaction (Owen & Gillentine, 2011). Studies indicate the benefits of positive touch, for example, the promotion of positive socialisation and behaviour (Dobson et al, 2002), improved student staff relationships (Diego et al., 2002; Field, 2002), and reduced aggression (Carlson & Nelson, 2006). "Aggression meets aggression. Touch encourages cognitive development", (Owen & Gillentine, 2011. p.858). School staff modelling openness and indicating a willingness to engage in positive touch, such as Roz describes, promotes opportunities for children to experience the benefits of physical contact with others, something that vulnerable children may not have experiences of.

This practice of positive touch is in stark contrast to the historical use of physical force or corporal punishment to maintain control of power, where docile bodies were reproduced under the fear of punishment (Foucault, 1977). Indeed, in Foucauldian terms, the body was of prominent focus in behaviour management techniques, where the body was seen as locus of control in which knowledge and power was inscribed and sovereign power was perpetually reproduced. This led me to consider the repercussions from such physically violent disciplinary practices, where forms of behaviour management using physical violence have been outlawed, but this too has impacted on any type of touch, where the fear of being at risk of being accused of inappropriate contact has reduced the likelihood for contact between school staff and children. The reduction of touch is rationalised through concern for children's safety (Golden, 2004). However, the reduction of positive touch in school, particularly for children who may not have such experiences at home, can impact on their ongoing development. Hence why I think actions, such as that described by Roz, are integral to supporting all children on the benefits of positive touch, particularly children who have had experiences of adversity or trauma in their lives.

Johansson et al. (2021) define physical touch as an innate human need which is beneficial to children's holistic development and their ability to develop trusting secure attachments with others (Bowlby, 1952). This theory aligns with Roz's comment where she notes an increase in children approaching her to' give me a hug' in the mornings. Positive interactions can promote characteristics such as emotional health and enhanced wellbeing, something that Haslip et al. (2019) note will affect not only the children involved but also the adults. "Teacher and child love were most frequently associated with empathy and spontaneous affection", (p.531). The fact that positive touch is beneficial to all involved resonates with trauma informed practice in schools, where the wellbeing of the whole school community, staff included, is integral to its success (Sweetman, 2022). While Roz does not indicate how she feels about the interactions, her actions of permitting positive touch with children suggests that she finds the intervention beneficial. Venet (2019) discusses the importance of considering support for school staff in trauma informed practice as the needs of all must be considered to reduce the potential of exhaustion and burnout. Indeed, the Foucauldian notion of care of the self (1997) is evident here where it is claimed, "care for others should not be put before care of oneself", (p.287). In a school environment, children look towards key people, such as Roz, as a moral and social compass where their values and character strengths will be a product of what is modelled and demonstrated to them (Haslip, 2019; Bandura, 1977). For children who do not have such positive role models at home, I believe the need for them to have these experiences in school becomes even more acute.

Sam comments on the value of helping children to feel cared for and listened to in education, and how this can lead to children making progress in other areas of their schooling too -

> ***"We want to set them (children) up for success, not failure. And the only way you can do that is to care and listen and to be there. It's not a matter of churning out to get results, whereas if we took a step back and everybody looked at it in that same kind of way, i.e., the big dogs and leadership and all that carry on, then you would start to see change", (Sam).***

Sam discusses the role of bureaucracy in education, where she infers that the desire to get results can supersede basic needs such as care, listening and consistency. She indicates an awareness of such practice not being subject to one school but instead comments on the need for this to be a systemic change, 'if we took a step back and everybody looked at it in that same kind of way', where wellbeing takes precedence before academic results. Sam infers that the purpose of education can be viewed in different ways, possibly based on the agenda of those viewing it, but feels that with a more collective understanding of the requirement for basic needs (Maslow, 1943) such as 'care, listening and being there', then change would happen. Sam identifies the need for change, where she questions the purpose of schooling being to 'set them (children) up for success, not failure' and how collectively change can occur, through reflection, 'taking a step back', aspects which again resonate with Engeström's expansive

learning theory, where “a person or a group begins to radically question the sense and meaning of the context and to construct a wider alternative context” (Engeström, 2001, p. 138).

Research (Maija & Brunila, 2019; Hempel-Jorgensen 2009) posits that education is being smothered by bureaucracy, or “excessive bureaucracy” (Humes, 2022, p.235), where children are instructed to act a certain way, know certain things and develop certain beliefs, and if children fail to be able to achieve this, disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) returns the failure to conform back onto the child and deflected away from the institution. These conceptions of education are opposed to views that the main purpose of education is to promote what Carello and Butler define as a “socially just and egalitarian society” (2015, p.264). Sam notes how systematic change is required, where ‘the big dogs and leadership and all that carry on’, must identify the dangers associated with seeking to ‘churn out results’ at all costs, before any real systematic change can occur. These reflections indicate Sam’s awareness of the power hold that schools are in, where governmentality (Foucault, 1977) traverses across educational practice. While I acknowledge and have written about such points in a previous article (Bodfield & Culshaw, 2024b), school staff do hold some ideological power at a micro level such as the transmission of societal values and norms, but on further interrogation, such ‘powers’ are bestowed onto staff by educational bureaucracy through policy and regulations, which means school staff ‘power’ becomes encapsulated by their own need to conform and comply, and as a result, limit staff empowerment and creativity (Kilinç et al., 2016). Sam’s comment on wanting to ‘set them (children) up for success, not failure’ and ‘it’s not a matter of churning out to get results’ infers that she is conscious of how staff opportunities to ‘care and listen and be there’, are disrupted by bureaucratic measures. From working from the premise that adults choose roles within schools to help children to thrive, I believe that it is bureaucracy and performativity that skews this view and results in academic success becoming the priority. Schools are of course in place to help children learn and become academically educated, but the rigid systems currently in place are not suitable for every child, where children with certain cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) are more likely to succeed.

If achieving good results continues to be the way in which schools are typically measured in terms of success, care for wellbeing will always remain an afterthought. Sam’s comment on the importance of ‘care, listening and being there’, might not just be a message for what children need, but also something that should be considered more deeply at systematic level, such as in supporting staff wellbeing. Sam states that ‘we want to set them (children) up for success, not failure’, and considering the growing needs of vulnerable children within education is required to achieve this. I posit the need to interrogate exactly how success in education is measured, and how that relates to all children, including the most vulnerable. As Foucault notes, “In that lesson, there is a whole ethic of sleepless evidence that does not rule out, far from it, a rigorous economy of the True and the False; but that is not the whole story”, (p.448). Here

Foucault interprets that effective change requires a pursuit of knowledge that considers all the complexities and nuances and avoids seeking to categorise facts as true or false. Such can be said in how academic success is more valued than any other areas in schools, where children will either succeed or fail.

The comment from Cara below evidences the role of bureaucracy such as an Ofsted grading in schools resulting in a curiosity for change -

> ***"since Ofsted, we've had five schools visit our school, cause you know they are just starting off on that trauma informed journey, so we are willing to help them", (Cara).***

Cara describes how since Pinewood Primary received their Ofsted rating of 'Good', other schools are contacting them to explore how they are implementing a trauma informed approach. This is an interesting irony as Ofsted is repeatedly badged as a negative process that devalues student and staff wellbeing in favour of scoring schools against bureaucratic performance measures. For example, Waters and McKee (2023) condemn the lack of consideration that Ofsted has for staff wellbeing during the inspection process, something that school staff repeatedly highlight, take for example a 2023 YouGov survey which found that 90% of teachers have an unfavourable view of Ofsted. Regardless of the wider largely negative view of Ofsted, the 'Good' rating received by Pinewood Primary appears to be what has made more schools seek further knowledge on their approach. This details the pervasiveness of control and power and how as Foucault hypothesised, "individuals are subjectified through discourse", (Christensen, 2016, p.763). Once Pinewood Primary was seen as 'compliant' with what was deemed acceptable practice, the school's practice becomes worthy of dissemination, where "the perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes", (Foucault 1977, p.183). The panoptic gaze of the inspectorate of Ofsted continues to operate through continuous surveillance and assessment, which ultimately shapes accepted norms and practices, where many schools will await their judgement of its effectiveness, such as described by Cara in relation to trauma informed practice, before considering its application.

To conclude exploration of the theme of mutual respect and empathy, the final comment from Sadie exemplifies again the prominence of respect and empathy amongst Pinewood Primary school staff when considering the children they work with:

> ***"the children, bless them, they wanna do what's right for you and they wanna***
>
> ***make you proud", (Sadie).***

Sadie's reference to the willingness of children to please and impress school staff infers the central place of interrelations within education. It signifies how children might use approval from key people in their lives, such as school staff, to motivate them to succeed in all aspects of schooling. It might also suggest the role that positive reinforcement has on children, where they will work hard to gain recognition. An immediate critique to this might be the already examined concept of docility in institutions such as education (Foucault, 1977) and if the need to please others supersedes the need to please oneself. This presents a dilemma where the desire to make others happy, and in turn be accepted, becomes more important than personal fulfilment. It also raises questions about autonomy and the impact of societal pressures or 'accepted norms' within schools. While Sadie does not provide any further detail on what children do, I construe that she is alluding to the benefits of positive relationships with children, where acts of mutual respect and empathy by school staff, such as Sadie, in turn encourages children to mirror such practice, which results in acts of prosocial behaviour.

Interestingly, within schools, focus remains, paradoxically, on behaviour that is seen as challenging where discipline and conformity (Mareš, 2017) is used to instil acceptable behaviour not just within school but in life beyond. Pinewood Primary staff claim to use an alternative approach to managing behaviour where restorative practice, empathy and understanding, is central to practice (School SEF, 2023). I construe this as creating a kind and caring culture which will encourage children to act in the same way, essentially the promotion of prosocial behaviours as described by Sadie, where she describes how children want to do 'what's right' for school staff and 'want to make you proud'. For many children, their early experiences prior to schooling will include kind and caring home environments where prosocial behaviours were observed and embodied by key people in their lives such as parents and carers. Such skills, embedded within the home initially, will promote positive behaviour and the ability to respond well to routines and boundaries, which are celebrated characteristics in school (Department for Education, 2024a). For some children, such positive beginnings may not have been the case, where due to adverse conditions concepts, such as kindness and caring, were not prioritised or indeed present. Mareš (2017) describes how children do not remain solely influenced by their home and families, particularly when they begin formal education, and the school is centrally positioned to initiate and/or further nurture prosocial behaviours. The benefits of prosocial education do not only promote kindness and care within education, but also a compassionate society (Spivak & Durlak, 2015).

Sadie suggests that children are characterising prosocial behaviour to communicate their willingness to connect with Pinewood Primary school staff. Spinrad and Gal (2015) reflect on existing evidence surrounding prosocial behaviours and found that a proven approach is positive teacher-student relationships. This is supported by Longobardi et al. (2021) who refer to numerous studies (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Koomen & Jellesma, 2015; Longobardi, et al., 2018), to posit that the promotion of

prosocial behaviours support children to successfully adjust to the context of school. On reflecting upon Sadie's comment, a further aspect to examine is her mindset and how she views the children that she works with. Sadie's comment 'bless them, they want to do what's right for you', might also suggest a prosocial act on her part. Longobardi et al. (2021) refers to research where it has been found that school staff find it easier to be supportive of children with more prosocial behaviours, and through this relational model, children seek guidance from those staff members.

Returning to the notion of supporting children not just within school but in preparing for life beyond and into adult life, the development of prosocial skills becomes even more integral. A seminal study exploring how prosocial behaviour can be supported or hindered based on context was conducted in the ongoing Millennium Cohort Study (Smith & Joshi, 2002), where findings emerge that prosocial behaviours related to low level problem behaviours in school, however there was negative correlations between children from deprived communities, lower prosocial skills and problem behaviour, or as Flouri and Sarmadi (2016) note "high-risk contexts", (p.256). In relation to Sadie's comment and the demographics of Pinewood Primary, these findings again resonate with the increased barriers that are faced by children who live in adversity, such as living in deprivation, as such I consider if developing a willingness to 'make staff proud', are skills that will translate to their lives beyond the school. Research by Laible et al. (2014) indicated an increased likelihood that the more exposure children have to prosocial behaviour in schools, the more likely they are to, "cement children's positive internal working models and trust in the goodness of others", (p.877). This suggests that practices in education will help shape the inner consciousness of children, where in Cara's comment, their prosocial actions of wanting to 'do what's right' and make staff 'proud' might indicate that this is in response to practices that model prosocial behaviour by school staff. Furthermore Dong et al. (2021) note that children who are exposed to prosocial behaviours in education are not only more likely to embody such skills, but social adjustment, through their ability to understand their emotions and give concern for the emotions of others, will also be facilitated as a result, something that Dong et al. (2021) state as pivotal to their development.

Conclusion

The comments help to exemplify the pervasiveness of mutual respect and empathy within Pinewood Primary, and how as a result, there appears to lie an embedded culture of empathy-based practice. Whilst the comments evidence such practice, they too exhibit the challenges and pitfalls associated with applying mutual empathy and respect in education, when grappling with aspects such as power, authority, and bureaucracy. While empathy-based practice has been considered to be an effective strategy to supporting behaviour in schools (Mullet, 2014; Lana & Brunila, 2019), it is unreasonable to expect school staff to adopt a change in practice without adequate support at both management and policy level. School staff and leaders involved in my research appear to have made a conscious decision

to shift their practice to trauma informed, a decision that has resulted in a long and enduring process to individualise practice that they believe supports their whole school community. Such an undertaking is arduous and as it is not a government directive, might be seen as an unnecessary burden to a school (Aldrup et al., 2022) which, due to its ambiguity, might have little immediate quantifiable outcomes that support school performance. Indeed, in time a positive school climate is likely to enhance students' wellbeing, their understanding of rules and boundaries and in time, academic progress (Markelz et al. 2019), but without specific guidance such a change might not be seen as priority. I do not propose that schools are not committed to caring and empathetic teaching practices, aspects which have long been associated with teaching and learning particularly in the early years and primary phases of education, but I propose instead that factors that retain power are seen as more important, such as how success and indeed school in general is measured. Rogers cites the value of empathetic teaching in stating that, ""a high degree of empathy in a relationship is possibly the most potent factor in bringing about change and learning." (1969, p.157;158). Although it might be considered the most important, the role of power must also be regarded in the permittance of its application.

The views given by school staff allude to a collective resolve of mutual empathy and respect, something that might penetrate further because of the trauma informed culture that Pinewood Primary appears to continually adopt and apply. This suggests a shared understanding of considering the needs and requirements of others to better support them, that empathy is something that can be increased with nurture. Comments throughout the findings imply that an empathy-based philosophy pulsates within Pinewood Primary, I wonder if this is a product of adopting trauma informed practice or if this practice appears to be successful in this setting because there was already an empathy-based grounding in place.

8.2 Theme 2. Leadership and Support

While the structure of schools includes a senior leadership team, their lies much disparity upon how leadership is executed. Foucault uses Bentham's panopticon theory to illustrate the panoptic gaze metaphor (Foucault, 1977), where surveillance by leaders assures power and control, or at least appears to continuously observe the actions of those they control. Within a school, senior leaders and the rules and boundaries they create or are entrusted with reproducing can all be considered facets of the panoptic gaze which the school community, staff and students alike, will seek to adhere to where possible. This widely accepted style of leadership is reinforced through education literature and policy, where school leaders are described as the "drivers of improvement" (Cruddas, 2018) and who should be held to account (Department for Education, 2016). This view of leadership and their apparent control of power within schools led me to refrain from having senior leaders at Pinewood Primary partake in my research in a bid to understand the views of those who work within the school directly with children and their

families. I also wanted to ascertain if despite no reference being made to leaders in the interviews, how much school staff would refer to leadership and the value of support they receive in promoting trauma informed practices. Interestingly, references made to leadership and support were made by every staff member and due to the frequency, alongside links to support, the theme of leadership and support became one of the key themes of my research findings. The most striking finding within the theme of leadership and support was how, whilst there is a clear leadership hierarchy in place, the leadership style appeared to permit a distribution of leadership and subsequently support across Pinewood Primary. The following quotes have been derived from the transcripts to exhibit the various ways and contexts in which leadership and support had been referred to.

The opening comment by Sadie below infers an empathetic leadership style which begins with the practice of the headteacher -

> ***"The headteacher is very much and regardless of if you're a child or a member of staff, she wants everybody to be the best individual they can be regardless of what that is, regardless of who you are, regardless of your character, you could be somebody quiet, and she will help you. Just see the core values in that person and just set that free. Because nobody says just because you're quiet, you shouldn't continue to be quiet, and you should be this big. So, she doesn't try to change anybody, fix anybody. It's not about that. It's just them being the best version of themselves", (Sadie).***

Sadie's comment was from discussion on school ethos and how that can help or hinder trauma informed practices. She discussed the need for trauma informed practices to consider the wellbeing of everyone in the school community including staff. An institution wide acceptance of recognising and applying trauma informed practice is repeatedly noted as integral to ensuring its effectiveness long-term, or as Perry and Daniels (2016) states the need for "staff-focused service at the core of school transformation…. the conduit for applying trauma informed logic" (p.179). Sadie discussed the crucial influence that senior leadership has had on Pinewood Primary and praised the headteacher. Sadie's comment also might suggest a vulnerability within the staff team, where they require guidance and affirmation from leaders, which is personal and unique to them.

Sadie appears to feel supported by the headteacher and she infers that all staff members are supported to 'be the best individual they can be'. Brady and Wilson (2021) discuss how pupil and staff wellbeing is central to effective leadership, particularly as reports of poor mental health in teachers rise, alongside a recruitment and retention crisis. Bingham et al. (2021) report that these issues have accentuated in light of the Covid-19 pandemic. This has been evident in key guidance where staff wellbeing has become a more explicit outcome measure, such as in the latest Ofsted inspection framework citing "staff consistently report high levels of support for wellbeing issues", as a criterion (Ofsted, 2019). However,

Sadie's reflections on how well the headteacher supports the uniqueness of staff is at odds with existing data on teacher dissatisfaction, which I suggest is linked to the ever-increasing bureaucratic features of educational practice such as, rigid performance targets, accountability, and the inspectorate. These requirements limit the opportunity for staff to be the 'best version of themselves'. Skinner et al. (2021) discuss how, with growing bureaucracy comes the need for conformity which again limits the identity of school staff. The constant monitoring and surveillance (Foucault, 1977) of all within the school community, results in a corporate teaching and learning context which removes opportunity for autonomy and creativity.

Sadie's comment might suggest that such feelings of monitoring and surveillance are not all consuming within Pinewood Primary at least. The headteacher working to preserve and promote staff individuality may indicate an awareness, or perhaps even a reluctance to fall victim to the corporate measures of educational bureaucracy. Skinner et al. (2021) describe how a teacher's professionalism is intertwined with their identity, and their sense of competence and worth is mediated through interactions with others. Ball (2003) posits that ill wellbeing occurs when there is tension between identity and professionalism, something Ball terms as "the struggle over the teacher's soul", (p.216) which can present in a myriad of factors such as their engrained beliefs or their educational ideology. Perhaps Sadie's references to terms such as 'the best individual they can be', 'regardless of your character', 'core values of that person', 'and just set that free', are due to feeling that her identity is interlinked with her professionalism, which in turn reduces the 'struggle' that Ball (2003) refers to.

Sadie describes how the headteacher seeks to locate the core values of staff and encourages staff to 'set that free'. This is a reassuring and insightful analysis of advocating for individuality, but further interrogation does raise the question of the boundaries from which this 'liberation' exists. While Sadie infers satisfaction in the support and guidance of the headteacher, I wonder if liberation and being 'set free' does in fact have limitations based on, for example, a staff members suitability to the ethos of the school. Furthermore, the ideology of 'liberation' must sit within the parameters of educational guidance and policy. Foucault's analytical writings on the function of schooling encourage the questioning of current educational practice. McNicol Jardin (2005) state that Foucault encourages a more critical examination of schooling, for example, "What actually happens to the child (and the teacher) as a consequence of practices actually enacted in the classroom", (p.39). Sadie's comment indicates that she feels agency, where her uniqueness and individuality is accepted, which might be linked to Pinewood Primary's apparent shift in practice to trauma informed, particularly regarding the theme of empowerment (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), where the wellbeing of children and staff is prioritised, and as such has supported Sadie to feel valued in her role.

Foucault's (1977) moral orthopedics resonates with the notion of teacher agency and autonomy, whilst also under the bureaucratic regime of the British education system. It raises the question of how much regulation and capacity augmentation occurs when shaping school staff to conform to accepted practice, and where perhaps agency becomes further limited. I wonder, when considering Sadie's comment and applying the theory of moral orthopedics, how much of the characteristics of staff have been shaped or moulded to meet accepted "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p.131) within the school. If 'being the best version of themselves' is welcomed and advocated on the proviso that those qualities fit the values and cultures of the school, where the ideals must align, or if instead it is the values and ethos of the school, in this case a school that strides towards trauma informed practice, that instils these ideals on the staff who work there.

Roz comments on how the change towards trauma informed practice has benefited her wellbeing as well as the children she teaches -

> ***"Yeah, like for my mental health as well, I think the school seems like such a much calmer space. It's weird, like I remember those, like, the first year coming in and like my mental health wasn't great and coming into work was always a bit hard. And then it's coming in now, like all the plants, the lights, the calm and music, like I'm happy to come to work and I see that with the children as well, that they're happy to come to school", (Roz).***

Roz discusses the positive change in the school since adopting a trauma informed approach and how this has helped her to feel 'happy to come' into work. She compares how she first felt when she began at the school, before the initiative to become trauma informed, where she found coming into work 'always a bit hard', to how she currently feels 'happy to come to work'. These reflections indicate the potential universal benefits of a change in practice in schools for staff as well as children and given the already examined rising dissatisfaction of school staff (Department for Education, 2024c), this might present as a welcome remedy to this ever-increasing concern. Department for Education commissioned research cited poor general wellbeing as a key contributor to staff leaving the teaching profession (Cooper Gibson, 2018), something that Bingham et al. (2021) notes has increased since the Covid-19 pandemic.

Roz's being 'happy' in her role might indicate the importance of finding identity and belonging within her workplace (Ball, 2003). Her comment is a reminder of the importance of staff also feeling 'happy'. On reflection, the notion of trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in schools applies to not just children but the school community. Skinner et al. (2021) denotes how educational bureaucracy can increase the need for conformity for school staff as well as children, and as a result might limit their ability to identify within schools. Surveillance (Foucault, 1977) and the ever presence of being watched results in increased docility of school staff, where compliance takes precedence over uniqueness and creativity. Before the implementation of trauma informed practice, Roz's references to

her mental health not being ‘great’ and ‘coming into work was always hard’, suggest that due to a more rigid system in place within Pinewood Primary, her ability to identify and seek happiness in her role was compromised. It appears that Roz has observed how positively the change in practice has been on her wellbeing, which due to its focus on relational practice and restoration (Mullet, 2014), has enabled her to find a sense of contentment in her role (Skinner, 2021). This change in Roz’s view of her role is particularly interesting as she remains within the same role, in the same school, where the school community and their needs remain the same as when she first started at the school. What appears to have changed is the practice in place, where the ongoing transition to adopting more concern for restoration and reparation, has flipped the lens on how behaviour and vulnerabilities are framed and as a result acted upon.

Roz’s comment acts as a reminder of the importance of the wellbeing of staff in schools, and the need for their mental health to be considered. Like many aspects of trauma informed practice in education, there requires more comprehensive studies into teacher wellbeing and the impact of working with children who have experienced trauma or adversity (Brunzell et al., 2021). I stress the need to investigate this further as school staff are on the “front lines with regards to childhood trauma, (and) responding to emotional and behavioural crisis in schools”, (Christian-Brandt et al., 2020, p.2). Brunzell et al. (2022) add further that school staff do not wish to shy away from supporting vulnerable learners and that opportunities to increase their own wellbeing is central to them having capacity to support children. Without adequate support school staff are at risk of compassion fatigue, which is the product of burnout and secondary stress (Luthar & Mendes, 2020; O’Toole & Dobutowitsch, 2023).

Roz remarks that she observes that children are happy to come to school too. This suggests that she believes that children associate the school environment as being safe and emotionally rich (Southall et al., 2023), ‘the lights, the calm, the music’, where the reduction of staff burnout and stress, due to feeling supported and ‘happy to come to work’, is likely to have a complementary effect. This is opposed to a more traditional school environment where school staff are expected to support the acute needs of children without adequate support, and in turn fail to address their own wellbeing needs (Keller, 2014).

While Roz does not directly describe a change in her practice, she does use her increased feelings of happiness to indicate that she has also observed this in the children, where they appear more ‘happy to come to school’. This suggests that due to the change in practice, the focus on oneself has resulted in Roz being able to create a union between her identity and professionalism (Ball, 2003) which contribute to an “oeuvre” (Foucault, 1990, p.11) of contentment in her role, which she construes as having had a positive ripple effect on the children she teaches.

Furthermore, the collective approach to policy making might also be borne from a satisfied workforce that identifies with the culture and ethos of the school -

"with our relationships policy, it wasn't something that's come from top down. We had an entire staff meeting, with every member of staff, with kitchen staff, play workers, with teaching assistants, because for it to have an impact on the children, every single adult needs to have buy-in", (Cara).

Cara is evidencing how policies and decision making is a collaborative approach at Pinewood Primary, where all staff members, regardless of status, are invited to contribute. A theoretical underpinning which resonates with this approach is Bandura's notion of collective efficacy (Bandura, 1977), which describes how educators combined confidence and belief translates to positive student outcomes. Essentially, high collective efficacy permeates a positive school culture. Cara refers to the need for staff buy-in for there to be an impact on children, which can be construed as similar to collective efficacy, where there is a shared belief in the value and purpose of their work.

As Cara's comment does not indicate how 'buy-in' is achieved from staff, I query if such collective practice caters for all staff members and roles for the process to be positive and productive, how 'every single adult' has 'buy-in'. Goddard et al. (2017) note the normative impact of collective efficacy, where recognition of the habitus and culture of a school, can influence staff and students. This means that by inviting all staff members to contribute to policy development, their input from different viewpoints and experiences shape policies that are more reflective of the schools habitus and culture. A further point highlighted by Goddard et al. (2017) is the increased likelihood of self-efficacy if the group members believe that they can achieve the goal themselves. Thus, the origin of collective efficacy has its roots in self-efficacy. In policy development such as a relationships policy, a collective approach allows all staff members to contribute to a directive that they feel will work for them in their practice. However, I wonder if in these collective staff meetings that Cara describes, where all staff members, regardless of their roles, have an equal voice. This too is something Goddard et al. (2017) consider and note that collective efficacy provides leverage to the dominant group, where other staff members might feel compelled to align with. I cannot imply or deny if such practice is at play within Pinewood Primary, but it does raise the question of the authenticity of collective or collaborative working, particularly when it is cross-hierarchical.

From another perspective Cara's comment might infer a democratic culture within Pinewood Primary, where the views of all and others are considered equal in the decision-making process. Dewey (1903) associates' democracy with freedom of action and thought but posits that schools are limited in their ability to be autonomous and free, but instead remain suppressed by the bureaucratic structures of curricula and performance targets, and true democracy can only prevail when school staff can regularly, "register judgement upon matters of educational importance" (p.195). Inviting staff members to have a voice in decision making, such as in Cara's comment, may be a useful starting point to achieving true

democracy. Indeed, particularly regarding statutory frameworks and policy directives, there is often limited autonomy for schools, where personalisation of plans, such as policies, are permitted but within the confines of stipulated guidance. This returns me to the notion of the invisible gaze which educational bureaucracy instils, "the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its activity" (Foucault. 1977, p.201). That said, Deweyan theory asserts not to feel disenchanted by considering limited power at a macro level, but instead to view the emergence of democratic practice in any form, such as the practices in which Cara describes, as a 'flowering' of a more equitable and hopeful educational practice (Dewey, 1903). Like Bandura, Dewey (1903) signifies environment and culture as influential in the development of democratic character (Sprague Martinez et al., 2020), and that resilience and ongoing participation is necessary for positive change. The consultation of all roles within a school is a good starting point in the route to democracy, where capturing staff voice can be a further layer to its promotion. This also resonates with expansive learning theory (Engeström & Sannino, 2010), where through collective agency, for subjects, or school staff in the case of my research, the "capacity to change the world and their own behaviour, becomes a central focus", (Grant & Kajee, 2020, p.364).

Collective policy and decision making might mean that staff feel a sense of ownership to advocate and apply the practice agreed upon -

> ***"Cause everybody knows that we vocalise praise in this school. Like, it works because everybody knows", (Cara).***

Cara describes the importance of praise being prominent and vocalised in practice, and how this is effective as the whole school community engage in it, 'it works because everybody knows'. Current practice in education upholds power and control through disciplinary power, surveillance, training, and exclusion (Foucault, 1977), where rules and boundaries are abided by in a bid to avoid being subjected to isolation, exclusion or removal of privileges. This results in discipline and control reserving the loudest voice. This is in opposition to Cara's comment, where the loudest voice is praise, which she notes is collectively adopted by staff throughout Pinewood Primary.

The emphasis from Cara on vocalising praise might signify the importance of creating an ethos within Pinewood Primary that prioritises such an approach. In relation to expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001), the prioritising of 'vocalising praise' may be practice that resonates from problematising typical behaviour management processes that focus more on punitive measures. A point I consider here is what is deemed worthy of praise according to Cara and the school community. This is an alternative to thinking about what is worthy of discipline and considering the role of moral judgements in framing behaviour (Adams & Millie, 2021). Ingrained beliefs and social norms can shape how behaviour is judged and subsequently, certain behaviours are then reinforced when they are seen as acceptable or appropriate (Silger & Aamidor, 2005). In schools, behaviour and academic progress or success are linked

(Markelz et al., 2019), which explains the focus on behaviour management at policy level, such as the creation of documentation like the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a). While there are many ways in which behaviour can be managed in a bid to promote or encourage certain behaviours, Pinewood Primary appears to align to behaviour specific praise where its function, as Cara describes, is to prioritise and label observations of behaviour that is deemed as positive, and communicate this acknowledgement to children, to 'vocalise praise', in a bid to increase the likelihood of re-enacting the behaviour as a result (Markelz et al., 2019; Ennis et al., 2019).

However, the definition of behaviour specific praise being a strategy to support behaviour change challenges the intent of the practice. In trauma informed practice, whilst praise is used to highlight to children what is seen as acceptable practice in school, the intent must consider the benefits for the child rather than being used as tokenistic (Dweck, 2017) and a means to getting children to behave, something Manning and Bucher (2001) define as appreciative praise or evaluative praise. In my view, using praise must align to trauma informed practices where the praise given is genuine and specific, and children are abundantly clear on why they are being praised, as it will support their awareness of what behaviour efforts are being acknowledged and in turn boost their confidence and wellbeing.

Sigler and Aamidor (2005) point out the need for praise to be authentic, where there requires respect and relationships between those giving praise and those receiving it. Thomassin et al. (2020) explore this notion of respect and relationships further through their description of symbolic interactionism and how meanings are drawn from the relationships held with others, either verbally or non-verbally. Cara's comment is a snapshot of practice described by one staff member; therefore it is impossible to assertively convey the role of symbolic interactionism in this instant. Another interesting observation is Cara's claim that it works because everybody knows that praise is vocalised. When I unpick 'vocalising praise' further and note its resonation with behaviour specific praise, I construe it as an act or practice that school staff consciously engage in. Again, in considering trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, the intent is not to suppose an alternative way of framing behaviour, but to develop a culture or ethos where the needs of the whole school community are considered, and a relational approach is collectively agreed. This leads me to consider the acceptance of school staff in 'vocalising praise', and the processes staff may undergo to collaboratively adopt such practice. Foucault (1988) explores the theory of technologies of the self and examines the importance of self-examination to enable reflection on the influence one has on their environment, and in Foucault's view, the processes which constitutes who we are. In considering transformational practice in education, the need for self-examination appears as a crucial function if a change in practice is to be both meaningful and long-lasting. Also, in relation to encouraging something such as 'vocalising praise' across a staff team, the need to support staff in this process is also important. For Pinewood Primary, the SEF (2023) states that leaders

and staff regularly receive training and support towards becoming a trauma informed school. This support and training is provided to school staff throughout the school year in twilight training sessions, reflective meetings and regular supervisions. This might explain why Cara comments that 'everybody knows' that praise is vocalised and that she believes it is beneficial and 'it works because everybody knows'.

Such empowerment and collaboration amongst the staff team demonstrates how different this is to more authoritative leadership styles in schools -

> ***"I think, in the past, teachers ruled solely by fear because that was the thing, that you just sat down, and you just shut up and children weren't given the chance to be themselves", (Maeve).***

Maeve describes a traditional authoritarian form of schooling where, children were educated via punitive disciplinary measures that involved obeying those in power, with little concern for their specific needs, where according to Maeve, 'you just sat down, and you shut up'. Maeve uses this reflection to demonstrate the impact that trauma informed practice has had on the school, and comments on how the ability for children 'to be themselves' has increased as a result. Maeve infers that the need for a child to behave was deemed as more important than them being expressive or 'the chance to be themselves'. Her description resonates with the Foucauldian analogy of docile bodies (Foucault, 1977), and how traditionally within education, those who abide by the routines and boundaries of school, are more likely to be seen as well-behaved and a 'good' student.

Maeve notes how self-expression or "being themselves" is limited when confined by strict practice which is controlled with zero-tolerance behaviour management. However, in schools this remains a widely accepted view of how a well behaved and attentive student is defined. The more that children adhere and behave, the more they are celebrated. These qualities, such as responding well to discipline are advocated in education policy (Department for Education, 2024a), which translate to what is seen as acceptable conduct in society, something Foucault terms as a form of biopower (Foucault, 1977). A child who conforms is seen as regulated and educated, who "does not question the traditions of the establishment but adapts himself of herself according to the established norms", (Po Tao, 2010, p.17;18). Such an attitude to understanding children's behaviour oversimplifies the complexities of the unique needs of children, such as vulnerabilities linked to adversity or trauma. Foucault (1977) warns of the perilous nature of disciplinary procedures, such as the one described by Maeve, as it reduces human agency, increases homogeneity, and reproduces subjectivity. However, within education, children remain judged on what is deemed good behaviour. This is at odds with holistic pedagogy, where concern must be given to expressiveness and individuality, in 'being given the chance to be themselves'. This may be the case in some school settings, such as Pinewood Primary, but this is not consistent practice.

To further evidence how trauma informed practice is different to her previous experiences, Hayley reflects upon her views of punitive behaviour management strategies -

> ***"I always used to hate the cloud system. Yes, and I hated it, and I used to think, just imagine being an adult on the black cloud, your boss put you on it and every single person in your workplace saw it…I'd be mortified!", (Hayley).***

Hayley is referring to a behaviour management system used in schools which is essentially a naming and shaming process. The idea is that placing the child's name or photo on the wall, on a specific judgement of behaviour, discourages further 'poor' behaviour. The system takes many forms, such as the one described above, where the children's names are subjected to a cloud system; the cloud with the sun emerging from it is where children with exemplary behaviour are positioned, the cloud without the sun is where children who are considered as behaving acceptably are placed; and the dark cloud with rain coming from it is where children who are not behaving are banished to, usually children who have broken a rule or acted outside of the accepted boundaries. This is not a new concept, although it can take many creative variations, and is a common behaviour management practice in schools, particularly in early years and primary education (Blachly & Dean, 2019). However, when unpicking the practice and seeking to find research to support, it is acutely limited, which lends the question which Dix (2017) poses, "where is the research study showing that this is an effective way of managing behaviour?" (p.21).

Hayley uses the cloud system to exemplify and question (Engeström, 1987) some of the punitive practices that are used to manage behaviour in schools, and links the feeling of being 'mortified,' if such a strategy was used on adults in the workplace. Her use of such terminology resonates with shame and how it can be used to reinforce desired behaviours, for example, putting children on the dark cloud because they arrived at school late or forgot to do their homework; where placing the child on the cloud is to essentially shame them into refraining from arriving late to school or forgetting their homework in future. The comment identifies an awareness on the part of Hayley, which is in contrast to a typically behaviourist view in education, where procedures to manage behaviour are hierarchical and intended for control and conformity (Foucault, 1977). Instead, Hayley is putting herself in the position of the child and internalising the feelings she might evoke should she be in that position, a perceived act of empathy (Malti et al., 2016).

Hayley emphasises the reaction to being subjected to such behaviour management practice, something that can be evoked by feelings of shame or 'mortified'. Elison et al. (2006) examine the concept of shame and describe it as a catalyst to how one copes with or retaliates against such a feeling. As a result of the shame response, an individual can react by modelling all or some of the characteristics in Nathanson's (1992) compass of shame (Appendix 3). Characteristics which, on observation, are not dissimilar to

Cannons (1915) fight, flight, freeze response. When applying the approach that Hayley identifies to vulnerable children in particular, this may, as a result of childhood adversity, increase their likelihood to be more vulnerable to shame and of displaying the coping responses to it. A further point is the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of practices such as the cloud system for all children, not just those who may be classed as vulnerable, as Dix (2017) cites –

> Some children never leave their position in the sun. For them the behaviour game is utterly pointless. They are effortlessly positioned at the top of the classroom behaviour rankings. They couldn't be more detached from the chaos that goes beneath them (Dix, 2017, p.21).

Hayley's reflection on being 'mortified' might suggest 'attacking self' as a link to the compass of shame (Nathanson, 1992; Appendix 3), however, Nathanson adds that one aspect is not usually where coping reactions to shame stops but can be a precursor for more shame induced behaviours. Returning to my earlier example of a child being placed on the dark cloud due to coming late to school, this may lead to feelings of embarrassment and anger with oneself; where accepted norms of conduct are reproduced through symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), that marginalises and discriminates. This might lead to the child internalising feelings of shame and displacement, and detaching themselves from the teacher and class, feeling unsupported and retaliating through attacking others as a result. A further layer to consider might be the vulnerabilities of the child even before considering this instance, for example, maybe the child was late to school because of adversity in the home, which means that the child does not have support from key people in their lives, which makes it difficult for them to get to school on time. The shame coping styles may be pronounced and fast moving in this instance (Elison et al., 2006; Bafunno & Camodeca, 2017).

A further concern associated with using shame-based behaviour management, such as the one described by Hayley, is that shame-proneness has been evidenced as a risk factor for later deviant behaviour. Stuewig et al. (2015) define shame as painful self-failure, and comment on the cumulative effect of shame which can be increased by initial experiences of disadvantage, such as adversity in childhood, and can snowball into further adversities, such as academic failure or issues with conduct behaviour, throughout childhood. Much of these findings correlate with research on the school-to-prison-pipeline (Appendix 4), where children who experience adversity, such as trauma or deprivation, are more likely to face criminality or imprisonment in later youth or adulthood (Office for National Statistics, 2023).

Returning to Hayley denoting a potential feeling of 'mortified' if she was subjected to behaviour management techniques, like the cloud system in her workplace, indicates how the overarching response to being disciplined in this way is the feeling of shame. From a behaviourist perspective and in consideration of current behaviour management policy, such as the Behaviour in School document

(Department for Education, 2024a), the use of approaches that seek desired behaviours through rewards and punishments are accepted educational practice. This is a distinct change from the past, where prior to the Education Act (1986), corporal punishment was an advised behaviour management technique in schools, which means disciplinary measures have now evolved into another form of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977), prioritising non-physical conditioning, control and exclusion. It is positive to see that physical force is an outlawed practice, but I remain concerned about the potential harm of shame and the coping mechanisms associated with it, where the risks associated with this form of behaviour management must be further considered. Goodman and Cook (2019) labour this point further by exploring if shaming behaviour management techniques are actually in violation of children's fundamental human rights.

A further point is why school staff might be complicit in shame-based practices in education. Monroe (2008) investigates the use of shame-based behaviour techniques in schools and posits that often school staff are unaware of the impact of their words and actions, and the longstanding sense of shame for children. I anticipate that a lack of awareness will be linked to a lack of training, and so a lack of understanding of why children might be perceived as challenging and disruptive in the first place. Nash et al. (2015) support this claim as their research found that when teachers were offered an opportunity to enhance their understanding of the factors that might influence challenging behaviour, they are much better placed to "create mechanisms…that are predominantly proactive instead of reactive", (p.176).

The fact that Hayley identifies the cloud system approach as something that would be deemed unlikely to happen in an adult context, indicates a power imbalance, where children are being subjected to practices where the staff member is the one in power and in control of how behaviour is measured within the classroom. The function of school is important in making sense of the position of power and control within it, if the key focus is to support the development of global citizens, or 'apprentices to adulthood', (Goodman & Cook, 2019) then power and control must be a shared process and does not belong to one person or group. Curwin (2018) describes the need to remove the notion of 'managed', when discussing behaviour in schools and instead focusing on the promotion of autonomy and self-direction to allow for a more authentic understanding of positive behaviour, with one such approach being restorative practice (Gomez et al., 2021). Returning to my example of a child being subjected to the dark rainy cloud because they were late for school, restorative approaches might, instead of immediately subjecting the child to the shame of the cloud system, allow the child and the staff member to explore why the child was late for school and to explore ways in which to avoid this happening again.

Adopting trauma informed practice is not an overnight accomplishment but rather something that requires change at many levels, with one crucial factor being buy-in from school staff -

"Some people really don't like that, especially if they see themselves as authority. Yeah, some teachers, like the vast majority when I first started in my role, there was more teachers that were like, you're just a jumped-up TA (Teaching Assistant) with a bit of training, and you know nothing, but its knowing that it can be anybody, it doesn't matter who it is", (Maeve).

Maeve, a teaching assistant, is alluding to the changing discourse of hierarchical power within Pinewood Primary. Before the new leadership team was in place, and subsequently the adoption of trauma informed practice, Maeve indicates that there were clear hierarchical roles in the school, where she believes teaching assistants were not held in as high regard as leaders and teaching staff.

The comment signifies the process of change and the layers that are involved in transformative practice. Often, institutional change begins with an adaptation or creation of policy in response to statutory guidance, where staff are then directed to comply and adapt practice to align to the latest direction (Holmes et al., 2013). Cheng (2022) notes that schools with greater autonomy are more likely to adapt well to change. It might be apparent from Maeve's comment that the empowerment that she has felt in her role as a teaching assistant, since Pinewood Primary adopted a trauma informed approach, has helped her to accept and support the changes. Brunzell et al. (2021) state the need for settings to deconstruct and examine engrained beliefs when seeking to become trauma informed, in Maeve's instance that may have been teaching assistants being held in the same regard as teachers (Dunne et al., 2008; Neaum & Noble, 2023). Often, it is not just the culture of the school but also the mindset of staff and their belief on what is deemed right and proper practice. Foucault explores this concept through his writings on normalising judgement (Foucault, 1999), and how individuals may struggle to consider an alternative view as it opposes their ingrained beliefs or "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p.131), such as teachers being objects of power. To relinquish control may not be an easy task for teachers who have used authority and power as the seedbed of their practice.

While Maeve may exemplify a positive move towards a more equal power balance within Pinewood Primary, this practice does not negate the power obsessed society in which schools exist. However, as Bourdieu (1973) posits, schools play a key role in social reproduction and change however small, is progress, as, "the educational system fulfils a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the 'social order'", (p.84). Returning to Maeve, where she states that, 'it's knowing that it can be anybody, it doesn't matter who it is', the point reinforces the often lack of concern for role or profession that children have when they seek out support (McGrath & Van Bergen, 2015). These perceptions challenge practice, where often the class teacher or pastoral staff member is assumed to be the person that deals with the personal, social and emotional needs of children. In relation to Pinewood Primary, Maeve's comment further evidences the school motto, 'every child deserves a champion' (SEF, 2023), and staff discuss how children choose 'their person', where it is at the child's discretion who that

person is. In schools, this is more likely to be someone children believe they can trust. Acknowledging the needs of vulnerable children in education resonates with equity in education, where supporting children might include responding to social and emotional needs. Sullivan et al. (2013) emphasise the need for educators to be conscious of delivering an equitable learning environment. Allowing children the agency to source out 'their person', 'it can be anybody, it doesn't matter who it is', rather than having this arranged at organisational level, permits children to feel a shared approach to meeting their needs, rather than an "us versus them" attitude, which is more likened to punitive practices (Kline, 2016, p.101).

In further considering Maeve's comment 'you're just a jumped-up TA (Teaching Assistant)' and how different roles are viewed in schools, not just by children but within a staff team, legitimising who has more power to discipline or sanction again can be construed as a form of symbolic violence. Bourdieu and Passeron (1996) discuss the influence school has in reinforcing social hierarchies and defines teachers as "specialised agents" (p.57) in creating spaces that can both advocate for and diminish accepted practice and attitudes. McGillicuddy and Devine (2018) examine social reproduction between children in schools, but on reflection the same applies to the staff team where "fixing positions" (p.89) can influence how staff members perceive themselves and how they are viewed by others in school. This resonates with Maeve's comment, where she infers that the distribution of power has permitted more mutual respect across school staff.

Maeve discusses the need to seek to better understand children in a bid to support them to understand and regulate their behaviour -

> ***"Let's look for that little exception. Because if somebody says oh, they are terrible all the time except when they go to football. So, what's happening at football training? Let's look at that tiny exception", (Maeve).***

Maeve is referring to discussions that she had with parents regarding children's behaviour. Aswell as being a teaching assistant, Maeve is also trained as an ELSA, where part of her role involves working with families to better foster relationships between home and school (ELSA support, 2023). Maeve discusses the importance of getting to know the child and how useful this can be in understanding their behaviour. Her discussion began by describing how she often works with distressed parents who feel unable to cope with their children's challenging behaviour, and how, in these instances, she encourages parents to seek out that 'little exception' and to observe through, "actual empirical analysis", (Engeström, 2001, p.152) the factors that might be helping their children to be regulated in that instance. The intent of this intervention is to identify if these factors could be used to support further regulation for the child, and as a result positive behaviour in other spheres, such as at home and in school.

One striking aspect in Maeve's comment is the child-centred approach that she takes in her attempt to support positive behaviour. Her observation of exploring 'what happens at football', indicates a willingness to observe favourable environments for the child and to use this as a seedbed for future support. Maeve's comment leads to a consideration of 'place' for children and how different contexts impact on how a child feels and as a result, behaves. Post pandemic, the National Education Union (2020) commissioned research into the value of place and belonging in schools and found that 1 in 4 young people feel like they do not belong in school, and children from disadvantaged communities are twice as likely as their more affluent peers to feel like they do not belong. Proshansky with Fabian (1987) examined how people are subjected to, "physical, biological, social and cultural characteristic," (p.21) patterns that change over time. This leads to the interrogation of the ways in which a child can derive meaning and purpose from their physical environments, and how physical settings are unintentionally shaped by the needs of children. Proshansky and Fabian (1987) posits that place identity involves conscious and unconscious cognitions of the physical environment that contribute or "serve to define who the person is" (p.22). In referring to Maeve's comment, the notion that the child's behaviour is more positive when at football, offers opportunity to explore the meaning of place for a child.

Bugden and Stedman (2019) examined the relationships between place identity and place related behaviours and posit that there will inevitably be a relationship between a person's sense of place which influence's identity, attachment, and dependence, and subsequently how they behave within it as a result. Dang and Weiss (2021) describe how place identity is influenced by emotions such as familiarity, and a sense of safety and belonging. They hypothesise that if a person has a positive attachment with a place, they are more likely to behave in an "environmentally conscious" manner (p.1). In considering Maeve's comment, I infer that the child identifies with football training as a place where they feel safe, valued, and a sense of belonging.

In helping parents and school staff to observe children's behaviour in different contexts, I posit that Maeve is advocating for an intervention that is rooted in social learning and behavioural theory (Westwood et al., 2021). This approach invites others to observe the complex world of the child and their behaviours in different contexts. This permeates child-centred practice and as such aligns to trauma informed practice and the importance of gaining insight of the child, to inform next steps in supporting them (Hobbs et al., 2019).

Hayley describes how through ongoing research within the school, she feels that staff are equipped to meet the unique needs of the children they work with -

> ***"Like we're as a staff, constantly evolving, looking at different research and thinking about our actual cohort of children as a school. What do they need right now? What are they coming up like? So, what are the two's looking like, we've got a baby group, what are the babies like? Are***

these children being impacted by things going on? **Yeah, we do a lot of research and look at research all the time. So, we're probably in a school that's more influenced by our own research that we do, rather than what we learned when we were doing teacher training, or whatever", (Hayley).**

Hayley infers an approach in the school where they use research to inform practice, such as considering different age phases of children, and their experiences to inform future planning. It appears that school staff seek out trends to inform pedagogical practice within their cohorts and use research to inform next steps.

Research informed practice may appear an obvious approach when teaching and learning within education, however, the practicalities of applying research informed practice, or indeed conducting research, appears to be a barrier to its implementation. Ostinelli (2016) refers to educational research as key to knowledge mobilisation in education, but barriers arise that infiltrate the dissemination of research into educational practice, such as government, funding councils and local authorities. In fact, a need for more informed educational research has been at the centre of political debate for many years (Flynn, 2019), where currently research to inform and evidence future practice can be cherry picked to align with the vision of those in power. Nelson and Campbell (2017) note that educators have challenged the potential biased dissemination of research through agendas such as the teacher led Research Ed movement and the Chartered College of teaching. These agendas advocate for research informed practice in education, but that it is adapted and critiqued on a case by case, or school by school, basis to ensure its meaningful implementation. Ostinelli (2016) notes how policy changes often derive from research findings which are first applied to a small number of pilot schools, then, if successful, rolled out to the masses. Roberts (2015) challenges this and warns that this can be construed as impractical research which, without firm foundations, is unlikely to be beneficial for every setting. This one-size fits all approach is in stark contrast to expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987), where pre-existing and new knowledge, such as the ongoing research activity described by Hayley, is synthesised to modify, improve and consolidate effective practice (Robertson, 2014).

Hayley indicates confidence in research informed practice within Pinewood Primary, where they use inside knowledge of their school community and their surrounding environment to plan teaching and learning that supports observed need. Flynn (2019) describes such an approach as communal constructivism, which is where, "understanding is enriched by the process of joint exploration and discovery…. (and) is more likely to survive and act as a fund for the building of understanding within and across learning communities", (p.65). As discussed earlier, staff at Pinewood Primary are provided with 'research days', where they are given time to conduct research in areas of interest (SEF, 2023), in the

premise that they will then share findings with the wider staff team. These research themes often derive from observed need, for example, strategies for managing behaviour that do not involve sanctions.

While the impact of research informed practice on teaching and learning has been considered, a further point is the effect such practice might have on school staff. As discussed, staff retention continues to be a growing issue within education, with stress and burnout noted as key components (Bingham et al., 2021). Guha et al. (2016) note that recruitment and retention is even more challenging in schools serving vulnerable populations due to higher levels of need and the unpreparedness of staff. This can result in the most vulnerable school communities experiencing a "revolving door of teachers", (p.1) where opportunities for relation and connection are limited. Darling-Hammond et al. (2018) suggest that effective, research informed practices, promote an innovative pedagogy, where the healthy growth of the school community is considered, but this practice must be informed and accepted by all stakeholders, and within policy and practice. When considering an innovative or transformative pedagogical style (Freire, 1970), the need for trust is imperative (Galloway, 2012). When research liberates an informed and relational pedagogy that is meaningful to the needs of the school community, a sense of connection and ownership can increase.

De Bie and der Klink (2010) advocate for education staff to actively contribute to the evidence base of teaching practice but warn that barriers can obstruct the notion of teachers being research active professionals, such as the allocation of time and priority given to research at government level. Hayley infers that leaders at Pinewood Primary have proactively taken the decision to include research opportunities within the school. It is interesting to consider why, when there is evidence that supports the benefits of research informed practice, that this has not been strategized into educational policy and practice, and why directives are still ratified based on their success in small pilot studies. A possible reason may be the complexities individuation might present bureaucratically, in terms of measuring success and indeed controlling educational practice. This returns my reflections to Foucault's (1977) notion of governmentality and how bureaucracy exerts control and subsequently retains power. Research informed practice at school level might strengthen innovative and transformative practice through expansive learning (Engeström 1987;2001) and threaten the reign of power.

Whilst such examples exemplify how trauma informed practice might help children who are classed as vulnerable, Aisha comments that she believes it benefits all children, regardless of their needs -

> ***"It's like this girl in my class, she's so, you know, emotionally intelligent, and like, you've got another child, like J, who is struggling so much, like, he doesn't have the support at home like she does. But those two children use all the trauma informed things that we put in place in exactly the same way. And I think that that just shows. Like, she uses the exact same strategies as we teach J to be ready to learn. And I think that just shows that you can have two***

completely different ends of the spectrum and two completely different homelives, but they use the same tools"., (Aisha).

Aisha is discussing practices in Pinewood Primary that support children with learning to regulate their emotions and feelings, which contribute to behaviour that is seen as positive. Aisha reflects on how trauma informed practices are not just for children who have or continue to experience adversity or trauma in their lives, but rather how the approaches are useful for all children, regardless of their background or homelives. She draws comparisons with two children in her class, one of a girl who she describes as 'emotionally intelligent' and alludes to her having support at home and a positive homelife, the other of a boy who is 'struggling so much' and 'doesn't have the support at home'. Aisha uses these children to demonstrate that, regardless of the different experiences in their lives, both engage in the 'exact same strategies' in school to help them to feel calm and ready to learn.

Such reflections help to demystify the belief that trauma informed practice is only for individuals who have or continue to have experiences of trauma or adversity. Sweeney and Taggart (2018) explore common misconceptions with trauma informed practice and cite one that incorrectly states that patrons of the approach must have had an experience of trauma. This is untrue, where instead such empathetic and relational practice can enhance any setting or institution it is applied to, and therefore anyone involved within it will benefit, regardless of their background. Phifer and Hull (2016) assert the school-wide benefits of adopting a trauma informed lens. These findings evidence Aisha's claim, where through support in developing trauma informed practices, she has applied strategies that support all children. A further misconception observed by Sweeney and Taggart (2018) is that trauma informed practice is 'treatment', this is again untrue and separates trauma informed practice from trauma specific services. Indeed, trauma informed practice, for example in a school like Pinewood Primary, through effective leadership and support, school staff should have a sound knowledge of identifying specific need and how to signpost and support those who require it to the correct specialist services.

A further point is to refrain from making assumptions about who has experienced trauma and adversity in their lives and who has not. Maynard et al. (2019) estimate that one in every four children in schools will have had some exposure to adversity in their lives, but this does not mean that school staff or indeed the child will be aware of it and subsequently the impact that this might have on their learning and development. Aisha describes one child as having experiences of adversity and one as not, however this may be an assumption made due to observations of the children's characteristics and homelives. However, the child's background does not mean that differential support is provided, as Aisha notes that a school-wide trauma informed approach is embedded where an effective systematic model (Maynard et al., 2019) is in place. However, in a more typically behaviourist school, interventions may be put in place for children who are knowingly experiencing adversity in their lives, possibly more trauma specific

support. This is of course excellent practice and beneficial to the child, but such practice relies on knowledge of the child's needs. For children who do not characterise vulnerability such as a fight, flight freeze response for example (Cannon, 1915), the opportunity to have a trauma informed approach is lessened, whereas if this is school-wide practice, all children and indeed the school community, can benefit. Indeed, as Maynard et al. (2019) note, not every child who has experiences of adversity or trauma needs specific targeted support, take for example Aisha's comment, which further evidences the suitability of a trauma informed culture within schools. "Schools represent an opportune system for prevention and early intervention across domains related to child success", (Chafouleas et al., 2016, p.144). The underlying aim of trauma informed practice is the applicability of the approach to all people facing services, with school being a central focus for children and young people (Culshaw & Bodfield, 2024), where specialist interventions are inputted when required, but common practice is centred upon restoration and reparation. Aisha's comment might signify how such an approach can work in practice.

The findings from the interview implies that Aisha has bought into and nurtured a trauma informed philosophy within the school, this is also evident in the comments from the other interview participants, such as Aisha, Maeve and Sam, and it is interesting how their commitment to the approach appears to be borne from effective leadership and support within the school rather than outside of it, such as through government guidance –

> ***"I 100% follow my school and their guidance and they know what they are talking about. I'll end up getting really political here!", (Sam).***

Sam indicates an allegiance to the school and its practices and a possible disillusion with external directives and guidance, 'I'll end up getting really political here!'. It is an interesting comment and unsurprising given the trauma informed approach that the school identifies with. My research has identified how Pinewood Primary uses alternative ways to understand their community and the needs of the children and families, such as how behaviour is supported. Sam's comment draws light on the type of character staff may have or indeed require, to survive within such an institution.

Sam infers a full commitment to the practices and processes of the school, which might indicate an awareness of the distinctiveness of the school in relation to others. Foucault's subjectification and power (1983) are considered here, where Sam's allegiance to the school might indicate a willingness to refrain from or challenge the "oppressive dimensions and effects" (Cooper, 2008, p.675) of dominance. Sam refers to her school and 'their guidance' as they 'know what they are talking about', insinuating an acceptance and belief in the school ethos and culture. In relation to Pinewood Primary and their position in terms of having higher levels of need due to its context and demographics (SEF, 2023), the decision by

school leaders and subsequently school staff, to adopt and follow their own processes, where possible, may be a response to feeling othered or outside of the accepted habitus of educational practice. Sam's comment and the perceived intent of Pinewood Primary striving towards exploring alternative ways to support children and their families, for example in the area of promoting positive behaviour, might be a conscious or unconscious attempt to derail 'accepted practice' and to create and apply practice that is meaningful to the current needs of the school. It may be an attempt to reject docility and conformity and to instead fight to preserve free will and independent thinking (Foucault, 1977), a heterotopia (1967) amongst suppression and dominance for both children and school staff.

A counterargument might be the potential of institutionalisation in the context of Sam's comment, whereby offering alternative approaches, such as how behaviour is supported or managed, might lead to institutionalisation, where subjects might identify with the practices and procedures of the school, and as a result reject or fail to align to practices outside of it (Cooper, 2008). Indeed, Ball and Collet-Sabe (2022) challenge the conception that school is a site of equity and describe it as a cyclical process that reproduces subjugation and normalisation, despite the debates and perceived movements in school reform, a theory which might align schools more closely to the outside world. I query if providing an alternative 'sanctuary' of practice within one school, such as in Sam's comment, promotes equity on a micro level without harming those involved and their potential to exist on a macro level. Sam's comment might offer a glimmer of resistance (Foucault, 1991; Deacon & Parker, 1995; Butin,2001; Ralph, 2023)to such systemic agendas beyond her school where educational ideologies are questioned.

The interview findings suggest that the collective resolve of the staff team supports a trauma informed philosophy, something that Aisha states that other schools are beginning to take interest in also -

> ***"We were on a zoom call with another school, and they were asking at what point do they put mental health and wellbeing into the curriculum. It should be in everything we do, it can't be just a taught lesson. And I think that's where some schools go wrong. It's like, oh it should be in PSHE lesson that's taught once a week. But then where are they getting the chance to practice those things?", (Aisha).***

Aisha is discussing how, particularly since they received an Ofsted rating of 'Good' (Ofsted, 2022), Pinewood Primary is regularly approached by schools to discuss their trauma informed philosophy. Aisha noted that during an online meeting with another school, she was explaining care and consideration for mental health and wellbeing as a key approach to being trauma informed. Aisha uses the school's response of asking when to input mental health and wellbeing into the curriculum, as an example of how fragmented aspects such as mental health and wellbeing can be seen in education, where Aisha challenges that it should be emersed within all aspects of the curriculum, rather than a taught session.

A point for consideration is how the theme of mental health and wellbeing is perceived in schools. Sherman et al. (2015) use Bowlbyan theory to highlight the interconnectedness between mental health and wellbeing and secure relationships with key people. In the case of vulnerable children, the link extends further with studies evidencing the connection between trauma and adversity and mental health conditions, where 1 in 3 mental health conditions in adulthood are known to directly relate to adverse childhood experiences (Young Minds, 2020), and 1 in 10 children under 10 have an identifiable mental health condition (Mentally Healthy Schools, 2024). Such stark statistics would assume an immediate investigation into how well-equipped schools are at supporting the health and wellbeing of pupils, although the embedding of such practice remains unclear and disparate (Greene, 2018), which Aisha also alludes to.

Donisch et al. (2016) examine services that aim to improve outcomes for children who have been exposed to adversity or trauma in their lives, and identified variations on how staff were taught skills and strategies on how to support service users. This can be seen in Aisha's comment, where the variations of knowledge on mental health and wellbeing between schools is apparent. Leaders and staff at Pinewood Primary have engaged in practices that resonate with expansive learning (Engeström, 1987) through further training and collective knowledge building to develop a trauma informed approach, development which goes beyond policy guidance such as that mentioned above. This leads me to question why Pinewood Primary have managed to integrate such practices when they face the same external demands as other schools, such as the school Aisha refers to. Giles-Kaye et al. (2023) acknowledges schools are a well-placed setting for the provision of mental health and wellbeing support for children, but notes that this responsibility might not be welcomed by every school, due to concerns around the complexity of the role, "due to a lack of resources, overwhelming demands, and inadequate training", (p.1281). Kratt (2017) and Yamaguchi et al. (2020) state that teacher's professional ability and resources available are being overwhelmed with children's ever increasing mental health and wellbeing needs. Effective school-based mental health promotion requires a multidimensional approach (Lahti et al., 2023). Returning to Pinewood Primary, their commitment to research days and training staff on mental health and wellbeing needs to support their trauma informed philosophy, might indicate a commitment to a collaborative, school-wide pedagogy (O'Reilly et al., 2018). Lahti et al. (2023) also cite the need to support the mental health and wellbeing of school staff as well as the children and families they work with, however this might be compromised due to the time-poor construct of schools due to ever-increasing curricula and performance management demands, this might explain why for some schools, such as the school Aisha refers to, might fail to incorporate mental health and wellbeing throughout educational practice, and instead seek to ascertain its 'bureaucratic value' through planning and a quest to find 'hard evidence' of its application similar to core curriculum subjects.

Lahti et al. (2023) propose that seeking to promote mental health and wellbeing in schools should return to basic everyday skills such as prioritising positive relationships with children and their families, followed by ongoing guidance on self-care and stress-management, in helping to promote self-understanding and in turn self-regulation. From here, staff pedagogical skills, such as understanding characteristics that might indicate mental health or wellbeing needs and an awareness of where to signpost for support, will help to establish a more collective view of the mental health continuum, and recognising and attending to one's wellbeing as an ongoing aspect of growth and development.

While it is positive to see more schools taking interest in becoming trauma informed, Maeve reflects on the ambiguous nature of the term and how this can lead to inaccuracies in its understanding in practice -

> **"I go into training sometimes and they'll say, oh the loss of the parent, for example. My own daughter's dad died quite suddenly, and she has been supported at home, it's the unsupported trauma", (Maeve).**

Maeve is discussing the often-misinterpreted understanding of being trauma informed. Maeve comments that often trauma informed practice can be understood to apply only to children who have underwent an event or experience that is universally seen as traumatic, with the example of the loss of a parent being used as a reference. Sweeney and Taggart (2018) discuss the misconceptions associated with trauma informed practice and cite the belief that it applies only to individuals who have experienced trauma. It is without doubt that vulnerable children who have experienced ACEs have the support required, but it also important not to assume that they are the only children who require support, hence the benefits of working in a trauma informed way. Such understanding or indeed misunderstanding, emerges from a lack of knowledge, and it is not surprising if specific guidance and training on understanding both trauma and trauma informed practices is not provided. Maeve is relaying misconceptions, but her frame of reference may be somewhat different due to coming from a school where research and training towards being trauma informed appears to be embedded within the culture of the setting. Such exposure allows for a more embedded understanding of the practice and the benefits of trauma informed practice school-wide, something other schools may not have had experience of.

Maeve refers to the need to help children who have 'unsupported trauma'. Statistics indicate the commonality of adversity and trauma for children in schools, where almost 50% of children will have experiences of at least one form (Young Minds, 2021). For some children, their vulnerabilities might be evident in, for example, their characteristics, demographics or parenting (Fondren et al., 2022). In considering the effects of trauma and observing any characteristics within the child that might suggest they are vulnerable, the likelihood of addressing 'unsupported trauma' increases. Maeve uses her lived experience to challenge assumptions about vulnerability, where she emphasises the role of support or lack thereof in meeting the needs of children. This observation returns to the theory of attachment and

how adversity and trauma become more pervasive without a supportive buffer or 'good enough' caregiver (Winnicott, 1953). The lack of support in times of crisis or adversity create 'excessive stress' (Mate, 2019, p.29), which will impact on health, wellbeing, and behaviours. As Maeve notes, whilst her daughter has a lived experience of an event that falls within the ACEs categories, she feels that her daughters' needs were met through effective support at home, suggesting that due to this, the adverse effects of losing her father were reduced. Referring to 'unsupported trauma' might suggest children who have experienced adversity where they do not have support at home, or indeed the trauma derives from the home, and where school or the 'brick parent' (Treisman, 2016) takes even more prominence as a place of security and restoration.

Returning to Maeve's inferred frustration with the lack of general knowledge on trauma informed practice, and in considering the more applied behaviourist style of managing behaviour in schools, it is understandable that children with 'unsupported trauma' might find themselves subjected to punitive behaviour management approaches. Without an understanding of the signs and characteristics that might suggest a child is vulnerable, school staff may resort quickly to sanctions and removals, as the act is seen as disruptive and intentional, rather than from a place of uncertainty and fear. Fabris et al. (2024) posit the critical role of school staff in identifying needs in children, but without adequate support and training it is unfair to suggest that this will naturally prevail, particularly within a bureaucratic educational practice where the need to reach targets and performance indicators is an ongoing pressure for schools.

The importance of not only acknowledgement of trauma and its effects, but also ongoing support in applying trauma informed practice for its successful implementation, is highlighted by Maeve -

> ***"I think it could work in any school if it was wanted enough. I think it's if it went to places where there wasn't enough people on board then it would fail because it needs the right people. Yeah, I do think if it's implemented the right way, everybody can do it" (Maeve).***

Maeve considers if trauma informed practice would work in any school. She highlights three main points to its successful application; the first being that trauma informed practice must be 'wanted enough' by the school community; secondly that it requires 'enough people on board', and finally the importance of it being 'implemented the right way', aspects which resonate with Engeström's cycle of expansive learning (Engeström, 2001), where collaboration is essential for the consolidation of effective change (Tessier, 2022). These points relate to the need for effective leadership and staff buy-in to ensure a collective investment in becoming trauma informed. It also indicates the intensity of a shift in practice, where it involves a culture shift (Perry and Daniels, 2016) and transformation at every level. This is opposed to a policy change in school where one fragment of practice may need to change or be amended. The approach must be viewed as colossal and collective to ensure its success (Morrison & Vaandering, 2011; Anfara et al., 2013; Irby & Clough, 2015; McCluskey, 2018).

The importance of staff buy-in is well documented in trauma informed practice literature, for example, Perry and Daniels (2016) separate trauma informed practice from top-down policy directives by describing it as a "staff-focused service at the core of school transformation", (p.179). For effective change in schools, as mentioned by Maeve, staff must have belief in it and for this to be achieved a fundamental knowledge of the approach and the rationale must be provided. Wassink-de Stigter et al. (2022) describe becoming trauma informed as complex, challenging, and time-consuming, and posit that due to their being no concrete prescribed steps to its implementation, it can be difficult for schools to pinpoint the changes required. Such lack of clarity presents challenge but also invites settings to create practice that is unique to the needs of their school, rather than becoming bureaucratised with targets, audits and key performance indicators.

Courtney (2019) asserts the need for trauma informed practice to be co-created with school leaders and staff, where the efforts of staff are regularly recognised by leaders. My research indicated that co-creation and staff buy-in have been integral features in working towards Pinewood Primary becoming trauma informed. For example, staff involvement in policy development, trauma informed specific training, and regular progress reviews as a school team on the implementation of different practices that promote restoration and reparation.

Maeve's comment focuses on the collective importance of trauma informed practice where school-wide buy-in and implementation is seen by her as integral to its success. This might suggest the importance of a shared knowledge approach, where a fundamental understanding of the value and rationale of this practice might increase belief and willingness to make it work. This resonates with Foucault's power/knowledge concept and the interrelationship between both, where Foucault (1977) denotes how those in power hold knowledge that is considered as 'truth', where their dominance can decide accepted forms of knowledge and understanding. Maeve's apparent commitment to the change in practice might, like Sam's comment before, indicate a willingness to see guidance from leaders as 'truth', where she accepts their knowledge and understanding and subsequently re-enacts this in her practice.

When a change in practice is co-created and its implementation is authentically evaluated and reviewed amongst school staff, it suggests a change, or a willingness to impart at least some power beyond leaders. The "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980, p.131) still sit with those in power but maybe not as exclusively as they may within a more traditional hierarchical school setting. In considering Foucault's views that society requires both dominant and subservient categories to continue to exist as it does, such indication of an openness to share knowledge and subsequently power is a complex concept where leaders must be willing to recognise and value diverse perspectives, such as the impact of trauma and adversity on a child's ability to abide by punitive behaviour management practices in schools. If leaders, or indeed policymakers, further acknowledge that multiple narratives and viewpoints exist, the 'regimes of truth'

will shift towards a more inclusive, or in the case of Maeve's comment, a more trauma informed school culture.

Layla's concluding statement returns to the notion that with the right support and guidance, she believes that school staff will always elect to practice in a way that supports a trauma informed approach -

> ***"Like it's just understanding trauma informed practice. I don't know many people who would still choose another way if they've got the knowledge. Yeah, I think most people would choose that way. I don't know anyone that would think, 'I want to put a child in crisis'. And if you get that support from senior leaders around training and also support from your peers, you're much more likely to adopt it", (Layla).***

Layla discusses how, with training and knowledge, school staff would opt to engage in trauma informed practices. The comment depicts that Layla is in favour of such practice within schools, but throughout the statement she cites the importance of understanding, choice, knowledge, support, and training, to increase the likelihood of school staff adopting such practice. Layla infers an awareness of the processes involved in becoming trauma informed, where such a paradigm shift in practice involves buy-in from those who engage in it. She indicates the facets involved in changing practice to become trauma informed, which indicate that it is much more than a policy change or government directive.

Layla's emphasis on having senior leaders and peer support, where staff wellbeing becomes an integral part of the practice change, alongside relevant research and training, and support from leaders and peers, may mean that trauma informed practice is accepted and understood, and therefore 'more likely to adopt'. It appears that Layla perceives that, due to the supportive foundations from leaders and peers, trauma informed practices are normalised, where staff at Pinewood Primary are equipped to support children and their families. These feelings of security and support in practice are likely to enhance staff wellbeing. Venet (2017) examines staff burnout and saviour mentality in the teaching profession, where, possibly due to a lack of consistently applied trauma informed practice within a setting, staff members may feel overwhelming accountability, which can result in their own emotional and professional needs not being met. Foucauldian notions of care of the self-resonate here, where it is imperative that, according to Foucault, one must care for oneself to be ably equipped to care for others (Foucault, 1997).

Layla notes that nobody would intentionally 'put a child in crisis', and I affirm this belief that those who work in schools would be even less likely to wish to do so, but I query if, due to operations of power and control in schools, particularly regarding behaviour management functions, the need to retain control has resulted in some children being in crisis. Returning to Foucault's care of the self (1997), I question if children are given enough opportunity to focus on themselves, to prioritise their needs, for example regarding self-regulation skills, or is this capped by processes and permissions, where limitations allow

some structured time to learn about oneself, but within the confines of a time-poor bureaucratic system (Kilinç et al., 2016). Again, I do not suggest that schools are the instigator of stress for children, but perhaps the current processes on behaviour management might add to stress and crisis for some children and staff, particularly those who have experienced or continue to be subjected to adversity or trauma in their home lives.

On reflection of Layla's comment, I further question if the promotion of positive relationships and empathetic and relational practice is advocated enough in education. It appears that key policy, such as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), prioritise management and control beyond the latter listed qualities. Layla states that she doesn't 'know anyone' that would put a child in crisis, but does the systems in place to promote positive behaviour advocate for this? Indeed, the term 'behaviour management' already indicates a need to manage behaviour rather than to promote expressiveness and uniqueness. While human nature might be to be kind, policy should also promote this, such as emphasising that support from leaders and peers be central to practice, where a collaborative approach to help children thrive through restoration and reparation, is expressed in policy instead of the prominence of the rights and power of school staff to discipline. As Kline (2016) states, punitive approaches perpetuate an "us versus them" (p.101) attitude.

The criticality of school staff in creating trauma informed environments cannot be minimised (Brown et al., 2022). Therefore, they require support and guidance in their journey towards becoming trauma informed to understand their role within it, but also as part of the movement. A shift in practice is a prolonged transition which is ever evolving to meet the changing needs of a school, staff and children alike. Wall (2021) denotes one fundamental shift being 'relationship over reproach' (p.118), where consideration of responses in the moment, particularly when dealing with challenging behaviour, can be the seedbed to developing effective relationships with all children. Training on understanding why adversity or trauma might impact on a child's ability to listen, concentrate, regulate or conform, alongside ongoing guidance and support, will enable school staff to better understand children's actions. As Kim et al. (2021a) states, "trauma informed training provides foundational information that creates a new outlook on student misbehaviour", (p.56). As Layla suggests, with knowledge and understanding of the impact of trauma and adversity on learning, and with support from leaders and crucially policy drivers, individuals are more likely to wish to engage in practice that considers such factors.

Conclusion

The findings exemplify the prominence of leadership and support across the interviews, and the variety of ways in which they are exercised by and with leaders, staff, children, and families. The headteachers apparent concern for staff identity and her advocation for celebrating individuality appears to traverse across Pinewood Primary, where examples of support in different forms have become an embedded part

of the school ethos. Indeed, a critical lens can be applied here, where Foucault's notion of moral orthopedics might inscribe a regime of collective resolve that resonates with the values and beliefs of those in power, where to be accepted you must be in favour of the habitus of the setting. Some of the staff comments might suggest just that, where they state their allegiance to Pinewood Primary beyond any external guidance, and their observations of positive practice, since the inception of trauma informed practice, have led them to believe in its value for themselves and the children and families that they work with. I argue that regardless of the beliefs or values school staff adhere to, within current educational practice, they will be subjected to some form of power and influence, so why not bare allegiance to something they have a genuine belief in rather than reproducing practices, such as punitive shame-based behaviour management strategies, which are preserved as the most dominant practices due to what appears to be legitimising myths. Leaders and staff that lay concern with expressiveness and individuality will promote a holistic pedagogy, which will challenge ingrained regimes of truth, but without such challenge transformative practice will not arise.

The interview comments exemplify changes in practice that remain within the confines of regulation and guidelines, indicating that leaders of any school have the ability to mirror such practice. However, current guidance does not explicitly advocate for the need for connection, relationships, and the prioritisation of children having the ability to examine and understand their emotions and behaviours, guidance instead focuses upon how to manage behaviour and the steps to take when wrongdoing occurs. Transformative leaders may have the confidence and ability to do something different, such as developing a trauma informed approach, but others might choose to play it safe, to stick to the status quo, what they perceive the guidance to imply.

8.3 Theme 3. Parent/Carer Partnerships

The role of parents/carers has long been established as the child's primary source of modelling in relation to morals, cultures, and beliefs (Ceka & Murati, 2016). Children's initial experiences of the world will more often than not be shaped by their parents and carried throughout their lives. The role of the parent as a key influence on children's education and development was highlighted in the Elton Report (Department for Education and Science, 1989) and the term "socially responsible parenting", (p.134) was used to explain the holistic impact and guidance children seek from their primary carers. As noted, this assumption of qualities or skills which define 'socially responsible parents' is ambiguous and whilst some parents will have the luxury of having experienced positive parenting to model their own parenting upon, many will have not. The likelihood of having negative parenting experiences increases with exposure to adverse experiences in childhood, such as living in poverty (Young Minds, 2021). Therefore, the likelihood increases in areas of deprivation such as where Pinewood Primary is located.

When considering the influence of trauma informed practice, my intent was to identify if such practice helped children to thrive throughout their lives (Champion et al., 2022). Therefore, consideration of how this practice can support children and their families beyond Pinewood Primary required examination. School staff highlighted the central role of parents within their practice, particularly when discussing how effective they felt trauma informed practice was in supporting behaviour beyond the school walls. The need for not only understanding, but also empathy was emphasised by every interviewee. The responses indicated understanding of the subjectivity of trauma and adverse experiences and how different internal and external factors can further penetrate the impact of negative experiences on people. This coincides with a study conducted by Weinberg and Gill (2016), where they found that aspects such as, "type of trauma, history of psychiatric disorder, history of traumatic exposure, age, gender, and genetic factors", (p.137) can result in differing responses and long-lasting effects. The following section exhibits comments derived from the data to contextualise the prominent theme of parents and carer partnerships.

Cara's comment exemplifies an instance of providing immediate support to a child, but indicates the importance of building positive relationships with parents to help promote a longer-term solution -

> ***"So, like at home time I had a child yesterday and he was really screaming that he didn't want to go home. He was like, 'I'm hungry and there's no food at home'. So, then it was in that moment, 'right, let's go and get you a snack now'. So, we picked up a banana, we had little boxes of coco pops and fruit, and shoved loads and loads in his bag. And then it's having, because we've got the relationship with the parents as well, that we're able to bring things up like the social supermarket. The relationship with the parents is just as important, getting them to trust us because they could have been in the exact same situation", (Cara).***

Cara describes supporting a child in distress, while also highlighting the need to build trust with both children and their families when dealing with such sensitive issues as poverty. From firm foundations of trust, Cara indicates how she can support families to seek out further support, such as directing them to the social supermarket, in a bid to support with food poverty and provide avenues for families to access support independently.

The child reporting that he does not want to go home infers a recognition on the child's part of different environments and the attachment and correlations made to place. Jack (2010) comments on how much research is applied to the role of attachment relationships in childhood, and the impact this has on children's development and wellbeing, but much less consideration is given to children's attachments to place. Jack describes the "shrinking world of childhood", (p.755) and how children become further restricted from opportunities of independence due to aspects such as parental fears. For many children, the only experience that they may have without their parents being physically with them will be in school. This child inferring to a difference between home and school might indicate an awareness of what

different environments offer him. His reluctance to go home signifies the uncertainty of basic needs such as food, whereas such requirements are always met in school. Ellis (2005) explores literature on place and how this creates a child's identity. However, it is further explained how identity is fluid and can be created based on children's relational experiences within different environments. The child's reluctance and subsequent awareness of the difference between home and school might also be how he identifies in different spaces, for example, the security and reliable routine of aspects such as mealtimes at school allow him to feel a heightened sense of safety and security, whereas the home environment might feel unpredictable and uncertain, increasing feelings of insecurity and detachment.

Cara appears to indicate that the intervention was a relief for the child, but it led me to question how such an intervention can support children and their families outside of school. While any measure to support children is positive, support that remains just within the school is a short-term fix and the need to further consider how this can empower children and families is required. However, providing support beyond school or "beyond education", (Skovdal & Campbell 2015, p.8) is a notoriously difficult task and whilst it was positive to hear Cara provide an example of what they do in the moment to respond to need, it was also positive to see how this initial response to need is then extended to include family support through discussing the availability of the social supermarket. Responding to the initial needs of a child and addressing this further by working with the family with possible strategies to alleviate the issue is an example of empowerment (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), which takes time and careful consideration of how to best to promote the nirvana of "mutual respect and shared responsibility", (Clarke et al., 2010, p.65).

Cara indicates a successful interaction between teacher and parent, where positive relationships enabled further support with more sensitive aspects such as accessing the social supermarket. This depicts a positive interaction and appears that because of the trusting relationship between teacher and parent (Campbell, 2010), the offer of further support was well received in this instance. Asking for help or indeed admitting that help is required can be sensitive and a scary concept, and the precariousness of supporting a child and their family in this way could be enough to stop a professional from supporting vulnerable families (Sauer et al., 2017). Again, a common misconception is that every family who is classed as vulnerable is ready and willing to be supported. For many, stigmas associated with asking for help, such as in the case of possible food poverty in Cara's comment, might be deemed as embarrassing and something they fear might ignite further intervention if professionals come to find out (Inglis et al., 2022). As Cara stipulates, due to intergenerational adversity, such as living in deprivation, parents may have been subjected to similar experiences in their own childhoods and they may or may not have had positive interactions from professionals who supported them. An added layer may be the mistrust held in more deprived communities, which as Mooney (2011) states, is a reaction to societal anti-poor narratives

which are manifested by anti-welfarism where deprived communities are often blamed for their disadvantage.

The comment from Cara might suggest that parents have trust in the Pinewood Primary community and look to them for support. This might derive from school staff understanding the extension from child to parent and the need to support the family unit, not just the child -

> ***"Quite a lot of the time they (parents) just need to come in for a cup of tea. Coming in really upset and they have a brew and leave feeling better as they had a chance to vent", (Layla).***

Comments such as Layla's were referred to throughout the interviews, where staff such as Sam, Maeve and Aisha discussed the importance of involving parents and working towards maintaining clear lines of communication between home and school.

Parental involvement is not a new phenomenon (Hornby, 2010) and it is actively encouraged by the Department for Education (2023b). However, parent involvement is difficult to master and remains limited in many schools (Adele, 2017). There are many possible barriers to this, for example Hornby and Blackwell (2018) found that leading factors were time constraints and staff feeling untrained to deal with the needs of parents. This is in contrast to the interview responses where time was emphasised as important to build positive relationships with parents. Also, the interviewees did not indicate any resistance in feeling unable to deal with the needs of parents. I project two possible reasons for these responses.

The first aspect is the likelihood of Pinewood Primary having a larger pastoral staff cohort than a typical school. Pinewood Primary sits above average in areas such as Free School Meals at 51%, which is significantly above the national average of 22.5%; children with SEND at 28%, where the national average is 12.6%; children on an Education and Health Care Plan at 7%, where the national average is 4% and 14% of children with English as an Additional Language (School SEF, 2023). In relation to funding, children with additional needs, such as the areas noted, attract more funding per pupil as per the National Funding Formulae (Department for Education, 2022). Whilst additional funding is without doubt required to meet the additional needs and requirements of pupils, it also increases the likelihood of a larger pastoral staff team with more capacity to focus on pastoral needs of children and their families. This could be an enabling factor for Pinewood Primary and justify why the interviewees did not comment on time being a barrier to supporting parents and subsequently supporting behaviour beyond the school walls.

The second reason might be linked to staff support and training in trauma informed and therapeutic practices. Alongside staff research days, a suite of courses, twilight training and reflective staff meetings, school leaders had also enrolled on a Department for Education approved Therapeutic Schools Status programme. Compassionate practice appears to be fundamental to all policy and practice within

Pinewood Primary and is spearheaded by the senior leadership team, which is likely to emanate confidence within the staff team.

A further reflection on Layla's comment could be the simplicity of this response. The comment implies that, for the parent's issues to be resolved or made 'better', all that was required was a cup of tea and a chance to vent. Given the already described context of Pinewood Primary and its surrounding community, and the awareness of the vulnerabilities of the families who inhabit both spheres, the consideration that such a small fix is all that is required is somewhat reductionist. Whilst Layla's intent to help the parent is clear, the finality of the comment might indicate a woeful misunderstanding of the complexities of need. Or indeed, this could indicate a coping mechanism on Layla's part, an unconscious reassurance that the process works.

Regardless of the rationale of the process, the intent to support is evident amongst school staff which has paved a way to promoting a trauma informed ethos across Pinewood Primary. Layla's next comment is a reminder that such is not normal practice in every school -

> ***"Thinking about my experience and my children in my family, they attend more of an affluent, stricter school, which is Ofsted 'Outstanding', and you would get lovely nurturing teachers one year and the following year the complete opposite. And children would literally dread certain teachers. And I think it should be a consistent nurturing approach for everyone, because (children) will always feel safe and they're not worrying", (Layla).***

Layla notes that the school in which her children attend is situated in an area of affluence. The fact that Layla describes the school as more affluent suggests an awareness of the difference socioeconomic status might have on a school (Bourdieu, 1984; Hebert, 2018). It may also be construed as Layla drawing comparison between the school she is discussing and Pinewood Primary where she teaches, which is in an area of deprivation and socioeconomic disadvantage. I interpret this as reflective of the different school systems within the United Kingdom, even within government-controlled schools, where in certain areas, particularly more affluent areas, families go to extreme lengths using "ethically dubious strategies", (Sutton Trust, 2018, p.3) to ensure their child gets a place at their preferred school.

Layla discusses how consistent she believes the trauma informed approach is within Pinewood Primary, and notes that she has observed some practices which align to being trauma informed within her children's school, but also notes how this is inconsistent and can change from teacher to teacher. Layla describes how the inconsistency in practice and teaching styles meant that her children could get 'lovely nurturing teachers' one year and then, 'the following year the complete opposite', which caused 'dread' amongst her children and also contributed to a negative discourse surrounding certain teachers within the school. The comment appears to centre around the impact that different styles of teachers might

have on children's perceptions of them (Drewery & Kecskemeti, 2010). However, on closer interrogation, while children will always have teachers who they prefer more and teaching styles will always have variations, a significant point by Layla is that when teachers were not described as 'lovely and nurturing', children would develop 'dread and worry' towards certain teachers. This is what separates a dislike or reluctance towards a teaching style and genuine anxiety that can impact on children's success. On further discussion with Layla regarding her own children, she shared further that such dread resulted in one of her children refusing to attend and being placed on a reduced timetable to support their reengagement with school. Layla felt that the inconsistency of practice around behaviour management in particular led her child to feel anxious and uncertain. She also added that when she approached the school regarding her child's feelings, she had to enforce her professionalism and her own knowledge and expertise on trauma informed practice into discussion to convince the school to take her children's issues seriously. This resonates with Foucauldian theory on the reciprocal relationships between power and knowledge (Foucault, 1980), where he posits that knowledge brings power, but power also produces knowledge and truth or at least regimes of truth. Layla exhibits an example of how her power as a professional teacher allowed her to exercise knowledge and subsequently power in a dominant space. Such a reflection leads to how challenging spaces such as schools can be for some parents and families, where feelings of unbelonging (Weissman, 2015; Breiner et al., 2016) can impact on their ability to speak out on behalf of their children.

While the pedagogical style of teaching should complement the preferences of both teachers and those they teach, such is not the case regarding supporting positive behaviour, particularly from a punitive stance. Lopes et al. (2017) discuss the risk of inconsistent rules across a school community and how confusion and anxiety can be triggered as a result. This indicates that although there might be different teaching styles, schools should be committed to working towards rules and boundaries that permit a climate of calm and certainty. Indeed, for some children, their capacity to abide by rules and boundaries might be impacted by aspects such as dysregulation or vulnerability. In such instances dialogue, relationality and empathy will support school staff to understand the barriers that might prevent children from conforming in that instance, where they can work together to address this issue rather than seeing the inability to conform as intentional and disruptive. Much of this might refer to staff having guidance from senior leaders, where they are supported in developing practice which is consistent across the school (Leithwood et al., 2006; Berkovich & Eyal, 2018; Morris et al., 2020). The fact that Layla noted that she needed to reinforce her professionalism as a teacher and her knowledge on trauma informed practice to her children's school might indicate that such practices are not adopted, senior leadership sponsored, approaches within that school.

It would be unfair to suggest, based on Layla's comment alone, that her child's refusal to attend school was solely due to inconsistent behaviour management approaches within their school, however there are clear points drawn towards nurture and relationality between children and their teachers, and perhaps it highlights how this connection is even more concentrated for children who may be vulnerable due to adversity, trauma or even anxiety. McGrath and Ven Bergen (2015) cite student-teacher relationships as critical to children's academic success and holistic development. Interestingly, such effective relationship building can be more difficult for some student-teacher relationships, and it is often regarding vulnerable children who may need the positive connection with adults most. McGrath and Ven Bergen (2015) and Martin and Collie (2019) note barriers that can inhibit effective student-teacher relationships such as disruptiveness, the inability to regulate behaviours, aggressive or antisocial behaviours. Perhaps in the case of Layla's children's school, the lack of school-wide guidance and support in understanding vulnerabilities and the reasons for being unable to regulate their behaviours, resulted in the inconsistencies of a 'consistent nurturing approach for everyone'. Returning to Foucault's writings on disciplinary power, the inability to conform, or to become a docile body (Foucault, 1977), means that any behaviour and action perceived as challenging is seen as outside of the expected norms, and so in turn authorises them as intentionally disruptive, not worthy of connection and relationality. In such cases, it is not hard to imagine how 'worry' and 'dread' might personify for children in such circumstances.

Mainhard et al. (2018) link student emotion to motivation to learn, regulation, and a positive lifelong attitude to learning and state the need for a positive learning environment to nurture these skills. Layla's comment suggests the importance of such aspects, but it does also lead to consideration of staff wellbeing and how the environment caters for their needs. Layla commented that trauma informed practices were evident in pockets within the school that her children attended, but not consistently applied, such fragmented practice might indicate a lack of direction and support at leadership level, which may leave staff feeling unanchored (Sternberg, 2011). The earlier comment from Layla on feelings of unbelonging (Weissman, 2015; Breiner et al., 2016) might too apply to school staff, where a lack of support and guidance might impact on their professionalism and ability to contribute to a positive school culture.

To exhibit the stark contrast between Layla's experiences of her children's school and Pinewood Primary, Aisha's comment exhibits further examples of how the school seeks to connect with parents and carers -

> ***"some of the parents, when they come into the headteachers office, they are so nervous. But when we have those open conversations and they see we want to help them, it changes, it's so welcoming for our community", (Aisha).***

Aisha refers to parents' perceptions of school and how their own school experiences can impact on how they engage and participate in their child's education. Schmid and Garrels (2021) examined the

relationships between parental involvement and educational success and hypothesised that, whilst it is broadly recognised that parental involvement is positive for the success of children within education, levels and types of involvement vary, largely based on parents' resources and socioeconomic status. This resonates with the Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1977) and how, for society to continue to function as it does, there must always be dominant and subservient categories within institutions such as schools. In considering class differences in education and the habitus of education lending itself to more affluent groups (Bourdieu, 1973), it is possible that historically, parents in areas such as where Pinewood Primary is located, may have had negative experiences of schooling and rather than seeing school as inclusive and in partnership with them (Martin, 1998), they may feel othered (Weissman,2015) which in turn might impact on their likelihood to actively engage in their children's learning. This view of framing education as embodied dispositions and capacities dominated by a certain class rationalise why other classes may feel alien within this sphere (Sweeney, 2002). Such findings make it unsurprising that some parents may experience nervousness when entering the headteachers office in school.

Aisha claims that by having 'those open conversations and they see we want to help them,' change happens which contributes to a sense of community within the school. Such allusions to promoting camaraderie across Pinewood Primary resonate with comments from all interviewees at different points, which suggests a collective understanding, at least on the part of school staff, that bringing parents in and indicating to them that Pinewood Primary is a place that will seek to support families is a positive move towards effective parent/school partnerships. The identification or questioning of parents relationships with school, again, might be an example of expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001), where leaders and staff at Pinewood Primary sought to make change to ensure parents feel welcome. This demonstrates a union between parent and school and has been proven as a determinator of student success in terms of enjoyment and academic outcomes (Froiland & Davison, 2014; Jeon et al., 2021).

Aisha's comment leads me to ponder two striking points. The first is the role of power within the school/parent dynamic, and how unbalanced this is particularly for parents from deprived areas who may possess limited socioeconomic power (Clarke et al., 2010, Ishimaru, 2014; Xuan et al., 2021). Aisha notes that parents are welcomed into the headteachers office, which is perhaps the most daunting space of the school from a hierarchical perspective, a possible form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1984) based on previous experiences. Whilst the intent is to soothe parents and to reassure them that Pinewood Primary is a place of support, the long-established situation of school as a place of authority may challenge the ability for such to be achieved. Undoubtedly, recognising that such barriers between

parents and school exists is a positive step towards promoting collaboration and partnerships, and it is recognised that Pinewood Primary staff do this well, as recognised throughout the interviews and parents comments in the schools SEF (2023), practices where understanding barriers and challenges help to promote inclusivity, albeit within the confines of the institutional power hold of schools. Can these small tokens of 'being invited in' work to empower parents to find a sense of belonging in places they may have never identified with?

The second point made by Aisha was that when the parents are invited into the headteachers office, 'open conversations' are had. Again, there lies a power imbalance here as school leaders will monitor how 'open' these conversations can be as they must fall within the regulatory guidelines, or accepted norms depicted by the biopower (Foucault, 1990) within which educational practice exists. Anything that is shared which might make the school, parent or child vulnerable, will be privy to established rules and regulations that will be enforced by leaders and staff, again demonstrating the limits of openness and how those limits are defined by the dominant power which is the school.

The schools SEF (2023) repeatedly highlights the need for parental involvement and identifies the need to acknowledge the needs of parents as well as children so that they can be actively supported. The willingness to converse and explain to parents that the school's pastoral priority is positive, however there remains a hierarchical approach, where the openness to converse is on the school terms, where parents must access the realm of Pinewood Primary to learn and become part of the community. This resonates with Foucault's concept of biopower and how 'societal norms' are reproduced through governmentality and stipulates the 'conduct of conducts' (Lemm et al., 2014, p.171). Biopower in school enables stable expectations, such as the already described 'open-door policy', where schools present as inviting, but the first step must be taken by those who want the support. Help is at hand but under the constraints of the dominant power. While the intent of school staff and leaders, and indeed Aisha, is to promote as far as they can a cohesive although unbalanced partnership with the parents, I query if it is to be truly balanced without displacing society as a whole.

The following comment from Sadie again offers examples of how school staff support vulnerable parents, but again within the confines of power relations –

> ***"this morning it just happens to be that several of our refugee families needed support foodwise and because they have halal needs and so on and so forth, we found somewhere where they could get food from. I mean we have the social supermarket but a lot of the stuff they can't eat, so we found a place, and a lot of the families couldn't get there because they're***

trying to better themselves and they're going to college, So, we go and get those things and try and help and support them", (Sadie).

The Working Definition of Trauma Informed Practice (Office for Health Disparities, 2022) notes Cultural Consideration as one of its key principles, "incorporating policies, protocols and processes that are responsive to the needs of individuals served". Sadie's comment is an indication of how staff attempt to respond to ongoing need with respect and understanding for the diverse cultures of the school community. Thomas (2021) discusses the need for cultural competency in trauma informed practice. In fact, cultural competency should be central to any people facing service, such as schools. Regardless of how a setting applies trauma informed practice to their ethos and philosophy, it must align to the needs of those whom the service supports, in this case, staff, children and their families. Sadie's comment signifies a willingness to adapt to need and insight into factors beyond the school, that help children to thrive.

The notion of support and empathy is again evident in Sadie's comment, and there is indication of supporting families to thrive through accessing further education and employment. McCluskey's (2018) warning of the need to be alert to power imbalances alongside Music's (2012) more hopeful narrative of striding continuously towards joint goals, helps to situate the juxtaposition of schools, particularly one such as Pinewood Primary that identifies as trauma informed. The intent to promote alternative practice is more than a policy change or school-wide decision to support behaviour differently, it involves a systemic review of the culture and philosophy of the school, an examination of its core value and how that contributes to a shift in practice. A further complexity is how this practice will complement the wider world and how what happens in school prepares staff, children, and their families as citizens for life beyond it. Sadie's awareness that, due to refugee families accessing further education to 'better themselves', appeared to signify justification for school staff to support them, which might suggest an awareness of the importance of empowerment rather than dependence, where cultural competency has been applied to help others succeed (Conkbayir, 2023). As noted by Veugelers (2017), "empowerment requires transforming the social and political conditions and relationships", (p.414) where individuals are supported to thrive rather than remain hierarchically oppressed. In the case of meeting the specific needs of families, like Sadie's comment, where their religious needs are respected and catered for, it signifies a willingness to adapt support that is person-centred indicating an authenticity to its value in enhancing the lives of the families involved.

Such lengths carried out by school staff to accommodate vulnerable families might be considered beyond the realms of what a school can offer and might even be argued as outside of what a school should typically support with. Willemse et al. (2018) note several barriers to effective family support in schools such as time capacity, a lack of staff confidence in dealing with family issues and a, "predominant

institutional culture...that places little value on the views and participation of parents", (p.252). However, the drastic reduction in community facing services, such as children's centres (UK Parliament, 2022) results in the increased likelihood of schools being seen as a place where families might seek out support and guidance. From a hopeful narrative, such demonstrations of support, as described by Sadie, identify Pinewood Primary as interconnected to family and community support, and by effectively supporting families, the gains for the children and the school community in general will be advantageous. However, from a practical narrative, and given the ever-increasing budget constraints of school funding (Jones, 2022), the longevity of such offers of pastoral support are questioned. Also, returning to Willemse et al. (2018), the need to create robust school staff training on the importance of family support remains a priority, alongside more explicit guidance in key educational policy. Without this there will continue to be pockets of excellent practice, such as that described by Sadie, rather than systemic education-wide procedures.

Maeve offers a further example of how parents are supported, where she describes how in the weekly baby group drop-in sessions held in Pinewood Primary, she supports parents to identify and celebrate their role as educators for their children -

> ***"Every week has a focus, so every week it's like, 'oh you know when you're going down the road and looking at the road signs? Well, that's literacy'. You know like in a very gentle way helping parents understand," (Maeve).***

Maeve's comment came from discussions around building relationships with parents whilst also promoting education through Pinewood Primary's weekly baby group, which is ran by the school ELSA's (Emotional Literacy Support Assistant). Again, coinciding with earlier links to empathy and understanding, Maeve discussed ways of supporting parents by highlighting what they already do and indicating the learning potential within this process. The approach, where Maeve refrains from 'teaching' parents about interventions that can support their children's learning, is different to structured parenting programmes, which Pote et al. (2019) found that disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, such as families from lower socioeconomic groups are less likely to engage in. Instead, an informal baby play group where support is offered that scaffolds on what parents already do, might present as a more accessible resource for parents.

It is acknowledged and highlighted in educational literature (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011) that "students show a better ability to read and learn when their parents are involved in their education", (OECD, 2012, p.13). For parent engagement to be successful a key aspect relies on effective parent-teacher relationships. Hornby and Lafaele (2011) created a model to explore barriers to successful parental engagement and listed current life contexts, class, and demographics as areas to be considered. Watt (2016) states that parents who live in deprivation are less likely to actively engage with schools, however, given the already

examined power and hierarchical relations that exist within schools, the reality may be that school is 'hard to reach' for parents from these groups. This resonates with the Foucauldian notion of biopower, where power dominance stipulates the "conduct of conducts" (Foucault, 1977, p.172). Regarding families from lower socioeconomic groups, such as those whose children attend Pinewood Primary, their likelihood to possess less cultural capital might result in feeling 'othered', where schools fail to identify how the biopower reproduces norms which are more aligned to middle class groups (Bourdieu, 1984). Seeking out opportunities to empower parents to understand the role they have in supporting their child's learning is key, and Maeve's example from practice demonstrates how Pinewood Primary seeks to invite parents into the school and familiarise themselves with the school community. Some parents may have had negative experiences of school (Campbell, 2010) or that they may believe that their involvement in their child's learning could be detrimental to their progress rather than beneficial, again this view is more apparent with parents from lower socioeconomic groups (Harris & Goodall, 2008). Given that Pinewood Primary is located within an area that falls within the most deprived in England (Indices of Multiple Deprivation, 2019) and that 51% of pupils within the school receive Free School Means (SEF, 2023), this indicates that the majority of parents and carers might relate to such notions of schooling.

Another point is Maeve's position as an ELSA and member of the pastoral staff team and if her position as a link worker might help apprehensive parents to feel comfortable with accessing school. Fretwell et al. (2018) examined engagement with 'hard to reach families' and found that community link workers can represent a mode of governmentality (Foucault, 1977), "that privileges the instrumental use of trust to achieve strategic objectives, rather than coercive authority", (Fretwell et al., 2018, p.1047). Perhaps school staff such as Maeve can afford more time to build trust with parents, which supports their initial willingness to engage with their children's education and school.

Bunijevac (2017) highlights the added benefits of involving parents in their children's learning and subsequently their educational journey as a result and posits how mutual responsibility for children's success will enhance both their academic journey and the outcomes of the school. While the intent of my research is to prioritise the wellbeing of children and the school community through trauma informed practice, it is also important to consider the existing bureaucratic measures, such as the notion of 'school readiness'. The latest 'school readiness survey' (Kindred, 2023) found that teachers report that 46% of reception class children were not developmentally school ready, where the study found that parents are not well-equipped enough to understand how to effectively support their children's developmental progress. Promoting the engagement of parents in groups, such as the one described by Maeve, will work to increase parents' awareness of how they can support their children's learning and therefore is likely to increase the 'school readiness' of children.

Conclusion

McCluskey et al. (2008) discuss the human need to feel connected and belong, and how trauma informed practice can complement this process. With the already noted continuous closure of community universal services, parents seeking out support are increasingly more likely to access their child's school. Treisman's 'brick parent' (2016) analogy resonates with the potential for the school community to be a beacon of support to children and their families. However, much consideration of strategy and practice is required for schools to be able to adequately offer such support. Hence the importance of highlighting staff perceptions of parental involvement in my research, which lends itself to gathering more understanding of how the school community can reduce being seen as 'hard to reach' for vulnerable families, instead of the more accepted view that vulnerable families are 'hard to reach'.

The interview comments and analysis clearly identify the importance and benefits of parental engagement at Pinewood Primary, but they also indicate the challenges associated with engaging parents from certain groups in society. Watt (2016) discusses barriers to successful parental engagement and notes that, "cultural differences, fewer material resources and a lack of personal education, can render such parents less able and less willing to become engaged in their child's education", (p.32). Amid the reports of positive engagement with parents in Pinewood Primary, school staff indicate honesty in their pursuit to help vulnerable families to engage. Perhaps, at times, school staff exhibit a naivety or over-simplified view of how to effectively support parents such as commenting that a 'cup of tea' or 'welcoming them in' is all that is required to build positive relationships between home and school. However, on reflection of the interviewee's links to parents and their child's wider world in general, these specific examples, of working directly with parents, sit within a multi-layered approach of successful engagement, which traverses beyond the theme of parent and carer partnership and into the other key themes derived from the data; respect and empathy, leadership and support and child-centredness. Also, returning to Willemse et al's. (2018) claim that schools inherently place little value on parental participation which alludes to a defeatist mentality on actively engaging parents, applying an optimistic and naïve mindset instead might be more beneficial to a shift in practice long-term, reinforcing rhetoric to mould the reality of parental involvement (Hornby & Blackwell, 2018).

8.4 Theme 4. Child-centredness

In the context of trauma informed practice and supporting behaviour in schools, being 'child-centred' involves placing the needs and experiences of the child at the forefront of all interactions and interventions, whilst striving to understand the impact of adversity or trauma through compassion and understanding. Subsequently, an environment is created where children feel seen and heard, where their

feelings and emotions are validated, and children can gain a sense of agency over their lives (Casey, 2016). Such a hopeful narrative as described here is, in my view, the epitome of trauma informed practice in education, but from a pragmatic sense I feel it is necessary to consider that educational practice includes many more aims and objectives, which are underpinned by bureaucracy influenced by social dominance, power and cultural capital (Punch, 1982). Due to the ever-increasing bureaucracy of education (Kilinç et al., 2016), schools are subjected to performativity where moulding children to align to meet accountability measures is prioritised beyond promoting their holistic wellbeing (Hempel-Jorgensen 2009; Maija & Brunila, 2019). Whilst bureaucracy appears to prevail against child-centred practice in education, there appears to remain, at least in Pinewood Primary, a reservoir of hope and optimism (Sherwood, 2017) where school staff refer to practices that place the child at the forefront of their work, where an awareness of the often chaotic and uncertainty of their lives, is threaded through pedagogy and practice. The reference to aspects of child-centredness whilst grappling with the bureaucratic structures of education, was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews and the following comments depict the various ways in which child-centredness is perceived and practiced within Pinewood Primary.

The first comment made by Hayley discusses how child-centred practice must consider not just the child but the context in which they exist -

> ***"I read a lot of Ofsted reports and then look at the context of the areas and you have that beautiful area with beautifully behaved children as if it's something the school have solely done and its nothing to do with the context. Whereas here children don't always behave beautifully but go and look at their homelife. They behave beautifully for what they are dealing with. Yeah so, I do think the context is a big issue", (Hayley).***

Hayley discusses whether context impacts on how children behave such as where children are from and where the school is situated. She uses Ofsted reports to identify what is classed as 'good' to 'outstanding' practice and observes that many of the schools are in areas of affluence, something she refers to as 'beautiful areas'. Hayley refers to the Ofsted reports, where children's behaviour has been noted, something she refers to as 'beautifully behaved children'. She then alludes to the need to consider the child's world or their ecology when measuring 'beautiful behaviour', and that aspects such as environment and home life should be factored into understanding children's behaviour, and in also valuing positive behaviour based on individual circumstances.

To better understand Hayley's use of 'beautiful' when referring to behaviour in Ofsted reports, I conducted a search into the use of the term across reports using the Watchsted (2024) website, that records all current Ofsted reports for primary schools. Indeed, on review, the term 'beautiful' is used regularly to describe positive behaviour. For example, "They behave beautifully"; "Pupils of all ages play beautifully, are inclusive and kind", (Ofsted, 2024); "Even at this young age, they sustain concentration

and sit beautifully on the carpet for circle time"; "They work beautifully with others", (Ofsted, 2023). This indicates that Hayley's observation of the term 'beautiful' in Ofsted reports is often used to describe children who are obedient and abide by the rules.

Hayley's comment leads me to reflect on the disparities of behaviour management and how behaviour is viewed within education. Deakin and Kupchik (2016) use existing research (Kim et al., 2010; McAra & McVie, 2013; McCluskey, 2018) to rationalise why existing behaviour management practices within schools, which focus on punitive, disciplinary procedures, are failing to be effective long-term and cite violence in schools, racial inequality and ineffective policy drivers as evidence of the need for change. This might explain the emerging interest in alternative ways of supporting behaviour in schools, such as through trauma informed practices in Pinewood Primary. While it is positive to consider alternative ways in schools, Hayley's comment infers an awareness of the point in which 'alternative practice' stops and bureaucracy prevails, in this case the Ofsted judgement where 'behaving beautifully' means obedience and docility within the realms of behaviourist rules and boundaries. This indicates a juxtaposition in practice, where creativity in behaviour management can occur within the school, provided it sits within the parameters of what is deemed good practice or 'beautiful behaviour'. McCluskey (2018) explains that legitimacy in educational practice is influenced by prevailing policy directives, which include statements like, "schools must maintain the right to exclude" (p. 414). Such statements reinforce dominance and how disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) will continue to reinforce power hierarchies in schools, where behaving within the confines of rules and boundaries will be what is celebrated, where docile bodies are reproduced as martyrs to society.

The discussion of how behaviour is viewed by Hayley might link to how certain schools are viewed in public realms, where an Ofsted report might be the only insight that those outside of the school have of its practices. Reports such as Ofsted do not provide a detailed context of any school, and therefore the rationale for less than good behaviour will not always be apparent, again something Hayley alludes to when describing how children's homelives must be considered when seeking to understand behaviour. However, a school rating can infer "reputational damage" and by association, can have negative ramifications for those who are part of it (Von Stumm et al., 2021, p.339). Inspections can make schools quantifiable which supports quality control, but at the risk of further segregating schools and communities as a result. Geddes (2006) discusses the importance of attachments and pastoral support in schools to support positive behaviour, something that leaders and staff at Pinewood Primary appear to actively engage in, which has resulted in children and families commenting on how safe and secure they feel within the school (School SEF, 2023). These feelings of belonging within school will enhance a children's self-fulfilling prophecy (Padmakumari & Chandrasegaran, 2018), which Leo (2020) denotes that

the more optimism and belief a child has on oneself, the more ability they will have to address adversity or barriers.

The notion of class disparities connects to Hayley's comment where children's homelives are referred to as a potential factor to how their behaviour might be deemed as less than positive in schools. Children's initial interactions with key people in their lives and their surrounding environment will contribute to their social skills (Nantel Vivier et al., 2014). Those who experience adversity such as trauma may have less capacity to regulate their emotions in times of stress (Lackner et al., 2018), for example in failing to abide by the rules, boundaries, or routines of school. It is at this point Hayley and the other interviewees from Pinewood Primary, use their knowledge of the child to understand the possible motivations around the behaviour that the child is displaying, and use this to best to support the child. This practice supports a positive culture, but more must be done to ensure this translates beyond the school. With these factors in mind, it is difficult to ascertain the value of an inspection grading in addressing this need and in addressing class disparities. Returning to Foucauldian theory, such functions as the inspectorate can be considered forms of biopower (Foucault, 1990) that permit expectations of norms, and in the case of behaviour in schools what defines acceptable or 'beautiful' behaviour and non-acceptable behaviour. Changing the narrative from how behaviour is managed to how we can support children to thrive and understand themselves within a school may be achievable but for a change beyond that requires a biopolitical shift (Bourassa, 2018).

Roz describes how the school have introduced a free breakfast club in the morning where she praises its benefits for the children but highlighted an awareness of this impacting on formal teaching -

> ***"we've started doing breakfast club in the morning and it has slightly delayed our phonics and our maths, but the difference in the children has been huge. It's just that little bit extra time that we can have to speak to every single child really, and that they can come in and you know chances are that 90% of them haven't had breakfast or they may not have had tea the night before and it's okay because they know they can have breakfast before they start", (Roz).***

Roz references a significant change to the school routine by dedicating time to have breakfast in the morning. This practice exhibits a bespoke reaction to need, which is reflective of trauma informed practice (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), where the recognition of the signs and symptoms of the impact of trauma and adversity, such as food poverty, is used to support individuals and as such indicates an informed response to need observed within Pinewood Primary.

Roz emphasises the importance of children knowing that, regardless of their experiences at home before school, they can rely on having breakfast when they arrive. This symbolises the emotional wellbeing of children and the intent to reduce potential burdens that can be associated with living in poverty or

adverse conditions. The Child Poverty Action Group (2022) lists worry, social insecurity and frustration as factors associated with children who live in economic disadvantage. School staff offer a small relief from hardship where all children share breakfast together, not just those who are classed as vulnerable. The feeling of belonging may also promote safety and calm in children (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2012), which may in turn contribute towards an increased capacity to engage and learn in school.

While it is positive to observe a school reacting to need in this way, it leads me to consider why some schools may resist such interventions. School discourse is perpetuated by bureaucratic structures (Kilinç et al., 2016), which can present power holds and these factors create "implicit values, behaviours, procedures, and norms", an accepted discourse in schools which determines what is acceptable practice and what is not (Alsubaie, 2015, p.125). It appears that Pinewood Primary determines a pedagogy which has its foundations in children's initial needs being addressed to enable them to be ready to learn. This appears to be firmly rooted in the school's agenda where the focus on meeting basic needs (Maslow, 1943) is described by school staff and leaders as a non-negotiable in supporting readiness to learn. It is important here to note criticisms of Maslow's approach and the perceived rigidity of the hierarchy of need. Hofstede (1984) notes that Maslow's hierarchy is steeped in ethnocentricity where much of his research centred on white, successful, historical figures such as Einstein. A further critique came in 2015, where Henwood et al. conducted research with individuals who had experienced homelessness and found that identifying self-actualisation goals were associated with not having one's basic needs met. Such criticisms shed light on a possible suppression of progress by limiting individuals to the bottom of the pyramid until it is believed that basic needs are met before they progress. Without consideration of the criticisms of Maslow's theory and working from the belief that the pyramid hierarchy is rigid, the idea that all focus needs to centre upon meeting children's basic needs might be off-putting to schools who feel they are already time-poor and lacking the resources needed to focus on holistic wellbeing in this capacity. However, in the context of Pinewood Primary, I argue that this possible suppression of progress is not the case, and the idea of goals are threaded throughout the school's pedagogy and practice. For example, the school motto "Every Child Deserves a Champion" indicates the importance of relationships and looking towards a positive role model. This might suggest a self-actualisation goal, even when basic needs may not yet have been met.

Given the context of Pinewood Primary, it is evidenced through statistics how many of those who access the school live in deprivation and, because of this, may face other adverse experiences in their lives (Walsh, 2019). When aspects such as these are so clearly identified, I suggest that more scope is provided to make changes such as making time for daily breakfast club. While Roz refers to the inception of the breakfast club, the wider responses from other staff members during the interviews, such as Cara, identify what the breakfast club symbolises. There is a recognition of the value of this daily intervention

beyond its practical value of providing breakfast. Instead, it aligns to the "process of symbolic action in transformative pedagogy", (Kritskaya & Dirkx, 2000, p.44). It enables staff and children to connect, build trust and relationships which has been identified by Roz as 'huge', where children are becoming more comfortable in approaching and talking to staff. In retrospect, the delay of the formal teaching of phonics and maths has been replaced with an enhanced opportunity to connect and communicate which will promote children's ability to further develop their learning skills. This practice represents transformative pedagogy within Pinewood Primary, but there bares the question of how this approach would be viewed in relation to the confines of the curriculum and if practices such as this can be effectively rationalised as a valued educational practice in general.

This returns me to Foucault's notion of governmentality (1977) and how the perception of how things should be determines our view of appropriateness. My own observation of trying to understand why some schools may feel validated to make such changes to meet the needs of children is rooted in governmentality and normalising judgement (Foucault, 1977) and exemplifies an accepted habitus that certain demographic areas will have certain needs due to environmental adverse conditions (Bourdieu and Passeron,1996). In relation to Pinewood Primary, and indeed any school that veers from the accepted and typical practice in schools, Foucault's later work on the care of the self (1997) helps to rationalise such an approach. In a school, where environmental aspects such as deprivation and adversity increase the wellbeing needs of the families who populate it, the decision to prioritise observed need to then enable readiness to learn might be seen as a solo endeavour on the part of the school. It might, from the outside, be seen as radical and nonconformist. However, Foucault's notion of care of the self helps to rationalise this approach further, where the internal needs of the school community are prioritised, within the confines of regulatory frameworks, to develop ways that are helpful to their school community before considering the views or perspectives of those outside of that sphere.

The notion of tending to the needs of the school community to meet the needs of children extends to Layla's comment below -

> ***"An example is, if a child goes home and is not eating properly, maybe doesn't have a bed to sleep on, is feeling unsafe at home, to expect to come in in the morning and just be able to get on with learning and they might not have had breakfast and things like that. And some of them are carers as well, so you know, they've already been caring in the morning before they even get here. That must be really hard and to think they now have to sit and listen and learn", (Layla).***

Layla discusses children's capacity to concentrate and learn and the impact factors outside of school can have on them. She describes common characteristics of vulnerability within Pinewood Primary, which she believes can be barriers to a child being ready to 'sit and listen and learn'. Comments like Layla's are

mentioned frequently in the interviews, where staff reflect on social and environmental factors that might impact on children's progress in school. These reflections resonate with Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory (1979) and the need to consider children's interrelationships within micro to macrosystems and the protective and risk factors within it, to effectively understand and support child development. On interrogation of Bronfenbrenner's theory, Hawkins et al. (2021) posit the need to consider the ecology of the child in education because, "a problem in one ecological system…. may affect or shape experiences in another", (p.95). This aligns to Layla's comment where she acknowledges how factors in children's homelives can impact on school performance resulting in an intersection of both systems (Fantazzo & Weiss, 2013). While any child could be exposed to challenges within their homelives, the likelihood increases amongst children who live in "high-risk environments", (Assaily, 2022, p.111) such as where Pinewood Primary is located. The likelihood for adversities to exist might permit school staff to give due care for such needs in a localised capacity, however at policy level such attention and consideration for needs that impact on 'readiness to learn' remains minimal, for example the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a) encourages staff to consider, "contributing factors that are identified after a behaviour incident has occurred", (p.17) but provides little guidance on considering factors that might impact on a child's capacity to learn and indeed potential challenging behaviour as a result. This becomes even more complex when a child's needs are related to trauma or adversity, where such characteristics are a result of an uncertain homelife, and do not sit neatly within a diagnosed need (Bodfield & Culshaw, 2024a) and therefore 'reasonable adjustments' are difficult to rationalise. A counterargument may be that providing a caring and nurturing learning environment might be an obvious task to many schools and educators but without explicit guidance on the benefits of this at policy level its priority will be based on preference. Wyness and Lang (2016) refer to a critique of educational policy in English, Welsh and Irish schools and denote "teaching to the test and the focus on definable outcomes as key curricular concerns", (p.1043). Such attention, time, money, policy directives and performance measures are dedicated to educational bureaucracy whereas kindness and goodwill appear to be the seedbed of a caring pedagogy. The context and demographics of Pinewood Primary indicate its position as having higher than average need (School SEF, 2023), which might permit such a focus on pastoral care across the school community. These high statistics of need might not exist within another school, for example a school in an area of affluence, however there is still likely to be children who experience adversity and having a knowledgeable workforce who consistently seek out ways to understand the child's wider world and how this might impact on them in school, will support all involved.

In Layla's comment, the teachers' recognition of factors that might inhibit learning, align to research that suggests that adversity within a child's life is likely to link to deleterious outcomes in children, including internalised and externalised behaviours (Jackson et al., 2021). Layla does not comment on the behaviour

of children when describing factors that might impact on their learning, which might indicate an awareness that these experiences do not always result in the presentation of behaviours that are seen as challenging. Such a perspective is in contrast to behaviour management guidance such as the Behaviour in Schools document where the guidance notes that consideration for a child's needs should be regarded after a behaviour incident has occurred (Department for Education, 2024a), which infers that unless there is a disruption to learning or classroom management, the child's world beyond the classroom remains separate. Such a lack of person-centred practice exemplifies disciplinary power in action and where docile bodies are celebrated due to their lack of revolt to the operations of power (Foucault, 1977). Llyod (2018) reflects on the pivotal position of school staff in supporting vulnerable children, but it is important that it is embedded in practice, such as described by Layla, rather than a reactive response to challenging behaviour.

Sam offers a further example of child-centredness and posits the need to consider the child's norms when supporting positive behaviour -

> ***"Like I said, for example, like for a child, 'well why are you kicking me out of class for swearing when everybody does it. I'm allowed to swear at home', and I say well, 'that's absolutely fine. You are allowed to swear at home but when we are here, we need to consider the younger children. What about the other adults and how that might make them feel'. And you know it's really putting that kind of perspective, therefore, the educational element of life", (Sam).***

Sam details interactions with children where disruptive behaviour is not immediately construed as intentionally challenging. She uses an example of how children, if in a setting that uses punitive discipline, might be 'kicked out of class' for behaviours such as swearing, where their behaviour permits them to be removed or sanctioned. Instead, Sam infers what she would do differently in this instance, where she would apply recognition of the child as a citizen, not just their identity within school, to attempt to understand and help them to identify what is deemed as acceptable behaviour in their community. The definition of trauma informed practice remains working (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), however there are key values which constitute being trauma informed, one being cultural responsiveness, where the need to acknowledge and consider the child's wider world permeates a requirement to contextualise their behaviour which supports understanding. This is in contrast to zero-tolerance procedures, where the rules and boundaries of the school community must be followed by all with no exceptions (Huang & Cornell, 2021), where the child might actually be 'kicked out of class' for swearing. In refraining from considering the unique needs of children, such as in a zero-tolerance approach, there is an intentional ignorance at policy and practice level, of cultural competency and consideration of the intersectionality between systemic oppression and adversity (Blitz et al., 2020). Sam's comment, where she seeks to

understand why children might swear, indicates a willingness to consider and respect rather than to judge and belittle.

A further point in ensuring cultural competency is parenting practices. In Sam's comment, the child notes that they are allowed to swear at home, which is not accepted practice in schools, or in the view of school staff. However, to align with practice that is trauma informed, there is a need to refrain from condoning what is allowed to happen at home as this can further contribute to a child's sense of unbelonging and feelings of being othered (Weissman, 2015) in school. Parenting practices are multidimensional and are often shaped by contextual factors such as parent's own experiences, expectations learned from others and the social networks in which they exist (Breiner et al., 2016). For children, particularly those who are classed as vulnerable, the potential of further othering them from school is, as Geddes (2006) reports, detrimental to their attainment, as it can led to feelings of instability impacting on their inner working models (Bowlby et al., 1953). Adopting realism to understand behaviour in schools, which Sam appears to do, allows for a more pragmatic approach to acknowledging that the behaviour advocated in schools is personified by engrained practices or habitus of a dominant culture. Schools reproduce societal norms, and will advocate for certain behaviours, but in doing so they must not in turn vilify behaviours that do not align. An ideological view of managing behaviour refutes ideas of celebrating uniqueness and diversity, it sets parameters and adds conditions of how individuals can express themselves which must be in line with the dominant and accepted culture and practice.

Having an understanding of children's ecologies enables educators to better support children (Simon & Susan, 2022). When considering vulnerable children who may have experiences of trauma or adversity, displays of behaviours that are seen as defiant could be a learned response to dealing with distress or uncertainty (Jensen, 2009; Sherwood, 2017). This is evident when reviewing statistics where Bell et al. (2021) found that children who had been subjected to ACEs were more likely to be excluded from school, something that Sam infers might happen in more punitive schools. Further studies (Sutton Trust, 2014; Sherwood, 2017) found that while some schools may have higher numbers of children with experiences of adversity in their lives, a key remedy to reducing exclusions was educating school staff on adversity and trauma, and the impact that this can have on children's growth and development. Maija & Brunila (2019) discuss how school discourse is influenced by school staff, "disturbing behaviour becomes discursively produced in the school every day as teachers interpret situations", (p.684). Staff who have an informed understanding of the impact of trauma and adversity, and seek to find ways of supporting children, such as in Sam's comment above, are better equipped to consider the motivations of children's behaviour.

Aisha discusses adapting practice to meet the needs of children but also reflects on the importance of supporting staff through this process –

> ***"But automatically, if somebody tells you to F off you automatically think, how dare you? Why are you speaking to me after everything I've done for you? But they (children) don't see it like that. And I think sometimes, as well, we treat children like adults when they are children, you know, and if that's how they were brought up and the experiences that they have at home, and once they get worked up and they're overwhelmed, yeah, they're automatic reaction is to swear cause that's what they are used to", (Aisha).***

Aisha discusses acceptable practice and the parameters which set out how behaviour is managed or indeed measured. She infers that a natural reaction to challenge is to feel insult and injustice, but she stresses the need to contextualise the situation, such as the needs of the child and the fact that they are just that, children. While it can be argued that institutional boundaries are what gatekeeps safety, routine, and conformity (James & Freeze, 2006), Aisha's comment links to how boundaries are perceived by those who act within them either consciously or unconsciously.

A common misconception in education can be that children enter school with a foundational awareness of what is deemed acceptable behaviour, which they derive from key people in their lives such as parents and carers. This assumption has been evident in key educational policy for some time, for example the Elton Report uses the ambiguous term "socially responsible parents", (Department for Education and Science, 1989, p.134) to emphasise the role parents play in promoting positive behaviour in children. However, in the case of children who have had adverse experiences in their lives, and subsequently may not have developed the 'socially responsible' skills that current educational practice subscribes to, this foundational awareness or baseline might be skewed or missing.

This can link to the influence key people have on a child's life. Bowlby et al. (1952) discuss the working model and how children develop a self-concept based on how they are treated by those around them. A further factor is the moulding of a child's self and how stereotypes, beliefs and initial perceptions of the world are fuelled by the actions of those that surround them (Bandura, 1977). For some children, the behaviours they observe from key people in their lives will be what they carry forward into school. However, these practices may not be accepted if they do not mirror ingrained practices at school, instead due to their behaviour being perceived as wrong and unwelcome, as in the example by Aisha, a child may feel othered (Weissman, 2015). This returns to the notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) and what constitutes acceptable behaviour in education. In Bourdieu's view, habitus is rooted in socioeconomic class, where shared values, beliefs and practices are reinforced within certain classes and are deemed 'normal'. The education system is traditionally structured on the practices of the middle class (Pratto &

Stewart, 2011; Bettie, 2003; MacLeod, 1987; Weis, 2004; Willis, 1977; Leo, 2020), or as Bourdieu (1984) terms, the bourgeoisie, and is representative of bureaucratic policy and governmental objectives which defines what is seen as acceptable practice in society (Kilinç et al., 2016). Aisha's comment exemplifies the boundaries between what might be perceived as acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the sphere of school, regardless of the child's spheres of reality.

While the purpose of education is to develop a well-rounded citizen in an environment that promotes inclusivity (Po Tao, 2010), the routes to support children to do so is where punitive practice becomes skewed, and the promotion of docile bodies (Foucault, 1977) supersedes autonomy and empowerment. Aisha describes how a child might model how key people in their lives react when feeling overwhelmed and how because of these observations, this can be the child's default response. While it is understood that behaviour displays, such as those described, are seen as unacceptable in schools, Aisha's counterreaction is what differentiates punitive practice and trauma informed practice (Baumrind, 2012). Seeking to understand a child's responses rather than seeing it as an intentional challenge to classroom practice is what is integral here. Reframing challenging behaviour as communication seeks to help everyone involved understand the behaviour, and to work together to find alternative ways of channelling anger or frustration (Turley et al., 2016), thus removing the need to manage behaviour but instead promoting the value of understanding.

A further consideration is the pressures that school staff are subjected to, and it is unethical, and indeed unfair, to assume that every staff member should have the innate skill to refrain from feeling personally affected by challenging behaviour. The school community pulsates from relationships, both positive and negative, and a natural human response to insult or injury can be to feel victimised or attacked, which can lead the brain to prepare to respond to threat (Bates, 2021). In Aisha's comment, there is a clear concern for understanding the motivations which may drive a child to behave in a particular way, but this requires support and ongoing guidance from the whole school community and beyond, rather than it be an individual endeavour (McCluskey, 2018).

Roz offers a further point on the need to understand motivations around behaviour by considering children's potential concern for key people in their lives -

> ***"So, they are behaving in a certain way because they know, well, their mum will get called and she will have to come and get them and then they can make sure that mums okay and everything's ok", (Roz).***

Roz alludes to gaining a deeper understanding of a child's behaviours and the motivations around it. She offers a scenario where a child, due to concerns for their mother's safety at home, may present challenging behaviour in the hope that they will be sent home. Again, this scenario offers an alternative

way of understanding challenging behaviour by considering the reasons why the child might respond in this way.

In Roz's comment, where the child is concerned for the wellbeing of their mother, the intent to check on the parent might be perpetuated by the child's own fear rather than something that is intentionally communicated by the parent. Even if the parent is not in danger, the child's previous experiences of adversity result in a hypervigilance to expect danger (Burke-Harris, 2018), and where the only way to remedy the feelings of fear is for the child to check if their parent is safe. This, like in Roz's comment, might involve intentionally presenting challenging behaviour, and for many children in schools, this might be enough for the child to be able to make contact with home.

A child presenting challenging behaviour due to concerns for the wellbeing of their parent provides a stark reminder of the experiences some children face at home, where their sense of responsibility for a vulnerable parent might supersede their own needs, an example of parentification (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973; Jurkovic, 1998; Masiran et al., 2022; Schoor & Goldner, 2023). Castro et al. (2004) explore the impact of parentification, where children sacrifice their own needs to care for their parent which might be the case in Roz's comment. "In doing so, many of these children struggle to develop an independent sense of self and some never truly develop a realistic sense of their own abilities", (p.205). Chase (1999) explores the characteristics of children who are subjected to destructive parentification, where children can present in opposing contrasts from infantilised and rebellious; to cooperative and highly achieving. This is similar to the broad characteristics that children who have experienced trauma or adversity might display, indeed parentification can be classed as an adverse experience in childhood where children are burdened with premature responsibility. The awareness of parentification again stems from the knowledge that school staff have about the child's ecology or wider world beyond school, and it is hoped that with this awareness staff are better equipped to understand and support the child and engage in practices such as restoration and reparation.

Roz, like the other staff members interviewed in my research, infers an understanding of the multifaceted existence of children. While the display of challenging behaviour may be initiated by the child in response to checking on the wellbeing of their parent, the way in which that behaviour display is received and understood will be influenced by school discourse. The influential adult, such as school staff member, reinforces what is seen as acceptable and unacceptable practice (Comber & Kamler, 2004) and dependent upon the knowledge and understanding of staff on vulnerable children, challenging behaviour can be viewed in different ways, for example, met with prejudice and hostility; or met with empathy and understanding. Roz uses her understanding of the child and how by them 'behaving in a certain way' alerts her to investigating further the possible reasons for this, rather than immediately seeing the behaviour as defiant and disruptive. It is at this point where trauma informed practice and positive

relationships with children might help staff to further support the child to reveal their feelings and anxieties, which was in Roz's case the child's concern for their parent's wellbeing, and offer guidance and support rather than sanctions and discipline.

A further concern regarding child-centred practice in education is highlighted by Maeve, where she discusses how stereotypes and biases might impact on seeing the uniqueness of children -

> ***"well, we know children in more deprived areas probably do struggle more, but there might be a boy who lives in a council estate who is super well supported, they might not have money, but the family is supportive, the child is resilient, loved, heard, listened to, read to every night", (Maeve).***

Maeve discusses stereotypes and how children's academic expectations can be informed by prejudices based on their socioeconomic status. Maeve states that children from deprived areas are more likely to 'struggle more' in schools. Gershenson et al. (2016) refer to such notions as fixed effect estimates which are created from biases of disadvantaged students. It would be unfair to suggest that these biases are mythical creations as links between poverty and poor academic performance have long been evidenced (McAra, 2015; Hebert, 2018; CPAG, 2022), where the longer children live in deprivation, the more likely their educational attainment and later life outcomes will be impacted. There are also links to educational attainment in schools and how lower attainment often links to displays of behaviour that is seen as unruly and challenging (Mazza et al., 2017).

Returning to Maeve's comment that children from deprived areas may 'struggle more', indicates that the struggle can be due to many things that sit extrinsically to the child, where societal barriers, prejudice and discrimination may further reinforce the 'struggle'. Maeve discusses how regardless of income it is possible for a child's needs to be supported through their family, which appears to be at odds with common belief. Gershenson (2016) discusses how such biases can filter into teachers' expectations of children and posit the central role that school staff have in shaping children's beliefs about their own self-efficacy. A further point is the focus on support which Maeve refers to when describing how children can succeed regardless of socioeconomic status. This might relate to parents or carers and the crucial impact they have on children's holistic development (Early Education, 2021). Benner et al. (2016) discuss the impact parents can have on academic success and list greater school engagement as one positive strength. However socioeconomic status can again impact on a parent or carers capacity to support their children in education, which could be due to a lack of education or a lack of confidence in their ability due to their own experiences of schooling (Martin, 1998; Sweeney, 2002; Weissman, 2015; Campbell, 2019).

Maeve's view of children being likely to struggle more due to socioeconomic status may be representative of hierarchical observation where Foucault (1977), explains how dominance and power is

obtained through techniques such as hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, and examination. Discourse reproduces normalising judgement, where hierarchical observation means that the intense observation of control through those in power reinforces a status quo which can permit aspects such as discrimination and prejudice to certain groups. Where 'struggling more' is a symptom of being expected to struggle more through discourses in schools, communities and beyond, regardless of parenting support, grit and determination. A product of a multiplicity of factors that inform an accepted social discourse. As Laurin and Engstrom (2020) state, "people may doubt their ability to get ahead either because they do not know the steps required, or because when they do, they are painfully aware of their inability to take these steps", (p.106). Maeve's links to how children can be categorised based on their backgrounds rather than their uniqueness and illustrates how, without adequate support and encouragement, children may not thrive, just as they are expected not to do so.

Sadie ponders the notion of what if the expectation was to thrive rather than survive, where nurture helps children to feel valued and optimistic -

> ***"if you're in a nurturing place where you feel valued, you might just put your hand up, you might ask a question and others might giggle, but you've got the strength and resilience and the confidence to be able to do that and realise, you know what, the world isn't against me", (Sadie).***

Sadie alludes to the importance of providing nurture and opportunity to feel valued and for children to be active participants in their learning. The reference to strength, resilience and confidence might indicate the value she places on such qualities on pedagogical practice on how they contribute to one's sense of self. Sadie describes how a child, through feeling valued, will find the courage to raise their hand and ask a question, but adding that 'others might giggle' indicates a realistic depiction of classroom practice where children may giggle if a peer answers incorrectly, but where it does not refrain from the child raising their hand again. The role of staff in this context is pivotal as children look to adults for guidance (Bandura, 1977), and staff attitudes will influence accepted practice. A classroom where 'having a go' is encouraged and trial and error is an embedded pedagogical practice, supports children to feel willing to scaffold learning and reduce the fear of getting it wrong. Sadie's reference to, 'nurture, confidence, strength and resilience' are qualities that are enhanced through others (Kim & Kochanska, 2012; Nantel-Vivier et al., 2014; Sohn et al., 2019), and in schools this can be from both staff and children. These terms may not be explicitly described within curricula guidance but can be considered integral to meeting learning outcomes and age and stage related performance targets.

The inability to 'behave' may not always be met with a good willing practitioner such as Sadie, where the need to increase nurture, value, strength and confidence is identified. Instead, Maija and Brunila (2019) note that particularly in cases where disruptive behaviour is presenting as challenging in school, there will

come a point when one must win, where the issue is referred back to the child and the institutions power hold is left intact. Foucault (1977) refers to this process of individuation which permits the removal or distinguishment of unacceptable or problem behaviour, where disciplinary power continues to determine the accepted norms. Sadie also describes how through confidence and resilience building, the child might realise, 'that the world isn't against them'. This might suggest that Sadie feels that the child may feel an increased sense of belonging due to the positive support they receive in school. Indeed, such observations are evident in existing literature (Mc Cluskey et al., 2008; Wearmouth & Berryman, 2012; Kline et al., 2016), where it is posited that a child's sense of belonging can affect their participation, behaviour and self-perception. If a child cannot identify with school alienation permeates and can continue into other realms of a child's world.

Sadie's comment, and indeed further interview comments, indicates that such practices of individuation are not evident in Pinewood Primary. This might infer a conscious awareness on the part of school staff that, broadly speaking, the habitus of the children and families who access the school, may not translate flawlessly to the traditionally bourgeoise habitus of education (Bourdieu, 1984), where instead a conscious decision to promote value, nurture, strength, confidence and resilience is required to help children thrive and exist within such spheres, not just within the school but beyond.

Maeve considers the impact of how school staff respond to challenging behaviour -

> ***"Like there's a fine line, you don't want to bombard them, it's to drip feed those children. And like tell them, "You're not your behaviour. Like that behaviour wasn't nice and we know that you're such a kind person, we know who you are", (Maeve).***

Maeve indicates a separation in behaviour and the child, where it is implied that the child is inherently good or 'kind', where behaviour that is seen as challenging or 'not nice' sits apart from who the child fundamentally is. Richards (1986) describes the importance put on behaviour and how we use that to judge the character of someone, and subsequently what they are deserving of. In a traditional behaviourist style classroom, the child who abides by the routines and boundaries of the setting, who is docile (Foucault, 1977) and does as instructed will receive praise and reward (Holloway & Brass, 2018). On the other hand, the child who does not conform, who misbehaves, will receive no praise or reward, is underserving of such things. Both these instances relate to behaviour which is seen to be representative of the character of the child. As Richards (1986) further examines this notion of 'deservedness' in different contexts, he posits how factors can play a role, such as was the behaviour intentional, an accident, committed under duress, a provocation; on how the person is judged as a result. Another crucial element included in judging people on their behaviour is down to luck (Nagel, 1979). We judge on what is observed and Nagel inserts that luck has much to do with what people observe, or indeed witness in some cases. In considering earlier examined themes on social class, habitus and cultural capital

(Bourdieu, 1984), an individual's acquisition of these elements particularly during childhood often depends on chance or luck. The circumstances in which a child is born into play a crucial role in determining their initial position in society.

Maeve indicates just how much weight is applied to behaviour and character through the awareness of ensuring the child acknowledges that they will not be judged solely on that behaviour. This resonates with the notion of 'mad', bad' or 'misunderstood' and how children's behaviour is understood in different contexts and how these beliefs are defined by dominant societal discourses, something which Coppock (2005) posits is based largely on homogeneity fuelled by binary normativism. There lies within a juxtaposition, where the school functions to include, educate, and promote citizenship, but also to educate a planned curriculum, which reinforces societal norms to create citizens that will abide by governmentality. Also, the notion of liberation and freedom are synonymous with schools, where aspects such as diversity and inclusion are key requirements of policy and framework drivers (Department for Education, 2024a;2019). The query is how far will such themes go before the confines of the institution bare truth, where children's behaviour is considered their behaviour. Zaidi et al. (2021) describes this point as subjugation where docile bodies are, "used to exclude individuals who do not fit socially acceptable understandings or categories", (p.74). In reflecting upon Maeve's intention, it might be construed that the innate 'kind'ness of the child is that which abides and behaves, whereas the rogue characteristic of unacceptability is their behaviour, which can be altered through the permeation of positive reinforcement in key biopower sites such as schools (Sugden, 2022).

A further point in Maeve's comment is the definition of what is seen as challenging behaviour and the role of discourse within that. Much research reflects on the ambiguity of what is seen as acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Lopes et al., 2017; Maija & Brunila, 2019; Becker 1952; Cicourel & Kitsuse 1963, 1971; Meighan 1986; Rist 1970 & Grant 1997) and cultural construction that surrounds it, amongst other things. In considering the constructs of what is deemed 'good' behaviour in schools, Foucault (1977) posits that the idealised child is more susceptible to docility. It is an interesting concept, when returning to the functions of celebrating diversity, uniqueness and equity in education, and what indeed is ultimately valued. Again, Maeve offers an enlightened way of seeking to separate a child from a negative display of behaviour. Weissman's (2015) view of othering or alienation comes to mind here, where children who are made to feel that they sit outside of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) of a school, may exacerbate these feelings due to social alienation, where being unruly or challenging may seem like the only available identity for them (Maija et al., 2019). Maeve appears to advocate the importance of being a 'kind person' in school but I wonder if kindness is construed as behaving well and demonstrating regulation skills, where unkindness is the lack of ability to do so.

Cara further exemplifies ways in which school staff work to increase intrinsic motivation in children -

"I rarely say to children, I'm proud of you, I would say, you should be so proud of yourself. And sometimes those little, tiny bits of language that makes them think, I am proud of myself", (Cara).

The promotion of encouraging positive self-talk appears to be the theme of the comment, where Cara lays importance on children recognising self-praise. It resonates with the notion of supporting a positive mindset (Dweck, 2017), where the value of intrinsic motivation is more valuable and embodied than extrinsic. Cara identifies the importance of teaching children to identify how they feel, such as a sense of pride, rather than just how they are making others feel.

'and sometimes those little bits of language make them think', this comment by Cara resonates with the role of others in promoting positive self-talk (Vygotsky, 1986; Hardy, 2006; Lee & McDonough, 2015; Lee, 2015; Feeney, 2022) and how a supportive adult can contribute to a child's mindset about themselves, be it a conscious or unconscious practice. Dahl-Leonard et al. (2023) identify the importance of promoting positive self-talk in school but highlight how this must be supported through guidance and teacher instruction through training and support. The encouragement of self-talk, such as in Cara's comment, supports self-regulation, something Zimmerman and Schunk (2011, p.1) describe as "processes whereby learners personally activate…behaviours that are systematically oriented toward the attainment of personal goals". I suggest that Cara has an awareness of the importance of helping children to celebrate and value themselves which could then lay the foundation for positive self-awareness in school and beyond.

This approach might also be in retaliation to internalising behaviours (Stormont et al., 2015) that include, "anxiety, aggressiveness and disruptiveness", (Zilanawala et al., 2019, p.207), characteristics that may present as defiant behaviours within the school environment. Such internalising behaviours are advanced by negative self-talk that contribute to a negative working model and self-concept, or "emotional ill-being", (Kim et al., 2021b. p.1). This evidence reinforces the need for a more holistic understanding of children's behaviour, with a wider emphasis on the motivations surrounding behaviour that is seen as disruptive or challenging, such as internalising factors due to traumatic or adverse experiences. Stormont et al. (2015) explain it quite simply noting that depressed children will have a negative view of themselves and their circumstances, which can present in actions that limit opportunities to reap the rewards and encouragement provided within school. Perhaps for many children, such as those that Cara works with, the idea of positive self-talk may not be something they have encountered until now.

A further reflection is the non-directive approach that Cara takes, where with time and constant consistency, the child will begin to develop a more positive inner voice and self-concept. Flanagan and Symonds (2021) reflect how everyone has an inner voice and with engagement and support, adaptive coaching and self-regulation is more likely to thrive. For children who are vulnerable due to traumatic or

adverse experiences, the role of school in supporting skills such as adaptive coaching and self-regulation becomes even more crucial. This view is again supported by Flanagan and Symonds (2021), where they posit that middle childhood is a "unique window into the child's intrapersonal world" (p.1008). From a philosophical perspective, the Foucauldian notion of care of the self, infers with the practice of promoting positive self-talk, such as in Cara's comment. Foucault (1988) discusses the importance of morality, truth telling, and technologies of the self, where the need to tend to oneself is a priority, where the ability to have empathy and care for others will evolve from that. Foucault also described the role that societal psydisciplines has on how one understands oneself and the role that aspects such as discipline, governmentality, freedom, and ethics have within this, something Besley terms as "bondage and repression", (2005, p.79).

Besley (2005) extends Foucault's notion of care of the self to schools and exerts that disciplinary procedures, such as exclusion and removal, can have detrimental effects on not just their education but also life chances. Links have long been identified between school exclusions and the likelihood to engage in criminality (Graham & Bowling, 1995; Office for National Statistics; Appendix 4). This leads me to consider how such measures translate to one's inner voice, self-concept and subsequently, care of the self. However, aspects such as moral education remain absent from educational policy and frameworks and are instead part of the hidden curriculum (Branson, 2020) or structured within certain academic subjects. Cara indicates a willingness on her part to promote the inner wellbeing of children, a practice which appears to have been adopted by Pinewood Primary, which given their demographic needs, may be easier to address.

Roz's comment acts as a reminder to how supporting children to understand their behaviour, is not an overnight fix, but instead something that is gradual and in requirement of ongoing support from positive role models -

> ***"I always say if you're feeling that emotion again, come and find me and we'll go and use the tools. And then when they are angry, they come and find an adult. Like it's such a big step, like when they can come and tell you that they are feeling a certain way, that's so important", (Roz).***

Roz emphasises the importance of promoting autonomy with children and how they are encouraged to seek out support when they are feeling emotions such as anger. The promotion of autonomy is also encouraged when children do seek out support from school staff, where they are then guided to use tools that support self-regulation.

The encouragement of autonomy in practice is something Kamii (1991) describes as a shift in educational practice, where the culture changes to focusing on "critical thinking and choice making (autonomy) from conformity and obedience (heteronomy)", (p.382). In schools, the purpose of helping to promote positive

behaviour will be enhanced if the promotion of autonomy is prioritised rather than the practice of oppression and control. It is also important to consider the culture and ethos of schools, such as the use of non-controlling language, acknowledgement of feelings and emotions and authentic choices for children. These qualities might be perceived as typical respectful practice, but the power and hierarchical structures that situate schools might disrupt this view, where it is often assumed that to maintain order, behaviour management must involve power and control, where children's autonomy is undermined (Hart, 2010). Such structures, if in place in Pinewood Primary, would negate the ability for a child to independently seek out the support of Roz if this was not within the expected rules and boundaries of the setting, as to do so might suggest disorder and defiance.

Bromfield (2006) points to behaviourist practice and how it leads to negative behaviour being perceived in an oversimplified way, reducing the opportunity to explore and understand motivations surrounding behaviour, where managing behaviour is just that, management, rather than an opportunity for the child to understand their feelings and behaviour, which will contribute to the ability to regulate behaviour, such as depicted within Roz's comment. Again, this leads me to consider why such behaviourist practices remain in place within education, where Hart (2010) posits that they are not in place due to evidence-based assessment of their benefits, but instead as a result of a hegemony of behaviour management training where reactive strategies are taught and advised. In the promotion of autonomy in children in education, the distribution of control shifts, where the emphasis is no longer just on school staff having control, but also on children having control (Hart, 2010). A wider distribution of power will provide a more equalised and democratic school culture (Millei, 2012).

While Roz might indicate that there is a willingness to promote children's autonomy within Pinewood Primary, the ability to initiate such a shift in practice and power distribution will impact on the ecosystem of a school, or on a larger scale, educational practice in general. The notion of providing time for children to explore their feelings and emotions, engage in becoming familiar with unique skills that support self-regulation in times of need, and then allowing children to seek out a supportive adult when required, are all practices that might be construed as beyond the function of a typical school, and indeed may be perceived as beyond the job description of school staff. For such practices to be classed as key aspects of pedagogical practice in schools, this must be considered in terms of training, policy directives and time allocation.

I posit the need to consider if there are barriers that may present in retaliation to a change in power distribution through the increased development of autonomy in children, such as described by Roz. The function of school as a societal institution must be examined, which returns to the Foucauldian notion of docile bodies (Foucault, 1977), where school is well situated to be a breeding ground for the reproduction of societal norms, where conformity can be encouraged through power and control,

through techniques such as surveillance (panopticism), ordering and ranking. Çeven et al. (2021) concurs with Foucault's theory, and cite schools as a favourable context applying traditional and modern technologies where, in the context of Roz' comment, if children are encouraged to exercise autonomy and seek out support and guidance when required, these skills will develop and in turn contribute to an alternative accepted norm of how children are taught to explore and understand their feelings and behaviours without the fear of sanctions or punitive disciplinary procedures.

Promoting autonomy and supporting children to develop a deeper understanding of themselves, such as described by Roz, which in turn supports them to become more independent, might suggest an increase of knowledge on their part, which in turn might decrease the power hold of institutions and docility. This resonates with the weight Foucault applies to the field of knowledge to exercise and maintain power and indeed to manage docile bodies (Foucault, 1977). Çeven et al. (2021) discuss the "manipulative norms" (p.162) which are reinforced in schools to promote docility, for example, uniform checks or glorifying students who show 'exemplary' behaviour or attendance and who obey the rules and boundaries set by the school. I query where autonomy fits within such practices, particularly when referring to a vulnerable child, or a "trickier character" as an earlier comment from Aisha suggested. Again, I posit that the intention of school staff may be to support and nurture, but without clear time allocation, training and policy directives, such practices as described by Roz, where children independently seek out support to manage emerging feelings, might be seen as an added pressure on an already demanding and overwhelming school agenda.

The comment below from Roz indicates a further example of very young children utilising self-regulation skills -

> ***"I was in phonics this morning, and one of my children who really struggles to regulate her emotions had a toy dinosaur next to her and she was like, "the dinosaur just called you an unkind name", I was like, "oh, that's made me feel upset I don't like it when people say things about me". And she was like, "I'll speak to him". And she turned to him (the dinosaur) and said, "you can do some breathing; you can calm down", (Roz).***

Roz indicates an example of social modelling, where the child is re-enacting practice that they have previously observed from school staff on how to regulate their behaviour when displaying what is seen as challenging.

Roz's comment is a reminder of the power in which school staff have in influencing children's learning and development and the role of social learning theory within education. Ahn et al. (2020) concur with the role of adults within education and how they can incur motivation in children as aspirants. However, they also state that children will not always seek direction from key people, such as school staff, as there

requires connection and relationships. In fact, Ahn et al. (2020) note that the need for connections is under researched in existing literature, where the focus remains on the professional qualities of the adult or role model, rather than their ability to promote retention and ability to replicate (Bandura, 1972).

Roz refers to a spontaneous reaction from the child where they independently remodelled practice they observed from her. This might indicate a willingness on the child's part to show Roz that they understand and can replicate good practice, or it could indicate an unconscious remodelling of practice from the child. The interaction between the child and Roz might be construed as an example of supporting self-regulation and the processes that follow when a child displays challenging behaviour. The actions described in the comment could be defined as punitive or authoritative, but rather one that focuses on the child's internal responses and working towards encouraging regulation.

Typically speaking, in a punitive setting, if a child were to call a member of staff names, it can be assumed that the child would likely be subjected to some form of conduct correction, as they have acted outside of the rules and boundaries of the setting, or institution (Department for Education, 2024a). However, from a pedagogical stance, Carr (2023) questions the moral and virtuous value of such disciplinary procedures, something that is typically the go-to response for managing behaviour in schools. Carr (2023) examines the function of role modelling in building moral and virtuous characters and notes how, within institutions, such as schools, individuals may re-enact practice that is seen to be right and proper, but such can be just that; re-enactment or copying, and that there must be admirable qualities and an aspiration to acquire their qualities for modelling to be effective long-term. This is where role modelling has its utmost educational purpose and value. Carr (2023) further emphasises the value of education in terms of moral and virtuous guidance and how the intent must be not just for children to mindlessly repeat or copy behaviour or practices, but instead to have an "emotionally intelligent appreciation of and/or commitment to the human significance and value of the good qualities that the model exemplifies", (p.74). In Roz's comment, the child offers a re-enactment of a behaviour management process using the prop of a dinosaur, where the child models what she has previously observed, but it may also suggest an understanding of the processes involved in promoting self-regulation skills rather than being subjected to punitive behaviour management procedures.

The practice of seeking out to address the feelings and emotions of the individual aligns with the values of trauma informed practice such as recognising and realising the effects of adversity (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), where there is a shift from a reactive, consequences led, directive to an approach where children understand theirs and others feelings in the moment, with the view to better equip them moving forward and in turn reduce future conduct problems (Dohrenwends, 2018;Gomez et al.,2021). Diggins (2021) emphasises the importance of positive role models in this instance and how coregulation

supports eventual self-regulation. Roz's example might suggest a child emerging from coregulation to being more attuned to self-regulation practices.

Aisha who teaches in Key Stage 2, provides a further example of self-regulation skills modelled by older children -

> ***"So now that we've got those spaces where some of my children will literally say, "can I just have five minutes?", and they take themselves into that space. And I think that like, as an 11-year-old to be able to go and think to yourself, this is too much for me I need 5 minutes, and I'll bring myself back in. Like to be able to do that is such a life skill", (Aisha).***

Aisha reflects on how children within her class are confident in seeking out time and space to regulate their emotions when they feel they require it. This concept of the child indicating when they require time out, rather than the more traditional process when they are ordered or removed to take time out, might indicate a reversal in traditional behaviour management processes in education (Department for Education, 2024a).

Bailey et al. (2019) remind us that managing behaviour that is deemed socially appropriate is a nurtured rather than innate construct. As a result, self-regulation skills are developed over time and as such should be prioritised within educational contexts. Dan (2016) refers to both internal and external functions that contribute to the ability to self-regulate and highlights the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) to illuminate the role of both for the developing child, and posits that, if there is identification of adversity within a child's environment, the ability to develop self-regulation skills should be enhanced within education. Perhaps Aisha's comment indicates such practice in action within Pinewood Primary. Conversely, from a traditional behaviour management perspective, the opposite might be the case, where children who struggle to self-regulate find themselves with limited power to practice self-regulation and are instead subjected to strict instructions where their regulation is monitored at all times.

I believe that teaching children should prescribe to a scaffolding pedagogy (Vygotsky, 1978), which is rooted in positive emotional attachment, attunement, and reciprocity; and the dissemination of power from adult to child should be incrementally increased when children are developmentally and emotionally capable, something that appears to be intact in Aisha's comment. Bailey et al. (2019) note that in contrast, classrooms where power remains solely with school staff, "reported lower levels of intrinsic motivation, self-esteem and perceived competence", (p.4). As such, the fact that children can identify when they need time out should be celebrated.

As discussed, children who find themselves subject to punitive disciplinary measures are more likely to be children who have or continue to be subjected to adverse experiences in their lives (Walsh, 2019). The

Child Poverty Action Group (2022) noted that marginalisation can cause characteristics such as frustration, embarrassment, social insecurity and worry in children, and a result might present in behaviour that is seen as challenging or defiant in school. Due to the context of Pinewood Primary, it is likely that many of the children will have experienced adversity such as deprivation amongst other things, therefore the notion of being able to recognise the need to self-regulate might be more difficult to master which again highlights the autonomy of children involved in Aisha's comment.

Aisha does not refer to any specific intervention or practice, but instead focuses on the ability of a child to be able to recognise that they need time out to support regulation, and then links this skill as a lifelong benefit. This suggests that the child's ability to opt for time out to regulate is something that they have had access to over a period of time, where the skill has been honed and developed. While little research derives from the impact of students accessing time out of their own accord, Kurki et al. (2016) found that aspects such as options for time out resulted in teachers reducing the use of more punitive strategies such as threats and lectures.

While these notions of self-regulation are celebrated at Pinewood Primary, Aisha indicates that this is not consistent across all schools, much to the detriment of the most vulnerable children -

> ***"I see it from when we send them off to secondary school and I've been in a secondary school transition meeting and there was a little boy, and he was in class and his family life was absolutely awful. And he was one of those children that he would have his outbursts and then he would cry his eyes out and like the relationships that he had across school, like he knew, like we were backing him 100%. And I said to his secondary school, "oh he does have a tendency sometimes, like when he's angry to flip the table", and they immediately said, "oh, he'll be gone within the first month then". It was totally just writing him off. And that's what we find sometimes. It's like the secondary schools. We do all of this and then they get to secondary school and there's nothing there for them at all. And especially kids from our areas and kind of who talk like they talk and who bounce about. But inside he was a little boy and like he wanted to be loved, and he wanted to be looked after and because they appear that certain way and they are very street smart and quite cocky sometimes. I always think that sometimes our most needy ones are the cockiest ones as well", (Aisha).***

Aisha comments on the inconsistencies in behaviour management across two settings, and crucially the impact that this can have on children. She describes a child in her class who the school has 'backed 100%', where his 'outbursts' were understood to be linked to adversities he was experiencing at home. Aisha alludes to using a trauma informed approach to supporting the child, where he was supported even when displaying challenging behaviour. This is resonant of practice where rather than immediately referring to punitive disciplinary procedures such as sanctions or removal, the staff at Pinewood Primary

seek to understand the motivations around the child's behaviour in a bid to help them understand their behaviours and in time, with knowledge and awareness, the child will seek to increase the ability to engage in self-regulation skills. Aisha describes how during a transition meeting regarding the child moving to secondary school, where the secondary school staff member posits that any challenging behaviour will result in him 'being gone within the first month'. Such action is reflective of a zero-tolerance approach, where the need to abide by the rules and boundaries of the setting supersedes anything else (Foucault, 1977). The behaviour management approaches of both settings are starkly different, and the ability to adjust to such an opposing behaviour culture, whilst also experiencing the significant life event of transitioning to secondary education, would be nothing short of intense for any child.

Aisha's inscribes how differently behaviour can be construed across different educational provisions and also the willingness of capacity for different schools to engage in change through expansive learning (Engeström, 1987;2001; Mørck, 2010) for example, where questioning and examining dilemmas helps to consider alternative ways of framing behaviour. Irby and Clough (2015) note that schools operate from a mix of behaviour management models, which are derived from behaviourist and socio-emotional approaches, where behaviourist approaches most often dominate. Jones et al. (2018) challenge why behaviourist approaches remain the most commonly applied and cite reactive policies and lack of staff support on how to respond appropriately to challenging behaviour as a key component. For schools, the aim to have a setting-wide consistent behaviour management approach will be the initial goal where staff support, buy-in and commitment are necessary variables (Feuerborn et al., 2018). How behaviour management within the setting complements other approaches in other settings may be of less concern, particularly with ever-increasing bureaucratic and inspectorate demands placed on schools (Armour, 2016). However, Aisha places a reminder on the importance of consistency in practice across educational settings, as those who are affected will be the most vulnerable, such as the child involved in this comment. The response that the child would be 'out within the first month' if challenging behaviour was displayed in secondary school, indicates a lack of consideration for what the child is experiencing both in and outside of the setting and noting that such drastic actions as removal in the 'first month' indicate a lack of consideration of how significant transition from primary to secondary school can be for a vulnerable child. Jones et al. (2018) discuss the interconnection between behaviour management and student engagement as connection to place (Dewey, 1938) and belonging will inform not only success in school but in life outcomes. "When school responses to behaviour communicate respect, trust, and attention, students tend to feel more connected to school and more likely to exhibit positive behaviours", (Jones et al., 2018, p.2). These findings suggest why the child Aisha is referring to would display remorse and seek out relationships with staff in school following an 'outburst', where Aisha notes that the child knew the staff at Pinewood Primary were 'backing him 100%'. If zero-tolerance and

immediate removal awaits him in secondary school, such responses communicate an unwillingness to promote positive behaviours, but instead to enforce a deterrent model of behaviour management where compliance is encouraged via fear of punishment.

Aisha comments on how children might present as 'cocky' and 'street smart' and how these characteristics might result in children being wrongly perceived as tough and mature. She reflects that in her experience these are often the children that are most vulnerable and most in need of support. Armour (2016) reports on how in the past three decades there continues to be an increasing criminalisation of youth behaviours, where what was originally deemed as manageable and part of healthy development, is being seen as vilifying and dangerous. A possible reason might be accessibility of social media which creates a culture of trouble-seeking youths. Such might explain why settings, such as the secondary school mentioned in the comment, might adopt a zero-tolerance approach to managing behaviour. Schools can lie victim to negative assumptions of youth culture, where they may feel accountable in making an example of 'cocky' and 'street smart' children through punitive procedures. However, research continues to weaken the benefits of such procedures long-term for all involved, where the Timpson Review (2019), verified that school exclusions, such as that described for the child Aisha discussed, increase the likelihood of children becoming at risk of being involved in crime, something Arnez and Condry (2021) describe as a fast track to the school-to -prison pipeline trajectory (Appendix 4). Instead, the benefits of trauma informed approaches continue to evidence a positive classroom culture, improved motivation and increased academic performance (Jenkins et al., 2017; Oxley & Holden, 2021). Sherwood (2017) campaigns for classroom and school to be a reservoir of hope, optimism, and calm for children, particularly those who have experiences of adversity in their lives. The concern lies with what happens children when they transition to other schools, such as in Aisha's comment, where hope and understanding appears to be superseded by the zero-tolerance approach to conformity.

Aisha's observation of how children from where Pinewood Primary is located can present as cocky and street smart, who 'talk like they talk, who bounce about', might infer an awareness of how such characteristics or behaviours are ill-fitting within the realms of educational practice. These qualities might be described as at odds with the celebrated 'docile body' (Foucault, 1977, p.138) in education, where a possible lack of compatibility to the 'societal norms' might result in a threat to governmentality and the biopower of the institution. These more street-smart children do not fit the anticipated model of docility and therefore cause disruption, indeed the boy in which Aisha refers to symbolises the possible consequences of not conforming. A counterargument might be the regimented view of 'norms' in the educational context, where a lack of cultural competency increases feelings of unbelonging, even when children are interacting in ways that have helped them to survive in their environments. Irby and Clough

(2015) examine how realities of practice in schools are created by "discipline-related ideas and utterances," (p.153) which shape dominant paradigmatic discourse, even when new and contradicting information such as how beneficial a nurturing and understanding environment was for the child in which Aisha refers to, is made available.

Conclusion

Much of the interview responses evidenced a collective reference to aspects of child-centredness such as prioritising the basic needs of children to enable them to be ready to learn and to thrive beyond Pinewood Primary. This practice in pedagogy is grounded in Maslow's hierarchy of need (Maslow, 1943), where it is aimed, that basic needs are met to allow higher order functions to flourish, such as self-actualisation. School staff exhibit various ways in which Pinewood Primary works to promote child-centredness, such as the daily breakfast club, to taking time to help children to develop self-regulation skills. A further common theme was the importance placed on intrinsic motivation and helping children to respect and value themselves. Manstead (2018) explains how a person's perception of themselves, and their sense of belonging can be influenced by how they identify socially within different fields. The collective approach towards promoting a sense of belonging in children appears to be well embedded in practice across Pinewood Primary, even within the confines of educational bureaucracy and behaviourist policy guidance. Fitzpatrick et al. (2015) remind us that although performance target indicators and league tables grade 'academic success' on subject specific proficiencies, skills such as close relationships with school staff, security and consistency in education and motivation and engagement, are more likely to predict positive wellbeing and health outcomes in adulthood.

However, the notion of hierarchical structure remains within the theme of child-centeredness, as well as in the other themes discussed within my research findings, and whilst the advocation of child-centred practice appears to be a potential remedy for helping children to thrive, comments such as that made by Aisha on what happens to some children, particularly the most vulnerable, when they leave Pinewood Primary, is a reminder of the reality of behaviourist values remaining the seedbed of how behaviour is managed in schools. Indeed, it can be argued that society remains constructed in this manner too, where power is upheld through hierarchical observation, normalising judgement (Foucault,1977), and essentially continuing to 'other' those who do not comply and conform. The data suggests that child-centred practice is effective in Pinewood Primary, next steps are to identify how this can be distributed more broadly to promote the ongoing wellbeing of all children.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Restatement of research objectives

"Examining perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management' – a case study analysis".

Question - What are the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management within schools?

Research aims -

1. To gain insight into school staff perspectives on trauma informed practice and how it influences how behaviour is supported within schools.

2. To identify benefits and barriers that school staff experience in the implementation of trauma informed practice in schools.

9.2 Summary of findings

As Handema et al. (2023) assert, knowledge generation processes should be deeply rooted in philosophy, a concept I agree with and as such, sought to exhibit the philosophical and theoretical perspectives that work to complement my research enquiry. Alongside this, the feature of reflexivity throughout allowed me to "self-consciously critique, appraise and evaluate," (Olmos-Vega et al., 2023, p.241) how my experiences and views influenced my research to better understand staff perspectives on trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management' in schools.

As noted in the Methodology chapter, I naively entered my PHD study with the aim to showcase the benefits of trauma informed practice and to promote its application in every school. However, my subsequent research evidenced the complexities of such a paradigm shift in practice, and the need for the transition towards trauma informed practice to be informed, gradual and intertwined into the policy, culture and ethos of a setting (Irby & Clough, 2015; Anfara et al., 2013; McCluskey, 2018). Otherwise, it will result in just another in-vogue initiative that will lose popularity over time. To better understand how trauma informed practices, such as restoration and repair, can be authentically integrated into supporting positive behaviour in schools (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2022), a review of barriers that might impact on its implementation helped me to contextualise what can work well and

what may need to change for its success. This chapter will provide conclusive statements drawn from my research to provide further insight into the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practices in schools, and alongside consideration of existing research, a review of the benefits and barriers experienced in the implementation of such practice in Pinewood Primary. I will also indicate how my research contributes to the body of knowledge on the field of trauma informed practice in education.

Following a comprehensive review of literature on trauma informed practice and behaviour management in schools, combined with a reflexive examination of my own positionality and underpinning theory and philosophy, I used empirical research to gain understanding of trauma informed practice in action, and how those who act within it, namely school staff, view it. Reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006;2019) enabled me to immerse in the interview findings and refine and define the key themes associated with the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in Pinewood Primary, where through a process of reviewing and coding the interview data, four themes formed; mutual respect and empathy, leadership and support, parent/carer partnerships, and child-centredness; to interpret the data. This process resulted in an appreciation of the dynamic interplay between theory and practice, providing a more thorough understanding of how knowledge is constructed and disseminated.

9.2.1 Exploring theoretical foundations.

Foucauldian thought was the most resonant in my research, where his writings on power/knowledge apply to how behaviour, or indeed schools in general, are 'managed' where docility and conformity is encouraged and celebrated, further reproducing subjugation and marginalisation as a result (Foucault, 1977; Maclure et al., 2012; Weissman, 2015; Wrigley, 2016; Okilwa et al., 2017). This 'management' is not just confined to pupils, but also school staff where accepted norms are perpetuated through policies and practices that are deemed appropriate. To ensure that the literature and data collection findings were interpreted authentically, and outside of the confines of a specific philosophical underpinning, wider theories were applied in places. One such instance was when habitus, capital and class disparities (Bourdieu, 1984) resonated when examining how 'good' and 'bad' behaviour is valued and perceived within schools, where then accepted practices or social norms might result in either subjugation or rejection. Indeed, a further extension of theory was the interpretation of the importance of connections and relationships, where Bowlby's attachment theory (Bowlby et al., 1952), in the context of home and school, for children, their families and staff, was a prominent theme, particularly when contextualising the experiences of children in schools who had experiences of adversity or trauma. Furthermore, the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) helped to illicit wider concern for social and environmental factors, such

as the impact they have on the developing child and indeed their influence on their surrounding environment.

9.2.2 The indispensable influence of senior leaders in shaping and maintaining change

Although senior leaders were excluded from the data collection process, school staff regularly noted the positive ways in which school leaders support and guide trauma informed practices within the school, where staff wellbeing is prioritised within this practice, "*she (headteacher) wants everybody to be the best individual they can be regardless of what that is", (Sadie)*. Reference to effective leadership and ongoing support were noted by all school staff at different points throughout the interviews, where it was apparent that effective leadership and support underpins their trauma informed philosophy, "*if you get that support from senior leaders around training and also support from your peers, you're much more likely to adopt it", (Layla).* Much of the literature I accessed described the surveillance model of managing behaviour in schools, which mirrored Foucault's theory of panopticism (Foucault, 1977), highlighting how through rules, monitoring and training, the control and power dynamic within educational practice exists (Sugden, 2022). Contrastingly, within the interviews, school staff described leadership where power appeared to be more evenly distributed, where concern for staff identity suggests a commitment to promoting a collaborative learning environment, *"because for it to have an impact on the children, every single adult needs to have buy-in", (Cara).* The interviewed staff indicated the importance of a supportive senior leadership team in accommodating the needs of both staff and children when adapting school-wide change (Leithwood et al., 2006; Berkovich & Eyal, 2018; Morris et al., 2020). The collaborative and supportive nature that staff referred to, indicate an emphasis on learner agency, where staff and leaders worked together to initiate and consolidate change, such as developing a more restorative approach to promoting positive behaviour within the school. Grant and Kajee (2020) liken such collective agency as a by-product of expansive learning (Engeström, 1987;2001), where "the power to act" (Grant and Kajee, 2020, p.363) arises from having a voice and feeling valued, aspects which appear to have been instrumental in Pinewood Primary's shift to trauma informed practices.

Mutual respect and empathy appear to be facets of the culture adopted by school staff and within Pinewood Primary in general, "*you've got to have empathy", (Sadie)*. School staff discussed the need for these qualities across the school, with reference made to this practice being embedded both on and off task and with all children and peers, not just those they are directly involved with, "*we just never walk past a child in the corridor without greeting them, smiling, bringing them in. Trust can start there" (Cara)*. This indicated an awareness of the importance of practising positive personal interactions not just from the perspective of teacher-student, but the wider value of laying the foundations of positive interactions (Anfara et al., 2013). Mullet's (2014) concept of empathy-based philosophy resonates with the practice

described by school staff, where the emphasis on working to build effective pro-social behaviours works to strengthen bonds across the school community (Reiss, 2017). The notion of '*getting in the hole with them'* or '*Even if you don't understand, be there still,'(Sadie),* signified a willingness to foster a deeper understanding and compassion for the experiences and emotions of others. This is at odds with traditional punitive 'behaviour management' practices, as school staff indicated a willingness to be alongside the child, rather than feeling accountable or "responsibilised" (Done & Murphy, 2018, p.142) to take control or dominate in that moment.

9.2.3 Tensions in transformation – the influence of performativity and bureaucracy in schools

Pinewood Primary indicated that even within the current confines of educational bureaucracy (Punch, 1972), a culture of mutual empathy and respect has emerged which evidence how collective efforts to initiate change within a school can be successful. The commitment from the staff team, alongside the change emanating from a problem or dilemma (Engeström & Sannino, 2010) may have been instrumental in this change. There are other factors that may have contributed to its apparent successful application where perhaps the application of trauma informed practice was an additional drive from the school community that went beyond typical guidelines and regulations, *"I 100% follow my school and their guidance and they know what they are talking about", (Sam)*. However, I feel it necessary to recognise that the positionality of the school, being originally subjected to and 'stuck' (Munoz Chereau et al., 2022; Perryman et al., 2023), with Ofsted 'Requires Improvement' ratings, and with the recruitment of a new senior management team, that the opportunity to adopt such a change in practice might have complemented the school staff's ability to make change. This concept of moral and ethical obligation leads me to consider the current construct of schools and whether empathy, acceptance and understanding, are restricted as a result. Again, the school staff in my research discussed their willingness to confidently pursue the needs of their school and community, whilst managing to exist within the confines of educational policy and bureaucracy. I query if, given the unique status of Pinewood Primary, within an area of high deprivation, being originally subjected to a 'Requires Improvement' Ofsted rating, meant that the school was in a suitable position to focus on aspects such as kindness, helpfulness, and basic human kindness (Maslow, 1943). Whilst I hope that every school setting supports these fundamental characteristics of citizenship, I query if the demographics play a part in how much this is exercised and acknowledged, and if such a commitment to empathy and understanding can apply to every school.

9.2.4 Creating a culture of connection

The importance of connection and secure attachment relationships is evident throughout the research findings, *"And you know what? Even if you don't understand, be there still", (Sadie); "Its showing that I'm open", (Roz).* These connections and their links to the promotion of self-regulation skills remained a prominent theme, particularly when considering children and young people who have had experiences of adversity and trauma in their lives (Forner, 2017; Price & Hooven, 2018; Sohn et al., 2019; Brooks, 2020); *"to be able to go and think to yourself, this is too much for me I need 5 minutes and I'll bring myself back in. Like to be able to do that is such a life skill", (Aisha).* However, regardless of this awareness, educational practice continues to default to discipline and sanctions (Morrison & Vaandering, 2012; Department for Education 2011;2024a) instead of seeking to understand the needs of the child. While any child can exhibit behaviour that is seen as challenging, it is likely that children who have experiences of adversity and trauma are more likely to be seen as disruptive and therefore be subjected to behaviour management procedures in schools (Hebert, 2018). In Chapter 4 on problematising behaviour management in schools, I interrogated this concept, where the arbitrariness of accepted behaviour in schools is actualised, and how this is often based on social norms reproduced by the dominant group (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), where the cultural capital of dominant classes within society is favoured which marginalises minority and disadvantaged groups. This reinforces and perpetuates societal hierarchies and was evident in the interviews where staff members referred to how behaviour is viewed and judged, such as Hayley's reflection on children, '*from beautiful areas behaving beautifully'* in contrast to Aisha's comment where, "*kids from our areas and kind of who talk like they talk and who bounce about…. sometimes our most needy ones are the cockiest ones as well".* Children access a system embedded in the habitus and cultural capital of the bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984), where it appears that the intent is to 'integrate' the less dominant socioeconomic groups into the accepted habitus of the school, or become othered if they fail to comply, where their 'choice' to conform has been consciously denied.

The theme of belonging and the apparent suitability of certain socioeconomic groups within the education system, led me to the theme of discursive spaces within education and how dominant beliefs and attitudes can assert the accepted habitus through language, rules, boundaries, and curriculum content, which leads to subjugation (McInerney, 2009; Pratto & Stewart, 2011; Leo, 2020; de França Sá, 2021). The current education system advocates for compliance and obedience, which can be construed as the docile child (Foucault, 1977), the attentive soldier who aims to please and be praised. This creates a discourse of the importance of control and subjugation, where failure to conform can result in being "*gone within the first month", (Aisha),* and therefore opportunities for uniqueness are limited. Indeed,

discursive spaces are further determined by policy and educational bureaucracy, take for example the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), where regulations and key performance indicators are prioritised beyond individual needs as these are the points in which the school will be examined and measured (Kilinç et al., 2016). When enthralled in a neoliberal, performance based, bureaucratic education system, the focus appears to lay more concern for academic grading rather than wellbeing (Maija & Brunila, 2019; Hempel-Jorgensen 2009). This devalues the dedication and hard work that school staff, such as in Pinewood Primary, afford to support the needs of their school community. Where little concern is given to children who are experiencing parentification (Masiran, 2022; Schoor & Goldner, 2023), where their behaviour is seen as challenging, but it may be because, *"they know, well, their mum will get called and she will have to come and get them and then they can make sure that mums okay and everything's ok", (Roz).* A further example is the delay of mathematics and phonics teaching to introduce breakfast club, so that staff can assure that children, "*know they can have breakfast before they start", (Roz).* Breakfast club is more than that, where the predictability of being greeted and socialising with staff and peers will promote wider developmental aspects such as social, emotional development and positive relationships, aspects which create potential for children to understand themselves and develop self-regulation skills (Sohn et al., 2019). Practice that is at odds with educational bureaucracy, where performativity can supersede the unique needs of children.

Examining further the importance of promoting the wellbeing of the school community, the prominence of working effectively with parents and carers repeatedly emerged within the research, "*The relationship with the parents is just as important, getting them to trust us because they could have been in the exact same situation", (Cara).* The theme of parent/carer partnerships has an inextricable link to all four themes from the data analysis. The points raised by school staff identify the crucial and complex role of working to forge positive relationships with children and their families (Campbell, 2010; Clarke et al., 2010; Sousa & Rodrigues, 2012; Ishimaru, 2014) and the acute role this has in developing trauma informed practices such as empowerment, understanding and cultural responsiveness (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). The frequent reference made to parents and carers by school staff signifies the profound impact they have on their child's wellbeing (Early Education, 2021), where Pinewood Primary plays a vital role in providing support to complement their needs. With the closure of community facing early intervention services such as Children's Centres (UK Parliament, 2022), families increasingly look towards schools as a place of support and guidance (Hornby & Blackwell, 2018), and indeed school staff responses evidence how this is what is experienced within Pinewood Primary, *"Coming in really upset and they have a brew and leave feeling better as they had a chance to vent", (Layla); "when we have those open conversations and they see we want to help them, it changes, it's so welcoming for our community", (Aisha).*The acknowledgement that to actively support children, their families must also be supported, evidences an awareness of not just 'holding' children in schools (Winnicott, 1972; Hyman, 2012), but instead seeking

long-term gains for children and their families, aspects that relate to empowerment, which resonates with the principles of trauma informed practices (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). The collective support offered to build positive relationships with parents by school staff is commendable, and it is also necessary to consider the sensitivity of engaging vulnerable parents, where the focus is around creating autonomy and empowerment (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), "beyond education", (Skovdal & Campbell 2015, p.8) to promote "shared responsibility" (Clarke et al., 2010, p.65). While at times, the support offered by school staff might appear oversimplistic given the complex realities of some families, "*You know like in a very gentle way helping parents understand," (Maeve),* it is important to recognise and celebrate the positive impact of building relationships with families as it is through these relationships that families might find solace, support and hope.

9.2.5 The intersection of person-centredness and trauma informed practice

Much of the interview responses alluded to a culture of person or child-centred respect within the school, which aligns to the working definition of trauma informed practice, which advises that "Efforts are made to share power and give service users and staff a strong voice", (Office for Health Disparities, 2022). The interviewed staff show that this applies to the Pinewood Primary community, including children; *"Because if somebody says oh, they (child) are terrible all the time except when they go to football. So, what's happening at football training? Let's look at that tiny exception", (Maeve)*; staff; "*regardless of who you (staff) are, regardless of your character, you could be somebody quiet, and she will help you. Just see the core of values in that person and just set that free", (Sadie);* and parents; "*when we have those open conversations and they (parents) see we want to help them, it changes, it's so welcoming for our community", (Aisha).* This contrasts with the neoliberal view of schooling where schools are subjected to performativity (Maija & Brunila, 2019; Hempel-Jorgensen 2009) and children are moulded to meet accountability measures rather than prioritising holistic wellbeing. Such tensions impact on teacher autonomy and agency, where "the struggle over the teacher's soul", (Ball, 2003, p.216) indicates the tensions and conflicts that educators face as a result. This is recognised by Maeve in the interviews where she acknowledges the traditional hierarchy of schools, *"in the past, teachers ruled solely by fear because that was the thing, that you just sat down, and you just shut up and children weren't given the chance to be themselves".* Maeve, and the other staff interviewed, referred to past experiences and knowledge to analyse and examine practice in a bid to create meaningful change for their school community, functions which again resonate with expansive learning, where a synthesis of pre-existing and new knowledge leads to improvements of knowledge and practice (Robertson, 2014).

My research with school staff indicated a culture of child-centred respect within Pinewood Primary that works to promote wellbeing and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1972) in children, where they are beginning to

develop self-regulation skills and increase their ability to understand themselves which highlights the importance of seeking to promote a trauma informed culture, where children are central to all practice and pedagogy (Casey, 2016). School staff repeatedly demonstrated an awareness of the child in school as just one part of the environment in which they are influenced by, and in turn influence (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). They posit the need to see the child in this manner in order to effectively support their needs, *"knowing him and his background, knowing his family around him and the implications that that has on him……knowing all those things helps me to help him", (Sadie).* Indeed, whilst practice is child-centred, an extension of that is also acknowledged and tended to those who work with children, staff, and families alike, further emphasising the person-centred philosophy exercised within the school.

While many examples of child-centred practice were evident in the study, concerns were also raised around the disconnect in trauma informed practices when children left Pinewood Primary and transitioned to other school settings, such as secondary schools; "*I said to his secondary school, "oh he does have a tendency sometimes, like when he's angry to flip the table", and they immediately said, "oh, he'll be gone within the first month then" (Aisha)*. This raises questions around the sustainability and effectiveness of trauma informed practice (Vaandering, 2010) and its influence on behaviour management in schools long-term, where an acute disconnect of practice and values results in the most vulnerable children being alienated and othered yet again (Weissman, 2015; Breiner et al., 2016). I believe that it is essential for schools such as Pinewood Primary to continue to demonstrate resistance (Foucault, 1991; Deacon and Parker, 1995) to accepted discourses and seek to promote trauma informed practices that prioritise the child's needs and that it is essential for schools who do not yet engage in such practices to re-evaluate their approach in supporting their most vulnerable learners. However, I feel it necessary to be conscious of the complexities of change for schools, where limited guidance and support will challenge the ability to consider the consolidation of alternative practice. For example, the secondary school that Aisha refers to might have few behaviour concerns due to their strict zero tolerance procedures, where in regard to performativity and progress, the school is meeting requirements. There may appear to be no problem or dilemma to consider (Mørck, 2010). But this is where children, such as the one Aisha refers to get lost in bureaucracy, where the few are sacrificed for the many. It might appear less challenging and less complex to stick to what schools have always done, to remain a function of the accepted discourse which is fuelled by the biopower of those in control (Foucault, 1990), but for the wellbeing of children and their life outcomes, it is imperative that the temptation to revert to traditional punitive practices is resisted, and instead schools are committed to trauma informed practices that better serve the needs of all children and the school community.

9.2.6 Recognising and overcoming barriers

As my research was situated in a school, I felt it necessary, ahead of conducting empirical research, to explore guidance which schools use to support behaviour management, namely what constitutes their framework for expectations, or accepted norms (Foucault, 1977), and how this might influence school culture. Therefore, I examined current educational policy and guidance to ascertain what is available to schools to support positive behaviour. Perhaps unsurprisingly, key policy guidance, such as the Behaviour in Schools document (Department for Education, 2024a), focuses more heavily on what to do when challenging behaviour arises, and less so on how to promote positive behaviour as embedded and ongoing practice. However, during the course of my research, from 2021-2024, the Behaviour in Schools document had three updates where the language used within the document has become less authoritative in its most current 2024 version, where less use of the words power and discipline have been applied. I see this as positive and indicates a steer towards a more compassionate approach to promoting positive behaviour in schools, however the practices in which the document advocates for remain unchanged.

While school staff did not refer to specific guidance or policies within the interviews, some did infer an awareness of the impact of guidance and policy on practice; but instead of being in support of it, school staff indicated their lack of investment in such guidance, and instead their belief in their schools guidance; *"I 100% follow my school and their guidance and they know what they are talking about. I'll end up getting really political here!", (Sam); "Like we're as a staff, constantly evolving, looking at different research and thinking about our actual cohort of children as a school. What do they need right now?", (Hayley).* Comments such as these from school staff indicated a separation between the guidance and research conducted to support the school community at Pinewood Primary and the wider guidance around schools in general. Reference to a 'constantly evolving' staff team that use 'what (children) need right now' infers expansive learning where staff worked from questions or problem-based observations to improve practice (Engeström, 2001). I think this attitude from school staff at Pinewood Primary has been a driving force in setting about change at Pinewood Primary, where their practice is shaped and informed by the needs of those who occupy it, rather than being moulded to fit societal expectations, and performative and bureaucratic measures.

It appeared that staff investment in trauma informed practices at Pinewood Primary was at odds with the Behaviour in Schools guidance, where even in its most updated version still advises that, "De-escalation techniques can be used to help prevent further behaviour issues arising and recurring and schools may use pre-agreed scripts and phrases to help restore calm", (Department for Education, 2024a, p.15). This suggests that while there appears to be some consideration of trauma informed practices in promoting

positive behaviour in schools, if challenging behaviour continues, resorting back to authoritarian punitive practice is permitted and encouraged. School staff discussed the importance of supporting children to find calm and regulation, but their responses involved empathy and connection, where knowing what to do next did not require a script or set of phrases; '*even if you don't understand, be there still', (Sadie).* School staff also recognised that children might expect certain punitive engrained practices in schools which lack the ability for them to understand, repair and restore; "*like for a child, 'well why are you kicking me out of class for swearing when everybody does it. I'm allowed to swear at home", (Sam); "Validating how they feel rather than screaming, 'get back into class!'", (Hayley).* This resonates with the Foucauldian notion of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1999), where scope and liberation might be visible on some level, but normal power and control resumes within the institution if it assumes as being under threat. Guidance such as Behaviour in Schools (Department for Education, 2024a) is a stark reminder of power and who is in dominance and who is dominated (Foucault, 1977). Such guidance might be construed as a necessary tool for school staff, as it provides steps on how to manage behaviour and create order (Ofsted, 2022), but my argument is not the document itself but rather it's tone and positionality. Emphasis on control and power reinforces the concept of 'managing behaviour' rather than supporting children to understand themselves, their behaviour and from there how to regulate themselves in spheres beyond school. When guidance is rooted in the fundamental need to obey, the overarching requirement to gain control supersedes opportunities to take time to connect, build relationships and respect, through reciprocal interactions, which alludes to the values of trauma informed practices (Office for Health Disparities, 2022), qualities that support self-regulation and in turn less challenging behaviour (Naughton, 2013).

My research findings evidence that Pinewood Primary has a trauma informed culture, but it also identifies the struggle in which school staff can experience when attempting to prioritise such practices amidst bureaucratic structures that imply what is deemed of most importance within education, namely academic progress through assessment driven results which feeds performativity (Hempel-Jorgensen 2009; Maija & Brunila, 2019), rather than emotional and interpersonal skills. This resonates with the Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1984), specifically biopower (1990), where the distribution of power/knowledge concepts mediate from key sites such as schools (Sugden, 2022), which with current educational structures dictate an unequal distribution of power and control, where normalising judgement (Foucault, 1977) advocate for docility and subjugation (Zaidi et al., 2021), for the 'good', well-behaved children who consistently follow rules and routines, which permits discipline and negativity towards the 'bad' children, those who threaten the biopower through challenging and disruptive behaviour 'choices'. To address this issue, systematic alterations around power displacement are required, a redistribution of influence. Indeed, the idea of mutual respect and empathy lies within positive relationships, where there is a willingness to give concern for the position of others regardless of

hierarchical difference (Tschannen-Moran, 2014). Again, my research indicates that Pinewood Primary appears to seek to make positive change for their school community, *"Yeah, like for my mental health as well, I think the school seems like such a much calmer space", (Roz); "It's not a matter of churning out to get results", (Sam)*, but beyond this, oppressive bureaucratic structures remain, indicating the need for change to go beyond the school.

9.2.7 Wellbeing for the whole school community

The research has highlighted that although any change and veering from normalised practice can be daunting for a school (Kilinc et al., 2016); the way in which trauma informed practice is adopted and applied can be broad and wide-reaching. Elements of practice fundamentally link to mutual respect and empathy, having time to think about, seek to understand and have compassion for oneself and others, staff, leaders, and children alike, essentially the ethics of care (Foucault, 1997); "*I think if it went to places where there wasn't enough people on board then it would fail because it needs the right people", (Maeve)*. The interviews comments did not refer to any specific method or approach that they needed to become specialised within, instead the practices they refer to ascribe to promote positive relationships (Bowlby, 1988; Reeve et al., 2012; Tschannen-Moran, 2014; Padmakumari & Chandrasegaran, 2018). The research findings indicate that staff accumulate this knowledge through a combination of effective senior leadership support and guidance; "*So, she (headteacher) doesn't try to change anybody, fix anybody. It's not about that. It's just them being the best version of themselves", (Sadie);* alongside a research active staff body; *"Like we're as a staff, constantly evolving, looking at different research", (Hayley*); and regular training to support themes of trauma informed practice within the school, "*if you get that support from senior leaders around training and also support from your peers, you're much more likely to adopt it", (Layla).* The merging of these factors informed meaningful change for Pinewood Primary and again correlate to a model of expansive learning, where "new knowledge is created in situation and gets shaped over time", (Tessier, 2022, p.5).

School staff did not refer to specific approaches or programmes within the interviews, where instead their responses demonstrated a cultural change where trauma informed practices appear to have instead become integral to their culture and ethos (Spacey & Thompson, 2022; Conkbayir, 2023), rather than an add-on; "*we just never walk past a child in the corridor without greeting them, smiling, bringing them in", (Cara)*; *"You're not your behaviour. Like that behaviour wasn't nice and we know that you're such a kind person, we know who you are", (Maeve).* The simplicity of these actions described by staff demonstrate how accessible a shift in culture can be, provided it is founded upon effective support and guidance. However, opportunities to initiate change are disrupted by the ever-increasing demands of educational practice which instead reduces the opportunity for relationship building to thrive. Foucault's theory on

care of the self (Foucault, 1986;1997) was a recurrent philosophical underpinning that resonated when analysing the interview findings, where school staff discussed how the school community demonstrated empathy and respect, key facets of practice that is trauma informed, which in turn become engrained practices across the school.

While the interviews evidenced a collective resolve from the participating school staff on the positive influence that trauma informed practice has had upon Pinewood Primary, there was also consideration of how such a shift in practice challenged behaviour management in its traditionally behaviourist sense (Jones et al., 1998), where school staff might reject such an approach as it challenges the accepted practice of punitive procedures; *"Some people really don't like that, especially if they see themselves as authority", (Maeve); "how dare you? Why are you speaking to me after everything I've done for you?", (Aisha)*. This was a prominent aspect to capture and consider because it helps to 'humanise' practice within schools, where it does not make the assumption that everyone will immediately buy-in and advocate for a certain practice, where individual needs are considered. A response to such resistance was the opportunity for staff to be supported to '*be themselves'* and to have agency in the policy development and decision-making processes of the school, which worked to create a supportive and empowering school culture. These observations again resonated with expansive learning theory, in particular Engeström's expansive learning cycle (Engeström, 2001), where learners construct a new concept through iterative collective analysis, examination, testing, implementation, and finally consolidation (Yu, 2023). Much of the research findings identify how effective leadership and support can help to foster acceptance of new practices, even though senior leaders were excluded from my data collection process. It has been enlightening to see such strong reference to effective support and leadership within the research and it leads me to consider if involving leaders would have enhanced the research findings further. Pinewood Primary's commitment to promoting a trauma informed culture, where staff wellbeing, in addition to that of the children and families they work with, appears to be a key factor in ensuring its ongoing application and success, *"I'm happy to come to work and I see that with the children as well, that they're happy to come to school", (Roz)*. The research shows that the interviewed school staff entrust in the culture and ethos of Pinewood Primary, where a willingness to be guided by leaders appears to supersede their belief in government or political objectives, "*I 100% follow my school and their guidance and they know what they are talking about", (Sam)*; aspects that might suggest a level of institutionalisation (Cooper, 2008). However, I query if this is of significant concern if there is effective leadership and support, where school-wide wellbeing is a prominent focus, and staff report feeling happy and valued. Perhaps a barrier to an alternative way of understanding behaviour in schools, such as through trauma informed practice, is that it poses a threat to governmentality (Foucault, 1977) and accepted practices in the reproduction of dominance and control within education and subsequently society.

9.3 Contributions to knowledge

Through gaining the perspectives of school staff within a specific primary school setting that identifies as trauma informed, my research offers insight into the perceived benefits and challenges staff and schools in general face in seeking to promote positive outcomes for children and families, particularly those who have experiences of trauma and adversity in their lives.

The research findings highlight the importance of implementing trauma informed practice in schools, but also offers a pragmatic insight into the need for such practice to be authentically embedded and woven into the culture, to reduce its implementation becoming yet another tokenistic initiative that will lose popularity over time. It exhibits how effective leadership and support, staff engagement and collective decision making, a research active culture and relevant training, contribute to the fundamental need to build positive relationships within a school community. Furthermore, the research findings emphasise the importance of creating a safe and supportive environment, where respect and empathy are prioritised (Conkbayir, 2023), where the school community, staff and children alike, can thrive.

The research context is novel as I use a case study methodology (Gillespie, 2023) on an English primary school, where the perspectives of staff who work within the school are examined to better understand how they view trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management'. The provision of a comprehensive understanding of school staff experiences, alongside interrogation of literature related to the phenomena of trauma informed practice and behaviour management within education, and the philosophical underpinnings of scholars such as Foucault, Bowlby and Bourdieu, offer valuable insights that can inform future research in the field of educational practice. This study offers a unique perspective on this important issue, by capturing the views of school staff that work in a trauma informed way. Research (Gozali et al., 2017; Atkinson & King, 2023; Gillett-Swan & Baroutsis, 2023) states that teacher voice continues to be marginalised in literature and policymaking in education, where those who work within schools have very little control over issues they address (Gozali et al., 2017). This irony is further highlighted by Atkinson and King (2023), where they quote Alexander's (2001) assertion that, "without the voice of participants it will be hard, if not impossible, to separate from the tangle of ideas those which engage with practice and those that merely surround it", (p.7). My research intentionally positions school staff voice as central to understanding practice in schools, and as such can be a valuable, practitioner informed resource for educators and others working to create a more inclusive, equitable and supportive school environment.

9.3.1 Implications of the study

The findings offer an account of the many layers involved in challenging accepted power and dominant constructs in seeking to provide practice that is trauma informed and how fundamental core aspects such as empathy, respect, effective leadership and staff support, parent partnerships and child-centredness, are to its application within schools. Through examining the perspectives of school staff, valuable insights are provided on how trauma informed practice can seek to be implemented, where the need to individualise the approach to complement the culture and ethos of the setting (Veugelers, 2017), supersedes the need to adopt a scripted (Department for Education, 2024a) or rigid approach of 'do's and don'ts'. There are countless interventions available that present the concept of being trauma informed in schools, however my research evidences the requirements for the specific needs of schools to be considered, where change is unique to the needs of each setting (Hurley, 2015; McCluskey, 2018; Maynard et al., 2019), where a process of identifying challenges and barriers, testing its application, ongoing evaluation, and the willingness to adapt when required, becomes perpetual practice (Engeström, 2001). My research with Pinewood Primary indicates that personalising trauma informed practice to the needs of the school community, creates a more supportive and nurturing learning environment, especially for those, children, families and staff alike, who have had experiences of adversity or trauma in their lives.

The study can act as an aide when reviewing behaviour management strategies in schools as it offers understanding of the impact of adversity and trauma on a child (Felitti et al., 1998; Sherwood, 2017; Music, 2019; Gomez et al., 2021), and the effect this can have on their capacity to learn and abide by rules and boundaries within school. Another key finding was the need to tend to the wellbeing of school staff (Rose et al.,2019; Brady & Wilson, 2021), through aspects such as effective leadership support, shared decision making, a research active school community and access to relevant training. The shift in practice at Pinewood Primary emerged from an identified need to make change through questioning existing practice, where staff were and continue to be integral to this change. When staff feel supported, their practice is more likely to replicate such qualities also (Feuerborn et al., 2018; Conkbayir, 2023). Working to improve opportunities to increase staff knowledge on the impact of trauma and adversity, alongside developing ongoing staff support systems within schools, will create a more cohesive and supportive school community that is well equipped to address the needs of individuals who have been or continue to be subjected to traumatic or adverse experiences.

The research indicated change in Pinewood Primary and highlighted the facets that contributed to this shift in narrative, where collective contributions from the school community aided the change towards

trauma informed practices and a different lens through which to view children's behaviour. The interviews with staff evidenced that such a paradigm shift in practice was not an instant switch, but instead a gradual process that intertwined a number of factors, such as the needs of children, and the agency and voice of staff and the school community. The interview data showed that school staff referred to the change in practice as not complete, but instead an ongoing transformative process, where concern for the nuances of those who access Pinewood Primary, such as the demographics of the area in which they live, the homelives of children, and staff wellbeing, were integral. I hope that my research, both the literature sourced on trauma informed practices and behaviour management within schools, alongside my empirical findings, contribute to the ongoing research on such practices within schools.

At the initiation of the study, I stated my interest in using the research to provide further knowledge and understanding of how to effectively implement trauma informed practices within schools. I was hopeful that I could identify a theoretical underpinning that resonated with my research, and from there a framework to aid schools in bringing about change. Many aspects of the research, as identified throughout my thesis, alluded to expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987), where school staff were an integral part of change in practice at Pinewood Primary and how change emerged from the identification of questions or dilemmas in practice (Mørck, 2010). As a result, I have used Engeström's expansive learning cycle (2001), alongside an adaptation by Lotz-Sisitika (2019), to create 'Engeström's Expansive Learning Cycle – Supporting Trauma Informed Practice in Schools'. I recommend that this cycle could support schools when analysing, reflecting and growing, trauma informed practices within schools.

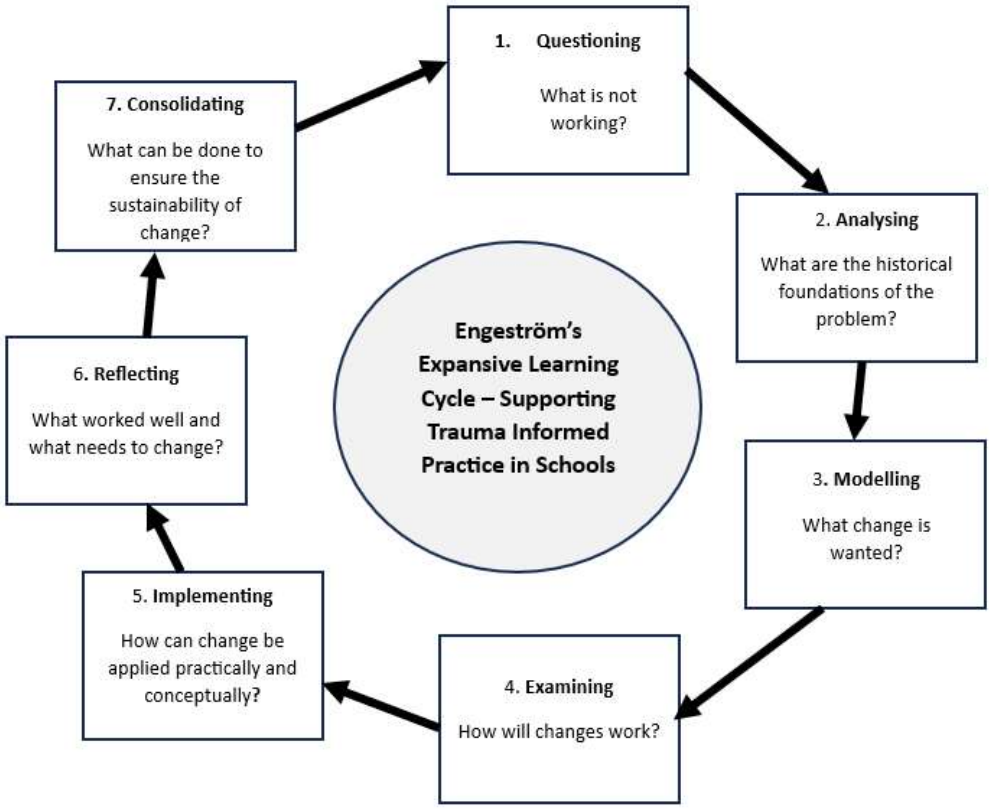

Figure 4 – '**Engeström's Expansive Learning Cycle – Supporting Trauma Informed Practice in Schools**'.

The cycle will provide a more cohesive approach to understanding the many dynamics that require consideration when seeking to set about change in schools. Where the collaborative nature of the expansive learning cycle will encourage practice that is considered, shared and reflected upon, across the school community. Engeström describes how expansive learning permits the co-construction of knowledge, where he builds upon Vygotsky's earlier More Knowledgeable Other (MKO) theory (Engeström, 2016), where the MKO can expand to a broader community of practice, resources and tools that promote effective change. The good practice in one school, such as Pinewood Primary, could then act as a blueprint for practice elsewhere, where the nuances contribute to effective transformation of practice, which will help to address transitions within and between schools, such as highlighted within this study. As a result, a more cohesive approach to how behaviour in schools is addressed will prevail, where fragmented examples of good practice will decrease and become more common than not (McMorris, 2013; Perry & Daniels, 2016). This will reduce the risk of children experiencing different types of practice within schools, particularly when transitioning to different settings, and provide a more consistent and nurturing approach to helping children to thrive in life, rather than to solely abide by the rules and boundaries of school.

9.4 Recommendations for future research

While the research intent was met by examining the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management in a school setting that is trauma informed, I acknowledge the need to consider future research. I began to consider limitations to the study in the Methodology Chapter and from there developed possible routes for further research.

A notable limitation of the study is the sample size, as the research was conducted with a single primary school, which self-identified as trauma informed. Indeed, these factors inherently restrict the generalisability of the findings (Gilbert, 2016) due to several contextual factors. For example, the research being conducted in a primary school setting, in an area of high deprivation, and recipients of a less than good Ofsted rating may have influenced both the readiness for and receptivity to change. It is important not to hide the fact that these conditions may have made Pinewood Primary particularly amendable to transformation. These recognised challenges, combined with an apparent willingness from staff and leaders, is likely to have positively cultivated the adoption of a trauma informed philosophy. A key question that arises from this context is whether leaders in schools from different demographics can draw meaningful insights from the findings at Pinewood Primary and use them as a guide to inform change in their school or indeed even to consider an alternative practice. While the rich qualitative findings, in particular the four key themes identified, are not exclusive to the specific practices of Pinewood Primary and are arguably transferable, I acknowledge that the themes and the methodological approach would be strengthened by conducting further research across a broader range of schools. A recommendation for future research in this field would be to expand my research to include a cluster of schools that also identify as trauma informed. The aim would be to further interrogate and understand how different schools perceive and apply aspects of trauma informed practice into the culture of their schools. This would present the opportunity to gain a wider understanding of the links between culture, demographics and practice, and how they are interconnected when engaging in trauma informed practices. I would apply the same interpretivist methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017), using interviews with school staff and reflective thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006;2019), to determine themes associated with the data findings. An inductive approach is necessary at this point of further research to allow for new themes to arise and to allow similar themes to be recognised also. This is to complement the uniqueness of trauma informed practice and to use the existing research as a foundational sample which can then contribute to the generalisability of findings across other schools that identify as trauma informed. Following collection of data and themes from different schools, I would then conduct a comparative case study analysis (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) to identify patterns, similarities, and differences across the different school case studies. It is at this point that I anticipate that a

deepened understanding of themes that contribute to effective trauma informed practices in schools will emerge. With findings from a comparative study, the findings become more valid and aspects more transferable, which will help even the most reluctant school to take interest in an alternative approach.

It would also be beneficial to have the research sample include secondary school provision as well as primary, to examine further the challenges associated with transition within my existing research study. Unlike primary school settings, secondary schools often operate within rigid structures which lean towards behaviour management through punitive responses which presents significant challenge to embedding trauma informed practices. To gain a deeper understanding of how trauma informed practices can be effectively implemented, a comparative study of secondary schools that have been successful in this approach is required. Such a study would enable a wider identification of shared themes, strategies and adaptations that have worked well in this change in practice, whilst also highlighting the contextual nuances that shape the change in practice in secondary school provision. A wider understanding of the interpretation of trauma informed practice would help to investigate further how it can be adapted in different schools with different contexts. This approach would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the different layers that complement trauma informed practice in schools, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of the perspectives of school staff and the influence of trauma informed practice on behaviour management. Such recommendations for future research would not have been possible without first conducting the study at Pinewood Primary, which highlighted the crucial role of context specific practice and the interconnectedness of factors such as demographics, staff need, student needs and broader community need.

A particular strength from the research is the identification of aspects which resonate with expansive learning, where through examination of staff perspectives within Pinewood Primary there unearthed factors that appear to have contributed to why the school community, staff and children alike, have welcomed this alternative approach. This links to aspects of expansive learning such as first acknowledging a need for change due to the identification of problems within the activity system (Engeström,1987;2001). Although staff at Pinewood Primary did not explicitly reference a cycle of change, their responses reflected key elements of expansive learning theory (Engeström, 1987;2001). This resonance enabled me to develop an adaptation of Engeström's expansive learning cycle (Figure 4) that school staff and leaders could use as a tool to assess whether their school community might benefit from an alternative way of understanding behaviour. Therefore, a further recommendation for future research would be to trial the 'Engeström's Expansive Learning Cycle – Supporting Trauma Informed Practice in Schools' (Figure 4), in a pilot study model with a school setting that is interested in developing trauma informed practice. The study would adopt a longitudinal methodology (Neale, 2021) to ascertain

its impact over time. To investigate the impact of implementing a change in practice, such as a school becoming more trauma informed, a longitudinal research model would enable the tracking of progress through the stages of the cycle (Figure 4). The approach would facilitate a more in-depth examination of the cycle's functions, including both the benefits and the potential barriers to its implementation. Researchers would consult with the school community; leaders, staff, children, and parents, to consider the steps of activity within the cycle. Conducting a pilot study would also test the cycles applicability and identify any changes or modifications that would enhance the diagram further to support school communities.

In conclusion, the adapted 'Engeström's Expansive Learning Cycle – Supporting Trauma Informed Practice in Schools' (Figure 4), offers a context sensitive framework for supporting schools in adopting trauma informed practices. Instead of imposing a prescriptive model, the cycle invites critical reflection, collaboration and problematisation that is rooted in the unique challenges, histories, cultures and demographics of schools. As a result, the cycle is particularly promising for engaging even the most sceptical school leaders, as it does not demand adherence to a rigid external agenda, but instead fosters agency through encouraging staff and leaders to identify and address their own contradictions in practice. Further research is required to explore how this adaptation of the expansive learning cycle will function across different school contexts, but its flexibility and grounding in practical sense-making indicates that it may act as a supportive catalyst for meaningful and sustainable transformations towards trauma informed practices in schools.

9.5 A final word on reflexivity

As I draw my study to a close, I wish to conclude, by building upon my earlier writing on reflexivity in the Methodology Chapter, and by reflecting upon the interplay of my positionality as a researcher and the research process itself. As discussed, my background as a family support worker and educator shaped my understanding of both trauma informed practices and behaviour management in schools, and it is from here that my interest in conducting research in this field emerged. From the initiation of my research, I was mindful of how my research interest came about and identified that the application of reflexivity was integral (Holmes, 2020), to avoid potential biases that my experiences may have impacted on the research. As noted, I entered my doctoral study with the naïve view that the study would prove how simply trauma informed practices can be applied to every school, however my subsequent research proved that the process is much more intricate and complex, where a multiplicity of factors must be considered to introduce and consolidate effective change. With the support of my supervisory team, I reflected deeply on my research intent, where it was not to prove the effectiveness of trauma informed practice, but instead to interrogate what it looks like in practice, and how those who act within a trauma

informed environment perceive it. I do not deny that my experiences may shape my interpretations at times, but I hope that this has been made transparent in my writing, and where I have felt strongly, I have been reflexive and sought to consider alternative views.

The use of reflective thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006;2017) enabled me to analyse the interview data with school staff where I did not need to sit apart from the findings, but instead was positioned as an active participant in the analysis process. Again, support from my supervisory team helped to marry the data from school staff, alongside my role as a researcher to foster a nuanced interpretation of the findings.

I think that one of the most striking observations from the study was the need for change within schools, such as becoming trauma informed, to be a collective approach, where the school community, leaders, staff, children, and their families, require ongoing support for effective change and consolidation. My knowledge and understanding evolved throughout the research process, where my perspective shifted from the notion that change came from top-down instruction, such as policy directives or senior leadership decision-making, but instead it is more effective when it arises from a collective desire to address a problem or dilemma, where those who act within are knowledgeable and willing to work together (Engeström, 1987;2001).

The study has not only highlighted the perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practices and its influence on behaviour management in schools, but it has also garnered my commitment to advocating for practice in schools that do not stigmatise or marginalise, but instead seek to understand, empathise, and restore.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Burke-Harris' (2018) analogy of the 'bear in the woods'.

Burke-Harris (2018) uses the analogy of the 'bear in the woods' when describing stress activation. If you are confronted with a bear in the woods, the body's natural reaction will be stress activation, resulting in 'fight, flight, freeze' mode. Burke-Harris describes how this response will help you survive. However, this response is only appropriate if you are actually in the woods with a bear. 'A problem occurs if the bear comes home with you every night'. For a child or young person this could be violence in the home, abuse, or parental substance misuse. Those feelings of fear and the brain being hard wired for danger as a result does not diminish because the fear or danger does not subside. These hypervigilant characteristics are likened to reactions to stress, and when the stress does not subside, it can develop into toxic stress. Burke-Harris' description of prolonged stress activation offers a lens to view behaviour that is challenging in schools, where children's ability to behave or stay calm runs deeper than what is happening in the moment, but rather it is an accumulation of earlier and ongoing adverse or traumatic experiences in their lives.

Appendix 2 - Early Learning Goal for Self-regulation in the EYFS (Department for Education, 2024b)

The Early Learning Goal for Self-regulation in the EYFS (Department for Education, 2024b) is described as follows –

> Children at the expected level of development will -
>
> - Show an understanding of their own feelings and those of others, and begin to regulate their behaviour accordingly;
>
> - Set and work towards simple goals, being able to wait for what they want and control their immediate impulses when appropriate;
>
> - Give focused attention to what the teacher says, responding appropriately even when engaged in activity, and show an ability to follow instructions involving several ideas or actions. (p.12).

Appendix 3 - Nathanson's Compass of Shame Scale (1992)

A useful underpinning to understand shame is Nathanson's Compass of Shame Scale (1992), which focuses on four shame coping styles; Attack Self, Withdrawal, Attack Other and Avoidance. Nathanson (1992) uses and adapts Tomkins's script theory (1991) and defines the four categories mentioned as coping scripts which are actioned in response to a shaming incident. Bafunno and Comodeca (2017) note that shame is perpetuated by moral emotions and will increase when it is observed by others leading to feelings of self-failure. Elison et al. (2006) define shame as painful and self-focused and refer to a range of studies (Lewis, 1971, 1987; Nathanson, 1992,1994; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Harder, 1995) that link shame to psychological issues such as depression, somatization, substance misuse and post-traumatic stress disorder, to name a few. Bafunno and Camodeca (2017) add that remorse and regret, following challenging behaviour displays, might arise as a shame coping response indicating the potentially long-lasting effects of shame for a person beyond the event itself. This lends itself to better understanding how shame is linked to psychopathology; feelings of inferiority arise which manifest a negative sense of self which increases dysregulation (Muris, 2015) or in the case of my research, behaviour that might be seen as challenging or disruptive within schools.

Appendix 4 - School-to-prison-pipeline

Okilwa et al. (2017) write extensively on the school-to-prison-pipeline and how the ubiquitous nature of discipline and schools play a role in which children are more likely to thrive. They report on the disparity of discipline on "racially, culturally, low-income students, and students with disabilities," (p.1). Data gathered from the Office for National Statistics (2023) found that imprisoned youths were more likely to be from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. When children find themselves unable to abide by the practices that are seen as tolerable in schools, they are subjected to a cycle of behaviour management practices including punitive disciplinary measures and exclusions. Okilwa et al. (2017) warns of the dangers of punitive behaviour management and exclusion in schools and their links to later criminality and the subsequent school-to-prison-pipeline. This also links to the earlier discussed creation of self-fulfilling prophecy where children will create a perception of themselves based on how they are viewed and treated by others, particularly in times of stress and uncertainty.

Discourse in education plays a role in what is seen as acceptable and unacceptable. Comber and Kamler (2004) describe the dangers of deficit discourses in education and belief systems that, "blame certain groups in society as lacking and responsible for their lack of … the poor, the wilful, the disabled, the non-English speaking, the slow", (p.293). A key voice in discourse in schools is the influential adult, the staff members who have been assigned to help children thrive, although it must be remembered that the voice of staff is manipulated by regulatory practice, accepted culture, and policy guidance (Hempel-Jorgensen, 2009; McGregor, 2015; Maija & Brunila, 2019). However, discourse is a product of knowledge and understanding, one that is usually reflective of what the dominant class serves to believe as truth which resonates with Foucault's "regimes of truth", (Foucault, 1980, p.131).

Lipset (1959) explores the concept of class prejudice and describes how the class in which prejudice is being applied to, typically the working-class in schools, can develop hostility as a result.

> Hostility is typically described as a negative attitude or cognitive trait directed toward others, anger as an emotional state that consists of feelings that vary in intensity from mild irritation or annoyance to intense fury, and aggressiveness as a verbal or physical behavioural pattern manifests in yelling, intimidation, or physical assault (Staicu & Cuţov, 2010, p.372).

Staicu and Cuţov's definition of hostility is likened to the fight, flight, freeze response originally described by Cannon (1915), where individuals leave homeostasis due to experiences which affect their emotions and feelings (Mc Carty, 2016). In considering children in schools who are described as acting dysregulated, or outside of the schools' routines and boundaries, hostility and prejudice could be motivational factors in displays of behaviour that are seen as challenging. When considering behaviour

displays which are seen as negative by school staff, without a good understanding of the impact of adversity and trauma, and training and policy guidance that promote positive behaviour, the immediate reaction might be to see the undesirable behaviour as a choice, an intended provocation to insult and a threat to their 'good' practice. Whereas with understanding of the ecology of the child, and how adversity might impact on a child's development and perception of themselves and the world, the discourse might change to a more empathetic tone.

Teacher attitudes and the danger of pathologising behaviour has been evident in much research. For example, in an ethnographic study conducted by Toshalis (2012), teachers consistently blamed children for their academic failings. Teachers viewed children as "culturally deprived, academically unmotivated, or cognitively/behaviourally challenged", leading to children being defined as "sub-standard, a practice that not only highlights but often reproduces the students' marginalised status" (Okilwa et al., 2017, p.103). I believe that it is the pressures of educational bureaucracy and performativity that contributes to teachers having such feelings towards the children they teach, where their extreme accountability results in them seeing children who are disruptive as a threat to their professional status and success.

Punitive behaviour management measures, in particular school exclusion, have been highlighted as risk factors in children later engaging in youth offending. This marginalised status further personifies feelings of inadequateness, which might increase a child's likelihood to engage in crime in later life. The findings from the large-scale research conducted in the Timpson Review (2019), verified that exclusions are a key marker for children becoming at risk. Arnez and Condry (2021) describe how school exclusion and the punitive responses by school staff in light of negative behaviour displays can 'fast-track' the school-to-prison-pipeline trajectory. The Children's Commissioner states that 85% of children in Youth Offender Institutions have been excluded from school (2020). "Literature in the fields of education and criminology has acknowledged that both schooling and its disciplinary mechanisms, and the criminal justice system, can exacerbate and help reproduce socioeconomic, race, and gender differences", (Arnez & Condry, 2021, p.88).

School staff understanding of children's needs and the support they receive in doing so, will play a large factor in how behaviour is managed. In their study, Bell et al. (2021) drew comparisons between children with ACEs and school exclusions. By merging data on ACEs and exclusions, they found that children with ACEs were more likely to be excluded than the rest of the school community. In 2011, the Sutton Trust researched the impact of teacher quality on student achievement, with compelling evidence to suggest the importance of high-quality teaching, particularly with the most disadvantaged students. The study found that children, "gain 1.5 years" worth of learning with very effective teachers, compared with 0.5 years with poorly performing teachers," (Sutton Trust, 2014). Sherwood (2017) further pushes the narrative of teacher knowledge on childhood adversity and their understanding of how it can impact on

the children they teach. These are important components of being a high-quality teacher. Sherwood (2017) posits that, for all children and particularly those who are subjected to chaotic and uncertain home lives; classrooms must be a “reservoir of hope, optimism and calm”.

Ogilvie et al. (2014) explore the impact of insecure attachment relationships on the developing child and note that poor regulation skills, lacking in empathy, increased likelihood to engage in violent behaviour and entering the criminal justice system, are more likely for such children. Such findings indicate the importance of applying empathy and nurture into educational practice. Lanas and Brunila (2019) describe this as a “therapeutic ethos…which enhance(s) social and emotional learning and self-esteem”, (p.688). Peck et al. (2015) define empathy as a sincere and necessary trait for effective working with children and families and cite the need for diversity and the ability to empathise with people who are different from them. Teachers’ social emotional competencies are considered the seedbed for promoting social-emotional learning and development within school (Goroshit & Hen, 2016).

Faculty of Education and Children's Services

Project Information Sheet

My name is Aisling Culshaw, and I am studying towards a PhD in Education at the University of Chester. As part of my studies, I am interested in completing a small-scale research study focusing on professional attitudes towards trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management systems in schools.

I am interested in hearing about your experiences in using a trauma informed approach within your school and how that impacts on aspects such as supporting children with positive behaviour. I will be collecting data via a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.

In terms of confidentiality and anonymity, all participant responses and research will remain entirely anonymous throughout the study to protect confidentiality. This will be ensured by removing names to protect the identity of all participants. Names of participants and settings will not be included in the research, if appropriate I will use pseudonyms. Any documents generated by my research will be securely stored on an electronic source using a password-locked device. After the marking process of the study is completed, the documents will be securely destroyed.

All participant involvement is voluntary. Should you not want to answer any of the questions, you do not have to. If you decide you no longer want to participate in the research, you have the right to withdraw at any point.

Following this small-scale study, I will write a report on the findings. If participants would like access to these findings or report, they may. After completion of the report, the only people to have access to the research will be my PhD supervisors at the University of Chester and examiners. You can ask me any questions at any point during the study. There may also be a possibility of a journal publication being written which would be based on my research. If this is the case, both anonymity and confidentiality will be preserved.

Faculty of Education and Children's Services

Participant Consent Form

- My name is Aisling *Culshaw, and I am a student studying towards a PhD in Education at the University of Chester undertaking a research project for my doctoral thesis. I am interested in finding out about professional attitudes* towards trauma informed practice and its influence on behaviour management systems in schools.
- I can be contacted at 1718987@chester.ac.uk
- I have an enhanced Disclosure and Baring Service (DBS) check.
- All participants will have the right to see all aspects of the study and can withdraw from the research at any time. Participants can also decline to answer individual questions.
- Participant involvement in this research project is entirely voluntary. If you choose not to be involved, or to withdraw, there will be no repercussions.
- If you have any questions about my research or what is involved, please let me know be emailing me at 1718987@chester.ac.uk
- I would be grateful if you would participate in a questionnaire and/or a semi-structured interview.
- Semi-structured interviews will be audio-recorded.
- All information will be kept on a password locked computer.
- All data collected will be always kept anonymous. All electronic and paper-based data will be deleted / securely shredded at the end of the module, once the assessment process for the thesis has been completed.
- A report will be written about my findings, in the form of a doctoral thesis and possibly a journal publication.
- As a participant, you can have sight of my findings.
- Academic staff at the University of Chester and the External Examiner will have access to my work.
- If you have any concerns about this request, please contact the Dean of Education and Children's Services *David Cumberlan*d (d.cumberland@chester.ac.uk) or PhD supervisors Dr. Paul Moran at p.moran@chester.ac.uk and Dr. Frances Atherton at f.atherton@chester.ac.uk

Consent (setting)

- I have read the information provided about the research project and understand what will be involved.
- I have had the opportunity to ask the student questions about the research project.
- The student has explained how my anonymity will be protected in the project.
- I voluntarily agree to take part in the research project.
- I allow my staff to take part in the research project (Headteacher/ Manager/ Gatekeeper)

Signed Name

Date

Appendix 7– Ethical Approval

University of Chester

Ref: PR80090013

27.01.25

Aisling Culshaw

School of Education

Sent be email only: 1718987@chester.ac.uk

Dear Aisling,

Your application to the School of Education Ethics Committee was reviewed for approval in April 2023, for your project entitled: ***Examining perspectives of school staff on trauma informed practice and its influence on 'behaviour management' – a case study analysis.***

(Original Working Title: Professional attitudes towards the impact of trauma informed practice on behaviour management systems in education).

In reviewing applications, the Committee refers to the criteria set out in the University of Chester Research Governance Handbook.

The Ethics Committee is pleased to confirm that your application was reviewed by the committee on 20th April 2023 and was granted approval to move onto the next stage. This approval was sent to you via email on 26th April 2023. It has been confirmed by your supervisor, that any feedback received from the Ethics Committee has been addressed.

Whilst approval has been granted on the basis of your information provided, please note that **if there are any changes to your study you will need to submit an updated proposal for further consideration.** It is recommended that you maintain regular contact with your supervisor to ensure that your study continues to meet with ethical standards.

Please note that in accordance with University of Chester protocols, data collected for research projects that may be disseminated in the public domain MUST be retained for a minimum of 10 years (or indefinitely, depending on the circumstances). Guidance for the retention and storage of data is available by request from the Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

Please also find included an **'End of Project Report Form**'. You will need to submit this to the ethics committee within one month of completing your project.

The School of Education Ethics Committee wish you every success with your research.

Kind regards,

Dawn Martin (on behalf of the School of Education Ethics Committee)

Research & Innovation Administrative Officer

Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science

University of Chester

Parkgate Road, Chester, CH1 4BJ

Please direct all correspondence relating to ethics applications to: **ahsresearch.innovation@chester.ac.uk**

Appendix 8 – Interview Prompts

Interview Prompts

- How do you define trauma informed practice?
- Tell me about how you support trauma informed practices here in this school?
- How do you define behaviour management in schools?
- What influence do you think trauma informed practice has on children in this school?
- What do you think are the key things to consider when supporting positive behaviour in schools?
- Do you think safety and belonging impact on how children behave?
- Do you think a child's social class impact on how they behave in schools?
- Do you think a child's social class impacts on how their behaviour is viewed by others in schools?
- Do you think school discourse can influence behaviour in schools? Do you think the environment, staff training, etc. have an influence?
- Do you think school is influential in changing perspectives on behaviour beyond the school walls?
- What are your thoughts on punitive behaviour methods?
- What are your thoughts on restorative practice?
- Do you think a trauma informed approach would work in any school?
- What do you think might be the potential barriers to a trauma informed approach in schools? How could these barriers be overcome?