Creative and performativity practices in primary schools: a Foucauldian perspective

Conference or Workshop Item

Creative and Performativity practices in primary schools: a Foucauldian perspective

Bob Jeffrey, Geoff Troman

BERA 2009

Manchester University

2-5th September 2009

Please do not quote without permission

*The Open University, Milton Keynes.

** Roehampton University – London

Contact Bob Jeffrey at r.a.jeffrey@open.ac.uk

 A number of policy texts are present in educational settings at any one time and each influences the power and significance of others. Policy discourses are one of the main means whereby policy texts, in the settings in which they operate, influence the value, the implementation and the embedding of those policies. However, a number of discourses operate at the same time in any given context and they also they influence the interpretation and implementation of them through the way in which practitioners manage policy processes. This research focuses on two such discourses in education, that of performativity and creativity and investigates how primary teachers manage these policies and how they are influenced by them.

General Policy Context

An international policy text now highlights the importance of creativity (Craft, Jeffrey et al. 2001; Jeffrey 2001). It notes that creativity is eminently suited to the multiple needs of life in the 21st century (Seltzer and Bentley 1999), which call for skills of adaptation, flexibility, initiative, and the ability to use knowledge on a different scale than has been hitherto realised. Its use in education at a macro level is seen as unleashing or releasing human potential to develop western knowledge based economies. Within educational circles it is a discourse that is liberatory in values in that it sees creativity as a way of developing a meaningful, relevant life for individuals to control more of their work and to take ownership of it celebrating their innovative activities.

However, policies supportive of creative teaching and learning and the importance of creativity in general have been reintroduced into a situation in which there is a powerful text of performativity. It is underpinned by a major policy to improve economic status and social well being, a market based approach that encourages performance-based activity - the generation of a culture of performativity (Lyotard 1979; Ball 1998; Ball 2000). It is a technology, a culture and mode of regulation that employs judgements and comparisons and displays the performances of individual subjects or organisations to serve as measures of productivity. In the educational field the performativity culture is being used by government to raise standards in schools, to raise the achievement of the mass of the population. In setting targets for itself as government and for LEAs and schools it hopes to develop a highly skilled workforce that can compete in what it sees as a new global industry – the knowledge economy.

The higher the skills base and the higher levels of excellence achieved in knowledge acquisition and how best to use that knowledge the higher the economic return will be for the UK.

Theoretical Framework

Discourse theory

This research project focused upon the practices and perspectives of schools, teachers and learners in order to understand how they managed the imperatives of policy alongside their own values. We wished to understand the ways in which policies became embedded in school practices and how schools and teachers created spaces for their own interpretation of policy and for space to further their own professional priorities. We wished to provided analysis on the effects of policies on practice and the people involved and on the ways in which policy is embedded and resisted. The theories of Michel Foucault provide a firm basis for this kind of research, particularly as we pursued an ethnographic methodology [see next section] which also explores practices in specific settings.

We used Foucault's genealogical approach which traces the historical processes of descent and emergence by which a given thought system or process comes into being and is subsequently transformed (Olssen 2006).

> To follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion: it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations--or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors', the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us (Foucault 1977b, p.146 in Olssen 2006, p.15).

In contrast to descent, emergence traces 'the movement of arising….Emergence is thus the entry of forces; it is their eruption, the leap from wings to center stage, each in its youthful strength (ibid. p.148-150). Foucault argues that the forces operating in history that constitute the historical process are not controlled by destiny or by regulative mechanisms, but respond to 'haphazard conflicts' and they 'always appear through the singular randomness of events' (Olssen 2006, p.15). We see emergence as agency.

The genealogical approach 'seeks to chart ruptures/changes between systems of thought and to identify coherences across discourses', (Olssen 2006, p.11) in our case the performativity and creativity discourses. It seeks to discover rules of formation by which spoken and textual discourses operate within the institutional milieu of non discursive practices. The latter refer to institutions, political events, economic practices, and processes. However it is important to note that although Foucault makes a distinction between discursive and non discursive practices he rejects Marx's conception of historical materialism as a mechanism by which discourse is split from non-discursive practice in which the former is subordinated to the latter. Foucault's materialism is 'explaining the relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains' (Olssen 2006, p.56]. Where he differs from Marxism as well as from empiricism is that whereas these perspectives assume the possibility of an immediately pre-given correspondence between discourse and the world Foucault, though not denying such a possibility, problematises it (Smart 1983). For Foucault then historical materialism means that in any era or period the specific causal relations as well as the priority of this or that structure must be investigated anew. He argues that there is no universal, causally efficacious laws or mechanisms throughout history just as there are no simple material categories (eg: class) that can explain everything (Olssen 2006). This research follows these principles of problematising teaching and learning situations in terms of policy and power relations.

Schools, in this framework are non discursive arenas (institutions) where discursive statements are monitored and controlled, vetoed or allowed by those with power, including the practitioners themselves. We follow Foucault's methodology in analysing discourse in relation to social structure and focus on the effects of power. We are interested in institutional analysis and how technologies of power – performative practices such as testing and targets - isolate the mechanisms by which power operates and to document how polices and their cultural antecedents attempt to normalize individuals through increasingly rationalized means by constituting normality, turning them into meaningful subjects and in some cases docile objects (Olssen 2006). Following Foucault we wish to show not how political practice has determined the meaning and form of educational discourse, but how and in what form it takes part in its conditions of emergence, insertion and functioning. The recognition of non-discursive material practice by Foucault correlates with his shift in method

from archeology to geneology. In focusing on archeology Foucault emphasizes the structure of the discursive, whereas in focusing on geneology he gives greater weight to practices and institutions (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982).

Discourses pertain to rules of language and speech – formal system of signs and social practices. Foucault's understanding of discourses differs from language analysis in that 'the question posed by language analysis is always according to what rules has a particular statement been made and consequently according to what rules could other similar statements be made. The description of the events of Foucault's approach to discourse poses quite a different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another (Foucault 1972, p.27). A bit like Pierce (1931) or Eco (1976) he sees the materiality of the object behind the play of the signifiers – socio-semiological' (Olssen 2006, p.48). Foucault is concerned with how discourse is shaped and how discourse shapes everyday existence. According to Foucault, Derrida's perspective is that there is no escaping from the text. All is text. However, like Gramsci (1971) Foucault focuses on the importance placed on language as its role as a carrier of political and philosophical presuppositions. They see languages as hegemonic instruments that can reinforce the values of common sense and potentially transmit new ones (Olssen 2006).

Central government educational policy texts have dominated schools in recent times from the National Curriculum, national assessment testing, inspection reports, QCA guidelines, national reports and the publication of school standards. These texts are written documents but they also contain values through specific discourses mediated by language and beliefs about the role of education in society and the economy. These discourses bring objects into being, they form the object of which they speak (Ball 1993), such as policy texts, and they construct particular types of social relation through the relative strength of the practices they determine. The recognition of policy texts as discourses opens up greater possibilities of interpretation and action than a more prescriptive approach to policy analysis allows.

Foucault's description of the complex processes of governmentalisation which involves the emergence and development of new technologies of power on individuals and populations, accounts for the construction of different forms of social beliefs and values, and hence furthers our understanding of hegemony. It is possible to utilize the concepts of Gramsci (1971) and Foucault in a combined perspective

(Olssen 2006). Thus, according to Olssen [ibid.] an explanation of how new forms of power shape and govern the individual, involves supplementing, in Barry Smart's words; 'the state/civil society dichotomy by an analytic focus upon the governmentalisation of power relations, that is the development of individualising techniques and practices which are reducible neither to force nor to consent techniques and practices which is transformed by political conflict and struggle through the constitution of new forms of social cohesion' (Smart 1986).

This research explores the way in which governmentality (Foucault 1979) works at the micro level though examining local discourses, the kinds of power relations established and the emergence of agency through the strategic practices that Foucault maintains dominate local situations. The first section of the article deals with the local discourse of performativity, the second by unpacking the power relations involved in performative practices in schools and the third focuses on the emergence of agency through creative teaching and learning.

Methodology

Our ethnographic approach assisted the process of examining policy discourses through research into how primary teachers experienced the revitalisation of a creativity discourse in a context dominated by performativity by using:

- life/career histories;
- as full a range of relevant personnel as possible from our research sites, eg: school governors, managers, teachers, teaching assistants, learners past and present, parents and community connections;
- immersing ourselves in the research sites over time to record and examine these policy trajectories and the way in which people respond to them in different temporal phases and different situations.

The research took cognisance of the structural influences in situations and the dilemmas, tensions and constraints under which people work and live and the way they manage and cope with their situations. To understand the complexities of what is happening we needed to employ a qualitative approach, which 'captures and records the voices of lived experience…contextualises experience…goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances…presents details, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another' (Denzin 1989, p. 83). Data needed to

6

be collected within the school context, since experiences, perspectives and identities are strongly shaped by their context (Rosenholtz 1989). Our ethnographic approach of spending time in the field using three different time modes - compressed, selective intermittent and recurrent (Jeffrey 1999; Jeffrey and Troman 2004) - ensured that we took into account the broad experience of teaching, learning and parenting and obtained a complex, rich analysis of how the creativity and performativity discourse interacted with the lives of those in schools.

We used a perspective of reality for the research process framed in the theory of symbolic interactionism. Its originator George Herbert Mead (1934) was centrally concerned with the experience of the individual and how the self arises in the social process. Much of that activity is symbolic for interpretations of language utterances and gestures determine many responses. People imagine that they share each others responses, sharing and mutually imbuing them with meaning, their manifestations making behaviour truly social. People internalise symbols and stimulation of thought through language which increases reflectivity and the ability to see oneself as an object. How we define situations lays the basis for how we perceive and interact with others. The 'Me' of Mead's theory of self (Mead 1934) is a product of viewing oneself as object. We treat educator's problems to be explained instead of imposing 'society's' abstract problems such as gender and class upon them as did Foucault (1972). Symbolic Interactionism is understand through symbolic meanings – language, nuances, special vocabularies, similar to Foucault's theories of social constructionism. We ask how is action to be understood and in what ways is it formative. Studying interactions helps cultivate the sociological imagination.

Our theory of knowledge is a sociological approach that derives from empirically studies related to social theories and personal realities. We try to get to know the sub-culture of the classroom and school and take the view that people's personal realities and beliefs are embodied in speech and behaviours. The observations and analysis of the micro, we believe, is linked to macro discourses, policies and structures. We follow an interactionist sociology in which we see people carving out space despite the lack of formal power. In our studies of teachers we asked: What problems do they face? How are they experienced? What meanings are given to them? What feelings are generated? Ethnography respects the empirical world penetrates layers of meaning and facilitates taking the role of the other by the researcher, an empathetic

understanding, defining situations, and grasping the sense of process (Woods 1996). We see ethnography is a relevant and appropriate methodology to support our Foucauldian theoretical frame.

This research analysed the thick policy environments through our ethnographic methodology which is predominantly qualitative. Data collection was intended to be over one school year for each of six schools enabling us to follow annual assessment periods and the critical creative events within the school year. The research was based in six primary schools across five Local Education Authorities. We judged this the maximum possible given the depth of fine detail we sought but large enough to afford a comparative basis for research and to ensure some significant contrast between the research schools (inner city, rural) in terms of size and socio-economic status. We ensured a balance of learner age range and teacher experience in terms of career status, positions, and roles.

The data we managed to obtain was more limited than expected due to researcher illness but it included 52 days observational fieldnotes, 54 recorded conversations with teachers and other significant adults and 32 recorded conversations with learners. We transcribed all recorded conversations with management, teachers, pupils and parents that we saw as being of theoretical significance. The conversations probed areas such as:

- Perceived tensions between the creativity and performativity policies and the dilemmas and opportunities this creates for teachers, pupils and parents.

- Coping strategies used to ameliorate these tensions and dilemmas

- The educational identities being constructed in the context of the two policy imperatives.

Our analysis in is its early stages due to the lack of researcher activity but the methodology proceeded in the sequence: data collection – analysis - data collection – analysis. The process provided 'spiralling insights' (Lacey 1976) as it sought to generate theory from the data using the method of 'constant comparisons' (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Data storage, retrieval and analysis was supported by the use of the qualitative data analysis computer package Atlas Ti.

Performative Practices

Performativity – a pre-discursive phenomena - works in at least three ways according to Ball (Ball 1998). First it works as a disciplinary system of judgements, classifications and targets towards which schools and teachers must strive and against and through which they are evaluated. We called this strong performativity underpinned by a status narrative. Secondly, as a part of the transformation of education and schooling performativity provide sign systems which represent education as self-referential and reified for consumption. We called this weak performativity underpinned by a progression narrative that teachers and learners celebrate as they travel from one symbolic grade or level to the next. The linguistic discourse used to describe learning in these terms by teachers and learners alike becomes the norm and therefore exemplifies the third way in which, Ball [ibid.] argues, performativity works. An utterance is performative in so far as 'its effect upon the referent coincides with its enunciation (Lyotard 1979, p.9].

Performative discourse

Discourses are made up of language and primary teachers found themselves incorporating the language of performativity into their practices so it became the discourse of the school, the staff room and the classroom,

> I think it's fair just to let them get used to writing tests, to get them in the
> mood, and used to the format and what it is to do a test, not telling them the
> answers but just giving them an idea of what's expected and what they need to
> do to write that kind of thing, to give them as good a chance as anybody else
> (Ellie-W-Yr.6)

Inevitably they reproduced the language of professional practice such as Preparation, Planning and Assessment (PPA) time and the language of a target and assessment culture, the language of the team and of auditors,

> The PPA helps - it helps you be more relaxed sure and not so stressed. You get
> the time off as well with the person that works alongside you. Like last week,
> somebody was coming in to see us about the targets so we just stuck together
> doing our PPA time and decided who we thought was going to get a level 4 or
> whatever and we got our percentages sorted. (Elizabeth-W-Yr.6)

The language became one manifestation of their professional identity,

> Targets are seen as challenging and not always as dispiriting, The moment it feels like you're on a treadmill it's time to change and to set yourself some targets to know where you want to get to and if you're ambitious enough, targets for head-teacher or advanced skills teacher or a SENCO, (Stephen-C-Yr.3)

The performativity discourse was then reprocessed in the classroom,

> Over each table hangs a yellow laminated card about the size of a birthday card. They slowly rotate as they hang from blue wool. Each card has the title 'our writing target' as a heading but different targets for each table so children are grouped by writing/literacy ability. 'We always check that our writing makes sense. We always put finger spaces between each word that we write. We always use connecting words and interesting adjectives in our writing. We can use full stops and capital letters in our sentences' are written on the cards (FN-C-Yr.2-23/5/07)

Parents like teachers found it difficult to resist the discourse through which performativity was relayed and it became pervasive, albeit unenthusiastically,

> We got one of these companies to do a questionnaire for parents and the responses came back that their major concerns were for the children and the expected ones were first such as the happiness and well-being and friendships in schools and caring teachers and low, low down was the use of SATs and testing. But when you ask them on parent's evening they all want to know what level their child is and how much progress they've made, are they a 2A or 3B, they know a lot. It's a generalisation, but on the one hand they say they are not concerned about it, but lots of our children go to extra lessons, the poor little things are slave-driven enough in school, they have to go off to so and so for extra help (Claire-V-Yr.4).

Teachers also relayed the pre-discursive political objectives of education such as the creation of flexible market labour,

> We went to a conference, probably back at Christmas time, and there was someone was said something like 80% of the jobs for the children who are in Nursery currently, haven't yet been created. I think if you're going to equip

children to be life long learners and feel valued, you need to give them these skills because we don't know what their future's going to be. You need to give them a good sense of grounding, build their self esteem and self confidence, so that when things happen in their lives, they've got the skills to be able to deal with them (Becky-C-Yr.1).

Performativity is a principle of governance which establishes strictly functional relations between an institution and its inside and outside environs (Ball 1998). In terms of a normalizing judgement disciplinary power (Rabinow 1984) operates in the space that the law left behind, in the workshop, the school, and teacher training. At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism. In education it is the teacher grading system or failing school's reconstruction either by closure and reopening or through the reorganisation by special units. There is a penalty for non observance as well as transgression, 'a pupil's offence is not only a minor infraction but an inability to carry out his tasks' (ibid. p194). The art of punishment brings five distinct operations into play,

- It refers individual actions to a whole - compares them.

- It differentiates individuals from one another and develops averages.

- It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of value of abilities.

- It introduces through this value giving measure the constraint of conformity.

- It traces the limit that will define all other differences - the 'shameful class'.

'The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short it *normalizes*' (ibid. p195). The power of the norm is the new law of modern society. It adds to *parole* (language) and *tradition* (text). Normalization imposes homogeneity but it individualises by making it possible to measure.

Lyotard suggested that grand narratives were being replaced by underground narratives although research findings concerning status and progression narratives are clearly not very deep. They are, at present, manifested through the way the surface level league table achievements signify status and public ladder of learner progression in the assessment section of the National Curriculum guidelines.

The Status Narrative – strong performativity

In the strong performative operation the technologies of power were the public league tables targets and inspection reports that regulated their practice. Strong performativity promoted a competitive discourse in the local market (Troman etal 2007),

> I get a lot of emphasis from the head saying we must get 88% at the relevant level and there should be no possibility that we get less. However, we'll be lucky to get 50-60% but there's no option below 88% and it starts affecting us because the other school on the estate has raised its SATs results and now we're in competition with them and they're actually getting as many people applying to go to them as we are and so there a competition. We've been seen as the best school on the estate but now we've got competition from that other school so there's pressure from what the other schools are doing (Francis-C-DH)

Teacher's careers were not seen to be directly threatened, but the implications of a failure of the school to improve or a dip in results is made clear – an Ofsted inspection or loss of funding or the withholding of a head teacher's increment – a reduction in status.

The performativity status of the school was paramount amongst teachers as well as parents who are the major relay (Bernstein 1997) of the performativity, whether willingly or not,

> Everything is going towards the SATs at the end of the day and that's what the school will be judged on unfortunately, but in my day there was not this pressure. We had tests but I don't remember it being as much as now, everything is geared much more towards the children now and results orientated and what the school gets judged on and what the parents judge the school on. However, if I'm choosing a school for my son the first thing I'd go to would be the SATs results even though I know the SATs don't give the full picture, for example our SATs results are improving but it doesn't take into account that we've got such a high level of English as a second language (Ellie-W-Yr.5)

Some teachers relished the strong performative policy and found it exhilarating, adding status to their performance.

> I go from thinking I don't think I want to do Year Six again, it is too much like hard work and too much stress and you have got too much responsibility on your shoulders, to thinking 'I like this, I like this responsibility'. It sounds a bit selfish really, but people look up to you if you are in Year Six you are at the top of the school. The children respect you because you are at the top of the school, you are a Year Six teacher and the staff see you as a bit of unknown territory. I quite like that feeling it gives me which, is a daft reason to want to stay in Year Six but that is a genuine feeling that I have. But then when days are really hard you feel you are not getting anywhere and you think 'do I really need this and let's get back to Year Five and have a nice creative year all year (Donna-P-Yr.6)

This teacher was using the discourse to normalise the policy and at the same time identify with it as a professional absorbing the governmentalisation of this particular technology of power.

Learners, according to some teachers, also derived satisfaction from performative, instrumental teaching and learning,

> I don't see it as an imposition, It has to be done and we do it because all the children in the country do it. Actually some of the children, no lots of the children, enjoy the challenge, feel self satisfied with their results and I think it can be a good learning experience as well. Although this morning's lesson was quite dry and very, very much teaching to the test, there was speaking and listening in it, there were thinking skills in it. I read the story aloud and the children enjoyed listening to the story and they all engaged fully in the story, really, they were able to deduce information from it. These are all powerful skills to have and I think they are all important. The SATs aren't necessarily a bad thing, for as I say some of the children enjoy it they feel quite motivated by it. You can see that this morning that they all want to do well, and they want to do their best and to work hard towards them (Jane-I-Yr.6)

One teacher used the strong performativity to enhance her own and the school's effectiveness and status, through in this case, inspections. They are now referred to as

audits rather than inspections, a technical exercise that good bookkeeping can ensure success and it can appeal to teachers keen to develop a professional identity within the discourse,

> It's the County Council type, Local Authority audit that they just pick at random. But actually, on reflection I found that a really positive thing because although there is a volume of work to be done it felt satisfying at the end of the year that we'd got to that point and I knew we'd got there and I had the evidence to show and I quite liked working thoroughly like that (Kate-C-Yr2)

The consequences of failure in the strong performative situations such as SATs are made clear for learners,

> I say "you need to get good results to get where you want to go", so you sort of keep them motivated that way and then I keep them motivated by telling them what sort of work we will be doing when the SATs are over (Vicky-W-Yr.6)

These forms of normalisation were identified through the discourses used and in some cases this discourse was turned to practitioner's advantage as they found new ways in which to validate their normalisation through aspiration, determination and commitment to achieving the necessary accolades to confirm status,

> They see such a snap-shot when they're only here for a day or whatever and you think, 'we're so proud of what this school does' and we want to show you these things. When OFSTED came in we showed them that we've got this and we've got these inserts and we've got this and this and showing them what they might miss because we are very proud of what we have achieved and it's wanting to share that with them (Lucy-H-DH)

However, these technologies are not always only reproductive for as Foucault recognises the constructivist and reproductive power relations vary in different times and places due to the way the human subject is socially and historically constituted and the way they develop a capacity for freedom and decision making slowly, progressively, heteronomously and with differential success. This capacity is the emergence of agency to adapt and reconstruct power relations. Foucault's focus on power as both repressive and productive parallels Gramsci's distinction between between power as exercised by the repressive state apparatuses on the one hand and

power exercised through the mobilisation of consent on the other. In addition, Foucault's description of the complex processes of governmentalisation which involve the emergence and development of new technologies of power on individuals and populations, accounts for the construction of different forms of social beliefs and values, and hence furthers our understanding of hegemony. It is possible to utilize the concepts of both thinkers in a combined perspective.

Freedom is a political skill or power to be exercised (Foucault 1979) and it is bought into existence when contradictory oppositions and alternatives are presented or when historical memory contradicts immediate experience or in a more mundane experience with varying degrees of possibility within the immediate spaces of existence. It operates at different levels and carries with it varying degrees of risk. It constitutes a realised capability for both individuals and groups. Its mainspring is not human nature but survival in a finite world of limited resources. In considering these topics of freedom, agency, identity, consciousness and complex causation all can be seen to as central to understanding Foucault as a materialist.

Some schools in privileged areas did not have a programme of intensive revision and were mostly against strong performativity (Troman etal 2007?) although they nevertheless adopted a test orientated skills development programme.

> We do one set in February and then the SATs and that's it and really we do the set in February for us and for the children and the parents. We mark the papers and send them home so the parents can see the sorts of things the children for it would unfair to the children if they'd never seen a paper and didn't know how to answer it. They are not going to perform as well as they could do if they don't realise what sort of things are right for the different answers. What we've got to realise is, we like our curriculum here and we do think it encourages the children to learn in a fun way but then they don't work like that when they go into Yr. 7. We have got to prepare them for this as well and they start to have optional tests in Yr. 7 and in Yr.8 and SATs in Yr. 9 so we're not preparing them for that if we don't do them (Dawn-H-HT)

Strong performativity was needed to ensure public and in some cases personal recognition but for others there was a tension between wanting to be seen as productive and maintaining other pedagogic values,

I collect the figures up at the end of the year and think 'phew what a relief', or 'oh my god so and so didn't make it'. It's an element but it's not the thing that drives me. The thing that drives me is firmly based in the classroom and is what the children learn and where they are at and what I can do to help them to move forward and it's not the national league table or where the school's standard is, the thing I find important is the progress, the value added bit, you know, are they making progress (Katy-MM-Yr.2)

Weak performativity – a progression narrative

A progression narrative is a weaker performativity practice concerned with the progress of the individual as well as the class and the school. It is a continuous and daily aspect of educational life unlike the status narrative which is mainly manifested at particular times of the year, such as a SATs event or an Ofsted inspection result and has more flexibility.

The progression narrative exists mainly in the curriculum, eg: geography of the local environment is over laid by the specific assessment criteria that are used to assess a child's progress and it provide details of where to go next as well as defining an individual position on a continuous ladder of progress. These specific assessment stages are then collapsed into subject levelling where children become described as 2As or 3Bs. The progression aspects of each subject are the means by which each learner is assessed although they differ in the way they express these assessment criteria. These progression aspects are assigned to each level or key stage in each subject.

	Key Stage 1	Key Stage 2
Level 1		
Level 2 a-c	Years 1+2 Aged 5-7	
Level 3 a-c		Years 3+4 Ages 7-9
Level 4 a-c		Years 5+6 Ages 9-11
Level 5 a-c		Years 7-9 Ages 11-13

Learners are assigned to these levels and on three sub categories of A,B,C, which are organised hierarchically with A being the highest stage.

- a learner aged 7-9 at Level 3c is working toward Level 3a,

- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 2a is below their ideal level for their age range,

- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 4c is above their expected level,

- a learner aged 9-11 on Level 5c is well above their expected level.

All children are levelled at the end of each year in all subjects. There are over 200 progression aspects that can be used to level a learner across all the subjects averaging approximately 15 per subject for Key Stage 2 – Years 3-6 - averaging again about 3-4 per assessments per year per child for each of 15 subjects. So each class teacher will have to carry out an evaluation of each child's level via the 50-60 progression aspects in 15 subjects each year.

Our problematisation of performativity following the genealogical approach shows more varied power relations in which power is constantly influenced by the practices of those in each situation as they develop their capacity in the particular policy text with which they were engaged.

Teachers, engaged in weak performativity, constructed learners in terms of levels and are themselves constructed by the amount of progression they achieve with individuals and the class targets set for each teacher and child each year. To be successful is to have progressed along a track of competencies and rising up a level progression to the next one through the competencies required.

> I guess it's the challenge and sense of achievement thing saying 'right at end of the year at least 75% of you will be where you need to be irrespective of where you came in' and I think they like the fact that potentially some of them have never had that challenge put upon them or they've never really thought of themselves as achievers. I think no matter whether they leave with a level four or they don't leave with a level four they can all see how much progress they've made because their levels are made very explicit to them…I think if we can instil it in the children that not only are they capable of learning but they're also capable of taking charge of their own learning then they will be successful (Lisa-C-Yr.6).

Teachers are professional assessors who have to provide the appropriate evidence and self assessment strategies across the age range, eg: traffic signals – red amber, green - used by learners to indicate their level of understanding and improvement. Teachers see these as part of their professional role to monitor progression and to use the assessment criteria to know where to decide what to do next with each child.

> My high points of teaching are when you hear children whispering to each other on the carpet and they say "I've got that" or they've done something, a sense of achievement or they come up to you and they're desperate to get their books marked, you just get the sense that they're thriving and they're enjoying what they're trying to get over (Dorothy-W-Yr.3).

It is also regarded as good to have targets and responsibilities for attaining them as it focuses a teacher's attention on those that need help to improve. 'It's good to have information about levels because, in a spirit of openness parent and learner know what is expected, they can show teachers their improvement which ensures further support and they are then not left feeling they have let themselves down' (Francis-W-Yr.6).

Tracking one's progress and travelling to new levels of achievement was also considered self motivating and teachers and learners took up the challenge readily. There's satisfaction to be gained in assisting teams to enhance progress through targeting, indicating more normalisation,

> As Key Stage 1 Coordinator my job is to check and I say to my Key Stage 1 staff 'let's have a chat through how people are reaching their targets how are we getting on and how many people in your class are meeting expectations, where they should be'. We'll discuss that and one may say 'no I'm really struggling with my middle group. We are constantly looking to see how people are getting on with our 'flying high' group – those who are near the class level and need extra help to get to it. I target them as soon as they came in and decide on my overall list as to where they should be by the end of the term (Beth-C-Yr.2).

The operation of this technology of power (performativity) uses rationalised means to normalise individuals showing how assessing one's own teaching quality through performativity testing can bring about new confidence, even to new entrants. Achievements are gained by working harder and satisfaction of a job well done is felt.

> My colleague in Yr. 5 was saying that those sentence structure and
> punctuation scores were much higher because we've been focussing on it as a
> whole school and the children are really good, for if you tell them you need to
> do more of this and you make it explicit they'll do it. On the whole they want
> to please, they want to do the right thing and they want to get good grades and
> prove themselves to the teacher and get attention for the positive things they
> achieve (Katy-MM-Yr.2).

The discourse revealed some of the ways in which practitioners validate the system by searching for successes within the system and therefore how the technology uses its power to create normalisation.

> I went through my results yesterday and although on the face of it they don't
> look great when you compare with October they've all achieved, they've all
> moved up and that's made me happy because although the results aren't
> fantastic when you compare with other schools, everybody has gone up and
> that was good, so we must be making a difference. When you go through it
> with a tooth comb, you can see something positive and that's good (Dorothy-
> W-Yr.3).

Their use of national assessments to audit their own assessments (Webb and Vulliamy 2007) showed how they integrate standardised tests with their teacher assessment so combining the two major parameters of performativity, strong and weak technologies,

> I think sometimes for your own judgement if they have done a test, you can
> ensure then that you're levelling accurately. So it gives you some guidance as
> well, because sometimes, especially if you've been in the same year for a long
> time, you might think you know what you're doing but you might be slightly
> under with your target assessment, when you're assessing it. Sometimes if I
> haven't been sure if a child is a 2b reader, then I've given them the test, and it
> may be validated. So sometimes it can be quite useful for your own
> assessment (Becky-C-Yr.1).

Continual improvement is a major teleological element of a performativity text that helps sustain its power and force. Targets are not only met with final celebrations of a job well done but all target completion is met with another exhortation to continually improve, the individual, teacher, class and school performance. This is the heart of the

performativity policy text, the power that circulates to the capillaries, (Foucault 1980), in this case, educational practice. Professional assessments by teachers are used by auditors in a critical fashion exhorting them to improve upon them. Schools even provided the evidence for their own exhortation.

> Well apparently there's 117 boxes that we have to tick for our children. We have to do it and it's a developmental record to show how they're progressing. And at the end of the year those figures are fed back to the LEA and they do these wonderful graphs from the school and then they come back and say, why haven't you got such and such at this level or another. So it's like a double edged sword, it really is. Everything is used to come back at you (Tamara-V-Yr.2)

The progression narrative turns weak performativity into strong performativity when effort becomes assessed. Learners value the emphasis placed on effort (Gipps 1992) but when their effort is assessed this becomes the normalisation of the individual's role and responsibility for improving performance.

There are three pressures here:

- To show progression from one level or sub level, eg: from Level 2c to 2a in English – weak performativity

- To show progression of the individual to the appropriate level for their age – strong performativity

- To show progression of the cohort to the appropriate level for their age – strong performativity

Weak performativity as a progression narrative is now embedded in primary school policies. Sanctions don't appear as yet to be taken against teachers or learners for lack of progression in weak performative mode but schools suffer a withdrawal of funding, eg: the headteacher may not receive an increment if the strong performative targets are not met. However, this is due to change as the government revitalises its campaign to root out failing teachers and close failing schools. Schools and teachers will be punished for failure to improve (Ref) and learners will be assessed in terms of effort rather than as someone needing specific resources or pedagogies. The recent introduction of personalisation policies (Hartley 2007) and discourse is focused on

providing some specific learning aids but at the same time this supports the individualisation of the learner in terms of performance.

There are fabrications (Ball 1998) present in both forms of performativity, such as believing that the SATs tests are a test of a culmination of five years learning when they are clearly exam coached activities and the preparation for Ofsted inspections. However, raising the level of achievement for all learners is a value adopted by all schools and the fabrications don't totally obliterate the ways in which teachers attempt to maintain a constant struggle to ensure that the performative aspects of a school's performance do 'not stand' for a day to day set of work practices (Ball 1998) by exhibiting a wide range of educative experiences.

Others employed their capacity to use a pragmatic approach incorporating some of the performative discourse but balanced with the promise of good times ahead, eg: school journeys, outings and creative projects.

> Their professional practice now has a central requirement to carry out continual assessment for all subjects but it is not always possible in the teaching situation given the range of information needed to make assessments, 'I used to find it quite hard actually; I don't feel like I really know what a 2c or what a 3b looks like, I still have to go back and think "Oh, have they done that, have they done that?" I don't know it instinctively, the SATs levels (Nanette-C-Yr.3). The difficulty of doing this means they have to rely on testing, 'After a little while I am able to catch Denise and to ask her about assessment. How does she keep track of it? Is she required to? She says she isn't, really. She will note down anything special, but otherwise she doesn't keep a specific record' (FN-H-10/11/06).

Weak performativity has more flexibility for teachers thus far in that they are able to produce assessments at times to suit themselves and in ways to suit themselves. With the re-introduction of the creativity discourse schools have been given an opportunity to reconstruct the performativity text and to challenge its power.

Creative Teaching and Learning

A creativity discourse has permeated primary schools for 50 years and was revived in the early 2000s after the publication of the NACCCE report (Education 1999). It had been marginalised in the 1990s by the National Curriculum and performativity apart

from a few beacons (Jeffrey and Woods 2003) but has recently gained government and public education support. It contrasts with the performativity discourse and is often used as a bulwark against performativity or currently as a brief and transitory relief (Troman, Jeffrey et al. 2007; Troman and Raggl 2008). The existence of these two significant policy texts in primary schools currently provides an opportunity to investigate ways in which practitioners manage, appropriate and reconstruct discourses and therefore the power relations between and within them, a genealogical approach that explores the ruptures and changes between policy texts and at the same time identifies coherences across discourses.

At certain levels and in certain contexts certain modes of determinism and free agency coexist and circulate. Foucault's view of power enacted through strategies in the model of the game suggest as much. Like Bourdieu, Foucault utilizes the concept of strategies to understand how practice is operationalised and how people act on their environments (Olssen 2006). Strategies refer to the 'totality of the means put into operation to implement power effectively or to maintain it… They constitute modes of action upon possible action, the action of others… As such the concept of strategy is used to designate the means employed to attain a certain end, it is a question of rationality functioning to arrive at an objective…….it is a question of the means used to obtain victory' (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982, In afterward p.224-5) or to develop counter movements (Troman etal 2007). To the extent that relations of power are open or fluid, there is a degree of instability permitting the possibility or reversal or modification. Research into Ofsted inspections during the 1990s noted how, ' "all strategies of control call forth counter-strategies on the part of subordinates" (Giddens 1985), 'and teachers are very resilient' (Jeffrey and Woods 1998, p. 141]

Olssen (2006) notes that Valera (2001) sees the Foucauldian model as putting an emphasis on the productive functions of the school as opposed to its reproductive mechanisms, an approach that breaks from the model of determinism as exemplified by Bourdieu and the Marxist reproduction theorists. Hence institutions construct originality while at the same time reproducing existing relations of power. There is a simultaneous constructivist/reproductive process whereby neither pole can be entirely absent and the precise relation of each is empirically variable in different times and places. In such a model says Varela,

> The school is thus a space where new procedures and technologies for
> exercising power can be tried out. It makes possible the emergence of a new
> political anatomy of the body, in that by training subjects it gives them
> capacities, aptitudes and so forth. It is also a new physics of power, in that it
> permits the articulation of power in the search to maximise its strengths—
> creating in summation, a new economy of pleasure (ibid. p. 116)

Creative teaching and learning in primary schools has a threefold heritage, influenced by a range of policy texts. The first is one in which older teachers have maintained its principles and values throughout the imposition of prescriptive curriculum's and pedagogies and the rise of performativity (Jeffrey and Woods 2003; Woods 2004; Troman and Jeffrey 2007). The second is from the influences and realisation of many parts of the new industries that the creativity of the worker is the new resource of labour power to be tapped for increased performance and prosperity (Buckingham and Jones 2001; Jones 2001). The third influence has been a rise in the part played by the arts in policy partly legitimated by forward looking industrial imperatives (Jeffrey and Craft 2004).

Creative teaching and learning was never a ubiquitous pedagogy in primary schools in the UK in spite of support for it in the Plowden Report (Plowden 1967) and a supportive educational literature from the 1970s. It was marginalised by the influence of Ofsted inspections and testing during the 1990s but nevertheless was held up as an antidote to this instrumental approach with specific schools maintaining its approach (Jeffrey and Woods 2003). This support, along with the rise of the creativity discourse and a global economic interest in creativity prompted the incorporation into government policy of creative teaching and learning as a valued pedagogic strategy valuing the creative person and creativity in general. Approval now exists and primary teachers have seized upon this approval to renew their interests in it.

The first steps were tentative with special integrated curriculum weeks in which the National Curriculum timetable was suspended and a series of creative events permeated the year but the schools returned to the strong and weak performative practices they had normalised (Jeffrey 2003; Troman, Jeffrey et al. 2007; Webb and Vulliamy 2007; Troman and Raggl 2008; Jeffrey and Woods 2009). These bolt on practices and their discourses have begun to encroach upon the performativity texts

but our research findings show a predominate parallel set of practices is becoming the norm.

> I would like a full integrated curriculum but right now things have to be dropped even though we have plans for geography and history as a cross curricula approach. It's really quite difficult to really bring it in completely, for maths although we're doing Pi charts now so we could look at different environmental issues. Science would be fine but it is really hard to plan like that so we're trying to bring things in but we've got to be realistic, it's the Maths, English and the Science isn't it, to be honest that dominates and then by law we have to do R. E. and P.E., French and they have they have their music singing each week as well (Clare-W-Yr.6).

However, some teachers and schools are reconstructing the curriculum and pedagogic texts and the discourses attached to them, working within the spaces provided by seemingly contradictory policies and discourses one of which was identified as smart teaching.

> I think its both really. I think it helps to have some structure. I mean I really like the numeracy strategy, I think the resources are really well prepared, and I use them smartly, I don't use it word for word. I take the bits that I think are good and then I add in other resources and ideas I have and the same with the literacy. I use the structure of it and then I take the bits that I think are useful to me and research other resources to try and keep it creative and varied. In terms of hindering you yes it does, you can't be 100 per cent be creative because it's a structured programme but yes, somewhere in the middle really [Jane-I-Yr.6]

Smart Teaching

Smart teaching is an ingenious manipulation of both discourses for the benefit of their learners, their school policies and their own professionality, the development of capacity. These integrated project approaches included multiple experiential and sensory forms – tactile, aesthetic, physical, intensive, investigative, longer processing of outcomes. Teachers' argued that they were able to incorporate multiple aims of learning, socialisation, co-operations and emotional development in more holistic integrated project approaches. There was more of a recursive, non linear approach to

learning, outward and return journeys take place in which different groups investigate different aspects of a project, reporting back to others – traveller gatherings and a general rejection of stale pedagogies. Schools that had not maintained a creativity discourse during the 1990s have begun to take small steps to reintroduce creative teaching and learning pedagogies alongside performativity practices.

> We are introducing the QCA tests twice a year so that children are tested at the beginning of the year and then half way through the year just to ensure their progress and using the new PAT analysis system to analyse class's progress. So I think these things are working alongside the creativity. We had a creativity day and maths problem solving skills last term. So that's linking in the curricular targets and creativity. Problem solving skills in itself I think is creative start to inviting children to think outside their usual kind of maths (Jane-I-Yr.6)

Recent research into creative teaching and learning identified four themes – enjoyment, active learning, varied experiences and meaningful learning (Dobbins 2009). These were evident in the smart teaching we encountered through the emergence of agency. In our research active engagement with a hands on approach aided the physical aspect of creative learning and problem solving aided the cognitive aspects of it and teachers became quite sophisticated at integrating subjects and assessment,

> The topic was Vikings and we did everything through Vikings. There was an inter-active website on the BBC where they had to choose a long boat and basically they were attacking Lindisfarne. So we did a bit of map work for geography and we did tacking, drawing zig-zag lines across to Lindisfarne. I do quite a bit of sailing so I could show them the principles of sailing, tacking against the wind and so forth and we actually worked out the bearings, the angles. We were doing angles that week so I introduced them to what angles were for and the purpose of them finding out the angles to see how their ship would sail. The more able ones could work out the bigger angles so they crossed from Norway to England and the ones who could only work on smaller number worked back the other way so it was differentiated (Linda-I-Yr.5).

Setting a problem but making it an active one not involved some of the elements of creative learning and brought added value to the curriculum objective in that it engaged the learners.

> We've got a plot where we're going to plant a Physic garden as part of the school Environmental Theme measuring six slabs across and six slabs down like a chess board and we need to know down how many slabs we need. We worked out the area and the perimeter of the site and how much they were going to cost if we get 10% discount and what would be the cost if we've got five plants in each plot. We calculated the cost of the plants and the total outgoing? They find that really difficult actually but that was the sort of maths we linked into it (Donna-C-Yr.5).

Cross curricula project work was more efficient in meeting subject targets and when employed creatively there was a successful integration of the two policies, 'This term we're doing pirates, and they're really enjoying that as well, so we're singing lots of sea shanties, pirates stories, which links in with their writing, and our Science again is about boats, pushing and pulling, sinking and floating' (Becky-C-Yr1)

Where schools were thriving in merging assessment, curriculum and pedagogy they developed whole new packages,

> In the curriculum flows folder there are ready-made resources - for example PowerPoint presentations which seem to be weekly introductions to the week's topic and historical pictures of the time. It says that he was a peaceful king and liked wars and that Parliament did not like this and that he was executed in 1649. Then there is a Powerpoint presentation on the Interregnum, again with dates, and an explanation about Oliver Cromwell taking the title of Lord Protector etc. There is also a presentation on the river Thames and its bridges, down to the Victorians, the Great Stink etc. In that week, the task is to design a new bridge for the Thames: "We will fair test the bridge to see which one is the strongest by placing cars along its path." There is a presentation on Wren, one on Guy Fawkes, on the Great Fire of Northampton in 1675, with some historical notes on Northampton. There is a 'Who wants to be a Millionaire - Fire of London Edition'. There is a play linked to this flow: 'Pepys' Show: A Restoration Musical'. There are also

several books linked to the theme of Fire (How Rabbit Stole the Fire, How to Train Your Dragon, The Fire Race….) (FN-H-10/11/06)

However, teachers still needed to be very familiar with the curriculum objectives and level descriptors to integrate assessments and creative work.

> In Key Stage 2 we follow their unit plans in maths because they're written there for you. Somebody has worked them out so there's some structure and progression through them but I think we're becoming more flexible with our approaches. I think you need to know what the levels are so you can see where the children are and then move them on to the next stage in their general writing and looking at things they have done and then things they should be doing and then maybe introducing little chunks of ideas but then expecting them to write (Linda-I-Yr.5)

Smart teaching was a combination of not being too constrained by the targets, but knowing them well and allowing for spontaneous investigations and knowing how to take advantage of this development in terms of specific assessments.

> They give you the objectives and you work out what to do, sometimes I take their ideas but sometimes they might be quite limiting. Their ideas on how to teach something and experiment might be quite limiting whereas when you're linking that piece of knowledge to another part of the curriculum you can work out how you can adapt that to a different investigation. I just use them to get my objectives, to get the skill that I needed to begin teaching. They just give you the skeleton and then your ideas build the body (Sonia-H-Yr.6)

This, might be seen as pedagogy coming full circle back to pre-reform creative teaching but it is not the case for creative teaching and learning is now closely related to an objectives led curriculum (Webb and Vulliamy 2007). This is creative teaching used as a vehicle or a tool to deliver successfully the established National Curriculum objectives in skills, knowledge and understanding. This is what the NACCCE report (Education 1999) identified as teaching creatively and appears to be the dominant model at present (Dobbins 2009) for the report's preferred option of 'teaching for creativity' has a more difficult path to tread for the performativity discourse is entrenched and influential.

Teachers and schools have been unable to resist the strong form of performativity with some ensuring normalisation of it, some ensuring creative teaching and learning alongside it and others in more privileged areas marginalising it. However, smart teaching appears to integrate both weak performativity, through the progression narrative and creative teaching and learning although some schools are using the latter as bolt on activities but as the discourse develops and gains more ground the development of smart teaching suggests the possibility of some coherence across the discourses.

The loosening of the curriculum framework to allow more flexibility for schools and teachers is complicated by the necessary attention that has to be paid to assessment of the attainment targets. Although teachers relish the opportunity to provide more holistic and theme based curriculum plans they still have to reflect all the attainment targets for each subject at the appropriate levels and assessment underpins all teaching strategies. Teachers have to provide clear evidence for regular assessments and easy reporting procedures are therefore highly valued. Each learner's annual report states clearly the levels each learner attains in each subject and sub category and personalised learning is focused on improving these levels and progressing to the next level is almost mandatory as teachers cannot be seen to have failed to improve a learner's level. Both weak and strong performativity is assessment *of* learning as opposed to the other applauded movement assessment *for* learning (Harlen 2008) in which teacher and learner engage in a dialogue concerning different learning strategies.

Conclusion

The primary schools in this research reflected the predominate national policies in that they were keen to raise achievement keen to be creative about their school and their own development, saw work as challenging but rewarding, understand and accepted the need to develop skills and to maintain a learning attitude gradually improving learner's knowledge to cope with the uncertainty of the future. They liked the opportunity to take more part in the management of schools and the flattened hierarchies that go with new managerialism for they assisted career development and provided opportunities for self development and creative endeavour which they valued. They supported the progression narrative and found a weak approach to

performative learning as valuable in assisting development for themselves and their learners. The possibility of improving the achievement and progress of young children is a value they hold dear and where performativity assisted this process they supported it providing people were not pilloried for failure.

Creative teaching and learning has returned to many primary schools but its integration into the performative culture in the weak form constrains it, a cautious creativity (Troman and Jeffrey 2007). Power relations were mixed in that some teachers had absorbed the performativity discourse both strong and weak and others differentiated between the two and but there was more acceptance of the weaker forms and for some integration of the discourses through smart teaching. Teaching creatively was the preferred form over teaching for creativity. Creativity and a performativity discourses appear to be a constant but fluid aspect of primary school life and in some cases this leads to tensions for teachers and schools which can be seen through the examination of teacher and learner identities(Jeffrey, Troman et al. 2008).

In spite of the hegemonic influence of the performativity discourse to embed performativity practices we found differentiated performativity practices; emergent agency created out of the liminality (Turner 1974) between these two particular policy texts and discourses and through the developed capacities of teachers engaged in everyday schooling practices and discourse work. We have evidence over the last 30 years of performative policies of some teachers and some schools (Woods 1995; Woods 2002; Jeffrey 2003; Jeffrey and Woods 2003) appropriating new policies and reconstructing policy texts and discourses which shows the complexity of policy enactment and implementation in micro setting of schools. Following Foucault we wish to know how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another and to problematise hegemony, seeing it as discursively constructed in the same way that all social relations derive their social character from their discursive constitution. In this sense connections among individuals and groups have to be constructed, articulated and maintained (Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

The current situation is also still fluid for with another major reform of the curriculum due in 2011 and a wider form of strong performativity through the introduction of Report Cards we may yet see the balance shift between these discourses but the

embeddedness (Giddens 1991) of weak performativity and the progression narrative makes this a continuing site of development.

The small sample in this research precludes us from generalising about the nature of primary schools in relation to creativity and performativity policies. However, three possible scenarios could be possible.

- Creative teaching and learning acts to improve the effectiveness of the progression narrative which is underpinned by a weak performativity discourse, creative instrumentalism – teaching creatively

- Creative teaching and learning and performativity approaches are viewed as the means to develop the new creative, skilful, collaborative contributor to the national economy – the creative citizen – teaching for creativity

- Creative teaching and learning emerges as a challenge to performative and market strategies – the creative challenge.

All are going on at the same time in our schools but some schools may be more heavily engaged in one or other of these approaches.

References

Ball, S. J. (1993). "Education markets, choice and social class: The market as a class strategy in the UK and the USA." British Journal of Sociology of Education **14**(1): 3-19.

Ball, S. J. (1998). Performativity and fragmentation in 'Postmodern Schooling'. Postmodernity and Fragmentation of Welfare. J. Carter. London, Routledge**:** 187-203.

Ball, S. J. (2000). "Performativities and Fabrications in the Education Economy: Towards the Performative Society?" Australian Educational Researcher **27**(2): 1-23.

Buckingham, D. and K. Jones (2001). "New Labour's cultural turn: some tensions in comtemporary educational and cultural policy." Journal of Education Policy **16**(1): 1-14.

Craft, A., B. Jeffrey, et al., Eds. (2001). Creativity in Education. London, Continuum.

Denzin, N. (1989). Interpretative Interactionism. London, Sage.

Dobbins, K. (2009). "Teaching creativity within the current education system: a case study of the perceptions of primary teachers." Education 3-13 **37**(2): 95-104.

Dreyfus, H. L. and P. Rabinow (1982). Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics. Chicago, University of Chicage Press.

Eco, U. (1976). A Theory of Semantics. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Education, N. A. C. o. C. a. C. (1999). All our futures: Creativity, Culture and Education. London, Department for Employment and Education.

Foucault, M. (1972). The Archeology of Knowledge. London, Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1979). "Governmentality." Ideology and Consciousness **5**(21).

Foucault, M. (1980). Two lectures on power. Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 C. Gordon. Brighton, Harvester Press**:** 166-182.

Giddens, A. (1985). The Nation State and Violence. Cambridge, Polity.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self - Identity*. Cambridge, Polity.

Gipps, C. (1992). Developing assessment for the national curriculum. London, Kogan Page published in association with The Institute of Education University of London.

Glaser, B. G. and A. Strauss (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Chicago, Aldine.

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from Prison Notebooks. London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Harlen, W. (2008). The quality of learning: Assessment alternatives for the primary education. The primary review. R. Alexander. Cambridge, Cambridge University.

Hartley, D. (2007). "Personalisation: the emerging 'revised' code of education?" Oxford Review of Education **33**(5): 629-642.

Jeffrey, B. (1999). Distancing Research Objects Through the Involvement of the Self. Studies in Educational Ethnography: Explorations in Ethnography. A. W. Massey, G. Stamford Connecticut, Jai Press. **2:** 163-182.

Jeffrey, B. (2001). Challenging Prescription in Ideology and Practice: the case of Sunny First School. Understanding Pedagogy. J. Collins, K. Insley and J. Solar. Buckingham, Open University Press**:** 143-160.

Jeffrey, B. (2003). "Countering student instrumentalism: A creative response." British Educational Research Journal **29**(4): 489-504.

Jeffrey, B. and A. Craft (2004). "Teaching creatively and teaching for creativity: distinctions and relationships." Educational Studies **30**(1): 77-87.

Jeffrey, B. and G. Troman (2004). "Time for Ethnography." British Journal of Educational Research **30**(4): 535-548.

Jeffrey, B., G. Troman, et al. (2008). Creative and Performativity Policies in Primary Schools. BERA, Edinburgh, BEI.

Jeffrey, B. and P. Woods (1998). *Testing Teachers: The effects of school inspections on primary teachers*. London., Falmer.

Jeffrey, B. and P. Woods (2003). The Creative School: A framework for success, quality and effectiveness. London, Routledge/Falmer.

Jeffrey, B. and P. Woods (2009). <u>Creative learning in the primary school</u>. London, Routledge.

Jones, K. (2001). "Travelling Policy/Local Spaces: Culture, Creativity and Interference." <u>Education and Social Justice</u> **3**(3): 2-9.

Lacey, C. (1976). Problems of sociological fieldwork: a review of methodology of 'Hightown Grammar'. <u>The Process of Schooling</u>. M. Hammersley and P. Woods. London, Routledge**:** 55-66.

Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe (1985). <u>Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics</u>. London, Verso.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1979). <u>The Postmodern Condition: A report on knowledge</u>. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Mead, G. H. (1934). <u>Mind, Self and Society</u>. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Olssen, M. (2006). <u>Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education</u>. London, Paradigm Publishers.

Peirce, C., Ed. (1931). <u>Collected Papers</u>. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Plowden (1967). Children and their Primary Schools. London HMSO, Central Advisory Council for Education in England.

Rabinow, P., Ed. (1984). <u>The Foucault Reader</u>. New York, Pantheon.

Rosenholtz, S. (1989). <u>Teachers' Workplace</u>. New York, Longman.

Seltzer, K. and T. Bentley (1999). <u>The Creative Age</u>. London, Demos.

Smart, B. (1983). <u>Foucault, Marxism critique</u>. London, Routledge.

Smart, B. (1986). The politics of truth and the problem of hegemony. <u>Foucault: A Critical Reader</u>. D. Couzens Hoy. Oxford, Basil Blackwell**:** 157-173.

Troman, G. and B. Jeffrey (2007). Primary Teacher Identity, Career and Commitment. Swindon, Economic and Social Science Research Council.

Troman, G. and B. Jeffrey (2007). "Qualitative data analysis in cross-cultural projects." <u>Comparative Education</u> **43**(4): 511-525.

Troman, G., B. Jeffrey, et al. (2007). "Creativity and performativity policies in primary school cultures." Journal of Education Policy **22**(5): 549-572.

Troman, G. and A. Raggl (2008). "Primary Teacher Commitment and the Attractions of Teaching." Pedagogy, Culture and Society **16 ,**(1): 85–99.

Turner, V. W. (1974). The Ritual Process: Structure and anti-structure. Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Varela, J. (2001). Geneologies of education: Some models of analysis. Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling. T. S. Popkewitz, B. M. Franklin and M. A. Pereyra. New York, Falmer.

Webb, R. and G. Vulliamy (2007). "The impact of New Labour's education policies on classroom practice at KS2." Education(99).

Woods, P. (1995). *Creative Teachers in Primary Schools*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Woods, P. (1996). Researching the art of teaching:ethnography for educational use. London, Routledge.

Woods, P. (2002). "Reintroducing Creativity: Day 10 at Hackleton School." The Curriculum Journal **13**(2): 163-182.