

Cultural-Historical Activity Theory and Additional
Support Needs Decision-Making Processes in a Scottish
Local Authority: Partnership Working as a Learning
Zone Intervention

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In memory of my father, John.

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To my mother, Elizabeth and my husband, Finlay: How on earth could I have achieved this without you?

And finally, to all of you: I am ready to play again if you are.

When you've got nothing, you've got nothing to lose.

Bob Dylan, *Like a Rolling Stone*

Alienation is the precise and correctly applied word for describing the major social problem in Britain today... It's the frustration of ordinary people excluded from the processes of decision making. The feeling of despair and hopelessness that pervades people who feel with justification that they have no real say in shaping or determining their own destinies.

Jimmy Reid, Rectorial Address

Developing the assets that local communities have, which sustain and create health, will contribute to Antonovsky's concept of coherence. I would go further. I am a doctor, I have to talk about health but I would argue here that what we are talking about is not about health improvement. It is something more significant. It is life improvement. Health is just something that emerges from a fair and civilized society, where everyone looks after each other. Individuals who live in that society begin to learn how it works, begin to manage their place in it and begin to participate in the life within their community. They are likely to be in control and are likely to feel well. So this is about getting to the heart of what people are doing in Scotland to create that fair and civilised society. If we can't look after children and give them a proper kind of nurturing environment then we are far from being a civilised society.

Sir Harry Burns, Tenth Kilbrandon Lecture

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LIST OF SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND NOMENCLATURE

Abbreviation	Definition
ASL Act	Additional Support for Learning Act (2009)
ASPEP.....	Association of Scottish Principal Educational Psychologists
ASD.....	Autistic Spectrum Disorder
ASN.....	Additional Support Needs
BPS.....	British Psychological Society
CHAT.....	Cultural Historical Activity Theory
CMRG	Case Management Review Group
CSDM	Children’s Service Delivery Model
DWR	Developmental Work Research
EO	Educational Officer
EP	Educational Psychologist
EPS.....	Educational Psychology Service
GIRFEC.....	Getting it Right for Every Child
HESS	Head of Education Support Services
HMIE.....	Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education
IEP.....	Individual Education programme
IQ.....	Intelligence quotient
MLD.....	Moderate learning difficulties
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
PAG	Professional Assessment Group

PAG process.....	Local Authority Decision-making Process for Educational Placement of Children with Additional Support Needs
SEBN.....	Social, Emotional and Behavioural Needs
SEN	Special Educational Needs
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

ABSTRACT

The area of enquiry is a Scottish local authority decision-making process for specialist educational provision for children with additional support needs (ASN). The study had two aims. Firstly, to evaluate the extent to which Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and Developmental Work Research (DWR) are useful analytical and intervention tools for local authority organizational change processes (Engeström 2007b, 1987) and secondly, to contribute to the change process of local authority policy and practice for children with ASN. Education professionals and authority officers participated in the study which utilized a flexible case study design.

The empirical investigation involved three workshops based DWR interventionist methodology, the aim of which was to consider stakeholders' views of the problems associated with the PAG process and to consider the change potential of authority systems. Ethnographic data from two internal authority studies of the PAG process together with case study presentations was used as 'mirror' data in the empirical investigation as catalysts for critical discussion. A CHAT analysis of workshop transcripts illuminated hypotheses about systemic contradictions within the process.

Contradictions were hypothesized in terms of CHAT concepts of tools, division of labour and rules and the extent to which they mediated the PAG decision-making process. Key themes included ineffective assessment methodology and decision-making criteria, problematic multi-disciplinary working and partnerships with parents, lack of clarity of the role of the educational psychologist, the persistence of traditional categorization of need, and the PAG process as overly complex and non-transparent. Inclusion and special education discourses permeated all of the themes.

The authority decision-making process was viewed as a network of activity systems undergoing a cycle of expansive learning and development, artificially provoked via the DWR workshop intervention, applying Vygotskian notions of dual stimulation and the zone of proximal development (ZPD) as mechanisms to mediate collective learning and change. The cycle of expansive learning reflected a collective journey

through the ZPD of the PAG process, mediated by the researcher-practitioner, during which established practice was first challenged via a historical analysis and then developed in consideration of future professional practice.

The extent to which expansive learning and knowledge development had occurred in the DWR workshops was assessed against key turning points in discussion, the development of new instrumentalities and participants' evaluation of the workshop sessions. As the object of PAG activity was expanded, key turning points included an initial focus on the decision-making process, then on wider developments to promote inclusive practice and finally on a re-structuring of the authority service delivery model. The expanded object of activity reflected collective learning in the ZPD of the PAG process, evidenced in a shift in participants' understanding of the PAG process from everyday understandings to a more theoretical, systems-based understanding.

Evidence of impact of the DWR intervention on policy and practice was demonstrated via analysis of new policy documentation, professional discourse in strategic working groups and external validation by Inspection processes. The DWR workshops were viewed as a 'marginal microcosm' of the wider authority context with 'centripetal potential' to make inroads into central structures and processes. A key contribution to the authority change process is that the PAG decision-making process has been re-configured as case management review groups (CMRGs), located within the re-structuring of ASL services and in alignment with the new Children's Services Delivery Model (GIRFEC). Allocating specialist provision is no longer a separate process; rather it is part of a coherent, systems-based approach, the principles of which are progressive and proportionate intervention with an emphasis on presumption to mainstream.

Findings support the thesis that CHAT and DWR provide a theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework within which to undertake historical analysis of contradictory professional practice to gain a system-based understanding of complex work settings leading to organizational change and observable impact on policy and practice.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The study is concerned with a local authority decision-making process for the educational placement of children with ASN. It has two aims. To evaluate the extent to which Developmental Work Research (DWR) as an application of Cultural Historical Activity Theory is a useful analytical and intervention tool to conceptualise and develop local authority processes and structures and in doing so, to contribute to the review and development of local authority policy and practice for children with ASN using DWR with senior authority officers and education professionals.

The decision-making process is known locally as the 'PAG' (professional assessment group) process. There are several 'PAGs' including: Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD) and communication; Social, Emotional and Behavioural Needs (SEBN) and residential; pre-school; Moderate Learning Difficulties (MLD); severe and complex needs; hearing and visual impairment. Each PAG group has a multi-disciplinary membership, typically chaired by an educational psychologist. The authority has a two-tier system for consideration of children's needs: the first tier (PAG groups) makes professional recommendations to the authority based on written applications and professional assessment reports; the second tier makes authority-based decisions, taking a range of factors into account, including professional recommendations, resource/cost implications, and legal requirements such as responding to parental requests (see Appendix 1 for diagram of the PAG process and Appendix 9 for PAG guidelines).

Within the authority's Children and Families Department there was recognition of the need to review and explore possible changes within the PAG process in terms of limited resources, changes in curriculum, policy and legislative frameworks, and in terms of the educational outcomes for young people and the experiences of their families who engage in the PAG process. Educational psychologists, who play a key assessment and coordinating role in this placement process, have been engaged in an on-going debate about the systems within which they work and the tensions that exist in their role (Stobie et al, 2002; Stobie, 1996). For example, EPs support inclusive practices within schools; yet simultaneously, they are centrally involved in authority

processes for special school placements. Therefore it is important to consider the role of the EP in the case study local authority in its cultural and historical context together with the profession of educational psychology in general (Leadbetter, 2002).

A key question addressed was the extent to which the current system of decision-making was 'fit for purpose' for meeting the needs of young people and their families. The PAG process had been reviewed internally on several occasions in the past, leading to cumulative procedural changes but essentially with the same model intact. Professional views expressed in the reviews of the PAG process articulate well with the findings from the preliminary review of the literature on parental choice, partnership working with parents and involvement in decision-making processes. Several studies and reviews conclude that decision-making outcomes for children with special needs are often perceived as inequitable and overly complex (Lamb, 2009; Flewitt and Nind, 2007; Frederickson and Cline, 2002) and professional support to make informed choices is often short of parental expectations (Hartus, 2008; Truss, 2008).

There was recognition at authority operational and strategic levels of the need to review how learners' needs are met, both in mainstream and specialist provisions. There were also wider-reaching changes underway at the department and authority level in terms of re-structuring of services regarding child protection procedures and the piloting of Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) models of Integrated Children's Services. Within this changing context of organizational re-structuring there was a perceived need within psychological services for a review of the role of the EP in the assessment and decision-making process for consideration of special educational placements (Tymms and Elliot, 2006) in the context of the EP framework for practice in Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2002) and based on evidence gathered as part of the service's self-evaluation process (HMIE, 2007). Based on initial discussions with the Principal Psychologist (now retired) and senior managers, I received permission to undertake a study of the PAG process that would contribute to the authority-wide review and self-evaluation processes, aiming to work with a group of senior practitioners and strategic managers.

Chapter 1 provides a context for a study of the PAG with an overview of the fields of special education, inclusive practice and integrated children's services. Chapter 2 focuses upon theory, methodology and epistemology pertinent to a study of the PAG process. Considering the decision-making process as complex social phenomena, a key aim of the study was to locate the research in a social theoretical framework and to apply an associated methodology for social intervention and change. Socio-cultural theories are considered as candidate approaches for the study together with action research and process evaluation. Argument and justification is provided for the selection of Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and Developmental Work Research (DWR) as the most suitable theoretical and methodological approach for a study of the PAG process.

Commentary and critique of CHAT is presented in chapter 3. CHAT is located in its cultural-historical context as a critical social theory developed by Engeström, the basis of which is associated with the works of Leont'ev, Vygotsky and the dialectics of Marx. A summary of first, second and third generation activity theory is presented together with an overview of the five principles of CHAT. Commentary and critique of DWR methodology is presented in chapter 4. An overview is provided of the theory of expansive learning, the application of which is Developmental Work Research (DWR). Following a critique of CHAT, it is concluded that DWR methodology offers an evidence-based, theoretical, conceptual and analytical framework within which to locate a study of an authority decision-making process. Research questions are then presented. General method is presented in chapter 5 with an overview of research design, aims, ethics, and data analysis.

Results of the empirical investigation (DWR intervention) is presented in chapter 6 and evidence of impact of the study is presented in chapter 7 with a focus on the re-configuration or expansion of the PAG process. Developments to date are presented of a new service delivery model for the authority located within which is a new resource allocation model to meet the needs of children with ASN. The contribution of Psychological Services to support the authority change process is discussed with implications for expansion of the EP role in the authority. A concluding discussion

presented in chapter 8 addresses the research aims and questions together with limitations of the study and suggestions for further research activity.

CHAPTER 1. INCLUSION AND SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION

1.1 TRENDS IN INCLUSION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Chapter 1 provides an overview of special education and inclusive practice within the legislative, policy and practice context for meeting the needs of children and young people with ASN to provide a context for the study of the PAG process. In doing so, the unique, situated practice of the PAG process is understood within wider the historical and cultural development of educational systems in contradictory policy and practice contexts.

Prior to universal education in the nineteenth century, schools selected pupils and could refuse to teach children who were deemed to have significant learning difficulties (Terzi, 2010; Boyle et al, 2008; Hamill and Clark, 2005). The establishment of universal education raised the problem of how to educate children with ASN in systems that expected all children to meet specified educational standards. Special educational provision arose out of the need to exclude children with special needs from ordinary schools to ensure that educational standards were maintained. To decide who should attend special schools, methods of identification, classification and categorization were developed. Historically, categorisation of need described individual deficit and impairment, with diagnosis a medical concern (Norwich, 2007).

Over time, education rather than medicine became the key context for the assessment and identification of learning difficulties and disability, focusing on cognitive function and behaviour. However, moving from ‘with-in child’ explanations to more interactional understandings of the causation of disability, concerns remain about the efficacy of enduring identification and classification methodologies used to place children in non-mainstream schools (Norwich, 2008; Wedell, 2008). Today, in public education systems, meeting the needs of children who require additional educational support gives rise to three areas of concern: the cost of meeting needs, the quality of

resources provided and ensuring equity of access (Florian, 2009, 2008; Florian and McLaughlin, 2008).

The issues of how and where children with ASN are educated continue to be debated in the context of the inclusion agenda focusing upon access to, and equity in, education for all children (Allan, 2010; Lunt and Norwich, 2009; Booth and Ainscow, 2002). However, there are many interpretations of what constitutes inclusion, educational equity and rights in terms of moving policy and practice forward (Raptor, 2011; Hick et al, 2009). Three key tensions are highlighted in the special needs/inclusion literature: the rights of the individual child versus the rights of the collective group; the need for additional resources versus the need for budgetary control; and local autonomy versus national consistency (Norwich, 2008; Riddell, 2002).

Florian (2008) asks: 'Is special education part of the problem or solution in fulfilling rights and answering questions of equity in education?' (2008:202) and Ainscow (2009:xii) refers to the enduring 'historical assumption that a small percentage of children have to be seen as 'outsiders', whose education must be catered for by a separate, parallel system, usually known as special education'. Warnock, who supported the concept of inclusion in her original report in 1978, now refers to it as a 'disastrous legacy' because of the persistence of labeling and categorization of children within the 'meta-category' of SEN (Warnock, 2005:22). Also, Raptor (2011:38) draws our attention to children's rights to mainstream education versus parental wishes for specialist provision as a 'complex area for potential litigation'.

Inclusive education exists within the context of conflictual discourse and policy demands, for example, support for continuation of special school provision (Allan, 2010). In particular, reference is made to 'uncertainties surrounding inclusion' and 'shifting political and policy contexts and recent patterns and trends in Scotland and across Europe, which illustrate key points of exclusion' (Allan, 2010:199). Moreover, teacher beliefs and attitudes (Boyle, 2009; Woolfson and Brady, 2009; Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Croll and Moses, 2002, 2000), and parental concerns (Tisdall and Riddell, 2006; Riddell et al, 2006) raise fundamental questions about the capacity of

education systems to embrace the costs of inclusive educational practice in the context of market-driven policies (MacBeath et al, 2006). A key finding of the Doran review of services for children with complex additional support needs in Scotland was the contentious and polarized interpretation and implementation of policy regarding inclusion and presumption to mainstreaming across a range of stakeholders (Doran, 2012).

1.2 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON INCLUSION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Ferguson (2008) notes that in 2004 some 12% of children in the US were identified with special needs and 52% of these spent at least 80% of their time in mainstream classes. In Europe, some 5% of children were identified with special needs with 26% in Finland so identified. In England in 2009, 90,080 children attended special schools compared to 6,757 in Scotland in 2008 (Raptor, 2011). However the figures do not take into account arrangements such as exclusions, units in mainstream schools, part-time timetabling and shared placements.

Analysis of international perspectives on inclusion has focused on dilemmas of difference regarding identification, curriculum and placement of children with special needs (Norwich, 2007). Norwich (2008) notes that professional belief of placement of children with severe disabilities in three countries fits a dilemmatic framework in which attempts are made to 'have it both ways' in terms of specialist and mainstream settings, a consequence of which is a limit in the number of places available in mainstream classes for children with the most severe disabilities and learning difficulties. Looking beyond dilemmas of difference, a capability approach to disability and special educational needs has been proposed as a framework to develop special needs policy (Terzi, 2008).

Croll and Moses (2000) concluded in their review that policy development in the UK has not been a sufficient condition for reform and that commitment by key individuals in local authorities promotes inclusive practice more effectively. A full review by Riddell et al (2006) noted that most countries favour multi-track systems

with parallel developments in inclusive education, special classes or units in mainstream and special schools. Local, national and international differences were found in relation to inclusion and decisions on additional resourcing. The US had the strongest rights-based provision and the most developed systems for training special educators while most teachers in specialist provisions in Europe did not have additional teaching qualifications. Further, while there is an international trend in inclusive practice for children with special needs there is an absence of clear evidence as to whether mainstream or special education provides more positive outcomes for children (Doran, 2012; Riddell, 2011; Riddell et al, 2006). A key factor may be the difficulties in gathering comparable data within and across countries.

1.3 INCLUSION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

Scotland has developed a distinctive pathway towards inclusive education. Until 1965 Scottish education was underpinned by the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act reflecting principles of categorisation and selection by ability and disability. Subsequently, The Primary Memorandum (SED), 1965 recognised the disadvantage of categorization and segregation with The Education (Mentally handicapped children) Act, 1974 including all children with significant learning difficulties in Scotland within the special education framework (see The Scottish Government, 2006).

The Warnock Report (DES, 1978) asserted that all children are entitled to education, changing to new categorisations and to a continuum of need with a focus on locational, social and functional integration. Following Warnock, The Education of Pupils with Learning Difficulties in Primary and Secondary Schools (SED, 1978) drew professional attention to the interactional and contextual factors of learning, with a focus on adaptations to the curriculum and the learning environment as a whole school responsibility, demonstrating departure from an exclusive within-child deficit model. In the Scottish policy context of the 1990's, the Beattie Report (SEED, 1999) referred to inclusiveness as 'abilities and aspirations recognised, understood and met within a supportive environment' (SEED, 1999: 3)

Scottish education policy in the new millenium introduced The Standards in Scotland's Schools, etc. Act, 2000, placing a duty on education authorities to ensure that education is directed to the development of the personality, talents and mental and physical disabilities of the child or young person to their full potential. The act also includes the presumption to mainstreaming for most children and young people with ASN. The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 and 2009 extends the definition of education and educational needs from categorisation to circumstances, moving towards a personalisation agenda, with new rights of participation and appeal for parents/carers and young people. Scottish educational policy supporting inclusive practice includes: Ambitious, Excellent Schools (SEED, 2004c), and A Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) (SEED, 2004b), implemented in schools in 2010. The Ministerial comment about the new curriculum included:

In essence, the curriculum must be inclusive, be a stimulus for personal achievement and, through the broadening of pupils' experience of the world, be an encouragement towards informed and responsible citizenship (SEED, 2004c: 5)

The CfE has been described as 'one of the ambitious programmes of educational change ever undertaken in Scotland' (Scottish Government, 2008:8). However, recent critiques of the new curriculum highlight a lack of research regarding its development and implementation, and the need for a psychologically informed conceptual analysis of what learning means (MacLellan and Soden, 2009; Colville and McIlwain, 2007). Also, teacher engagement with the new curriculum is predicted to be problematic in terms of its principles, timescales and resources (Priestly, 2010).

1.4 ADDITIONAL SUPPORT NEEDS: LEGISLATION, POLICY AND PRACTICE

1.4.1 ASN Policy Context in Scotland

The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 provides the legal framework for the identification and meeting of needs of children and young people who face barriers to learning (Scottish Government, 2004; 2009). This Act changed the definition of special educational needs to a much broader definition of children and young people requiring additional support to benefit from education. Improvement of the coordination of support to children from a range of services was also a key aim as was the focus on parents' and children's rights and mechanisms for resolving disputes. The ASN Tribunals for Scotland were established to consider cases pertaining to Co-ordinated Support Plans (CSPs) (refusal to open a CSP, its content and placing requests). Tensions around the original Act included the complexity of language used, multiple interpretations of the Act and views that the new CSP, replacing the Record of Needs in Scotland, was not fit for purpose (Riddell, 2008).

The Code of Practice (CoP), a set of guidelines to support practice based on the Act, provides a range of factors that may give rise to ASN such as the learning environment, family circumstances, disability or health needs and social and emotional factors (Scottish Executive, 2005a). Children and young people with longer term difficulties arising from one or more complex or multiple factors and requiring significant support from a range of services are likely to have a CSP. The CoP also encompasses the principles of *Getting it Right for Every Child* (GIRFEC), a national programme that aims to improve outcomes for children and young people within a co-ordinated and integrated approach across agencies and services that support children and their families (Scottish Executive, 2005b, c). Local authorities throughout Scotland have been tasked with identifying, leading and supporting cultural system and practice change within Children's Services, a key aim of which is to provide coordinated support to children and their families as and when needs arise. The GIRFEC model contributes to fifteen national outcomes agreed by the Scottish

Government and Convention for Local Authorities (COSLA), some of which are linked to the four capacities in CfE (SEED, 2004b).

Together with the CfE and the ASL 'Act 2009', the underlying GIRFEC values and principles of assessment, planning, action and review encompass a holistic view of children and young people, taking into account their views and those of their parents and involving them fully in the assessment process and in finding solutions. Working in partnership with parents is emphasised in the assessment and intervention process which follows a staged intervention approach underpinned by a presumption to mainstream. The proposed new legislation in the Children and Young People's Bill aims to strengthen the legal basis of GIRFEC and Doran (2012:30) recommends specifically that in the development of the single plan for children and young people, 'future legislation should specify the responsibility and accountability of all agencies to implement the actions and resources needed to fulfil that plan'.

The Lamb Inquiry (2009) consulted a range of political, professional and parental organizations to gauge responses to the change in legislation, policy and practice in Scotland. Lamb summarised his perspective on the Scottish and English frameworks of support. Points of similarity include the participation of children and parents in decision-making at each stage, the right of appeal against decisions and the identification, assessment and planning process. Points of difference include definition of SEN and the point at which statutory processes are triggered. Lamb (2009:10) suggests that the broader definition of need in Scotland may result in 'a dilution of effort' in addressing children's additional support needs. But while 20% of children in England are identified as having SEN, in Scotland, with a broader definition, only some 6% of children are identified as having ASN (Riddell et al, 2010).

In consideration of models in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, Lamb further concludes that there are key challenges for all: information and communication with parents, availability of specialist expertise to meet children's needs, the co-ordination of services and clarity about statutory plans. In general he argues that a focus on children's progress and engagement with parents is fundamental to improving

services for children and families. Moreover, the promotion of personalisation of support and early intervention within mainstream or universal services is emphasised whilst arguing for the need to maintain a statutory framework to ensure good outcomes for children with complex needs. This view is reflected in the recent review of provision for children with complex additional support needs in Scotland (Doran, 2102). In this sense, an argument could be made for the persistence of the dilemmatic framework for children with additional needs as professionals attempt to ‘have it both ways’ in terms of specialist and mainstream settings (Allan, 2010). That said, awareness-raising of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) as a rights-based model with parents, schools and partner agencies is also discussed. The English Policy Context and Special Needs Systems Government policy in England and Wales in the light of Every Child Matters more generally (DfES, 2003) is reviewed by Boyle, Mackay and Lauchlan (2008).

1.5 EVALUATIONS OF SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEED SYSTEMS

1.5.1 Introduction

Concerns about the effectiveness of special educational needs systems in the UK have led to the commissioning of several reviews, evaluations and research studies on services for children and young people with speech, language, and communication needs (Bercow, 2008), parental confidence in the special needs system (Lamb, 2010, 2009), teacher supply for pupils with severe, profound and multiple learning difficulties (Salt, 2010), and the special educational needs legislative framework (Ofsted, 2010). The outcomes and recommendations of the recently published Doran review of services for children with complex needs in Scotland are in alignment with the emergent themes of the reviews cited above (Doran, 2012). The following themes are discussed in turn:

- Problematic partnership working
- Educational Psychology: identification and assessment of need
- Dilemmas of inclusive practice

- Prevalence and quality of support and provision
- Assessment methodology
- Identification and categorization of need
- Quality of teaching and learning
- Workforce re-modelling and capacity building
- Evaluation and accountability
- Partnership with parents

1.5.2 Key themes from reviews

Partnership Working

The need for effective joint working across professional boundaries and the clarification of professional roles for all stakeholders is widely accepted (Salt, 2010; Lamb, 2009; Bercow, 2008) but different approaches to identification and thresholds for intervention make joint working difficult. These different approaches have resulted in too many single agency assessments being undertaken and incoherent plans drawn up for children with special educational needs (Ofsted, 2010). However, effective multi-agency working was characterised by strong, strategic leadership and clear integrated systems (Lewis et al, 2010). Operationally, effective locality working and co-located teams working within child-centred approaches such as *Team around the Child* are supported by acknowledging workload issues and resource implications, good communication systems and joint training.

Within this context of partnership working, there is greater demands on EPs to demonstrate that they are making a difference for children, young people and families within a wider political and social justice context (Boyle et al, 2012; Kelly et al, 2008) and in regard to the development of policy and practice (Farrell and Venables, 2009; HMIE, 2007). EPs in Scotland are referred to specifically in the Scottish National Code of Practice regarding involvement in the staged intervention model of support and the GIRFEC framework for integrated service delivery. However, Educational Psychology Services in England have been a particular focus of the

Lamb Inquiry regarding the extent to which advice and recommendations are independent of local authority budgetary concerns. A key recommendation from the Lamb inquiry is that Educational Psychology Services should aim for ‘arms-length’ distancing from local authority policy and practice, calling for a review of different models of service delivery.

Educational Psychologists: Identification and Assessment of Need

In terms of meeting learners’ needs effectively, there are implications for an expanded EP role but the extent to which EPs are prepared to articulate and embrace this wider remit is a continuing source of debate within the profession, with Lamb (2009:86-87) concluding that EPs in England are perceived to be in a ‘settled professional culture’ where they are prepared to be ‘instructed not to make specific recommendations’. Moreover, the recent Ofsted review of the SEN framework pointed out inconsistencies in EP assessment methodologies that may impact on equitable access to resources and allocation of provision (Ofsted, 2010).

Improvement in the quality of assessment of need and the development of an alternative system of categorisation of needs were recommended because the term ‘educational needs’ may not accurately reflect the complexity of a child’s situation (Ofsted, 2010). Good practice within the common assessment framework reflected coordination of assessment in a joined-up way providing a holistic view of a child’s needs (Lewis et al, 2010; Penfold et al, 2009; Lamb, 2009).

The Dilemma of Inclusive Practice: Evidence Versus Assumptions

A dilemma for EPs is balancing the extent to which they focus upon diagnostic assessment to support placement decision-making and/or support schools to develop more inclusive practice (Hick et al, 2009). The dilemma of inclusive practice in general can be understood in the problematic policy context of increasing school effectiveness simultaneously with the promotion of inclusive practice (Lunt and Norwich, 2009): children with learning needs in mainstream settings may lower school attainment figures. The dilemma exists also because of an inadequate

evidence base of the benefits of specialised content-based programmes, pedagogies and provisions for children with special educational needs (Terzi, 2010; Lewis and Norwich, 2007; Lewis and Norwich, 2005) and Florian (2009) has challenged the assumption that children with ASN require specialist pedagogies, arguing for a focus on general teaching and learning pedagogies rather than on remediation of perceived learning difficulties. Nevertheless, specific approaches and adaptations which are effective for children with particular needs such as autism have been highlighted (Parson et al, 2011; see also Riddell et al, 2006).

Towards Consistent Inclusive Practice

Different interpretations of inclusion may impact on the type of provision available (Allan, 2010). Therefore, calls are made for more consistent messages from government regarding inclusive practice and the need to address underlying tensions created by the attainment agenda, and greater financial autonomy in schools. Some local authorities are moving towards a reduction and re-organization of school provision to 'build a spectrum encompassing special schools, specialist mainstream provision and mainstream schools with the focus generally shifting away from special schools' (Lewis et al, 2010: 4). To achieve this, a key factor is highlighted for success: gaining the confidence of parents and staff in mainstream schools through leadership, consultation and partnership (Lamb, 2009; Penfold et al, 2009). Developing inclusive practice also rests on availability of resources and tools, training and capacity building (Ofsted, 2010). The need for teacher peer support systems to enable successful inclusion of children with ASN has also been highlighted (Boyle et al, 2012). Stronger quality assurance and monitoring mechanisms is also an area highlighted for development and it is suggested that there may be a role for educational psychologists in this monitoring process working closely with school improvement officers and school inspectors (Lewis et al, 2010).

Educational Psychology and Inclusive Practice

Within the context of inclusive practice, the role of the EP continues to evolve providing opportunities to broaden the application of psychology in education to ensure the best outcomes for children, young people and their families (Kelly et al, 2008; Leadbetter, 2008). Assuming a wider remit for the role of the EP opens up opportunities and possibilities to engage with educational initiatives and legislative changes. However, the profession must ensure that by widening the remit of the EP role that value is added to the quality of service delivery and that this is perceived by service users as such (Boyle et al, 2012; Boyle and MacKay, 2007; Kerfoot and Imich, 2000). In this regard, the importance of casework-based interventions has been argued persuasively by Boyle and Lauchlan (2009).

Not only does case work open up opportunities for systems-wide interventions it may also maintain credibility for the profession in terms of its unique contribution in an integrated services context. The challenge for psychologists may be to make a difference in casework-based interventions without resorting to within-child deficit models and assessment of need for placement in specialist provisions (Hick et al, 2009). Doran (2012) emphasizes the importance of the EP in Scotland in the assessment of children with complex needs and in provision of consultation and advice to professionals working daily with children in specialist settings. However, Doran also draws attention to current funding issues with the training of educational psychologists and cautions against a reduction in the number of EPs in each local authority in terms of maintaining levels of expertise to support children and young people with additional support needs.

Prevalence and Quality of Support and Provision

The reviews focused upon the degree of local and national variation regarding prevalence of special educational needs, the quality of provision and support available, and equity in access to additional provision (Ofsted, 2010; Lamb, 2009). One study focused upon local variation in prevalence, provision and support for children with special educational needs (Lewis et al, 2010). The study focused on the

views of professionals of the SEN system in case-study local authorities, providing confirmation of variation across local authorities but also noting ‘common trends’ and ‘a move towards greater inclusion and closer working with other agencies’. Factors promoting good practice in the area of special needs include an ethos of inclusion, effective multi-agency working and partnerships with all stakeholders, and good levels of highly skilled and trained professionals. However, there is a need for comparable data sets across local, national and international contexts to develop a robust evidence base of what works for meeting all learners’ needs.

Quality of Teaching and Learning

The Ofsted review found that many children with special educational needs were underachieving. Reasons cited included poor quality of teaching provision, low expectation of learners, and children being wrongly identified as having special educational needs who access expensive resources because of poor teaching and ineffective pastoral support. Similar findings were reported in the Lamb Inquiry which suggested that better educational outcomes for children with special educational needs could be achieved by changing a culture of low expectations and promoting the voice of the child (Lamb, 2009). Ofsted highlighted aspects of good practice, concluding that the best learning occurred when professionals had a thorough knowledge of the children and young people they work with. This included knowledge of the best teaching strategies, child development and how learning needs and disability impact on learning and developmental trajectories. The overall conclusion from a range of reviews is that when best practice happens, less specialist intervention is required.

Workforce Training and Capacity Building

Recommendations from various reviews focus on workforce training and capacity building arguing that this will lead to greater consistency among professionals in the identification, assessment and teaching of children with special educational needs.

Some professionals had limited knowledge and expertise across a range of special educational needs (Salt, 2010, Penfold et al, 2009, Bercow, 2008)

Evaluation and Accountability

The overall recommendation by the Ofsted review is to ensure accountability from services that focus on outcomes for children and young people. Whilst acknowledging that there is a high level of demand from parents, the special educational needs system could make more effective use of limited resources. Good evaluation is recommended to track progress towards planned outcomes using information and evidence to evaluate impact of interventions and this should include self-evaluation of the extent to which improved outcomes for children are achieved (Ofsted, 2010). In doing so, more effective additional support can be provided in the long-term. A key outcome of the Doran review of services for children with complex needs in Scotland was that local authority self evaluation outcomes on the quality of their own provision and processes were sometimes at odds with parental perceptions (Doran, 2012).

Partnership with Parents

The reviews and published studies highlight problematic partnership with parents (Doran, 2012; Riddell and Weedon, 2010; Ofsted, 2010, Lewis et al, 2010; Truss, 2008; Hess, Molina and Kozleski, 2006; Pinkus, 2005). For example, parents may view psychologists as having a ‘massive conflict of interest’ as employees of a local authority within which ‘professional opinions are fettered’ (Lamb, 2009). In developing more effective partnerships with parents it is argued that they will have greater empowerment and equality in decision-making and that it will lead to the development of more effective services for children and families (Barnes, 2008; Hartas, 2008; O’Connor, 2008; O’Connor et al, 2005). Several studies suggest that the most enabling model of parent partnerships is that of ‘parent as consumer’ choosing educational provisions and pathways for their children (Ryan, 2003, Vincent, 2000; Thomas and Vaughan, 2004). However, parents of children with

special educational needs and disability may be viewed as less powerful consumers (Evans & Vincent, 1997).

In response to this, several models have been proposed for parents of children with ASN: a strengths-based approach, empowerment model, negotiation model and a model of authentic partnership (Wolfendale, 2006, 2002; Gewirtz et al, 2005; Dale, 1996; Appleton and Minchon, 1991). The main focus underpinning such models is the need to consider parents' shifting priorities for their children. There is a requirement, therefore, to provide responsive services that are calibrated according to each family's strengths and needs and that are flexible enough to meet on-going changes to individual needs (Doran, 2012; Lamb, 2009). The notion of social capital has also been used in the context of parental participation. For example, Gewirtz et al (2005) link the idea of 'intra-family social capital' to parental participation which arises from parents knowing how the system works and how to mobilise systems of support. In contrast, parents experiencing poverty and social disadvantage may be less able to exert control over decision-making processes for their children with special educational needs (Riddell et al, 2002).

1.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter summarized the current legislative, policy and practice context for meeting the needs of children and young people with ASN in Scotland. Comparisons were made with international and other UK educational systems to highlight not only trends but also differences in educational legislation and curriculum contexts. In doing so, difficulties in comparing statistics across different educational systems were acknowledged. Nevertheless, key themes emerged that have bearings on how the study of a local authority decision-making process for the educational placement of children with ASN could be approached.

First, the increasing complexity of re-configured public service working and workforce re-modeling is exemplified in educational contexts in which professionals are expected to more work collaboratively to support children and young people with ASN (Hartley, 2009). Second, the development of educational systems in

contradictory policy and practice contexts may result in the dilemmas of inclusion with the endurance of multi-track systems to support children's educational and complex needs (Lamb, 2009). This contradiction, together with dominant discourses on special needs, traditional categorization of need and variable inclusive practice indicate structural contradictions at the local and societal level (Florian, 2008; Billington, 2000; Mittler, 2000).

Third, the impact of such issues on the profession of educational psychology is significant regarding the extent to which EPs continue to have a role in the assessment and identification of need and in making recommendations to local authorities on how to best meet the needs of children. Furthermore, EPs may need to define their role more clearly in integrated children's services and in partnership with parents. Future directions of the profession may also need to be calibrated more clearly towards local authority priorities to demonstrate best value and a positive impact on children and families (Doran, 2012). The Lamb Inquiry recommended that Psychological Services in England and Wales develop greater distance from local authority decision-making in favour of more objective advice-giving to parents and carers and Doran (2012) reports that some parents in Scotland may have similar views about professionals representing more the authority position on provision rather than advocating on behalf of parents, children and young people.

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the historical, political and legislative context for the study of the PAG process. In doing so, key themes around the complex issues involved in educational placement of children with ASN informed the design of the study. Chapter 2 provides a review of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches for a study of the PAG process.

CHAPTER 2. FRAMEWORKS AND MODELS OF PARTNERSHIP WORKING

This chapter presents findings from a literature review of models of professional practice and partnership working for children with ASN. In doing so, a range of theoretical, conceptual and methodological approaches were considered for a study of the PAG process. An argument is made for the use of Developmental Work Research, an interventionist methodology embedded in the cultural-historical activity theoretical tradition to study change and development in work practices (Engeström, 2009, 1987).

2.1 INTEGRATED CHILDREN'S SERVICES

Over the last decade there have been wide-ranging changes in legislation, policy and service delivery for children with ASN (DfES, 2003, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2004a; SEED, 2000). In particular, changes in special needs education in Scotland and England have been associated with the growth of public sector accountability and the changing role of local authorities (Tisdall and Riddell, 2006). Re-configuration of governance in public services and education policy has been considered from a socio-cultural perspective that focuses upon three aspects of workforce re-modelling: greater flexibility of professional roles, collaborative working and an emphasis on distributed leadership (Hartley, 2009). Greater emphasis on collaborative working may have weakened traditional professional boundaries 'because of convergence of intellectual, cultural and economic changes', a consequence of which is that public sector structures may now reflect more closely those of the private sector evidenced in the use of notions such as hybrids, networks and distributions in keeping with the New Public Management of the 1990s (Hartley, 2007:206).

The dominant discourse of policy-makers, practitioners, and the research community is that collaborative working can provide a more cohesive approach to addressing the needs of children and their families. Yet, it has been pointed out that although there is 'plethora of government guidance' in general about the need to improve Children's

Services, there is limited guidance on how effective multi-agency working is to be achieved (Scottish Government, 2010a, 2010b; Edwards et al, 2009). Furthermore, there is minimal research-based evidence regarding the efficacy of partnership working or models that outline what successful partnership working looks like (Daniels et al, 2007; Leadbetter, 2006). Such concerns are highlighted in the Scottish policy and governance context of the GIRFEC agenda (Allan, 2011; Christie, 2011; Forbes and McCartney, 2011; Scottish Government, 2010a, 2010b).

2.2 MODELS OF MULTI-AGENCY WORKING AND PROFESSIONAL LEARNING

Various models and definitions of multi-agency or collaborative working focus on learning outcomes and organizational change, taking into account professional and client views (Martin, 2008). The concepts of theories in use, espoused theories and the concept of double-loop learning are often used to consider the extent to which any organization is one that is willing to learn about learning (Bracher and Hingley, 2002; Bracher 2001; Stoker, 2000; Argyris and Schon, 1978). Double loop learning enables a deeper understanding of organizational processes and the underlying reasons for problems at an individual level. For example, Bracher and Hingley (2002) posit that single loop learning encourages the educational discourse of a child failing at school whereas double loop learning in a school would examine at a systemic level the reasons why the school fails the child.

Traditional approaches to the analysis of collaborative working and organizational learning have been referred to as ‘bureaucratic’ in the sense that a typical analysis focuses primarily upon the interactions of members of any organization involved in collaborative working. However, this approach does not focus on how the restructuring and change in organizations impact on the process of professional learning, identity and expertise within newly formed teams. Developing a ‘post – bureaucratic’ analysis of collaborative working (Warmington et al, 2005), the notions of personalisation and the co-creation of services with clients have been proposed as ways of transforming practice in Integrated Children’s Services (Edwards et al, 2009; Daniels et al, 2007; Leadbetter et al, 2007; Leadbetter, 2006, 2005; Booker, 2005).

Building on the notions of co-creation, collaboration and relational processes, Leadbetter (2006) describes the importance of the notion of the ‘personalisation’ agenda for service users such as parents working in partnership with professionals in the co-design of services to support children and families. The idea of services users co-creating more responsive services with professionals has also been referred to as ‘co-configuration’ (Edwards et al, 2009; Engeström, 2007a; Daniels et al, 2007; Leadbetter et al, 2007;) based on a model of organizational change in business settings (Victor and Boynton, 1998). Co-configuration is defined as a form of work that is:

‘oriented towards the production of intelligent, adaptive services wherein ongoing customisation of services is achieved through the dynamic reciprocal relationships between providers and clients’ (Leadbetter, 2006:50).

Although there is a clear consensus in the literature of the need for further research into various aspects of multi-agency or collaborative working (Edwards et al, 2009; Hymens, 2006; Watson, 2006) caution has also been advised against the idea that multi-agency working might be the panacea to achieving more favourable outcomes for vulnerable children and their families (Sloper, 2004; Atkinson et al, 2002). Indeed there have been calls to critique the concept of multi-agency working because of the unquestioned assumptions that it is ‘a good thing’ (Hughes, 2006). However, a cultural-historical activity theoretical perspective provides a different view of barriers to collaborative working (Engeström, 2001). Rather than viewing tensions and contradictions as barriers to effective collaborative working, they are instead seen as necessary as ‘mechanisms for transforming practice’ in inter-professional settings (Edwards et al, 2009).

2.3 CANDIDATE THEORIES FOR THE STUDY OF THE PAG PROCESS

2.3.1 Introduction

This section provides a rationale for the paradigmatic position taken in the thesis to demonstrate awareness of ontological and methodological issues (see also section 5.4). Because the study focused upon processes and working relationships in a local authority setting with a key aim of intervention and change, a random control trial design and therefore a positivist position was considered to be inappropriate (Robson, 2011). This was because no statistical analysis of numerical data was planned. Moreover, because the PAG process is unique to the local authority under study, generalizations were not of concern in the sense of sampling of participants being viewed as representative of the general population; and replication of findings was not sought because the PAG process was viewed as a case study (Yin, 2009).

As such, standardization aiming for control and accuracy was not appropriate for the study because the PAG process is social activity in a real life setting. To decontextualise the process from its setting would have been artificial with assumptions of value-free research activity and this approach would not have provided stakeholder perspectives (Robson, 2011). Because the author of the study is a practitioner in the setting being studied, researcher reflexivity was a central concern for the study and so objectivity that aims for distance between the researcher and participants was considered to be an inappropriate epistemological position to take (Brymen, 2008). A post-positivist view of research underpins qualitative methods in the study wherein research evidence is considered imperfect and knowledge is viewed as both a rational and social activity based on evidence within a socio-political cultural context (Robson, 2011). Because of this position, a review of social theories and methodological approaches was undertaken.

Inquiry on processes necessitates consideration of a relationship between individual behaviour and social structures (Blunden, 2009; Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Brannen, 2005) and the extent to which psychological phenomena can be viewed as overt acts of behaviour via direct observation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). As such, the

selection of a theoretical approach was guided by the relationships that are likely to exist between individual behaviour within the social structures of the PAG process. There was a requirement, therefore, to locate the research study in an epistemological paradigm that could account for the relationship between individual and group behaviour within the organizational and institutional structures within which the PAG process is situated.

Socio-cultural approaches were selected as suitable theoretical positions within which to locate the research strategy for a study of the PAG process as they advocate a social theory of mind (Daniels, 2008, 2001) in which individual behaviour and social activity are interconnected. This position assumes a non-reductionist and non-mechanistic view of behaviour with a focus upon a degree of human agency in collective activity (Robson, 2011). However, there is recognition of underlying tension between behaviour and the means by which social activity is mediated and because of this the limitations of social science research to access knowledge (Brymen, 2008).

Because of the perceived need by stakeholders for a review of the PAG process, the research strategy had to offer a mechanism for intervention. Therefore, theories of change and process evaluation were considered as methodological approaches. Explanation and causation need to be understood in order to focus upon the mechanisms required to bring about effects in intervention studies (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Critical realist studies tend to be located in cultural and historical contexts with a focus on the provocation of change to improve social justice and equality, with stakeholders as collaborators in the research process. However, an effect may be no change or some change and within open systems it is also important to consider that change may occur independently of a study or intervention because of the complexity of social phenomena.

2.3.2 Socio-Cultural Theories

Socio-cultural theories promote a social theory of mind, rooted in the work of Vygotsky (Daniels, 2008, 2001) and focus upon a resolution of the traditional

macro/micro dichotomy in social theory, emphasizing the interaction between individuals and society (Avis, 2009, 2007; Daniels, 2008; Brannen, 2005). Such a position demands a distancing from psychological theories that focus analysis and explanation primarily at the level of the individual (Wertch and Smolka, 1993). Instead, socio-cultural theories adopt a dialectical view of agency in individuals and society in which people are shaped by but also shape the social worlds and contexts in which they inhabit. This approach is considered appropriate for a study of the local authority PAG decision-making process as it has been shaped historically and culturally by professional relationships as processes and procedures have evolved. In turn it could also be argued that the process also constrains and enables professional activity and interconnections around decision-making activity for the educational placement of children with ASN.

Social theories such as those derived from the works of Hiedegger, Marx, Durkheim and Weber (Blunden, 2009) and cultural psychological approaches in particular (Cole, 1996) are considered appropriate for a study of the PAG process as they purport to theorize the relationship between interactional and institutional levels of analysis, positioning the individual and culture as mutually constitutive of each other. However, certain theories attribute greater importance to structure (micro or macro), language and discourse or individual agency at the expense of the others (Giddens, 2009, 1984; Habermas, 1990, 1981). The current debate in socio-cultural theory concerning the extent to which individual and society are interrelated processes is comparable to sociological debates concerning the dichotomy of societal structure and individual agency. The inseparability thesis, of which Giddens' structuration theory is an example (Giddens, 1984), is concerned with process ontology and the inseparability of the individual and societal processes. This position argues for process to explain social reality with a focus on the study of social practices rather than individuals. Analytic dualism, on the other hand, rejects the 'conflation' of the individual and the social whilst acknowledging the need for interrelated levels of analysis (Archer, 2003; 1995).

2.3.3 Semiotics versus Practical Activity in Socio-Cultural Theory

Socio-cultural theories focus on semiotics, the study of language, signs and sign processes, to gain an understanding of a social theory of mind and to study how individuals and society can be explained in relation to each other (Daniels, 2008). However, Engeström (2009) criticizes socio-cultural theorists for their emphasis on language to explain culture and society. For example, organizational studies now have a greater focus on discursive practices to explain and transform work patterns (Blackler 2009; Tsoukas and Knudsen, 2003) and discourse analytical studies focus upon the power of societal knowledge production over individual behaviour (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Such approaches were considered to be unsuitable for a study of the PAG process because power tends to be located in discourses, an approach that may neglect the importance of individual agency and practical work activity (Engeström et al, 2003).

A range of socio-cultural learning and practice theories such as situated learning, peripheral participation, mediated practice, and communities of practice were considered as possible candidates for the study of the PAG process because they attempt to account for learning and behaviour in social contexts and consider team work as collective subjects of learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991, Wertsch, 1998, 1991). Aligning with the Vygotskian tradition that considers cultural tools as mediators of the development of the mind, such approaches take into account power and authority in tool use and view knowledge as situated in practical activity.

Within this approach, the PAG process could be viewed as common practice across networks of activity with a shared understanding of purpose, for example to consider the educational placement of children with ASN. However, a study of the PAG process requires analytical focus on loose networks of professionals in interrelated activity that aims for intervention and change (Engeström, 2000). As such, the range of socio-cultural learning and practice theories discussed are rejected as potential research strategies for a study of the PAG process as they expect a 'stable locus of control' and consistent membership of teams. Also, there is a lack of clarity within

such models regarding interventionist research strategies, a key requirement for the study of the PAG process.

2.3.4 Actor Network Theory

Actor network theory was considered as a candidate for the study because of its focus on networks and actors (Latour, 2005). Latour proposes actor network theory as a type of ethnography of work and discourse, focusing on professional construction of work activities via ‘talk and text’. However, a study of the PAG process necessitates a focus upon object-oriented activity as the hub that may connect loose networks of professionals who work together temporarily to consider educational placement for children with ASN. In this sense, individuals may be interchangeable. What provides continuity, focus and stability in the PAG process over time may be the object of PAG activity – to meet children’s needs. Engeström and Kerosuo (2007) argue that in complex work contexts, analytical focus on individuals is a ‘vulnerable research strategy’.

Actor network theory was also considered as unsuitable as a research approach because there is no acknowledgement of work settings as problematic and contradictory in nature and therefore may lack an analytical focus on the function of contradictions in complex work settings as catalysts for change and the learning of new ways of working (Engeström, 2001). Importantly, actor network theory, similar to a range of socio-cultural approaches discussed above, does not aim to intervene in work settings and the researcher does not engage in collaborative research activity with stakeholders, a key aim of the study of the PAG process (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007). Therefore, actor network theory was rejected as a suitable research strategy for a study of the PAG process.

2.3.5 Action Research and Process Evaluation

Action research and process evaluation were considered as possible research strategies because of their focus upon intervention and change and collaboration between researchers and stakeholders that would be suitable for a flexible case study

design of a local authority decision-making process (Argyris, 1999; Argyris & Schon, 1996, 1978; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Action research in particular emphasizes democratic principles of emancipatory research aiming for empowerment of stakeholders, improvement and social change. Process evaluation, such as the realist evaluation model developed by Pawson and Tilley, makes reference to a realist and analytic dualist position that acknowledges the limited agency of individuals to shape their work settings but also to resist efforts to change within any given social intervention process. However, such approaches are not explicitly associated with socio-cultural approaches and although they may make reference to theory as mechanisms within the realist tradition (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) and refer to the transformative and cyclical nature of change within social processes and structures (as does CHAT and DWR with expansive cycles of learning), both approaches are presented more as methodological toolkits for evaluation and change rather than embedded within an established and coherent theoretical and methodological tradition such as CHAT (Engeström, 2009).

Critiques of action research focus upon limitations of the approach in lacking an explicit mechanism that show how ideas for change are transformed in actual practice (Engeström et al, 2003). The role of the researcher is not centrally involved as a co-catalyst in the discussion of contradictions that may or may not lead to transformative change. More recently, similarities between action research and CHAT have been highlighted (Langemeyer, 2011; Somekh & Nissen, 2011). For example, both approaches have been viewed as social criticism using scientific knowledge in social interventions. Action research also claims to be embedded in the post-Vygotskian tradition viewing learning and development as mediated by cultural tools within social contexts governed by rules and roles. Nevertheless, action research in comparison to CHAT does not have an established theoretical and methodological underpinning that can explain and model macro and micro social structures and relationships using activity and dialectics as the guiding principles (Engeström et al, 2003).

This criticism is also applied to process evaluation, an approach presented as a methodological toolkit that focuses explicitly on evaluation of programs and services (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). It is described as a systematic approach to understand the complexities of the change process in social structures, using terms such as mechanisms, outcomes and effects to answer questions such as ‘what works?’, and what potential for change is there in the current system? However, the extent to which it can be considered as a viable research strategy is questioned as it does not align itself with any one epistemological or ontological position (Robson, 2011). Also, process evaluation focuses upon change at the level of actions rather than activity (Engeström, 2004). Therefore, process evaluation was not considered to be the most appropriate research strategy for a study of the PAG process as it is not aligned explicitly with an established theoretical framework and associated research methodology.

2.3.6 Cultural Historical Activity Theory

CHAT was selected as an appropriate conceptual and methodological approach for a study of the PAG process because of its strong theoretical and psychological tradition, its acceptance of the dialectical relationship between social structures and human agency, its modeling of an activity system and the elements and the historical contradictions within it, its focus on the activity system or networks of activity systems as the prime unit of analysis, the focus upon mediated practical activity rather than individual actions or discourse and the emphasis on formative intervention and change (Engeström, 2007b; 1987). The relevance of each of the key principles of CHAT to a study of the PAG is argued in turn.

Within the context of the reconfiguration of public sector governance there is demand for greater collaborative working across children’s services (Hartley, 2007). This necessitates a new form of professional collaboration in looser networks of activity. CHAT focuses on practical activity rather than semiotic analysis; interacting networks of activity systems are the unit of analysis, thus it is an appropriate for a study of the PAG process as this involves loose networks of professionals, parents

and children as they consider how best to support children's additional support needs (Edwards et al, 2009). The multi-voicedness of activity systems is reflected in the range of people involved at various stages in PAG activity.

CHAT is concerned with object-oriented, artifact mediated activity which necessitates a focus on the shared goal or project in joint practical activity (Leadbetter, 2008). The PAG process involves loose networks of people working together at set points in a year in the assessment of need and in decision-making about educational placement. This activity is mediated with a range of material and conceptual artefacts/tools or resources such as policy, legislation, guidelines, reports, decision-making criteria, assessment methodology and so on.

CHAT emphasizes the need for analysis of the historical development of activity systems and the contradictions inherent within them to understand the contingent nature of the present and possibilities for future activity (Ellis, 2011). Contradictions, then, are considered as central to the change process in CHAT approaches in that they function as mechanisms for transforming practice. The PAG process has evolved over historical time; therefore to understand better the problems or contradictions identified in the current process, an analysis of its historical development was considered to be central to the intervention to consider the potential for change to the PAG process.

Developmental Work Research offers a formative intervention for organizational change that is theoretically based in CHAT (Blackler, 2009). This enables a focus on collective action or practical activity as the unit of analysis of the PAG process together with consideration of the processes and mechanisms at play. The DWR workshops provide a forum for historical analysis of contradictions in PAG activity that function as a collective zone of proximal development for participants and the researcher as they challenge established practice and consider new ways of meeting educational needs. Vygotskian psychological notions such as dual stimulation and theoretical generalizations are considered as mechanisms for potential change and collective professional learning.

2.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the chapter was to locate the PAG process in its changing political context in which greater public service efficiency is to be achieved via more effective collaborative working. This is relevant to the Integrated Children's Services agenda within which the local PAG context is situated. Attention was drawn to the limited evidence base of the impact of collaborative working and what this looks like in practice. Indeed, there is a greater evidence base of problematic multi-agency working. However, recent CHAT studies have focused on the importance of contradictions in partnership working as mechanisms for change.

The study of the PAG process was located epistemologically and methodologically. Because PAG activity is a social process, it was considered as complex social phenomena with a focus on the dialectical relationship between individuals, groups and social structures. In this sense, the study is taking a non-reductionist, non-mechanistic view of behaviour. Because of this, a scientific approach was not considered relevant to a study of the PAG process in which a statistical sample providing representation of a general population was the key aim. Rather, the PAG process was considered as a case study, located in real time in a real setting with a focus on people's perspectives, and so qualitative methods were used. The study was action-researched based as participants worked in collaboration with the research practitioner to consider potential for change to the PAG process.

Because the study took a dialectical view of human agency and social structure, a range of socio-cultural theories and intervention approaches were considered as candidates for the study. The reasons for rejection of such approaches were a combination of the following:

- Too much emphasis on semiotics and discourse
- An ahistorical approach
- Too much focus on individuals and relationships

- Need for stability of membership in networks of people; difficulty accounting for loose networks of people
- Lack of focus on the object/motive of collective activity
- Not enough emphasis on centrality of contradictions as mechanisms for change
- Focus on pragmatics of methodological change toolkits at expense of theoretical positioning
- Some approaches do not aim to intervene

An argument was presented for the selection of CHAT as a conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework and for the selection of DWR as an interventionist methodology within which to locate the study of the PAG process. CHAT was selected because of the relevance of its five key principles to the context of the PAG process as object-oriented, mediated collective activity, a key goal of which is to ensure that children with additional support needs are supported in educational contexts.

A detailed account of CHAT and DWR methodology is given in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 because the researcher identified the need to provide a coherent account of a social science paradigm that may not be well-known in mainstream educational psychology.

CHAPTER 3. CULTURAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITY THEORY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The thesis is based on the dialectical tradition of cultural historical activity theory (CHAT), the branch of activity theory developed by Engeström to study change and development in work practices and organizations (Engeström, 1987). Whereas traditional sociological and psychological approaches separate the study of social structure from individual behaviour and human agency, CHAT is considered as a dialectical theory of activity in which the development of mind and culture are considered as mutually constitutive of each other (Engeström, 2009).

3.2 CHAT AS SOCIO-CULTURAL THEORY

CHAT is distinct from the broader field of socio-cultural theory because of its focus on activity and practice and the potential for transformational change in activity systems under study (Roth and Lee, 2007). Related branches are referred to as socio-cultural activity theory (SCAT) (Martin, 2008), cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) (Leadbetter, 2008), cultural historical psychology, and socio-cultural psychology (Leadbetter, 2005) all of which share a common underpinning with the work of Vygotsky (Cole and Engeström, 1993; Daniels, 2001; Engeström, 1999a; Leont'ev, 1978). The approach enables collaboration between researchers and practitioners to resolve contradictions in complex social contexts such as work practice (Leadbetter, Daniels and Stringer, 2005).

CHAT can be understood not only as a type of social theory which seeks to understand and explain human behavior in societal contexts (Daniels, 2008) but also as critical social theory directed towards critique and change in society (Blackler, 2009), 'purported to be a dialectical alternative to behaviour as psychology's unit of analysis' (Holzman, 2006:7). Activity theorists argue that human behaviour is best understood as practical social activity studied within its cultural and historical contexts (Engeström, 2009; Edwards et al 2009). CHAT is also presented as a theoretical orientation or approach as well as a conceptual framework and analytical

tool that provide a means by which to study the complexity of people's behaviour and interactions across a range of social contexts and activities (Leadbetter et al, 2005; Edwards et al, 2009). Roth and Lee (2007:189) describe how activity theory:

theorizes persons continually shaping and being shaped by their social contexts that immediately problematizes knowledge as something discrete or acquired by individuals.

3.3 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHAT

Although Cole (1996) is credited with the introduction of activity theory to Western Scholars the theory was first developed in Soviet Russia based on the works of Vygotsky by Luria, Leont'ev and Il'enkov (Holzman, 2006). It has been described as 'the most important legacy of Soviet philosophy and psychology' (Bakhurst, 2009:197). However, because of the political context in Soviet Russia at the time, the ideas associated with activity theory did not become known to the West until the 1960s (Daniels, 2008). The development of cultural historical activity theory, based on activity theory, has been led primarily by Engeström (1987) in the Centre for Activity Theory and Developmental Work Research in Helsinki.

The historical development of dialectics in CHAT is based on the works of Kant, Hegel, and Marx (Daniels, 2008; 2001) (see Appendix 2). Dialectics enabled a non-reductive and non-deterministic view of human nature engaged in purposeful actions and activity (Roth and Lee, 2007). Marx (1976, 1972), in his dialectical materialism, developed the Hegelian notion of dialectics as a means by which to explain the development of higher mental processes via 'sensuous activity', an idea further developed by Vygotsky as a basis for the social formation of the mind to explain how people shape and are shaped by their cultural contexts (Vygotsky, 1978). In doing so, Vygotsky focused on culture rather than biology in the study of human development and behaviour (Daniels, 2001).

CHAT focuses upon practical, collective activity in the social formation of mind. The notion of collective activity as a unit of analysis in CHAT was developed by Leont'ev (1978) using Marx's notion of 'labour' to consider activity as collective

practice with a shared goal or motive (object orientation). Leont'ev differentiated between operations, actions and activity and Il'enkov (1977) developed the notion of dialectics and contradictions, also based on Marx's work, as a driving force for change in social systems. Davydov (1995) used the dialectical method to develop his learning theory of ascending from the abstract to the concrete through epistemic or learning actions. Engeström linked the ideas of Marx, Vygotsky, Leont'ev, Davydov and Il'enkov to develop the notion of artefact-mediated, object-oriented activity, using the activity system as the prime unit of analysis and using contradictions as a mechanism for change in social systems (Engeström, 2000).

3.3.1 The Three Generations of CHAT

The development of activity theory is described through the evolution of the three generations of activity theory based on Vygotsky's notion of mediating artefacts between subject and object (first generation), Leont'ev's object-related collective activity (second generation) and Engeström's network of interacting activity systems (third generation) (Leadbetter et al, 2005; Engeström, 1987, 2001; Bakhurst, 2009). Descriptions are accompanied by a triadic model representing either individual or collective action. Activity theorists refer to the expansion of the model of activity from the first to the third generation models of activity theory.

3.3.2 The Concept of Activity and the Prime Unit of Analysis

Engeström (1999a) provides an exposition of the 'idea of activity' as the prime unit of analysis based on Marx's concept of labour-power or 'activity' (see also Daniels and Warmington, 2007). He introduces activeness as opposed to passivity in human and animal life forms before defining activity as an 'object-oriented and cultural formation that has its own structure' (Engeström, 1999a:21). He emphasizes the cultural and societal nature of activity as he differentiates between goal-directed action and object-related activity. Social theory and theories of action have tended to view individual action as the prime unit of analysis of human behaviour in research activity (Daniels, 2008). However, such approaches cannot account for the 'socially

distributed or collective aspects as well as the artifact-mediated or cultural aspects of purposeful human behaviour’ nor can they account for ‘the continuous, self-reproducing, systemic, and longitudinal-historical aspects of human functioning’ (Engeström, 1999a:22).

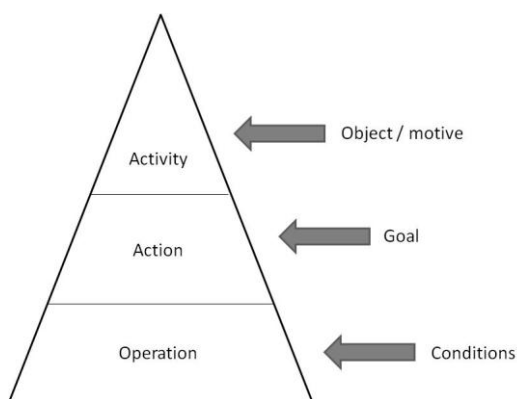


Figure 1: Model of Hierarchy of Activity. (Source: Engeström, 1999a)

A hierarchical, three level structure of activity was developed by Leont’ev (1978): operation, action and activity, together with notions of motive, goal and instrumental conditions to explain the difference between individual action and collective activity (see Figure 1). Engeström (1987) defines activity as a collective and mediational structure. An activity system produces actions but is not reducible to actions that are short-lived. Actions by individuals or groups fulfill goals; an activity is undertaken by a community with an object and motive (Daniels, 2008). For example, Leont’ev (1978) used the activity of hunting to explain how individual actions and goals can only be understood within the wider notion of the motive of the whole activity. The motive behind the object of hunting activity is to acquire food for the whole community. To achieve this people need to be engaged in collective activity, with a shared motive, undertaking different tasks and actions to achieve the outcome of the overall object of the activity: food.

3.3.3 The First Generation of CHAT: Artefact Mediation

Vygotsky’s first generation activity theory model depicted cultural artefacts as central to the development and understanding of human actions. He introduced the concept

of mediation, in response to the limitations of stimulus-response behaviourism (Bakhurst, 2009; Daniels, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978). The triadic model represents human action or activity as mediation as a unit of analysis that links the individual and the group thus avoiding reductionism (see Figure 2). Because actions are always mediated in some way, Vygotsky added mediation to the model in the form of tools or artefacts (Leadbetter, 2008). His genetic law of cultural development explains the social development of mind via mediation as a child develops first on the social plane and then on the psychological. People use mediational tools to internalise culture and through development of higher order functions, express agency in the shaping of culture (Daniels, 2008; 2001; Vygotsky, 1978).

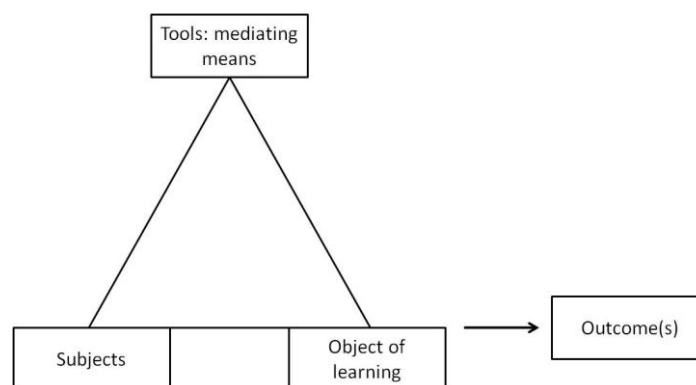


Figure 2: First-generation Activity Theory Model. (Source Daniels, 2001:86)

The notion of culturally-mediated activity and development for social science was significant: the study of human behaviour and wider cultural and societal contexts could not be complete without studying the effects of one on the other (Daniels, 2001, 2008). In CHAT and socio-cultural theory more broadly, the concept of the tool or artefact in shaping human consciousness and development is central. But it is a dialectical process and people also use tools to shape the cultural contexts in which they live. In this sense the development of culture over time is understood as people reproduce and modify aspects of it over historical time. Cultural development in this sense is referred to as the ‘ratchet effect’ described as a ‘cultural mechanism’ for the development of cultural artefacts with ‘accumulated modifications’ over time (Tomasello,1999:38). Individuals and society shape and are shaped by each other.

People need to be understood in their cultural contexts and society needs to be explained in terms of human agency, of individuals who create and use cultural artefacts (Engeström, 2001). Engeström (1999a) quotes Wartofsky (1979:205) on the significance of the artefact to human development: ‘the artefact is to cultural evolution what the gene is to biological evolution’.

3.3.4 The Second Generation of CHAT

Although Vygotsky and Leont’ev both agreed that cultural and social activity generates higher mental functions, they argued for different mechanisms to achieve this. Vygotsky focused on the development of mind by cultural tools whereas Leont’ev focused on the development of mind through human activity (Van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991). The development of a second generation of activity theory is based on Leont’ev’s concept of an object/motive driven collective activity system (Bakhurst, 2009). Leont’ev recognized the limitation of the first generation of activity theory in that the unit of analysis is individually focused, time-limited and situation specific suggesting instead that the study of mediation should focus on its relationship with other parts of the activity system (Engeström, 1999a; Leont’ev, 1978).

Engeström expanded Vygotsky’s original triadic model, drawing upon Leont’ev’s concept of the activity system that distinguished collective activity from individual goals, actions and operations (Engeström, 2001). The inclusion of a ‘projected outcome’ from the object of activity addresses the limitations of the first generation in that activity now becomes ‘relatively lasting new patterns of interaction’ that is not short-lived and situational (Engeström, 1999a:31). Instead, broader meanings are given to individual actions as they are linked to the overall object/motive of the activity.

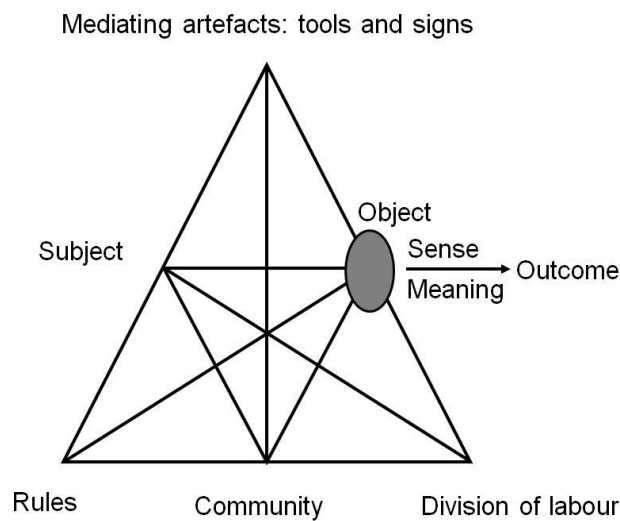


Figure 3: The Structure of a Human Activity System. (Source: Engeström, 1987)

Second generation activity theory schematized by Engeström (1987) has seven elements (see Figure 3). The new schema or model focuses upon the relationships and interactions between the elements in an activity system understood in their broader social, historical and cultural contexts (Warmington et al, 2005). The elements are subject (individual or group), tools and artefacts, community, rules, division of labour, object, and outcome (Engeström, 1999a). The individuals are participants in the activity who are motivated towards a purpose or attainment of the object. Tools and artefacts are shared cognitive/abstract and material/concrete resources that the subjects can use to attain the object. The community comprises wider societal groups or individuals who are interested in the object of activity. Informal or formal rules regulate the individual's or subject's participation in the activity. The division of labour refers to the division of roles, tasks, status and power. The object of an activity system is depicted by an oval. The outcome is the result or consequence that the subjects find once the activity is complete. Engeström provided an example of a second generation activity system based on work in the scientific community (see Figure 4).

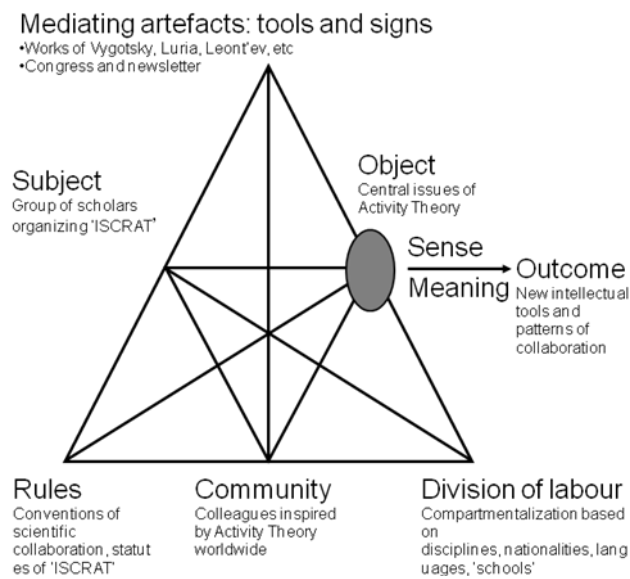


Figure 4: Example of a second generation activity system. (Source: Engeström, 1999a:31)

The top of the triangle represents a Vygotskian model of mediation representing individual and group actions embedded in a collective activity system regarded by Engeström as ‘the tip of the iceberg’ (Engeström, 2001). He continues to emphasise tool mediation but only in relation to other elements of system. The lower section of the model represents the relationships between the social and collective aspects of activity, including rules, tasks and community (Edwards et al, 2009; Warmington et al, 2005). Engeström drew on Marxist terminology and Il’enkov’s interpretation of Marxist contradictions between elements of an activity system as the mechanism of change, development and social transformation (Bakhurst, 2009; Engeström, 2001). Engeström depicts tensions, disturbances and contradictions between elements in his second generation model of an activity system using ‘lightning-shaped arrows’ (Engeström, 1999a).

3.3.5 The Third Generation of CHAT

Engeström (2001) developed a third generation model that enabled an activity-theoretical approach to study interacting networks of activity systems based on his

detailed studies of situated practice across a range of work contexts. Joint activity now becomes the prime unit of analysis. Reflecting on his work to date, Engeström (2009) emphasizes a systemic analysis of partially shared objects of interacting activity systems and the contradictions between such systems, claiming such an approach ‘expands the analysis both up and down, outward and inward’ (Engeström, 2009: 308).

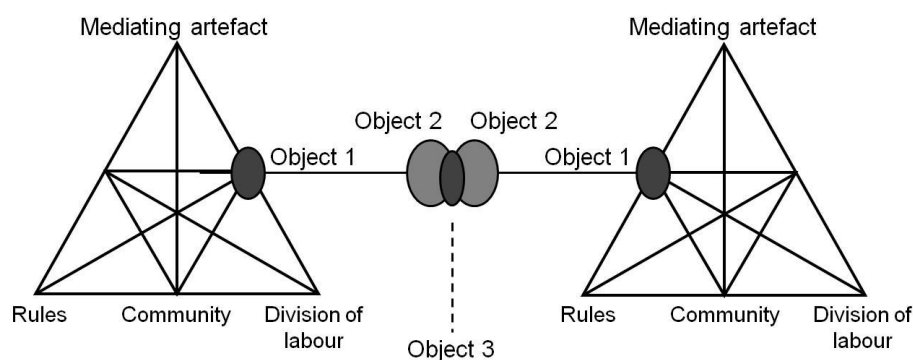


Figure 5: Third Generation Activity Theory Model. (Source Engeström, 1999a:4)

In doing so, he claims that the partially shared objects of interacting activity systems are revealed and often expanded as a new object between two competing systems are negotiated as well as dealing with issues of subjectivity such as identity and voice (Roth, 2009; Engeström and Sannino, 2010). (See Figure 5.)

The third generation seeks to develop conceptual tools to understand dialogue, voice and multiple perspectives in networks of interacting activity systems (Leadbetter, 2008; Daniels, 2008). The basic third generation model includes the minimum of two interacting activity systems within which objects are transformed in a process that begins with a shared object of activity being uncontested to being collectively meaningful to being jointly (re)-constructed or transformed. Tensions and contradictions remain ‘the motive force of change and development’ (Engeström, 1999a). The idea of ‘following the object’ across organizational boundaries and the notion of ‘boundary crossing’ was introduced by Engeström in his third generation model to explain how people work together in complex work environments (Engeström et al, 2003).

3.4.THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF CHAT

3.4.1 The First Principle: Object-Oriented, Artefact-mediated Activity

The first principle is that the prime unit of analysis is a ‘collective, artefact-mediated and object-oriented activity system, seen in its network relation to other activity systems’ (Engeström, 2001: 136). The meaning of individual actions is understood in terms of overall activity over time. Understanding and defining the object of a particular activity is the core to understanding activity theoretical work. However, ‘activity systems are driven by communal motives that are often difficult to articulate for individual participants’ (Engeström, 2000: 964).

Objects are defined as durable, collective intentions not reducible to short-term individual goals (Engeström, 2008). They have been described as the meaning, motive and purpose of an activity system (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007), as concerns, motivation, ‘foci of attention’ and as ‘unintended consequences of multiple activities’ (Engeström, 2009:304). Objects of activity may also be interpreted differently by individuals who undertake different tasks and roles in an activity system (Engeström, Engeström, and Kerosuo, 2003). Objects can also be constructed and changed by people (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007) and may be viewed as projects that people are working on to transform (Blackler, 2009). Individual actions are driven by the object and motive of an activity system which ‘give the actions their ultimate continuity, coherence and meaning (Engeström, 2000:964).

CHAT focuses on the objects of people’s joint work activity as traditional patterns of work are being replaced by more loosely connected, networks of activity (Engeström, 2009), highlighting a need to trace the objects of professional work ‘as they move in space and time, across various situations and boundaries’ (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007:37). For example, patients’ health problems are cited as a shared object of activity for a range of medical professionals. The shared object of treating patients remains constant while individuals vary as they work within and between systems and contexts (Engeström, Engeström and Kerosuo, (2003). In this sense the

object is beyond individual goals and actions although they do contribute to the overall activity whose object/motive is to treat patients with a positive outcome on health. Three methodological rules for studies of professional work are proposed: follow the object, allow the object to gain a voice, and expand the object. Studying the object of work activity reveals the internally contradictory and historically changing character of the activity systems (Engeström, Engeström and Kerosuo, 2003).

Objects can be studied in sites of complex public sector working considered as ‘boundary zones’ or as zones of proximal development as professionals learn to develop new ways of working (Engeström, 2004). Objects in this sense could be viewed as ‘boundary objects’ (Daniels, 2010; Edwards and Kinti, 2010). A focal point, then, for studies of boundary working is how different professionals identify with complex objects (Edwards and Kinti, 2010). Edwards and Kinti suggest that people work together on ‘cohering goals’ and value-laden aspirations such as children’s well-being which everyone is able to connect with. In a project examining the social exclusion of children and young people, reference is made to researchers ‘placing their gaze’ at the boundaries of established work practice to understand how professional expertise and identity are negotiated (Edwards et al, 2009; Daniels et al, 2007). The focus was on inter-professional collaboration that worked on children’s trajectories as ‘shared but variously interpreted objects of activity at organizational boundaries such as those between social work and education’ (Edwards and Kinti, 2010:127).

3.4.2 The Second Principle: Multi-voicedness

The second principle in CHAT concerns Bakhtin’s notion of multi-voicedness and identity within the broader notion of voice in activity systems (Bakhtin, 1982). In second and third generation activity systems, multi-voicedness represents subject(s) perspectives and points of view influenced by ‘multiple layers’ of traditions and conventions in cultural and work contexts (Engeström, 1999a). Differentiation of task or role (division of labour) for participants leads to different and often conflicting

positions within and between work activity systems and boundary zones. In order for professionals to adapt to this new way of working, notions such as ‘labour-power’, ‘agentic subject’, relational agency’, ‘hybridity’, ‘collective expansive agency’, and ‘distributed expertise’ are used to explain how professionals are expected to work collaboratively whilst maintaining individual identity and expertise (Daniels, 2010, 2008, Engeström, 2009, 2008; Daniels and Warmington, 2007; Edwards, 2009, Edwards et al, 2009).

Metaphors such as these indicate that professionals must learn to work in new ways in the boundary zones of collaborative working, using each other’s skills and expertise as resources in flexible ways to achieve ‘negotiated’ and ‘enhanced interpretations’ of complex and partially shared objects of activity. Being able to work in this way is described as an ‘enhanced form of personal agency’ (Edwards, 2009; Edwards et al 2009). Individual agency and collective activity are focal points for third generation activity theoretical research as multi-voicedness ‘is a source of tension and innovation, demanding actions of translation and negotiation’ (Daniels, 2008:124).

Daniels views metaphors such as cognitive trails, knot-working and boundary crossing as tools for ‘reconfiguring labour-power’, a term based on the Marxist notion of commodities (Daniels, 2008). The idea of labour-power refers to the skills and knowledge, motivation and attitudes that a person brings to the workplace together with workforce training, learning and development. He also discusses workplace re-modelling as a ‘meta-object’, described as ‘the expansion of labour-power potential’, where people as subjects in activity systems are ‘simultaneously actor and labour-power-resource’.

Professional knowledge, expertise and identity are important notions in applied activity theory in work settings, particularly multi-agency working. The notions of ‘distributed expertise’ and ‘hybridity’ are used to explain how professionals may ‘claim, own and share’ knowledge in complex work settings (Daniels, 2010:111). Furthermore, ‘expertise’ may ‘lie in both the system and the individuals’ ability to recognise and negotiate its use’ (Edwards et al, 2009:40). In this sense partnership

working may be considered as a ‘resourceful practice’ in terms of relational agency that explains how individuals work with others on a joint project or object of activity.

Edwards et al (2009) propose that professional knowledge is embedded in routine, relationships, in concrete or material tools and how language is used, and the notion that professional identity is not stable but instead, negotiated within activities has been suggested (Roth , 2008). The idea of a boundary zone (based on Vygotsky’s notion of the ZPD) is used to explain how multi-agency working may occur as ‘sites of struggle’ and ‘adjustments in identity’ as established work practices are transformed into more effective partnership working (Edwards et al, 2009).

Internalization and externalization, Vygotskian concepts that explain how people are shaped by but also shape their cultural practices, are invoked to explain how individuals have agency in partnership working (Daniels, 2010, 2008; Edwards et al, 2009). Professionals internalise established work practices but also act to change and develop work activity in new directions. Partnership working in this sense is dialectical.

3.4.3 The Third Principle: Historicity

The third principle of CHAT is historicity, concerned with the historical development of activity over time; ‘how activity is caught in and shaped by the flow of history’ (Daniels and Edward, 2010:4). It is important to note that activity time is qualitatively different from action: action time is linear with a finite end; activity time is recurrent and cyclic. Activity systems take shape and get transformed over time through cycles of change (Engeström, 1999a). An activity system does not spontaneously emerge; it is based on historically accumulating change over time, each system being transformed from a previous activity system. Together with a historical understanding of how an activity system has developed it is also important to consider expansive cycles within that system. Historicity is the identification of past cycles of the activity system. Engeström (1999a:33) refers to ‘expansive cycles’ and ‘the need to analyze these cycles in terms of stepwise formation and resolution of internal contradictions in activity systems.’

To capture change over time in activity systems (the historical development that has led to culture differences in activity systems), a historical analysis of patterns of activities is required (Engeström, 1987). The key point of historicity is that ‘through investigating the historical aspects (formation) of systems, new understandings can be brought to bear on current activity systems’ (Leadbetter, 2008:202). Engeström explains further:

If a collective activity system is taken as the unit, history may become manageable, and yet steps beyond the confines of individual biography. (Engeström, 1999a:26)

3.4.4 The Fourth Principle: Contradictions as Mechanisms for Change

The fourth principle is the concept of contradictions as sources of change and development within activity systems (Engeström, 1987). Engeström draws on Il’enkov’s development of activity theory and sources of change referring to ‘objective dialectical contradictions as the motor of self-development in real systems’ (Engeström, 2006:3). The idea is central to the dialectical tradition in Marxist theory, referring to the historical analysis of contradictions in capitalism. The primary contradiction of activities in capitalism is that between the use value and the exchange value of commodities (Igira and Aanestad, 2009; Daniels, 2008). In public services, the primary contradiction is often expressed as professionals with a moral imperative to help others in terms of health or education (use value) offset by the cost of such services (exchange value).

Engeström and Sannino (2011) have developed a methodological framework for the analysis of organizational contradictions, observed in research activity as four types of ‘discursive manifestations’: dilemmas, conflicts, critical conflicts and double binds. The framework was developed because of ‘vague and ambiguous’ meaning of contradictions used in research studies. For example, terms such as problem, dilemma and paradox have been used interchangeably as ‘contradiction’ because the notion of contradiction has not been theoretically defined in a historical and cultural context reflecting socioeconomic or capitalist conditions. To examine systemic

contradictions is research activity, they must be ‘approached through their manifestations’ in talk and discourse (Engeström and Sannino, 2011:371).

Engeström has identified four levels of contradictions made operational in his analysis of activity systems using the triangular model of an activity system (Engeström, 1987). Inner or primary contradictions emerge as dilemmas within each element of the activity system. For example, Engeström describes dilemmas in a study of a health care centre in the element of the activity system model: tools. The dilemma focuses on medical tools and instruments for diagnosis (restrictive control versus holistic diagnosis) (Engeström, 1990). Secondary contradictions emerge between the elements of an activity system: for example, between a patient’s changing problems and traditional medical tools of diagnosis and treatment.

Tertiary contradictions emerge between old and new activity and quaternary contradictions emerge in the interactions between activity systems or in networks of activity systems (Engeström, 1987). Contradictions within and between elements of an activity system or network of activity systems are indicated in analyses through people’s deviations from established scripts called disturbances which in turn are the basis for change potential in an activity system (Engeström, 2000). In studies of activity systems, disturbances are revealed through ethnographic data from observations, interviews and workshops (Edwards et al, 2009; Engeström, 2007, 2000). Activity systems are in constant flux (Igira and Aanstad, 2009; Engeström, 2009) as contradictions are resolved through the creation of new solutions for practice. Activity systems in this sense go through cyclic phases in socio-historical time (Engeström, 1999a).

3.4.5 The Fifth Principle: Intervention and Change

The central idea in applied activity theory is for researchers to intervene in activity systems to support participants to surface contradictions in their work or practice, aiming to find new solutions as the object of activity is transformed. Engeström’s theory of expansive learning made operational in his interventionist methodology, Developmental Work Research, focuses upon the identification of contradictions in

organizations in order to create ‘new instrumentalities’ that ‘expand the object of work’ (Engeström, 2000:967). The fifth principle of CHAT, therefore, is concerned with expansive learning, transformations and development within an activity system or organization.

3.5.SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAT was presented as a social critical theory and a socio-cultural theory located in the dialectical tradition of Marx and Vygotsky. To understand the development of CHAT, an overview of its historical evolution was provided. In doing so, the three generations of CHAT were described, together with an analysis of the concept of activity and its position as prime unit of analysis in the CHAT tradition. To consider in more detail the relevance of a CHAT approach to the study of the PAG process, the five principles of CHAT were presented:

- object-oriented, artefact-mediated activity as prime unit of analysis
- the multi-voicedness of activity systems
- the importance of a historical analysis of activity systems to understand present and future activity
- the importance of systemic contradictions as mechanisms for change
- the emphasis on formative intervention in activity systems

In conclusion, the five principles of CHAT are judged to be relevant to a study of the PAG process because of its focus on collective activity and on an object/motive: decision-making for educational placement of children with complex needs. PAG activity does not have a stable membership: different combinations of individuals are involved at different times in the process; however, all work to some extent on the shared object of PAG activity. PAG has developed over historical and cultural time and an understanding of present and future activity may be enhanced if understanding

of its development is clarified. Each cycle of PAG development is likely to have been characterized by resolution of systemic contradictions; each new cycle will have a different profile of contradictions as the cultural, historical and political landscapes change. Identification and resolution of contradictions may transform current PAG activity. Because the local authority had identified the need for a review of the PAG process, the focus on intervention and change was central to the design of the study.

The following chapter provides an overview of DWR interventionist methodology as an application of CHAT principles and the theory of expansive learning. A critique of CHAT is also provided together with evidence from empirical studies to justify selection of the approach for a study of the PAG process. The chapter concludes with a formulation of research questions for the study.

CHAPTER 4. EXPANSIVE LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENTAL WORK RESEARCH

4.1 THE CYCLE OF EXPANSIVE LEARNING

Expansive learning is the core construct of Engeström's version of CHAT that focuses on 'radical exploration' leading to innovation and new forms of activity and knowledge (Engeström, 2004:4). It is based on Vygotsky's theory of human development: the developmental or genetic-historic method which places the role of culture and artefacts in human development (Cole and Gajdamashko, 2009; Zinchenko, 2002; Vygotsky, 1978). The cycle of expansive learning is applied in Developmental Work Research, an interventionist methodology within the dialectical CHAT tradition (Engeström, 1987). The cycle of expansive learning in work settings has been described as a collective journey through the zone of proximal development (ZPD) of an activity system within which established work practices are first challenged then developed by members of the activity system. (Daniels, 2008; Engeström, 2000).

The ZPD in Vygotskian terms is a concept used primarily in education to explain how individuals develop and progress in learning via mediation from a more able person. Development has been defined traditionally as achievement of mastery; activity theorists discuss development in terms of individual and collective transformation (Engeström, 2009; Clot, 2009; Daniels, 2008) and as 'breaking away and opening up' towards 'destruction of the old as part of the creation of the new' (Engeström, 2009). Within CHAT, destructive and constructive mechanisms of development include concepts such as living movement, breaking away, stabilization and boundary crossing that occur in expansive cycles of activity systems (Engeström, 2009).

The development and learning that occurs in expansive cycles is at the collective level of the activity system or networks of activity systems. The object of expansive learning is knowledge creation embedded in the transformation of an activity system via the process of internalization and externalization. The theory of expansive learning was informed by Bateson's Level III learning characterized by double binds and contradictions in educational contexts (Bateson, 1972). Level III learning occurs when people articulate contradictions and begin to challenge established culture or practice. Engeström (1987) rejected other theories of learning because of their underlying assumption that learning is problem and conflict free. Expansive learning is also characterized by 'subterranean learning', defined as being 'embodied and lived' but not explicit. Engeström (2008) uses the notion of 'cognitive trails' as 'anchors' in work practices to enable professionals to have some degree of stability and predictability in increasingly fluid and complex work contexts.

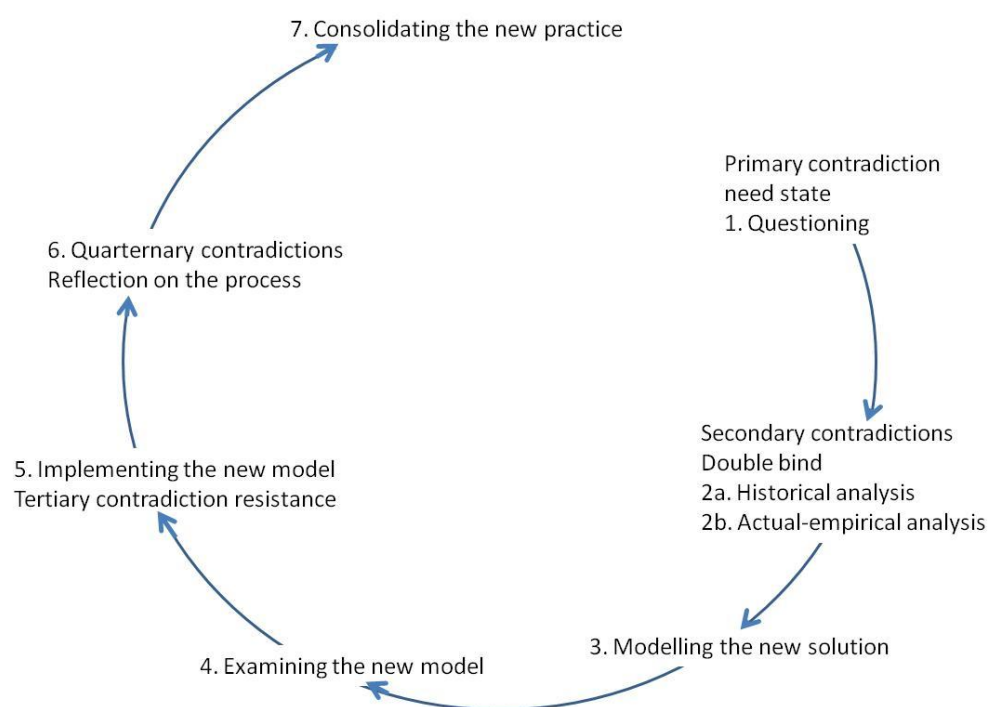


Figure 6: The Cycle of Expansive Learning (Source: Engeström, 1987)

Expansive cycles provide a historical understanding of how activity systems develop, transform or expand (Engeström, 1999a). An expansive cycle is a developmental or

formative process that contains both Vygotskian concepts of internalization (appropriation) and externalization (Engeström, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978) which underpin human development and learning. It is described as the dialectical synthesis, or interaction, between individual agency and culture such as work, school or community contexts. As children, we enter social worlds developed by others over historical time; but such worlds can also be changed and shaped by people's actions (Daniels, 2008). Engeström (1987) developed a cycle of expansive learning model, of which there are adapted versions (see Figures 6 and 7), describing the cycle in terms of internalization and externalization.

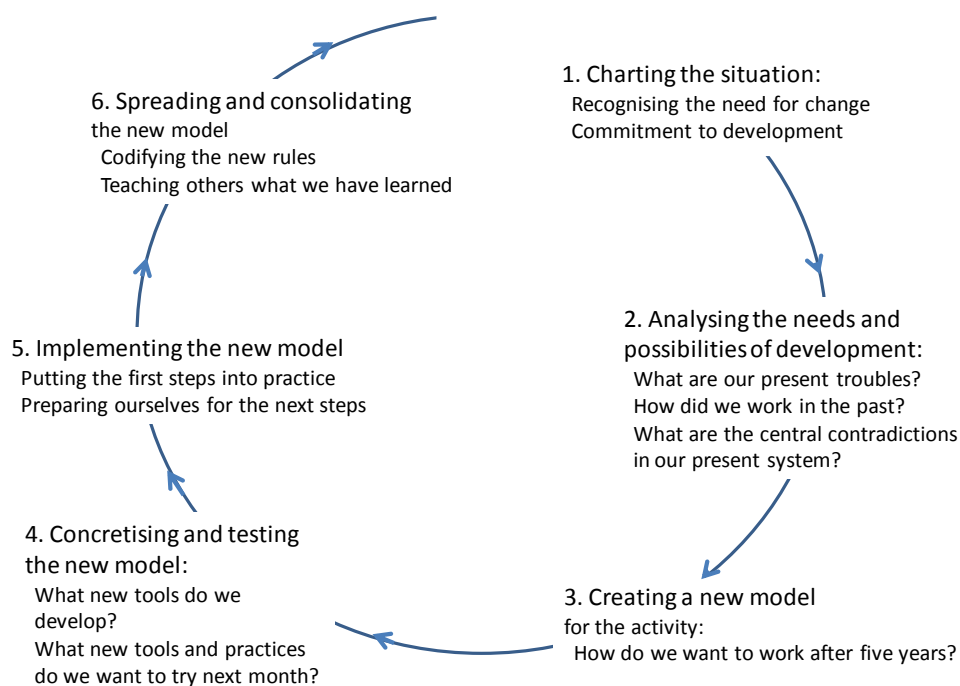


Figure 7: Adapted Cycle of Expansive Learning. (Source: Virkkunen et al, 2010).

One type of transformation in an expansive cycle is at the individual level where culturally given higher order psychological functions are internalized. This is the process of an individual acquiring established culture such as work practices. However, Engeström claims that internalization of new tools is not enough for the emergence of a new activity system. The initial stages involve the questioning and analysis of embedded practice, including the surfacing of contradictions. Successive stages progress through transformations that are expansive and collective, with each

step of the cycle considered as an ‘epistemic or learning action’ (Engeström, 2009). As the expansive cycle advances, design and implementation of a new model emerges. New cultural practices have been created which is the process of externalization, a key mechanism for change. Activity systems continually go through successive cyclical phases of expansive learning over historical time that involve the co-existence of old and new ways of working as destruction of the old overlaps with transformation of the new. The concept of the ratchet effect explains how complex systems are reproduced and transformed over historical time. New ideas become embedded as established practice that in turn will be challenged in subsequent expansive cycles.

In this context, outcomes of CHAT studies indicate that professionals learn to re-negotiate work boundaries and professional relationships as they engage in horizontal learning (Edwards et al, 2009; Martin, 2008). However, Developmental Work Research (DWR) is a mechanism for expansive learning that involves planned intervention as a research activity in an activity system or network of activity systems to provoke transformational change (Engeström, 2000, 1987).

4.2 DEVELOPMENTAL WORK RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

DWR is an interventionist methodology that aims at the joint construction of new models of activity systems between researchers and participants. It is a framework for understanding collective learning and new knowledge creation; learning is ‘co-terminus’ with new forms of activity (Engeström, 2001). DWR requires historical and empirical analysis of the activity system in question (Engeström, 1999b). The object of activity is followed using examples of ethnographic material brought into the research activity (change laboratories) to stimulate analysis and negotiation between the participants (Engeström, 2009).

DWR change laboratories are described as formative interventions during which participants construct their own solutions to the emerging contradictions. The solutions are not known by the researchers in advance; the participants negotiate what the outcomes of the learning activity will be (Engeström, 2009). DWR sessions are

designed to provide participants with mediating tools to develop their own activity. Interventionist researchers do not provide solutions or give advice. Instead, participants analyse their own work practices and create solutions to transform work practice (Clot, 2009). Engeström (2009) refers to this process as collective intentionality. DWR enables participants to reconsider their work practices by presenting to them ‘a collective mirror’ of current work practice, the analysis of which results in learning activity.

4.2.1 Dual Stimulation

The method used in DWR change laboratories to transform practice is based on Vygotsky’s notion of dual or double stimulation as a method to study human functioning as it developed with the use of cultural tools to gain control over behaviour (Engeström, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978). Other terms for the notion are experimental–genetic method, instrumental method, and historical-genetic method (Engeström, 2011; Sannino, 2011; Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011). The subject’s agency, linked to Vygotsky’s concept of intentionality and the artefact-mediated nature of intentional action, is important in dual stimulation as participants become more aware of their own learning activity (R. Engeström, 2009).

The idea behind the method is to support an individual or group to think beyond the initial problem, to expand on the object behind the problem with the help of two stimuli. Stimulus one is the initial problem. Stimulus two is a mediating tool or artefact, or the mediating means, which helps participants to go beyond the initial problem (Vygotsky, 1978). In change laboratories, the second stimulus or tools can be the models/concepts of activity systems and ‘mirror data’ based on ethnographic data collection (Engeström, 2009). Using Vygotsky’s notion of scientific and everyday concepts, the scientific concept in DWR sessions is activity theory, discussed together with everyday concepts developed in work practice. This provides a way for participants to learn and develop new tools for bringing everyday situations under their own analytical and practice control. (Engeström, 2009; R. Engeström, 2009; Clot, 2009; Edwards et al, 2009). In Engeström’s empirical work, patient

case studies were presented as mirror data to stimulate discussion about problems in the health care system under analysis (Engeström, 2000).

Engeström (2009) explains the mechanism of double stimulation in DWR studies as development or ‘breaking away’ from a ‘dominant trail’ of work practice. To establish new forms of work practice requires ‘expansive agency’. New ‘trails’ are developed in three ways: critical conflicts, reification (the ratchet effect) – where new forms of work become accepted as established forms, and authority. ‘Boundary crossing’ in complex work practices creates conditions for double stimulation as it requires negotiation and ‘re-orchestration of voices’, and more generally, that ‘it is the most obvious aspect of the horizontal or sideways dimension of development’ (Engeström, 2009:314).

4.2.2 DWR and the Dialectical Tradition

DWR is presented as an application of CHAT with a dialectical notion of theory and practice that considers activity as an explanatory principle, an object of study and as a subject of intervention (Daniels, 2008). As such, CHAT’s ontological position on human behaviour is dialectical and in DWR interventions, this is understood in the way that participants have the potential to modify working conditions and transform their own work practices (Sannino, 2011). Empirical studies of activity systems using DWR methodology involves the provocation of new behaviour in real time that may or may not result in the expansion of the object of activity such as new working practices (eg Kallio, 2010, Virkkunen et al, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009). By undertaking a cultural and historical analysis of contradictions in current activity, new models of activity systems may emerge. In this sense, DWR as a formative intervention has an element of ‘time travel’ between past, present and future models of activity (Engeström, 2007). Provocation and analysis of contradictions in activity systems is a key instrumentality of CHAT research using the notion of the zone of proximal development to explain a system in transformation as established practice may be in conflict with ideas for change.

4.2.3 DWR as Formative Intervention

Engeström (2009) compares formative interventionist methodology, based on Vygotsky's principle of double stimulation with the traditional 'gold standard' of educational research on three key points. (See Table 1 & 2 and Figure 8). The first is that traditional research design has a linear view of interventions where outcomes are determined in advance and the purpose of research activity is to determine the extent to which outcomes were achieved. The second point is that 'there is no need to problematize the issue of who makes the design'; and, third point is that 'it is the researchers who determine the 'end points' for the design experiment.' Engeström (2009:317). (See also Engeström, 2011; Sannino, 2011; Virkkunen et al, 2010).

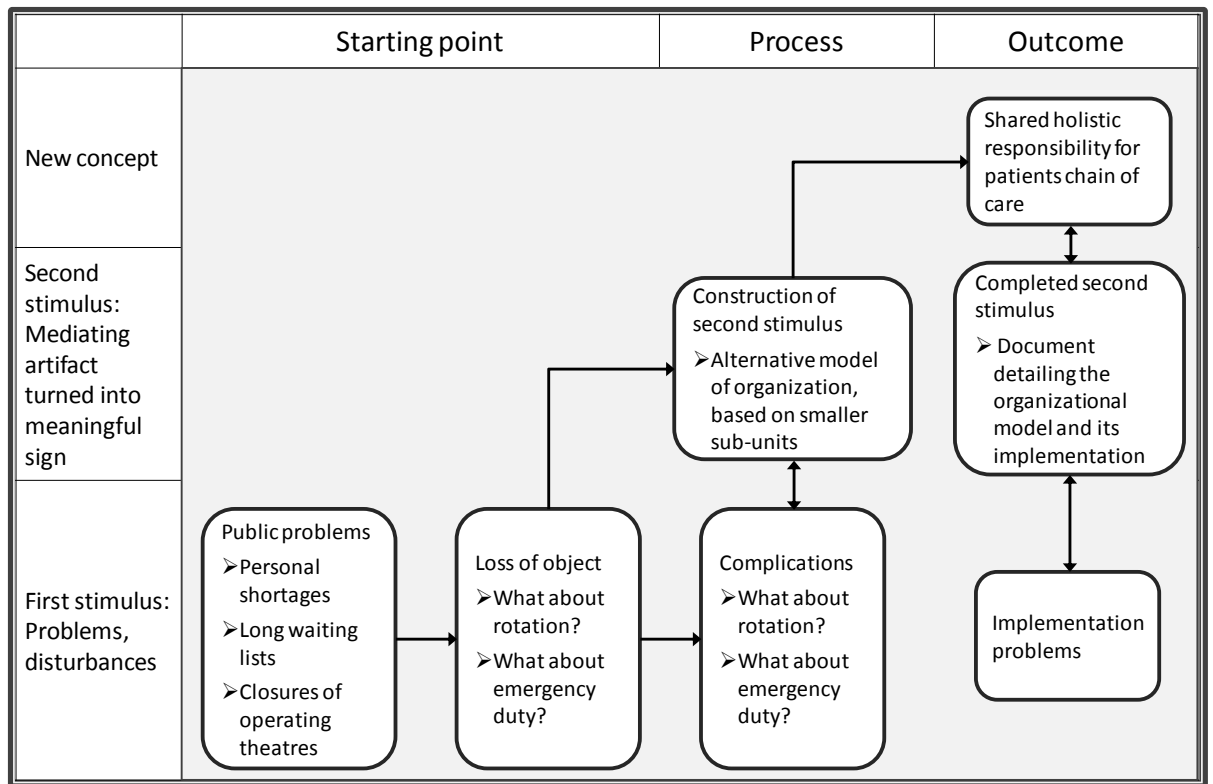


Figure 8: Layers of Formative Intervention (Engeström, 2011).

Formative interventions, in contrast, are based on the 'dialogic relationships' between researchers and participants. Engeström (2011) refers to the 'layers' of formative intervention based on epistemic principles of dual stimulation, theoretical

generalization and ZPD; and of epistemic threads of unit of analysis, contradictions, agency and transformation. The importance of participants' agency, identity and voice to engage in 'resistance and subversion' and to interpret research activity jointly with researchers undertaken in change laboratories are highlighted as 'essential core ingredients of interventions' (Engeström, 2009).

Table 1: Comparison of Linear and Formative Interventions. (Source: Engeström, 2009)

	Definition	Goals of the intervention	The role of subjects	The role of the researcher	Variables: control and agency
Linear interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Gold standard' research; use of RCT's; large statistical samples and multiple research sites • Clearly defined end point 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intervention goals and desired outcomes defined in advance by researcher • Goal is to check if desired outcomes are achieved • Assess the effectiveness of an intervention 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To engage in tasks designed and evaluated by the researcher • Subject agency and resistance is not central to intervention 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To design, implement and evaluate intervention process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher has control • Aim is to control variables and to achieve a standardized intervention that reliably generates desired outcomes in different settings
Formative interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On-going transformational process of change and innovation • Focus is on situated collective learning activity to change and develop practice without prior knowledge of direction and nature of change • Central idea is analysis and resolution of contradictions in historical and current work practice based on analysis of ethnographic data • Assumption that contradictions and tensions in activity are the driving force of change • Complex process of generalization through practice-bound hybridization of new and established concepts, models and tools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aim is to generate new tools and solutions during interventions to be used in the locally situated work sites • Sites of intervention (DWR change lab sessions) considered as zones of proximal development of work practice; aim is to open up the ZPD, challenge established, dominant practice and expand the object of work activity • Mechanism of double stimulation is used to enable participants to develop novel solutions using scientific knowledge of researcher and everyday experiences of practitioners • Provide participants with tools to analyse and develop their own work activity • Participants become conscious of their own learning activity; engage in reflexivity • Process of collective and expansive learning, a process that ascends from the abstract to the concrete 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A voice is given to participants' interpretations of data – they are invited to respond to researcher's initial and provisional analysis of ethnographic data • Participants reconfigure their own work practices based on analysis of ethnographic data of historical and current work activity • Subjects engage in collective learning and development to expand the object of their work • Process of co-construction and negotiation between participants and researchers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researcher does not expect 'nicely linear results' • Solutions and outcomes not known ahead of time by the researcher • Process of co-construction and negotiation between participants and researchers • Provides participants with 'scientific concepts' such as concepts, models, theories and tools to make sense of their everyday work activity • Engages in dialogic process with participants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective intentionality and agency of participants to shape the intervention • Participants are agentive subjects in collective activity • The need for resistance and subversion by participants are considered as core factors in interventionist methodology • Agency and intentionality of the subjects or participants is paramount • Researcher /participant relationship is object of observation • Explicitly acknowledged meta communication between researcher and participants • Interventions are re-shaped by org'l dynamics and individual responses • Expectation of struggle, power and defence of social space, cultural boundaries and power fields

Table 2: Overview of DWR as Formative Intervention. Sources: Engestrom, 2011, Sannino, 2011; Virkkunen & Schaup, 2011.

Formative intervention	Through the lenses of these four epistemic threads, formative interventions appear as characterized by multiple layers of reformulation of the initial problem to be tackled (first stimulus) and of the conceptual tools representing the practitioners' activity system (second stimulus). (Sannino, 2011:567).		
Epistemological principles	Dual Stimulation	Theoretical generalizations	ZPD
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dual stimulation is considered as germ cell model of remediation of human activity. Double stimulation may lead to new solutions as cultural or collective learning takes place Both the first stimulus (the problem to be tackled) and the second stimulus (the mediating artefact) go through multiple reformulations in the course of the intervention. The layered character of formative interventions means that the stimuli do not remain the same through the intervention process. An effective second stimulus is actively constructed by the participants and/or researcher of the intervention. Participants often switch to a model or instrument of their own, or modify and fill the template with their own contents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ascending from the abstract to the concrete: Theoretical generalizations - psychological tools for thinking in more theoretical and generalized ways. Enable participants to move from inductive generalizations based on experience to historical analysis of the problem. Theoretical –genetic thinking important to focus upon developments of systems Facilitates practitioner understanding of systems and organisations as developing and interacting activity systems. Key challenge is participants' transition from abstract-empirical thinking (causal relationships and a separate object) to model-based thinking of systems development as object-oriented activity systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formative intervention creates a ZPD of individual /collective activity and expansion. Representational ZPD- involves models of PAG problems and alternative models Processual ZPD - involves mastery of actions reaching theoretical generalizations. More advanced problem-solving in collective activity is achieved . Involves the co-development of the individual and collective. They involve social collaboration to support the process of re-mediation. Process of internalization and creation of new tools to accomplish new object of activity.
Epistemic threads	Unit of analysis	Contradictions	Agency
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first thread concerns the material use of the model of the activity system as unit of analysis by the practitioners and the researchers in the intervention. Through the intervention the conceptual representation of the activity system becomes a concrete auxiliary tool which mediates the analysis and redesign of the current activity. This way the unit of analysis ceases to be a model solely for academic inquiries and becomes part of the practitioners' own ongoing activity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The second epistemic thread concerns the notion of contradictions as a source of change and development. The redesign of the current activity and the emergence of the new arise from below, through analyses of the contradictions in the current activity of the practitioners. The aim is to facilitate transformations in PAG activity via the analysis of manifestations of contradictions in professional work and authority systems. 	<p>The third epistemic thread includes agency as a layer of causality, together with an interpretive layer and a contradictory layer. These layers of causality grant participants in interventions not only their own interpretations of the activities that they inhabit, but also the possibility that their motives might be contradictory and the potential to initiate individual and collective actions of transformation of their current circumstances.</p>
		Transformation and expansion	
		<p>The fourth epistemic thread concerns the formation of a new concept for the practitioners' activity, unknown at the beginning of the intervention to all participants, the interventionist included</p>	

4.2.4 The Role of the Researcher in DWR Methodology

The researcher in DWR interventions is different from the traditional role of the researcher in the social sciences because they are involved simultaneously as researcher, participant and change agent (Engeström et al, 2003). The researcher is described as an ‘active participant’, taking an ‘interventionist stance’ (Daniels and Edwards, 2010:7) and as ‘problem analyser, solution implementer and change evaluator’ Blackler (2009:34).

Following three methodological rules in DWR methodology, the researcher helps the participants to follow the object of their work practice, articulate the object by giving it a voice and expand the object of their current practice to consider new ways of working (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007). However, the agency of participants is important in DWR interventions and because the researcher does not have a ‘monopoly on interventions’, they must not ‘expect nicely linear results’ (Engeström, 2009:302). Reflexivity of the researcher is paramount in accounting for the multiple roles as ‘designer, participant and analyser of interventions’, and in a willingness to be ‘contestible and fallible’ in the research role (Engeström et al, 2003).

Referring to a ‘methodological layer’ linking research and practice, Engeström and Kerosuo (2007) emphasise the importance in DWR interventions of the researcher bridging the ‘envisioning’ and decision-making aspects of organizational change processes via the mediation of participants thinking using every day concepts about work practices together with scientific concepts such as CHAT and activity system modeling. In this way the researcher is mediating participants’ expansion of their own work activity, both temporally and socio-spatially using tools and artefacts such as conceptual models and ethnographic data. The researcher, in facilitating expansion of work practice, may be considered as a ‘re-mediator of social and organizational factors’. Engeström et al (2003) suggest that DWR researchers ‘do not pass their findings back to participants’ as in the traditional research process; instead they must remain active to help participants turn their ideas for change into sustainable practice.

4.3 CRITIQUE OF CHAT AND DWR METHODOLOGY

Critiques of CHAT focus on five key issues: a unified theoretical perspective, the unit of analysis, cultural artefacts, the dialectical relationship between mind, activity and culture and social criticism.

4.3.1 CHAT as a Unified Theory

A criticism of CHAT is that it cannot be presented as a unified theory (Blunden, 2009; Bakhurst, 2009). However, protagonists of CHAT and the work of Engeström in particular argue that activity theory does have legitimacy as a unified theory because it is ‘both a practice-based theory and an historical and future oriented theory’ (Sannino et al, 2009: xiv). A key contribution of CHAT is its focus on object oriented and artifact-mediated activity as the unit of analysis in empirical work (Warmington and Leadbetter, 2010; Blunden, 2009; Miettinen, 2009; Virkkunen, 2009; Edwards et al, 2009; Daniels, 2008) and its contribution to the understanding of work practices in changing social, economic and political contexts. (See two volumes on Engeström’s work: Daniels et al, 2010; and Sannino et al, 2009). CHAT is described as an approach that aims to integrate subjectivity, society and activity and as a ‘methodological innovation’ that ‘represents a challenge to traditional thinking in human and social sciences, which rely on deep-seated individualism and on views of society as an anonymous structure’ (Sannino et al, 2009: xv).

4.3.2 The Unit of Analysis & the Relationship Between Mind, Activity and Culture

The unit of analysis in activity theory and CHAT has been subjected to robust critique in terms of the relationship between the local activity system and the wider community or society (Peim, 2009; Bakhurst, 2009, Blunden, 2009). In particular, criticism is made of the triangular model of an activity system in terms of its claim to model social structures and depict relationships between the elements of an activity system such as rules and division of labour (Peim, 2009). For example, Peim poses questions regarding the extent to which the division of labour is unique to a local

activity system rather than ‘a product of the wider social division of labour’ such as those found in organizations and professions. He asks for greater theorization on the relations between an activity system and its wider societal context considered with political implications.

Activity theory is presented as a socio-cultural approach that can account for integrated levels of analysis, accepting activity or praxis as the prime unit of analysis. However, the principle critique of the approach is related to the problem of the inseparability thesis, that individual and societal levels of analysis are indistinguishable (see Daniels, 2008 for an explanation). The problem is manifested in the ‘methodological assumptions’ made in empirical studies regarding the extent to which individuals, groups and social structures have independent properties or distinct ontological status (Blunden, 2009; Sawyer, 2002). Current debate focuses on the need to be able to account for human agency and subjectivity in socio-cultural studies (R. Engeström, 2009). Within this context CHAT studies of work practices are critiqued because they fail to make explicit their methodological assumptions regarding the extent to which action, agency and structure have independent properties (Peim, 2009; Bakhurst, 2009; Blunden, 2009).

Engeström, in his version of activity theory, argues for the need to link the subject and object in the unit of analysis in an attempt to resolve the problem of the inseparability thesis (Sannino et al, 2009). Taking collective activity and an activity system as the unit of analysis avoids a focus on individual or actions (micro level) as the unit of analysis and also avoids social structure (macro level) as the prime unit of analysis. The focus is on the social nature of activity and the centrality of durable cultural artefacts. The object of activity is a collective project that has developed over historical time and individual actions at any given time must be understood in the broader historical context of object-mediated activity (Engeström, 2000). CHAT takes a dialectical view of human agency, working with the concept of praxis in which individual behaviour is regarded as neither completely free nor totally constrained (Daniels, 2008). By integrating individual and social levels of analysis, human agency can be theorized as both enabled and constrained by social structures.

Engeström has argued consistently for collective activity as the unit of analysis claiming that such an approach can account for community and system as well as individual agency (Engeström, 2009, 2008, 1999a, 1999b, 1987; Engeström and Sannino, 2010). He achieves this by locating agency in social relationships focused on the object of activity. He accounts for individual experiencing and subjectivity but claims that problems can only be resolved collectively. In doing so, he claims that agency is distributed and located in individuals, social relationships, and loose networks of people working on object-oriented, artefact-mediated activity (Blackler, 2009; Engeström, 2008).

In this sense Engeström is maintaining analytical distinction between agency and structure while privileging collective activity as the unit of analysis. Engeström uses a range of concepts and notions such as the horizontal dimension of expansive learning, knot-working and collaborative intentionality capital to develop his account of agency in collective activity. He also discusses agency in terms of shifts from individual to teams and to ‘pulsating knots in mycorrhizae’ (Engeström, 2009: 315), arguing that, although individual agency does not disappear in collective activity, an individual nevertheless needs to develop as an ‘agentic subject’. Edwards (2009) has developed the concept of relational agency as a means to achieving expansive agency in complex work contexts.

R. Engeström (2009) suggests that a ‘subjective mechanism’ is required that can account for individual behaviour in collective activity. Extending the idea further, and invoking the notion of relational agency (Edwards, 2009), she argues that in Engeström’s DWR interventions of expansive learning, individuals learn to act collectively in object-oriented, artifact mediated activity (see also Stetsenko, 2005). The ‘collective subject’ is an outcome of the expansive joint learning process of which the zone of proximal development is the mechanism. In other words, individuals learn to participate in collective activity, co-constructing shared understandings while remaining ontologically distinct from groups, networks and social structures of which they are a part. In doing so, individual acts of ‘subjectification’ have ‘analytic independence from collective learning’ as they ‘deal

personally with issues of relevance and signification'. Recent CHAT studies that have focused on the impact of collective activity and collaboration in multi-agency working on professional identity conclude that professionals report a positive and robust sense of identity and expertise in new ways of public sector multi-agency working (Gaskell and Leadbetter, 2009).

4.3.3 CHAT as Social Criticism

Because of the focus of CHAT and DWR interventions upon local practice-based activity, criticism has highlighted the failure to engage with wider political agendas (Langemeyer, 2011; Avis, 2009, Bakhurst, 2009; Peim, 2009). With claims that CHAT is based on Marxist principles, it is considered ironic that radical and emancipatory activity is marginalized in CHAT research (Peim, 2009; Avis, 2007). Because of the emphasis on change in local situated practice, the political ontology of CHAT has been described as 'local radicalism' (Peim, 2009), as 'restricted transformation' (Avis, 2009), and as a 'conservative praxis', similar to Gramsci's transformism (Avis, 2007). Comments such as these highlight what is perceived to be avoidance in CHAT to challenge fundamental capitalist concerns in the interests of democratic principles and social justice agendas. In this regard, Avis has called for greater emphasis on the primary contradiction in studies of local activity systems, particularly in public services where the use-value to provide help is in tension with the exchange value of the cost of services and resources. To do so would realize what Avis calls CHAT's 'progressive possibilities' in terms of workplace learning and knowledge development (Avis, 2009).

Engeström has written extensively on the nature of primary and secondary contradictions invoked in CHAT as the driving force of expansive learning and development (Engeström, 2009, 2008, 2004, 2001, 1987). Recently he has developed a methodological framework for the analysis of 'dialectical contradictions' in workplace interventions in which he explicates further the nature and function of primary and secondary contradictions and how to observe their 'manifestations' in work settings. In response to criticism outlined above, Engeström does not avoid a

focus on the primary contradiction of an activity system. He asserts that 'contradictions are historical' and that the 'primary contradiction of capitalism resides in every commodity between its use value and (exchange) value' (Engeström and Sannino, 2011:371). He goes on to reiterate the fact that the 'primary contradiction generates contradictions specific to the particular conditions of the given activity or institution'. Kallio (2010) provides an example of a CHAT study that analyses historical contradictions of a chemical pulp mill in the process of absorbing new technology, discussing the impact of the primary and secondary contradictions for local situated practice. Engeström and Sannino, (2011:385) conclude that 'concrete studies on agentic uses and resolution efforts of contradictions in organizational change efforts are sorely needed'.

Recent CHAT studies have invoked directly a Marxist approach to the understanding of the structure/agency dynamic in the potential and capacity of individuals in work contexts, using the terms 'labour-power' and 'labouring action' (Warmington and Leadbetter, 2010). Also, the analysis of the notion of relational and distributed agency in work settings is emphasized as a means by which people have power to shape work practices in an increasingly complex world via collective learning and development. This may be a mechanism for local and wider radicalism, if radicalism is defined as progression in terms of learning and knowledge development in the emancipatory project.

4.3.4 The Production of Cultural Artefacts in CHAT

Daniels has written extensively on the production of cultural tools in activity systems as under-theorised in CHAT (Daniels and Edwards, 2010, Daniels, 2010, 2008). In particular, he calls for a description of how to account for tool production within and across activity systems and also the relationship between tools, power and authority. CHAT is criticized for its positioning of language as one cultural tool among many to mediate object-oriented activity. Together with the critique on agency and subjectivity in CHAT, the primacy of language is regarded as fundamental in terms of

thought, voice, agency, collective activity, power, authority and discourse (Bakhurst, 2009; Peim, 2009).

Recent CHAT studies have acknowledged the need for a conceptual framework that deals with the role of language in discourse, power and authority in CHAT (Engeström & Sannino, 2011; Edwards and Kinti, 2010; Middleton, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009). Engeström has acknowledged the need to theorize authority, power and control from a historical perspective, highlighting the importance of negotiation or a 'negotiated order' when work demands 'rapid integration of expertise from various locations and traditions' and 'in which participants can pursue their intersecting activities' (Engeström, 2008: 230). Bernstein's theory of cultural transmission has been applied to several CHAT studies as a language of description to analyse issues of power, control and authority in activity systems using notions such as classification and framing to refine understandings of division of labour, subject positioning and rules in an activity system (Sellman, 2011; Daniels, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009).

4.4 OVERVIEW OF CHAT STUDIES

Blackler (2009) highlights three conceptualizations of CHAT useful to organizational studies: the notion of the object of activity helps to conceptualise collaboration in work practices; an activity system shows how professionals work together in loosely connected work contexts; and, internal contradictions offers an account of the pressures and opportunities for 'collective development' of work practices. Engeström (2009) argues that effective collaboration can be viewed as a feature of a successful organization.

A volume of work is dedicated to Engeström's contribution to the development of activity theory and intervention studies in workplaces (Daniels et al, 2010). Blackler (2011, 2009) claims that the approach is relevant to studies of change processes in organizations and Edwards et al (2009) have used Engeström's CHAT to undertake studies of collaboration and multi-agency working in public services for children and young people, using concepts such as distributed expertise and relational agency (Edwards et al, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009). Examples of recent studies that have

applied the CHAT framework in educational settings include (Sellman, 2011; Daniels et al, 2008; Todd, 2007), within multi-agency settings (Daniels et al, 2007; Leadbetter et al, 2007; Leadbetter, 2005, 2006; Edwards et al, 2009), consultation work in schools with educational psychologists (Leadbetter, 2008), professional identity in newly developing collaborative practices (Leadbetter, 2006), collaboration in a secondary school setting with speech and language therapists (Martin, 2008) and transition work from primary school to secondary with children and teachers (Atkinson, 2006).

Leadbetter (2008; 2002) has promoted the relevance of CHAT frameworks to the practice of educational psychology and an issue of the journal *Educational and Child Psychology* (2005, 22, 1) was dedicated to Activity Theory and educational psychology practice. The use of activity theory by educational psychologists involved in systems change in schools and local authority settings has been suggested (Leadbetter, 2008) and this has also been discussed in the context of meta-frameworks of EP practice, located within a critical realist paradigm, that reflect ongoing theoretical, legislative, ethical, political and value/ emancipatory concerns (Kelly et al, 2008). Leadbetter (2008) suggests that there are opportunities to expand the role of the EP in England using CHAT approaches to realign practice alongside the re-configuration of integrated services for children and families. Within the Scottish context of EP practice, a re-evaluation of the role of EP in the context of GIRFEC, updated ASL legislation (2009) and the CfE has been undertaken (HMIE, 2011).

Although the application of DWR methodology to the study of inter-professional work in support of children with special needs has been recommended (Leadbetter, 2002), one area that has not received attention from a CHAT perspective is a study of situated practice of a local authority decision-making process for the educational placement of children with ASN.

4.5 THE USE OF THE CHAT FRAMEWORK: AN EMPIRICAL CONTEXT.

The author undertook two local authority studies as contribution to a preliminary authority review of the PAG process. Study outcomes were presented as two internal reports, the first of which focused on analysis of organizational documents and text, and questionnaires completed by parents for whose children an application for specialist provision was made. The second report was based on a summary of the views of education professionals of the PAG process using focus group and interview methodology, the analysis of which was based on cultural historical activity-theoretical (CHAT) framework, thus providing an empirical context for the application of CHAT (Engeström, 2009). Both studies highlighted a range of problems with the PAG process, an investigation of which provided a rationale for the doctoral research. Details of the first internal report are in Appendix 3. A summary of the second study is provided below to provide context and ethnographic data for the empirical and evaluative investigations reported in chapter 6 and chapter 7, full details of which are available from the author.

4.5.1 Data Collection, Sampling and Participants

The participants were fifteen education professionals within the Children and Families Department of the local authority centrally involved in PAG activity. Two Heads of Education Support Services involved in PAG activity were interviewed individually. Two focus groups of educational psychologists (EPs) were conducted: eight EPs participated in the first focus group (main-grade and managerial educational psychologists); and five EPs who have experience of chairing one of the PAG groups participated in the second focus group (main-grade and managerial EPs).

4.5.2 Defining Key Themes as Contradictions

Within the CHAT framework, contradictions in work contexts arise from deviations and disturbances within and between elements of networks of activity systems and are the basis for change potential (Engeström, 2000). Disturbances are revealed in the PAG process as conflicts, critical conflicts, dilemmas and double binds expressed

by participants (Edwards et al, 2009; Engeström, 2007, 2000). Key themes from the two authority studies that may be considered as contradictions in the PAG process are reflected in several key reviews of special educational needs in England (Ofsted, 2010; Lamb, 2009).

- Ineffective assessment methodology and criteria for meeting needs and gaining access to special education
- Limited understanding of and confusion about professional roles
- Problematic partnership with parents
- Tensions in discourse of inclusive practice and the language of categorization of need
- The extent to which the PAG process is clear, equitable and transparent.
- Suggestions of imbalance between professionals and parents in terms of power, authority and influence
- Issues about the emotional and experiential aspects of involvement in PAG activity for parents and professionals

4.5.3 Contradictions of the PAG Activity System: An Integrative Summary

Based on a CHAT analysis of data collected from interviews and focus groups, a number of hypotheses were proposed in terms of manifestations of contradictions highlighted in the processes and outcomes of PAG activity from the perspective of education professionals. Overall, the PAG process was perceived as an overly complex and non-transparent system that lacks coherence as a resource allocation and decision-making model to meet children's needs in mainstream or specialist provision (see Figure 9). Contradictory legislative rules, ineffective partnership working and assessment methodology contributed to the views of the PAG process as problematic. A contradiction within the wider context of PAG activity or in CHAT terms, 'community', is that a range of stakeholders may perceive that the authority is not meeting the needs of some children in either mainstream or specialist provisions, an argument located within inclusion/special education discourse and one that is

reflected in the literature regarding a limited evidence base of the benefits of special schooling and the rights of all children to be educated with their peers.

Ineffective tools used by professionals in the decision-making process such as assessment methodology used by EPs and lack of clarity regarding criteria for prioritization, profiling for specialist provision and categorization of need may exacerbate the problems, dilemmas and contradictions that have developed historically within PAG activity (see Figure 10). Concern was expressed about the validity of standardised or IQ assessment and the extent to which they limit an accurate, holistic assessment of children's needs (Hick et al, 2009).

This may be part of a broader problem with a contested object of EP activity: the extent to which EP's focus upon diagnostic assessment to support placement decision-making for children with ASN and/or support schools to develop more inclusive practice. A key problem with assessment tools may be the rationale for their use in terms of stakeholder expectations and the models against which professionals align their practice: a within child approach that is based on comparative description of deficit or difference compared to a mainstream peer group and, in contrast, a more interactive model that considers an individual's needs in a particular educational context. This dilemma is well documented in the literature on the profession of educational psychology (Lindsay, 2007; Lunt and Norwich, 2009; Lewis and Norwich, 2007).

The impact of contradictions in PAG activity on outcomes for meeting children's needs: The perceptions of education professionals

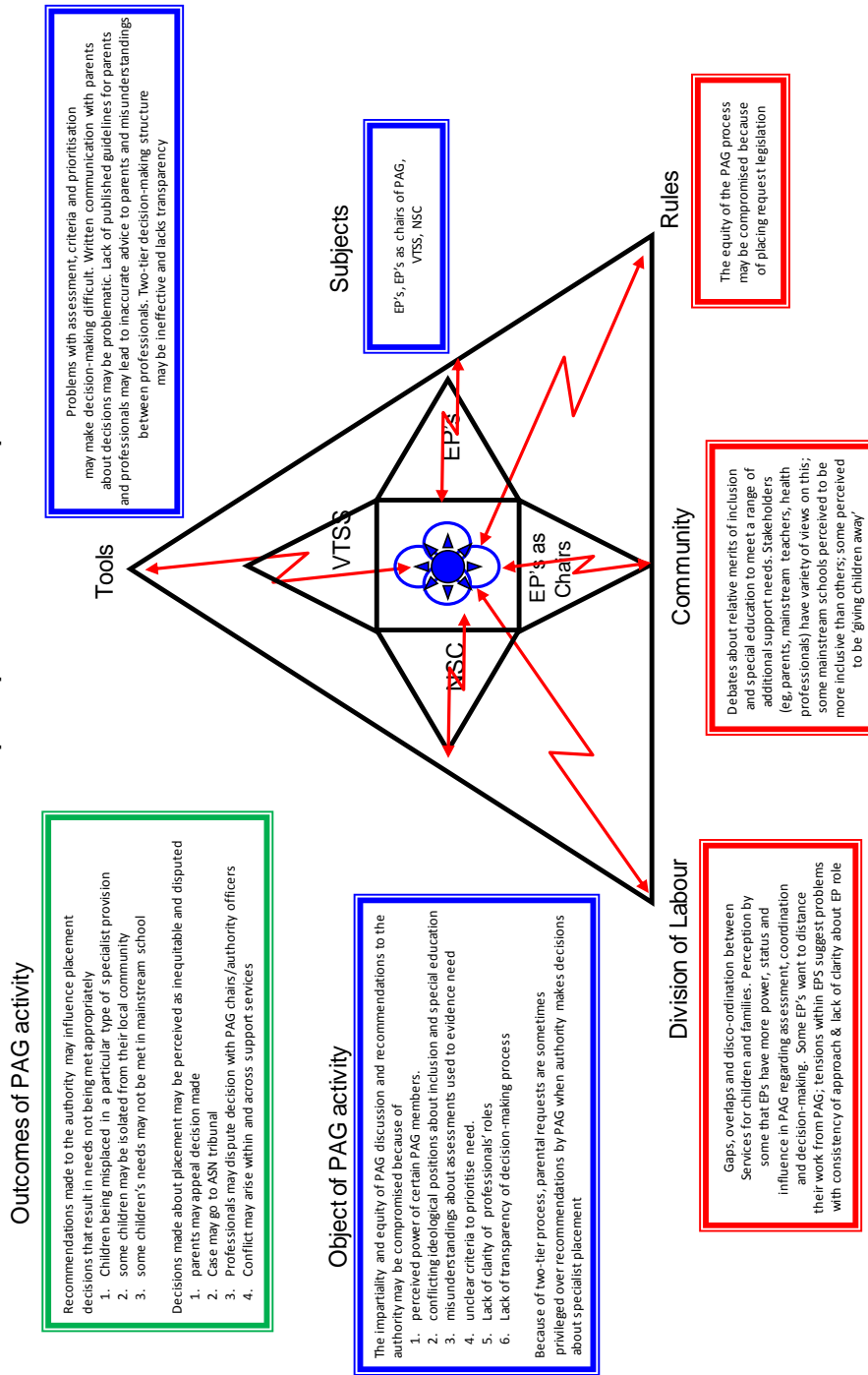


Figure 9: Contradictions in PAG Activity from Education Professionals' Perspectives.

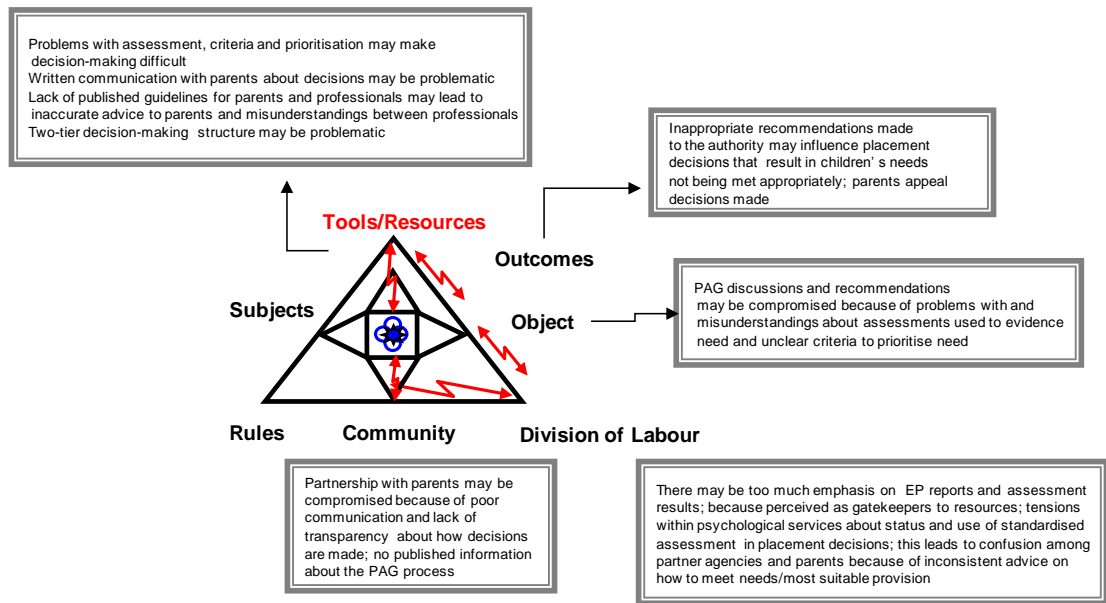


Figure 10: Contradictions about tool use in PAG activity.

Problems with assessment tools used in PAG activity may be exacerbated by the use of traditional categorizations of educational need and disability. The criteria used in PAG group discussions may reflect a language of categorization as a mediating tool in PAG activity, indicative of its persistence in professional discourse. However, the tools and resources available to professionals may not be mediating PAG activity in an effective way in order to achieve outcomes of appropriate educational placement for children with ASN. The issue is acknowledged by Ofsted (2010) who recommended that the quality of assessment of children’s needs must improve and that an alternative system of categorisation of needs has to be developed based on critical thinking about the way terms are used. Use of labels may also be a historical legacy of the field of special needs used as tools to match children’s needs to types of educational provision. In CHAT terms, such categorization labels may also be considered as pragmatic tools that mediate PAG activity in terms of professionals trying to make sense of the complexity of need.

From a CHAT perspective, the rules underpinning the PAG process may cause tensions with the object/motive of activity as an equitable system of resource allocation (see Figure 11). The authority provides a wide range of specialist provision

within what is perceived to be a confusing and contradictory policy and legislative context of presumption to mainstream and parental choice of schooling for their children. The contradiction renders problematic an attempt to offer a coherent and transparent policy/practice framework within which professionals and parents work together to meet children’s needs, in mainstream and/or specialist provision, with cost implications of meeting needs in both settings.

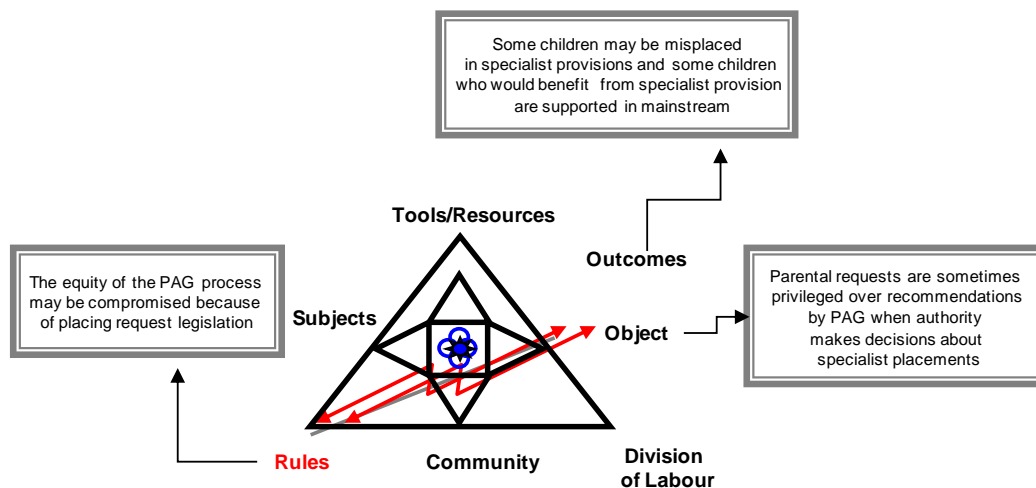


Figure 11: Contradictions about rules in PAG activity.

An outcome of the dilemma around placing request legislation is that children and young people may be misplaced in provisions that are not considered the best educational environment to meet their needs and conversely, that some children who would benefit from such a placement do without. Also, participants perceived a degree of inequity in the PAG process believing that authority decisions on placement are sometimes based on parental requests and tribunal outcomes rather than decisions being made entirely on professional assessment of need, a theme consistent with those reported in published reviews (Ofsted, 2010).

Participants were asked to discuss the role of psychological services and partner agencies in PAG activity and how work is shared in the multi-agency context of PAG activity (see Figure 12). A CHAT analysis indicated a sense of confusion about professional roles and remits, or ‘division of labour’, that may lead to differential and conflicting positions of power, influence and authority in terms of placement

decisions for children because of ‘gaps, overlaps and disco-ordination’ (Engeström, 2000) between services. Problems or tensions in multi-agency working appear to be present in the staged intervention process that supports and reviews the extent to which children’s needs are being met in a mainstream context, prior to a PAG application being made for a specialist provision. The multi-agency process ‘falls down’ because professionals do not work well together.

A key conflict in the division of labour of PAG activity is that while there may be a perception by parents and partner agencies that EPs have a privileged and influential role in supporting parents, assessment of need, co-ordination of applications and advice-giving to the authority, some EPs want to distance their work from the process. EPs expressed a range of views on their role in PAG both historically and presently revealing tension around professional identity and the range of service delivery expected from psychological services in the case study local authority. For example, EPs list the range of roles and tasks that they undertake in PAG activity ranging from assessor to coordinator, and from chair of a multi-professional group who advises the authority to administrator, providing insight into EP perceptions of their own professional identity.

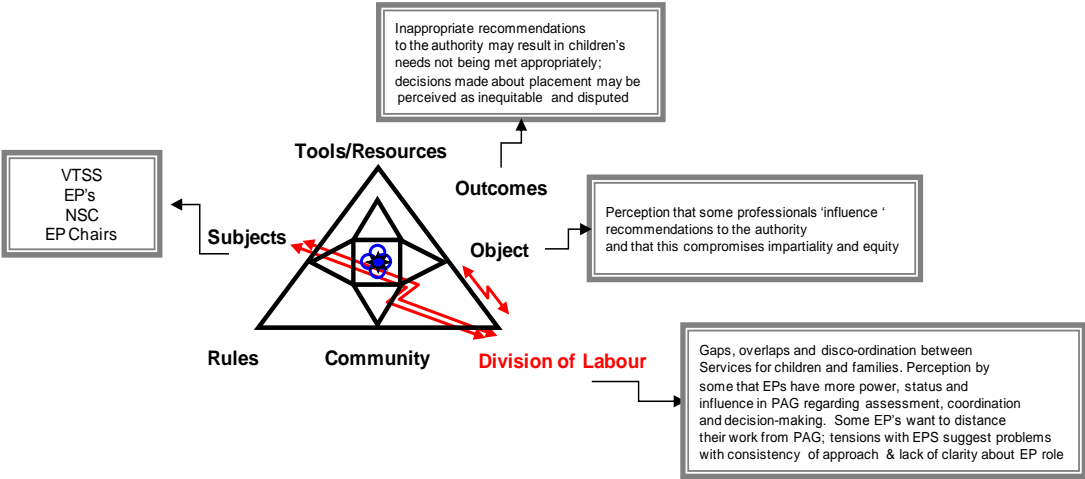


Figure 12: Contradiction within division of labour in PAG activity.

Partnership with parents in PAG activity is perceived to be a central task for the educational professionals. However, sources of tension may arise from the extent to

which parents understand the impartial professional advice offered against their expectations of professionals as advocates of parents' school choices. Parents may feel that they have to 'fight' for resources to support their child 'and it's why we end up in tribunals'. Lack of clarity of processes and in professional roles may cause confusion and anxiety for parents and carers during a stressful time in their lives.

Participants were asked about aspects of the PAG process that they think need to be changed (see Figure 13). From a CHAT perspective, the suggested changes could be considered as hypotheses aimed at potential resolution of the contradictions identified in the PAG process. Suggested changes alluded to a re-configured division of labour (professional roles and remits), change and creation of new tools for assessment, criteria for prioritisation and profiling of special school populations, and a focus on culture change at the community level regarding views about inclusion and special education.

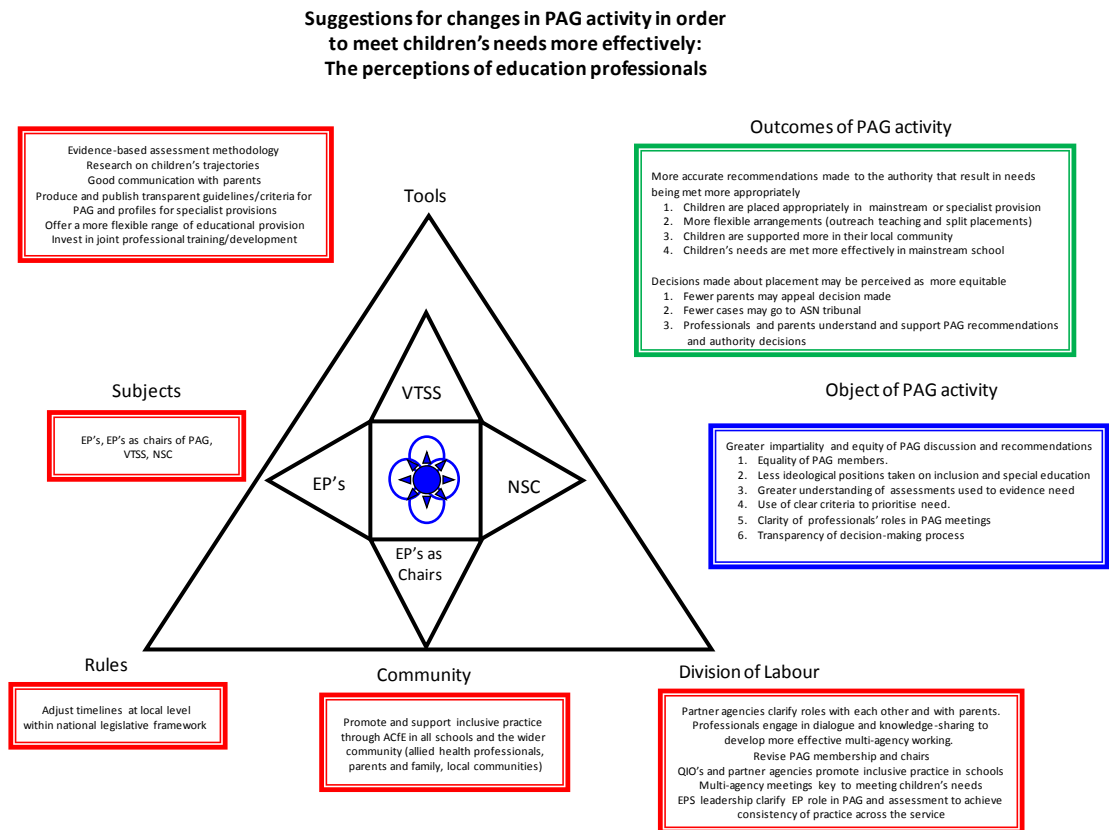


Figure 13: Suggestions for change to PAG activity from Education Professionals

For Sannino et al, (2009), CHAT is a practice-based theory and a historical and future-oriented theory. In this respect, a CHAT analysis of qualitative data presented in two authority reports illuminated the processes and outcomes of the PAG process as possible sources of contradictions across elements of PAG activity such as rules, tools and division of labour. Legislation and policy, professional roles and the tools they use may mediate PAG activity with varying degrees of effectiveness in terms of equitable educational outcomes for children with ASN.

The aims of reporting and referring to internal authority studies of the PAG process in the thesis were to illuminate key themes about the PAG process that emerged from documentary and questionnaire analysis and to validate template analysis of the perceptions of educational professionals based on CHAT principles. In doing so, a rationale was provided for the empirical study reported in the thesis. A further aim was the generation of ‘mirror data’ for use in the empirical investigation. The use of ‘mirror data’ in DWR methodology illustrates points of tension within current working practices that, in turn, become the focus for problem-solving and joint learning as possible solutions are considered for new ways of working (Engeström, 2009).

4.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

According to the theory of expansive learning, activity systems undergo cycles of expansive learning as established practice, and the concomitant contradictions inherent within it, are challenged and then resolved (Engeström, 2009, 1987). Such cycles may be viewed as collective ZPDs within which members of an activity system learn collectively, the result of which is knowledge creation based on a historical analysis of previous cycles of activity. DWR methodology is presented as an application of the theory of expansive learning (Engeström, 1997).

DWR is planned, formative intervention in an activity system; it is collaborative research activity between researchers and members of an activity system in a series of workshops or change laboratories which function as a collective ZPD. Vygotskian notions such as internalization, externalization, dual stimulation and theoretical

generalizations serve as mechanisms and explanatory principles that enable participants to challenge established practice and to consider the potential of an activity system to be expanded as the object of activity is transformed. Via the process of dual stimulation, participants create new knowledge and learn new practice. This is achieved through the provision of mediating tools such as scientific models and concepts to develop participants' understanding of everyday practice as theoretical generalizations. The object of activity is followed using examples of ethnographic material brought into the workshops to stimulate analysis and negotiation between the participants (Engeström, 2009, 1997).

Critiques of CHAT focus on five key issues: the unit of analysis as an activity system rather than groups or individuals, the dialectical relationship between mind, activity and culture, the role of social criticism in CHAT and the production of cultural artefacts. These issues are discussed at political, epistemological and ontological levels. Because a key point of tension is the extent to which CHAT researchers make explicit their epistemological and ontological positioning in research activity, a key question to ask is: to what extent does the individual have analytic distinction from the social? Also, because CHAT has its roots in Marxist thinking, a key criticism of it is the lack of political impact at the social justice or emancipatory levels. In this regard CHAT research has been referred to as 'conservative transformism'.

In response to this critique there is a robust evidence base of CHAT research activity that addresses each of the issues referred to above. Engeström claims that CHAT is practice-based, integrating theory with a focus on the historical and the future. CHAT is presented as an approach that focuses on the activity as a unit of analysis, thereby integrating the individual and social levels of analysis, and thus resolving traditional dualisms in social science research. Integration is achieved by linking the subject and the object of research activity and in so doing, adopts a dialectical view of human agency. Using the concept of praxis, CHAT researchers theorise human agency as both enabled and constrained by social structures. Notions such as 'collective agent', 'agentic subject' and 'relational agency' have been used to explain how individuals learn to act in collective activity. By focusing on the level of

activity, it is argued that political action occurs at the local, situated level of practice. Recent studies have focused on the production of cultural artefacts in activity systems and how they influence power and authority.

There is a robust evidence base for the application of CHAT in public sector contexts, in particular children's services and education where the focus has been on multi-agency working to support children and families (Edwards et al, 2009). Interacting activity systems provides a model to explain the complexity of multi-agency working and in this regard, the author has undertaken work on behalf of the local authority to explore the views of stakeholders of the PAG process using a CHAT framework to guide qualitative data analysis. Outcomes of the internal studies indicate systemic contradictions in the PAG process across assessment methodology, decision-making criteria, policy, procedures, and professional roles and responsibilities. The PAG process, viewed as interacting networks of activity systems, is multi-voiced with a contested object of PAG activity: what is it that people think they are working on in PAG activity? For example is it to meet needs or to place children in specialist educational provision? To understand the PAG process more fully, a DWR intervention study was planned with key authority officers.

The central idea in CHAT and DWR methodology is for researchers to intervene in activity systems to support participants to surface contradictions in their work or practice, aiming to find new solutions as the object of activity is transformed. Activity systems are in constant flux as contradictions are resolved through the creation of new solutions for practice (Igira and Aanestad, 2009; Engeström, 2009). In this sense, PAG activity is likely to have gone through cyclic phases in socio-historical time (Engeström, 1999a). To understand the cyclic phases of PAG activity more clearly, a version of Engeström's DWR is undertaken in an empirical investigation to attempt resolution of identified contradictions by creating 'new instrumentalities' or tools that 'expand' the object of PAG.

The need for CHAT studies of senior management teams or strategists as they engage in strategy review has been highlighted (Blackler, 2009). As such, the empirical research reported in Chapter 6 and 7 aims at potential change and development in the

PAG process via intervention in the form of workshops with senior education professionals and education officers. The following research questions, underpinned by CHAT principles, are addressed below (see Table 3).

Table 3: Research Questions.

Key research question: In what ways can a cultural historical activity theory analysis illuminate the processes and outcomes of a local authority decision-making process (PAG) for educational placement of children with additional support needs?						
	Object of PAG activity	Rules in PAG activity	Tools and resources used in PAG activity	Division of labour in PAG activity	Community in PAG activity	Potential for expansive learning in PAG activity
Additional research questions	1. How do stakeholders describe the object of PAG activity and how do they account for the historical development of the object of PAG activity?	2. In what ways do rules (legislation and policy) constrain PAG activity?	3. In what ways do cultural tools and artefacts mediate PAG activity?	4. How are roles and tasks (division of labour) accounted for in PAG activity?	5. How is community accounted for in PAG activity?	6. What do stakeholders identify in PAG activity as areas for potential transformational change?
Questions asked in DWR workshops	How would you characterize the PAG process and what do you think it is trying to achieve?	What supports or constrains your work within the PAG process?	What resources support your work in PAG?	How would you describe your work and the role of psychologists, partner agencies and parents in the PAG process?	What factors in the wider community might affect the PAG process?	Are there any aspects of the PAG process that you think need to be changed?
Activities in DWR sessions as a cycle of expansive learning	Learning about Activity Theory (CHAT) Examining individual and group perceptions of PAG as an interacting network of activity systems: (Dual stimulation) Consideration of mirror data, case studies and data from preceding workshops Consideration of historical PAG activity and surfacing contradictions identified from empirical analysis of current PAG activity Expanding the object of PAG activity and creating a new model: developing new ways of working Testing the new model Implementing and consolidating the new model: evaluation of issues in situated practice Answering the principle research question: the participants' and researcher's perspectives on the extent to which a CHAT analysis illuminated the processes and outcomes of the local authority decision-making process (PAG)					

CHAPTER 5. METHOD

5.1 GOALS AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

The agreed purpose of the study was to engage in a review of the PAG process. The aims of the study were:

- To consider the extent to which Cultural Historical Activity Theory and Developmental Work Research are useful analytical and intervention tools to contribute to authority-level organizational change
- To contribute to the development of an authority decision-making process using a Developmental Work Research intervention

5.2 DESIGN OF THE STUDY

5.2.1 Empirical Investigation

The empirical investigation is an action-researched based, formative intervention. The specific methodology is an application of CHAT – Developmental Work Research that provides qualitative data in a series of three workshops. The investigation aimed to bring about change in the PAG process with the researcher-practitioner working collaboratively with senior education professionals and strategic authority officers, the focus of which was problems in the PAG process and how to transform practice to improve service delivery and outcomes for children and young people with ASN. Data from two internal authority studies (summarised in chapter 4), in addition to existing data and documents about the PAG process, were used as ‘mirror’ data as stimuli for discussion in the workshops. Documents were selected on the basis of availability and relevance to the study. DWR participants also brought relevant documentation and case studies along to the workshops.

5.2.2 Evaluation of Longer-term Impact of the Study

The DWR intervention was evaluated by all participants during the final workshop. Evaluation proformas were also completed by participants two weeks after the intervention (Appendix 5; Tables 25a-c & 27). One year after the workshops, participants were asked for their perceptions of intervention impact on the authority change process (Appendix 6).

Engeström (2009) highlights the importance of the DWR researcher having on-going involvement in the change process working with professionals to turn ideas into practice. The researcher-practitioner continues to be involved in strategic development groups and working drafts of new processes and systems are used as evidence of impact for the intervention study. Evidence of impact of the intervention to date is presented in Chapter 7 based on confirmation and validation of the views of a range of professionals involved in the change process, on-going discourse throughout the change process, draft policy documents and procedural guidelines for implementation of the new model and of external validation from national inspection processes. The views of parents who have experienced the PAG process and who also represent a parental support charity organization were also considered as evidence of impact.

All completed evaluation proformas and documentation were thematically analysed, the results of which are presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 (see Table 30).

5.2.3 Sampling and Participants

The nature of the unique context of the PAG process, the CHAT approach used and the scope of the study necessitated a purposive sampling approach for participants. The decision was made to confine the study to participation of education professionals and authority officers who work directly at the operational and strategic levels of the PAG process. All invitations to participate in the study were accepted. The participants are listed in Table 4, together with information about actual workshops attended (Table 5). Six of the nine participants participated in all three

workshops. One participant attended the first and the third, another participant attended only the second workshop.

Table 4: Participants' Details

Professional category of participants	Participation in Workshop One	Participation in Workshop Two	Participation in Workshop Three
Education officer 1	✓	✓	✓
Education officer 2	✓	✓	✓
Education professional – support services	✓	✓	✓
Education officer 3		✓	
Education professional – psychological services 1	✓		✓
Education professional – psychological services 2	✓	✓	✓
Head teacher, Special School 1	✓	✓	✓
Head teacher, Special School 2	✓	✓	✓
Education professional – psychological services (practitioner-researcher)	✓	✓	✓

Table 5: Description of Empirical Investigation.

	Nature of data	Research activity	Criteria for selection	Not selected	Data collection and analysis	Purpose in study
Empirical Investigation: Intervention	Head teachers Views / perceptions	Participated in DWR workshops	Two head teachers of special schools (both of whom are members of PAG groups)	Other HTs of special schools and specialist provisions not included	3 x 3 hour sessions DWR one: 23, 891 words, DWR two: 27,453 words; DWR 3: 22,032 words Audi and video taped Notes of each session shared with participants Transcribed independently; analysed using template analysis informed by CHAT principles Individual activity systems	Participate in DWR intervention to consider change process to PAG
	Education support professional Views / perceptions	Participated in DWR workshops	An education support professional (member of a PAG group).	Other education support professionals not invited	As above	
	Education officers/managers Views / perceptions	Participated in DWR workshops	Three authority officers, all of whom are involved in authority decisions on placements for specialist provisions.	Key managers/officers invited; three participated	As above	Participate in DWR intervention to consider change process to PAG
	EP managers Views / perceptions	Participated in DWR workshops	Two EPs; one of whom chairs a PAG group)	Other EP managers did not participate	As above	Participate in DWR intervention to consider change process to PAG
	Researcher-practitioner Views / perceptions	Involved in all phases of the study	Author of study; main-grade EP, designer, facilitator, change agent, change evaluator	Other researchers	As above	Participate in DWR intervention to consider change process to PAG
	All DWR participants Views / perceptions	Invited to give perceptions of impact of DWR sessions	Participated in DWR sessions	All other stakeholders in PAG Participants in Phase two	Evaluation proformas at two different stages after DWR sessions	To measure impact of research approach upon systemic /org change
Empirical Investigation: Evaluation						

5.2.4 Research Questions

See Table 3 in Chapter Four.

5.2.5 Application of DWR Methodology

DWR Methodology as Historical and Empirical Systems Analysis

DWR methodology was used as an application of Engeström's cycle of expansive learning to enable participants to consider tensions and dilemmas in current PAG activity and the potential for change in working practices. (See Table 6.) The methodology focuses on examination and promotion of change in professional thinking, practices and organizational culture in the local authority. In accordance with the CHAT and DWR tradition, participants engaged in 'a dialectical, dialogic relationship with activity' with a focus on 'contradictions as causative and disturbances as indicators of potential' (Daniels, 2008).

Key elements of DWR workshops included joint systemic analysis with the researcher-practitioner and senior education professionals in collective learning activity to promote change in the PAG process. Learning activity included the identification and analysis of contradictions of past and present practice using tools and resources to inform new ways of working (Daniels and Edwards, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009; Daniels et al, 2007). The methodology emphasizes focus on the historical nature of problems in the PAG process that enabled participants to consider how historical practice has shaped the present.

Application of DWR intervention methodology required historical and empirical analysis of PAG activity and in keeping with Engeström's advice, the object of PAG activity was 'followed', 'given a voice' and 'expanded' using ethnographic material brought into the workshops as 'mirror data' to stimulate analysis and negotiation between the participants (Engeström, 2009; Engeström et al, 2003; Engeström, 1999a).

The Empirical Investigation as a Cycle of Expansive Learning

The phases of Engeström's cycle of expansive learning were applied in DWR workshops. (See Figure 6, Chapter 4.) The initial stages of the cycle of expansive learning involved the questioning and analysis of embedded practice, including the surfacing of contradictions (Engeström, 1987). Building on the questioning of PAG activity from the internal authority studies, the DWR sessions adhered to the steps of the expansive cycle (Daniels, 2008:133). To capture change over time in PAG activity a concrete historical analysis of activity was undertaken (Engeström, 1987). The analysis involved searches for historical patterns of activity to develop a greater understanding of current activity and potential for change. The analysis focused primarily on discursive manifestations of contradictions that emerged in PAG activity from education professionals' and parental perspectives.

Table 6: Workshops as Cycle of Expansive Learning.

DWR Workshops as Cycle of Expansive Learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consideration of ethnographic data from the authority studies to question existing practice in the PAG process.• Analysing the historical origins of existing PAG practice to understand how the current tensions and contradictions in PAG activity developed.• Modelling an alternative way of PAG activity in terms of making decisions about specialist educational placement of children with ASN.• Implementing and monitoring the model in terms of processes and behavior.• Reflecting on the model as improved processes and outcomes for stakeholders. <p>(See Table 25 for further details of DWR methodology).</p>

DWR Workshops as a Collective Zone of Proximal Development

The workshops were considered as a collective zone of proximal development or 'boundary zone' of PAG activity within which participants critically examined both the operational and strategic levels of practice working towards a 're-negotiation' of the PAG process. Engeström (1999a:16) describes DWR workshop methodology as supporting and structuring 'developmental re-mediation of work activities'. The sessions in the empirical investigation are called workshops; Engeström refers to

such sessions as ‘change or boundary laboratories’ to reflect the notion of a collective ZPD.

The workshops were designed as ‘spaces for reflection’, a simultaneous ‘separation and embeddedness’ of day-to-day work activity as ethnographic data and case studies enable participants to reflect on professional practice in the PAG process and to engage in a problem-solving process (Engeström, 2007). The aim was to identify problems in PAG activity which could then be conceptualised and hypothesized as contradictions with the PAG activity system. Established work practice in PAG activity, considered in terms of dominant practices or trails, was challenged via the psychological processes or epistemological principles of dual stimulation and theoretical generalization (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011; Sannino, 2011). Dual stimulation in DWR workshops is predicated on Vygotsky’s notion of the ‘instrumentality’ of tools used in ‘mediational settings’ to solve problems within a learner’s ZPD (Engeström, 2007). The researcher-practitioner was the ‘mediator’ in the collective ZPD supporting participants to learn collectively as they challenged established practice within the PAG process.

5.2.6 Structure of the Sessions

Describing the Developmental Sequence of the DWR Workshops

Each session lasted approximately three hours and was video and audio-taped to enable analysis of each session to review critical workshop events in subsequent sessions. The workshop activities were set up according to Engeström’s DWR methodology (see Tables 2 and 7, and Figure 14.) The study of the PAG process was designed to capture interacting activity systems undergoing change and transformation over time both naturalistically in practice and under ‘provocation’ in the DWR research process. The DWR workshops encompassed steps 1-4 of the expansive cycle. Step five was the time period during which changes or new models of working were being tried out and tested. Step 6 was the time period during which reflection and evaluation of the change process occurred, accounting for impact on

improved processes and outcomes of PAG activity. Step 7 reflects consolidation of new practice which can also be considered as the first step in a new cycle of expansive learning (Engeström, 1987). The sequence of the workshops is developmental to enable reflection of each preceding workshop session.



Figure 14: Photograph of DWR workshop setting.

Table 7: Details of Workshop Sessions

	Duration of session	Activity	Transcript Word count	Mirror data	Case studies	Conceptual tools
DWR 1	3 hours	Presentation introduction to activity theory/CHAT Modelling PAG as activity system – individual Group discussion Homework: prepare critical case study from PAG	23,891 words	Themes /quotes from interviews and focus groups; doc analysis		Triangular model of activity systems CHAT notions '3 x 3' surfaces
DWR 2	3 hours	Critical reflection of DWR 1 Modelling PAG as activity system –group Consider stakeholder perceptions of PAG – problems Presentation of critical case study Homework: consider possible changes to PAG/work-plan	27, 453 words	As above Reviews of special needs systems	✓	As above; research papers.
DWR 3	3 hours	Critical reflection of DWR 2 Modelling PAG as activity system –group Consider stakeholder ideas for change to PAG process Presentation of ideas for work-plan, other special needs systems Development of work-plan Homework: consider possible changes to PAG/work-plan	22,032 words	As above Other decision-making systems in Scotland	✓	As above

Mirror Data as a Tool to Stimulate Discussion and Surface Contradictions

Presentation of ethnographic or ‘mirror’ data, based on documentary analysis, case study presentations, and perceptions of professionals via focus groups, interviews and parental questionnaires, enabled participants to consider conflict, double binds and dilemmas in professional practice. Models of past PAG activity systems were examined that lead to suggestions for the transformation of current PAG activity. The mirror data provided insight into systemic contradictions in the PAG process. The role of the researcher, as mediator, was to build upon professionals’ ‘everyday’ understandings of the multi-agency decision-making process using scientific concepts such as CHAT and models of activity systems. In doing so, participants were supported to analyse the extent to which current practice in PAG activity either enables or constrains development in professional practice and service delivery to families, children and young people.

Dual Stimulation: Knowledge Creation and Collective Learning

The Vygotskian notion of dual or double stimulation is the key psychological mechanism used in the DWR workshops that assumes individual agency and intentionality in problem-solving tasks, mediated by cultural tools (Engeström, 2007). The notion is expanded to account for collective intentionality in problem-solving based on Leontiev’s work, subsequently used by Engeström in DWR methodology (1987). In the DWR workshops, as a collective ZPD, participants used shared conceptual tools to problem-solve the dilemmas in PAG activity. This was achieved by presenting the ‘first stimulus’ of double stimulation as ‘mirror’ data, based on perceptions of stakeholders who participated in interviews, focus groups and based on questionnaire responses and documentary analysis. The first stimulus highlighted dilemmas and disturbances based on which participants engaged in conflictual questioning and debate as they began to articulate and challenge the data presented to them.

The second stimulus is presented as a ‘neutral artefact with mediating potential’ (Engeström, 2007). In the DWR workshop, the second stimulus consisted of key

concepts from CHAT together with triangular models of activity systems used as heuristic devices to map out PAG activity as interacting activity systems. Participants used the tools provided by the researcher to gain a better understanding of the inherent problems in the PAG process, building on their everyday understandings of professional practice. In short, the aim was for participants to gain a more scientific understanding of PAG activity from a CHAT perspective (Engeström, 2007).

Historical Development of PAG Activity: Using the '3x3 Tool

Enestrom's '3 x3' surfaces model was used as a tool in the DWR workshops to consider past, present and future PAG activity (see Figure 15). In this sense, Engeström argues that the model enables movement in three dimensions: between theoretical and practical considerations of situated PAG activity; between 'layers of time' in historical cycles of the PAG process; and between multi-perspectives of participants and other voices represented in the ethnographic data. (Engeström, 2007:375). The 'vertical dimension' of model represents empirical data and case studies used to illuminate past, present and future PAG activity to gain a critical understanding of how cycles of change and development over time have impacted on current practice and how they may influence new developments.

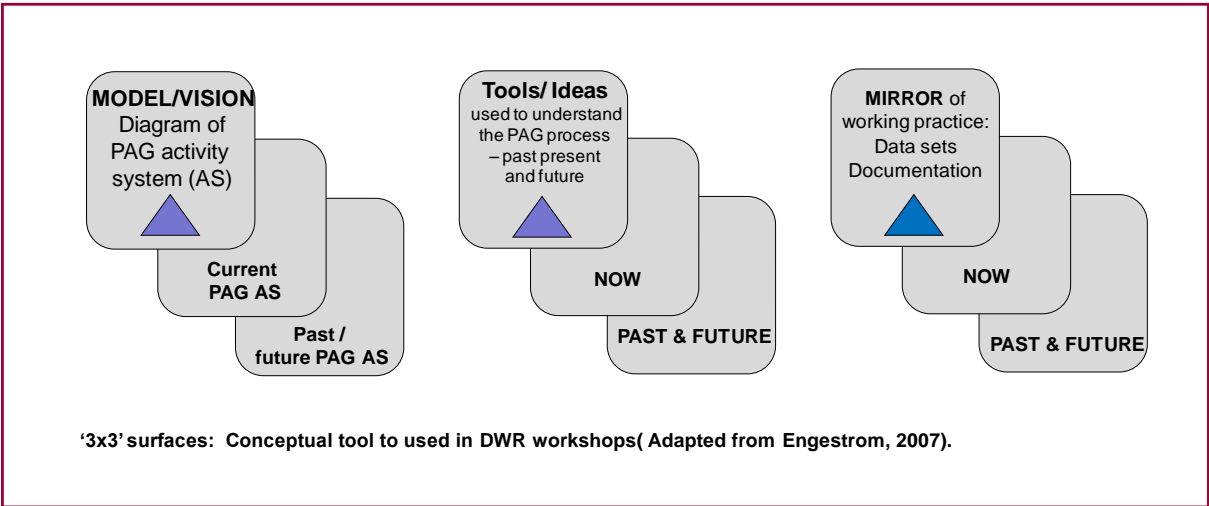


Figure 15: '3x3' Conceptual Tool used in DWR Workshops

The horizontal dimension of the '3 x3' surfaces represents levels of data, concepts and analysis. The first surface represents mirror data based on perceptions of every day practice in PAG activity. The second surface is used to represent ideas and tools such as flow charts and diagrams of PAG activity that reflect participants' understandings of their practice within the whole system. The third surface represents the 'model/vision' of the PAG process that may help participants to understand it as interacting activity systems with 'systemic roots of problems conceptualised as contradictions' (Engeström, 2007).

5.3 DEFINITIONS

5.3.1 Defining Contradictions

Contradictions arise from deviations and disturbances within and between elements of a work activity system or network of activity systems and are the basis for change potential (Engeström, 2000). In studies of activity systems, disturbances are revealed through ethnographic data from observations, interviews and workshops (Edwards et al, 2009; Engeström, 2007, 2000). Engeström (2008, 2007, 2001) refers to manifestations of systemic contradictions in terms of conflicts, critical conflicts, dilemmas and double binds expressed by individuals in interviews and focus groups. Engeström and Sannino (2011, 2010) advise researchers not to use terms such as tension, problem and conflict as being synonymous with the term contradiction. They call for more clearly defined and theoretically explicated terminology. Analysis of the transcripts involved the identification of manifestations of systemic contradictions in the PAG process in individual statements made in workshop discussions. Use is made of Engeström's four types of discursive manifestations to hypothesise contradictions (see Table 8).

Table 8: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions. (Engeström and Sannino, 2011)

Manifestation	Features	Linguistic cues	Resolution
Double bind	Facing pressing and equally unacceptable alternatives in an activity system	'we', 'us', 'we must', 'we have to', pressing rhetorical questions, expressions of helplessness	Practical transformation (going beyond words): 'let us do that', we will make that'
Critical conflict	Facing contradictory motives in social interaction, feeling violated or guilty	Personal emotion, moral accounts, narrative structure, vivid metaphors	Finding new personal sense and negotiating a new meaning: 'I now realize that...'
Conflict	Arguing, criticizing	'no', 'I disagree', 'this is not true'	Finding a compromise, submitting to authority or majority: 'yes', 'this I can accept'
Dilemma	Expression or exchange of incompatible evaluations	'on the one hand', 'yes, but...'	Denial, reformulation: 'I didn't mean that', I actually meant...'

5.3.2 Defining the Collective Zone of proximal Development

The standard Vygotskian definition of the ZPD refers to the distance between an individual's actual developmental level in terms of being able to problem-solve independently and the level of potential development via mediation in problem-solving tasks with an adult or more able peers. Emphasis is placed on the role of mediating cultural artefacts as second stimuli to facilitate the activity of problem-solving.

The definition of the ZPD in the study is based on Engeström's notion of the collective ZPD as a cycle of expansive learning in work settings. In activity theory, a zone is used as a metaphor for development and Engeström (2009:312) considers a zone as a 'terrain of activity to be dwelled in and explored, not just a stage to be achieved' or a vertical step that leads to a higher stage or level. Zones have established trails of work practice that can be challenged via the mechanism of expansive agency and learning. In DWR methodology, change laboratories or workshops provide an actual forum within which colleagues experience a journey

through the ZPD of their work contexts. The researcher-practitioner mediates participants' expansive learning at the level of the activity system using first and second stimuli such as ethnographic material and scientific models to gain a more theoretical understanding of how current practice has developed and how future practice might look.

5.3.3 Defining the Unit of Analysis

PAG activity was considered as interacting networks of activity systems with partially shared objects, consistent with the third generation of activity theory (Engeström, 2001). Template and CHAT analysis of data collected in DWR workshop activity provided information to develop hypotheses on eight interacting activity systems as a network of PAG activity (see Figure 16). Each of the data sets was considered as a separate activity system with partially shared objects in PAG activity.

Individual Activity Systems

There are two representations of PAG activity in the empirical investigation based on differing numbers of data sets. In Workshop one, an introductory activity involved participants considering PAG activity from their own unique perspective, of which there were eight, including the participant researcher. Each participant constructed their own activity system of PAG activity and an analysis of the eight systems is discussed. This representation focuses upon differential subject positioning in the PAG process. For example, see Figure 17 for participants' activity system of the PAG process. The data gathered from individual construction of the PAG process as an activity system were treated as eight interacting activity systems in the network of PAG activity as discussed above.

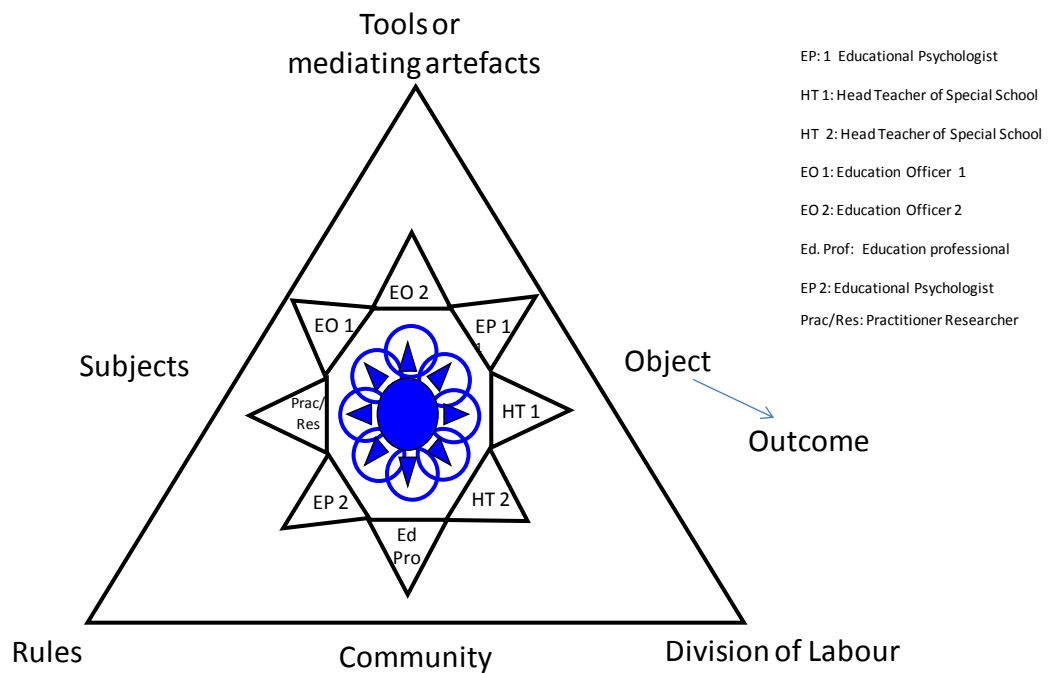


Figure 16: Network of PAG activity as eight interacting activity systems of education professionals and officers.

Modelling PAG Activity as an Interacting Network of Activity Systems

To show PAG activity as a network of interacting activity systems from the perspective of the eight professionals in the DWR workshops, each separate activity system is represented within the PAG activity model as a small triangle. The network of PAG activity is represented as a large triangle within which the interconnecting activity systems are represented as small triangles. The partially shared object of joint PAG activity is represented as overlapping ovals (each oval represents the object of individual activity systems of each of the eight education professional groups) on top of which is a symbol that represents aspects of joint activity in PAG.

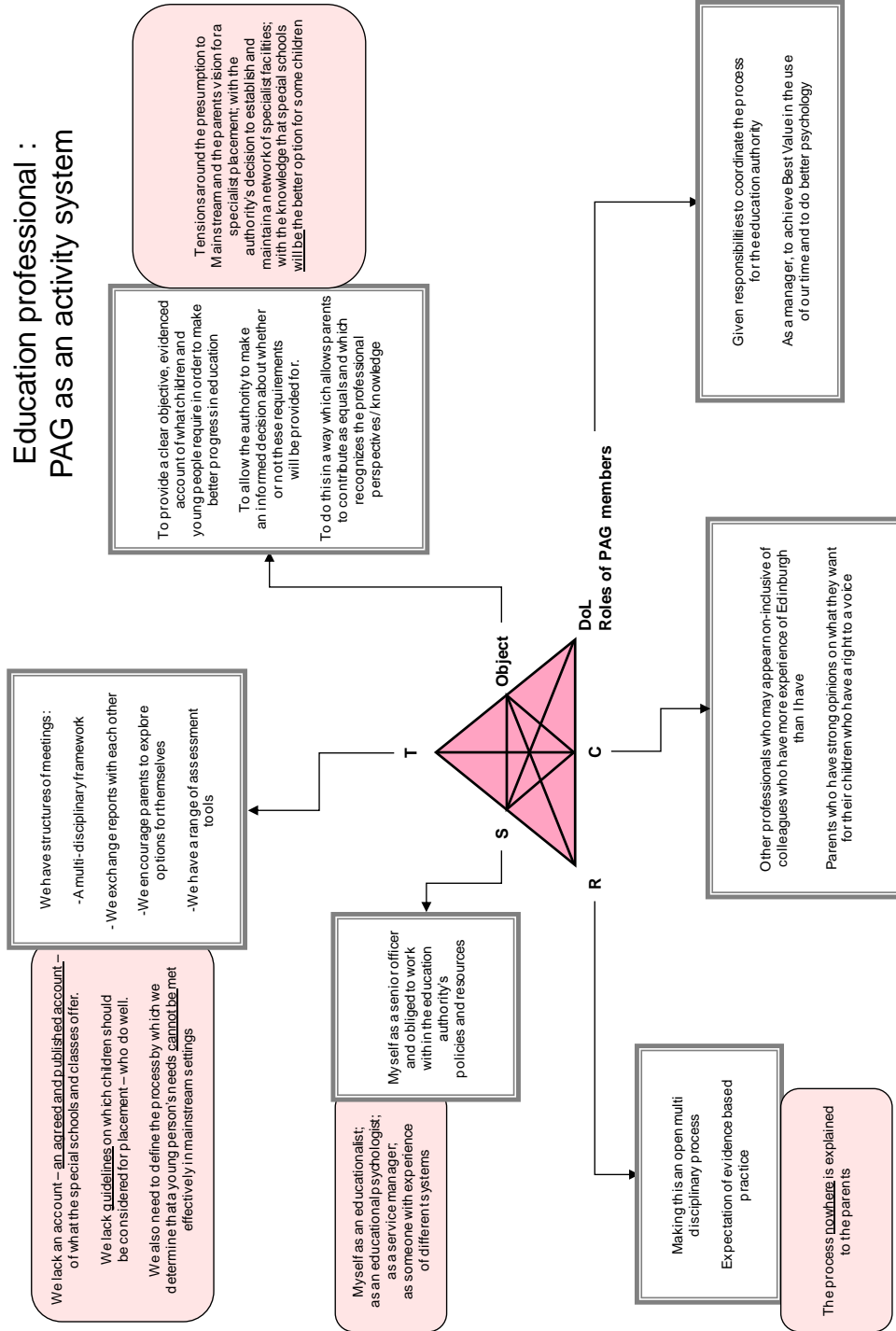


Figure 17: Participant's construction of own PAG activity system

Template Analysis Based on Four Data Sets

Template Analysis of transcript data in all three workshops is based on four data sets: education officers, education professionals, Head Teachers and the researcher-practitioner. The four data sets represent all of the DWR participants: three education officers, two Head Teachers of special schools, three education professionals representing a range of support services, including two educational psychologists and the researcher-practitioner, whose own contributions are subject to analysis.

Template analysis is based on data grouped across the transcripts of all three workshops. Individual analysis of each workshop transcript is not presented because discussion in each workshop often focused on recurring themes. As such there would have been repetition of discussion about similar themes as each of the workshop data was discussed. An education professional did not participate in workshop two whilst a third education officer participated in workshop two, although was not part of the original group of eight participants who accepted the invitation to participate in the research study.

The advantage of grouping data sets in this way is that it enables a higher level perspective of PAG activity from the subject positioning of participants as decision-makers and policy developers, senior support professionals who work with children and families in PAG activity, Head Teachers in the receiving special schools and that of the participant researcher-practitioner. Where individual comment is apposite, reference is made to one of the four professional categories described above, not the actual designation of the individual.

Tables and Diagrams Representing Analysis of Transcript Data

For each research question a diagram is presented summarising hypotheses of contradictions within and between elements of the PAG activity system based on the template analysis of the DWR workshop transcripts. The reader is referred to tables of template analysis derived themes with illustrative quotes for each of the research questions. Partial and full quotes are included in the body of the text when considered apposite for illustrating a particular point or theme. All partial quotes used in text

have italics around them – the full quotes from which phrases are taken are included in the tables of quotes (e.g., see Table 16). The number beside each quote represents the workshop, professional category and line number in the transcript. For example, ‘2/1, EP 1 10’ refers to the transcript of the first part of the second workshop, indicating professional category of the speaker and the first line of the quote in the transcript document.

5.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

5.4.1 Data Collection

Each workshop session was audio and video taped, summary notes of which were shared with participants in each subsequent session (see Table 5 and Table 7). Independent transcriptions were made of each of the workshop sessions which were subjected to a template analysis informed by CHAT principles. See Appendix 7 and Chapter 5 for details of coding levels and checks for the rigour and quality of the analysis undertaken.

5.4.2 Template Analysis - Developing and Revising the Template Codes

Template Analysis was used as a set of techniques for the organization and analysis of the transcripts. An initial template (King, 2004), an a priori start list of codes, (Miles and Huberman, 1994) was created based on the research literature, two authority studies described in chapter four and CHAT principles. The researcher’s personal experience and knowledge of the ‘PAG’ process as a case psychologist also contributed to the development of the initial template. The template or start list of codes was applied to the transcripts and examined closely for fit and power. Revision of templates was an interactive process during which new codes were inserted and initial codes deleted (Appendix 7).

5.4.3 Coding Levels

In the analysis, level one coding was a general ‘etic’ level based on the initial template and research literature. Higher level coding, specific ‘emic’ levels, reflect codes that emerged from the data but nested in the etic codes (King, 2004; Miles and Huberman, 1994). (See Table 9.) For example, the general ‘etic’ categories of ‘Rules of PAG activity’ and ‘Tools used in PAG activity’ were used as initial and final template categories based on CHAT principles in the empirical investigation. However, a range of ‘emic’ codes, representing specific themes from transcript analysis of workshop discussions, emerged during data analysis, for example, criteria used for decision-making about educational placement. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that codes can be at the descriptive or inferential level of analysis and that they can emerge at different points. They claim that codes are ‘astringent – they pull together a lot of material permitting analysis’ and that codes suggest thematic links ‘and functions like a statistical ‘factor’, grouping disparate pieces into a more inclusive and meaningful whole’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994:58).

5.4.4 Alternative Methods of Analysis

Inductive coding techniques such as a Grounded Theory approach could have been used whereby the start point of analysis does not allude to a prefabricated template or start list (Glaser, 1998). This approach to qualitative data analysis is more open-minded and more context-sensitive (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Because the study was embedded in a CHAT framework that imposed structure on the data, an inductive coding approach was not taken.

5.4.5 Presentation of Data

Matrices, tables and diagrams were used to interpret and display analytical findings from the transcripts. Matrices were used simultaneously as a means of data presentation and data analysis, providing visibility of the data analysis, and making large amounts data accessible whilst maintaining complexity of the findings and cross-site and within-site comparisons (Nadin and Cassell, 2004; Miles and

Huberman, 1994). Participants' comments were selected to illustrate key themes in the template analysis. Summaries of analysed data were also presented within figures based on CHAT principles and the research questions.

Table 9: Examples of Codes and Categories.

Etic code	Emic codes
Community in PAG activity (Table 14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variable practice in mainstream schools • Status of special schools • Attitudes and ideological positions about inclusion • Range of views on how to meet children's needs • Lack of evidence base of benefits of special education: specialist pedagogies or inclusive practice
Rules in PAG activity (Table 16)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inconsistency and non-transparency of the PAG process • Legislation: Placing requests and tribunals
Tools used in PAG activity (Table 15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparency of criteria vs the mess of good decision-making • Questioning assessment methodology • Persistence of traditional categorization of need • Lack of published information about the PAG process
Division of labour in PAG activity (Table 17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict in partnership working • Power, knowledge and authority • Partnership with parents • The role of the EP

5.4.6 Reflexivity

From a critical realist perspective, that data is capable of being explained by more than one theory, the themes derived from template analysis of transcripts of DWR workshop discussions were considered as 'pragmatic tools' with which the researcher produced a particular account of the data (Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2010; King, 2004). While it is acknowledged that texts are always open to a range of readings,

the rigor of the analysis was not compromised because the researcher produced a reflexive account of the biases, assumptions and standpoints about the topic being researched that may have influenced engagement with data. The role of the researcher in the study was that of a participant researcher-practitioner. The researcher's views about PAG activity may have influenced how the workshops were conducted and to some extent may have shaped outcomes in terms of questions asked, clarification given and views shared. The status of the researcher as a main-grade EP should also be considered in terms of the status, power and authority of more senior colleagues who participated in the study.

- Main-grade EP in the local authority psychological services
- Involvement in PAG activity as case work psychologist
- Assistant to Chair of a PAG group
- Known to all participants in a professional capacity

5.4.7 Checking the Quality and Rigor of the Analysis

In addition to a reflexive account from the researcher's perspective, three key approaches were used to check the quality of the research undertaken (Hammersley, 2011; Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2010):

- Independent scrutiny of the analysis
- The creation of an audit trail
- Respondent feedback

For the analysis of the workshop transcripts, independent scrutiny of the analysis was undertaken by a colleague who is familiar with the topic being researched. This provided inter-rater reliability as the key points raised in the discussion were used to develop and refine initial templates. The approach demonstrated validation and triangulation of template analysis based on the range of perspectives of the key points in the workshop discussions.

Based on the initial template or start list of codes, a colleague was asked to read the transcripts, allocating phrases or statements to what she considered were the most appropriate codes according to the template. The researcher had also undertaken this task independently. The colleague was given a blank table of codes on to which she inserted phrases that seemed to be apposite to a particular code. Once this was completed the independent allocation of phrases to codes were compared with adjustments being made based on discussion and agreement of the best fit of phrases to codes. This process was iterative leading to changes to code allocation and some codes being merged or deleted (Appendix 7).

The purpose of this activity was to gauge the degree of the agreement or concordance of the researcher's own attribution of statements to a priori codes and categories with those of her colleague. This activity helped the researcher to reflect on the way the initial template had been developed and the choices made in terms of codes. The discussion with a colleague encouraged thinking about alternatives that may have been overlooked or dismissed. Formal calculation of inter-rater agreement was not undertaken as this implies that a researcher can objectively judge one way of defining themes as correct (Silverman, 2010).

The position was taken that texts are always open to a variety of readings. Instead, with a colleague, the codes were discussed and negotiated within the initial template until both were satisfied that the template and codes reflected the complexity of the data, both for commonalities and differences. Throughout the process of development and refinement of the templates, an audit trail of this analytical process was created in the form of successive templates with re-named codes and themes (Appendix 7). The trail documents the steps taken and the decisions made in moving from the text to the final interpretation of the data. An audit trail was kept of the work undertaken by a colleague on the initial template and how the researcher-practitioner developed the initial template. Initial data analysis was shared with some participants; draft write-ups were also shared to acknowledge the importance of respondent feedback for internal validity of the study.

5.5 DEFINING THE STUDY AS SOCIAL ENQUIRY

5.5.1 A Study of the PAG Process From A Realist Position

Social scientists study social processes (actions and behaviour) and multi-perspectives (people's views) and often cite a pragmatic approach to social enquiry, using the research question to guide the choice of method and methodology (Brannen, 2005). This is particularly so in studies which use quantitative and qualitative data and inductive and deductive modes of enquiry. For example, qualitative methods may test ideas or theories as well as generate them (Hammersley, 2011; Robson, 2011). Also, the term *abductive* or *retroductive* reasoning is used in studies that seek to explain iterative cycles of change and development in social structures and processes (Robson, 2011; Pawson, 2006). A study of the PAG process required both inductive and deductive modes of enquiry together with abductive reasoning because of the focus on cycles of change in the process, both naturally occurring and those subjected to social research intervention (DWR methodology).

Social science studies may focus on 'what works' in complex social phenomena, a focus on practical theory informing practice. This may be considered as an 'eclectic' and 'pluralistic' approach to enquiry (Pawson and Tilley, 1997), one which considers a research design or strategy as being appropriate to a 'purpose' rather than a particular epistemological position (Brannen, 2005). Social enquiry within the realist tradition views knowledge as tentative at any given time, informed by a range of agentic views and actions in complex social phenomena. However, it is important to understand the key epistemological and ontological arguments in social science research concerning the nature of scientific knowledge and the extent to which this helps researchers to understand and explain social reality (Hammersley, 2011).

Logical positivism asserts that there is an objective reality; independent of human perspectives, thoughts and beliefs. In contrast, relativism asserts that there is no objective reality; instead there are many realities based on the differential experiences, power and perspectives of people. Relativists claims that researchers cannot understand truths via positivist approaches to science primarily because the subjects of social science are people who have agency and purpose in interpreting

their social reality via meanings and motivations (Robson, 2011). Instead, there is a need to consider the belief systems of people to understand actions and behaviour.

Researchers adopting an objectivist approach to social science are realists. Realism posits that reality exists independently of individual awareness of it (Hammersley, 2011; Brymen, 2008). The realist position acknowledges the significant differences between natural and social phenomena, the study of which require different scientific methods. This approach also acknowledges the value-laden and political nature of social scientific research. Critical realists seek explanations and mechanisms to understand the complexity of human activity in real world contexts (Archer, 2005; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Four key purposes have been claimed for realist research: description, exploration, explanation and change (Robson, 2011:39). In focusing upon explanation, a study of the PAG process may seek to explain what caused patterns of activity in the decision-making process to develop from a historical perspective. Robson (2011, 2002) argues that the role of the social scientist is to develop theories that explain patterns of human activity and social reality at the individual, group, institutional and societal levels.

However, all approaches have methodological limitations and it is incumbent on the researcher to make explicit the rationale for the philosophical position taken and make known the limitations of such an approach in seeking to interpret findings based upon a rigorous and systematic research strategy. Robson describes his own research approach as 'realism-lite', preferring to use the term realism rather than critical realism which he considers to have too much focus on theory and critical analysis (2011:38). The position taken in this study is that of the scientific realist: there is a requirement for the approach to take account of participation in the change process in research and the importance of theory testing and critical analysis.

As such, the study considers the extent to which CHAT, as social theory, can provide possible explanations and mechanisms of the local authority decision-making process as a unique case. In doing so, the enquiry seeks to understand and explain how the PAG process works from a range of stakeholder perspectives, to consider how effective it is for outcomes for children and young people and to consider the extent

to which a change process is feasible within the current context. Most importantly, CHAT provides a practical, interventionist approach balanced with the need for theoretical relevance to counter the risk of the study ‘losing an epistemological focus to practical enquiry’ of policy and practice (Brannen, 2005).

5.5.2 Flexible Design Strategy

A flexible design strategy within a case study approach was selected as the most appropriate methodology to answer the key research questions. This is because the research strategy is an empirical study of complex social phenomena in a particular setting using multiple sources of evidence and data. Analysis included a range of primary and secondary data (qualitative and quantitative) to gain a greater understanding of how the historical development of the PAG decision-making process explains current practice and how in turn this analysis may inform future practice. A flexible case study design within the realist tradition is appropriate for studies involving evaluation, intervention and change in which theory is the key tool in attempting to explain reality (Robson, 2011; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Evaluation studies and action research often use the flexible case study approach when the principle or dominant data collection is qualitative (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Locating a study of the PAG process in the realist tradition using flexible case study design was required because although the dominant method for data collection is qualitative (workshops, focus groups and interviews), secondary analysis of questionnaire data was also used as a research tool in the DWR workshops as ‘mirror data’.

The limitations of a flexible case study design approach using both qualitative and quantitative data are explained in the incompatibility thesis that each method does not study the same phenomena because each method constructs qualitative and quantitative data differently thus necessitating different assumptions to be made about reality and knowledge (Robson, 2011). Issues about validity of conclusions drawn from mixed method data is questioned because of the differences in underlying

epistemological positions. Hammersley (2005) calls for a 'dialogue' between the two methods.

To counter the incompatibility problem, Brannen (2005) examines the key justifications for combining results from mixed methods studies to consider the extent to which assumptions can be made about social reality and knowledge formation. Triangulation of results is often considered as synonymous with 'corroboration' of results from qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection, the limitations of which are discussed above. Also, with such a focus on corroboration, the links between theory, methods and data may be missed. To address this issue, Brannen offers four notions to justify mixed method or multi-strategy approaches: elaboration or expansion; initiation; complementarity; and contradictions.

5.5.3 Validity, Reliability, and Generalizability

A traditional criticism of case study research from a positivist social science perspective, particularly that involving intervention and change, is the lack of generalizability of research findings because of its concern with explanation and understanding of a particular context (Goos and Jones, 2011; Silverman, 2011). Associated with issues of generalizability is the limited predictive and replicable power of case study research findings (Yin, 2009). However, the position taken in the thesis is that a positivist science paradigm is not relevant to the study of cultural processes such as the PAG process. Rather the focus is on a 'pragmatic response to a specific problem in a specific setting' (Robson, 2011:197). Also, a focus on cultural processes does not require a methodology that is more suitable to an experimental design in which statistical analyses of isolated variables to show cause and effect that can be replicated is undertaken (Yin, 2009).

The focus in case study research is the expansion or development of theory or the testing of a theory. Reference is made to 'internal or analytic G' or theoretical generalizability that considers the extent to which results are integrated into the overall analysis and the generalizability of the conclusions drawn in the context under study (Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2010). In CHAT studies, the focus is on the testing

and development of theory. For this study, DWR methodology is applied activity theory in which its central ideas are tested for practical validity. Engeström also claims that by:

‘altering the status quo intervention by definition creates an exception, a unique case which cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. (Engeström, 2004:157)

An argument could be made for considering the extent to which such conclusions are helpful in understanding similar contexts and settings. For example, the findings from this thesis on a local authority decision-making process may be relevant for other local authority decision-making processes for the educational placement of children with ASN. Robson (2011) and Pawson and Tilley (1997) describe this in realist terms as providing evidence for mechanisms in specific contexts that can be generalizable to similar but not identical contexts. Furthermore, Engeström has claimed that validity and generalizability of CHAT findings could be based on ‘viability, diffusion and multiplication of new models in similar activity systems (Engeström 1999a:36).

Tashakorri and Teddlie (2003) refer to the ‘inference quality’ of a study to demonstrate the quality of the conclusions drawn, suggesting the development of a ‘new nomenclature’ rather than seeking to defend qualitative research in terms of a positivist paradigm. To demonstrate rigour in qualitative, case study methodology and accuracy of its findings the following terms have been suggested: credibility, transferability, confirmability, trustworthiness, fittingness and dependability (Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2010; Brymen, 2008; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The need for explanation, completeness and synthesis of research findings are considered as the most important functions of flexible or multi strategy approaches (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). They argue that theory is used to focus the study and the principle test of data ‘is to demonstrate its salience to the theory under scrutiny’, hypothesizing about the range of views and perspectives of the processes and outcomes under study, in this case a local authority decision-making process for

educational placement of children with ASN. Within the realist tradition, the researcher acknowledges that any group of participant stakeholders will have only partial knowledge of the processes and outcomes under study (Robson, 2011).

It is the role of the researcher to help participants understand ‘who knows what’ and ‘what work for whom’ in specific contexts to gain a wider understanding of the complexity of the processes and outcomes from a range of subject positioning, roles and tasks, tools available and power structures that exist (Pawson, 2006). The researcher in planning the design of the study must consider who the key informants or participants will be. It has been argued that the more senior or strategic the participants are the more ‘finely nuanced’ their understanding of the whole process will be (Blackler, 2009; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). This argument influenced the design of the study, a key aim of which was to identify key informants at the operational and strategic levels.

In general, it is important to consider the fundamental limitation of any social science based research of views and actions: findings may be considered as incomplete explanations of the social phenomena under study in particular or social reality in general (Robson, 2011). Also, with a case study approach the issue of trustworthiness and generalization of findings must be considered and defended: ‘To what extent is the study of the particular of value?’ (Yin, 2009).

5.6 ETHICS

5.6.1 Consent and Confidentiality

A key ethical issue to consider in social science research is consent from participants to record their comments, ensuring that they know what the purpose of the research is and what the data will be used for. Ethical approval for the study was granted by University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee (Appendix 8). The study adhered to the Local Authority Psychological Services research policy. Moreover, in social interventions there is a need to be explicit about the aims and values of attempting to change practice. Therefore when senior education professionals and officers agreed to

participate in the study they were aware of the intention of attempts at modeling and implementing new work practices in the PAG process. Robson (2011) advocates that research should allow those affected by the intervention to co-shape the form of work to be changed. This is the underlying principle of DWR interventionist methodology. Rights to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality were made explicit to the participants of the study who were given a written summary description of the planned research activity. They signed a document declaring agreement to participate in the study under the conditions specified in the summary document (Appendix 4). Participants were informed that:

- The workshop sessions would be video and audio-taped, the analysis of which be used as data in subsequent sessions.
- The tapes would be held confidentially/securely for five years after the study.
- The data would be transcribed and thematically analysed.
- Any information given during the discussions will be treated as confidential and will be held securely.
- All participants' identities will be anonymised in any reports of the study.
- The overall findings of the study would be shared with participants.
- Participants could withdraw from the study at any point if they wished to do so. If this happened, all raw data collected from that person would not be used in the study
-

Participants were asked:

- To protect the names and identities of children and families or other professionals they work with during workshop discussions.
- In the event of a name being disclosed accidentally during discussions, this information would not be reported in the study.

5.6.2 Ethical issues: Power, Agency and Authority

Because the empirical investigation involved collaboration with senior education officers, it was important to take account of power dynamics that were likely to be at play in the workshops. Each of the invited participants was in a senior or promoted post, some of whom line-manage each other. Therefore, the extent to which this hierarchy of seniority would affect openness and transparency in workshops discussions would have a bearing on conclusions drawn from the data. Issues of power, agency and authority were carefully considered in the planning of workshop activities as was the need for researcher practitioner and participant reflexivity. For example, the researcher practitioner planned to make explicit how her perception of power differentials might influence her own behaviour if her own view on a topic contradicted the views of those with more senior designations.

It was also planned to bring participants' attention to the issue of power and authority of the group to act on behalf of the authority to bring about change to the PAG process. In this regard, Blackler emphasizes the need for greater theorization of power and politics in CHAT intervention studies. Power may be understood as participant resources used in the 'complex and contested processes' of formative interventions (Blackler, 2011) and in this sense, power may also be viewed as a mediator of collective activity.

5.6.3 Authority to Implement Change

Political implications of the study were considered and the extent to which outcomes could be perceived as criticism of those in positions of power and authority. Because of the diverse range of views about the efficacy and efficiency of the PAG process, identified in the two internal authority studies, it was incumbent on the researcher-practitioner to be aware that because stakeholders such as practitioners, managers and parents are likely to have different interests and concern about the PAG process, certain groups may have had much to lose or gain from outcomes of the study. The implications of potential changes to the PAG process for stakeholders not directly involved in the study also had to be considered. However, the local authority engages

in on-going consultation processes with stakeholders in the context of planned changes to any system, school, etc. and changes would be incorporated into wider authority self-evaluation and strategic planning processes. In this regard, then, there are existing checks and balances for the consideration and implementation of any changes planned as a result of the DWR workshops.

Taking Account of Stakeholders' Views

Several stakeholder consultation processes about the PAG process were undertaken before, during and after the doctoral study; the outcomes of which, if available, were to be used as mirror data in the workshops. For example, the researcher-practitioner undertook two local authority studies as contribution to a preliminary authority review of the PAG process (Appendix 3). Study outcomes were presented as two internal reports, the first of which focused on analysis of organizational documents and text, and questionnaires completed by parents for whose children an application for specialist provision was made. The second report was based on a summary of the views of education professionals of the PAG process using focus group and interview methodology (Chapter 4: 4.5).

It was also planned to share workshop data with other consultation processes in an interactive way such that each informed the other. Engestrom et al (2003) advocate this interplay between workshop activity and the wider workplace environment. In this respect, a wider range of stakeholder views were taken into account in workshop discussion. For example:

- The researcher-practitioner was also involved in a consultation process about the effectiveness of authority systems to support children with ASN with a local charity whose aim is to support parents of children with complex needs
- Information about the review of the PAG process was shared with representatives from this group and their views of the process were shared in turn in workshop activity.

- Regular updates on work shop discussion were shared with relevant practitioners and authority officers.
- The views of young people had been sought by educational psychologists about their placement in secondary school specialist provision.

5.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter described the goals, design and research questions for the study. Justification was given for the realist position taken and for the selection of a flexible case study design as the most suitable for DWR methodology. Explanation was given of how conceptual frameworks and models were to be used together with definitions of concepts such as unit of analysis, contradictions and the zone of proximal development. An account of workshop structure and activity was also provided together with procedural accounts of qualitative data collection, template analysis and matrix presentation. Issues about validity, reliability and generalizability in case study designs were addressed and taken account of. The importance of reflexivity in the study was emphasized in the context of the active role of the researcher in the DWR workshops. Ethical issues were also addressed, in particular those related to consent, confidentiality, stakeholder views, power dynamics and the authority to implement policy change.

CHAPTER 6. EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The empirical investigation aimed to engage senior education professionals and education officers in the review and development of working practices in the decision-making process for specialist educational placements for children with ASN using DWR intervention methodology.

6.2 RESULTS

6.2.1 Overview

First, an integrated summary of hypotheses about PAG activity based on analysis of participants' perceptions is presented. Perceptions of the primary contradiction and secondary contradictions in PAG activity, based on analysis of discursive manifestations of contradictions, are presented. In doing so, research questions 1-5 are addressed. Second, to address research question 6, analysis of the key turning points in workshop discussions is discussed as expansive learning, with a focus on the expansion of the object, tool and division of labour of PAG activity. This is evidenced in the work-plan and table of recommendations to the authority produced in DWR 3.

Third, the extent to which CHAT and DWR methodology have illuminated the processes and outcomes of PAG activity are discussed around the themes of the role of the researcher-practitioner and participants' understanding and learning of CHAT concepts to expand their understanding of the PAG process. Fourth, emerging themes from participants' evaluation of DWR workshops and perceptions of evidence of change are also discussed in regard to key CHAT concepts and principles. In doing so, reference is made to strategic planning documents and new tool development in PAG activity. The pace of change in the PAG process is discussed in terms of key mechanisms that can either facilitate or hinder the change process.

Fifth, a general discussion of results is provided together with reflections on the limitations of the empirical investigation in terms of conclusions that can be drawn from the data presented.

6.2.2 Hypothesising the Primary Contradiction in PAG Activity

It is important to consider participants' perceptions of the primary contradiction in the PAG process (Daniels, 2008; Engeström, 2000, 1987). (See Table 10). The following hypothesis is considered: The primary contradiction concerns the use and exchange value of a range of professionals supporting children and families and the cost to the authority of financing educational provisions. Professionals adhere to the value of supporting children with ASN just as doctors adhere to the value of promoting health in patients (Engeström, 2000). However, there are costs to be paid by the providers of educational support of children with ASN – local authorities.

Professionals are paid for their work (labour-power and labouring action - Daniels and Warmington, 2007) in supporting children and families; specialist provisions and resources to meet ASN are general commodities that authorities must also pay for ((Edwards et al, 2009). Educational psychologists, for example, may appear to provide a free service at the point of delivery but their work activity is subject to the same social and economic relations as those who work in private industry. Billington considers the economic factors involved in public service work with children and families:

In order to understand the circumstances in which children's needs are assessed, are either met or unmet, therefore, it is important to keep in mind the ways in which the economic nature of the processes fuel the professional and decision-making activities which affect (individual) children's lives (2000:72).

An authority officer expressed his understanding of the primary contradiction as a critical conflict in making decisions about educational placement in terms of a public educational system that operates in a context of financial constraints.

2/1 382 EO 2: In my view we've seen the budget as a fixed factor. I went to this meeting and councillor X made a speech at the beginning during which he referred to the fact that resources are very over-stretched and then just stopped and basically the message was you have to manage within the available resources. That's not good enough. It's a competition. The politicians are in charge of budgets and I think as civil servants we should also have the means of lobbying politicians rather than budgets being a fixed fact that we just put up with eternally. Why isn't the council tax going up from time to time? It's ridiculous.

Similar comments made by authority officers include the need to target resources better more effectively within the current authority budget. In terms of supporting inclusive practice, a lack of funds to make physical adaptations to mainstream schools was highlighted as a problem as was the cost of shared placements in mainstream and specialist provisions. One officer proposed the need for a 'radical' rethink of current service delivery which was viewed as a double bind of equally unacceptable alternatives (DWR 2/1 245). In this sense practical transformation was being proposed as a resolution effort of the systemic contradiction:

DWR 2/2 929 EO 3: But it is having the service matching that process and speaking with the commissioned service that we're talking about we're quite convinced that even if budget cut is taken away and in a magic world we got all the money you'd still want to re-configure the service. It's not about the budget cut it's now about saying is this the right thing to do we've been doing this now and actually we want to radically change. Our thinking has changed and we want to radically look at what we're providing and how we're providing that and who's doing that.

Table 10: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Primary Contradictions

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
<p>Primary contradiction of the PAG process as a network of interacting activity systems.</p>	<p>Public service vs limited resources (3)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR3/1 104 EO 1 <i>There hasn't been a proper conciliation with consumerism within the context of public services</i>
	<p>Target resources more effectively (3)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR /2/929 EO 3: <i>But it is having the service matching that process [P-R: Yes] and speaking with the commissioned service that we're talking about we're quite convinced that even if budget cut is taken away and in a magic world we got all the money you'd still want to re-configure the service. It's not about the budget cut it's now about saying is this the right thing to do we've been doing this now and actually we want to radically change. Our thinking has changed and we want to radically look at what we're providing and how we're providing that and who's doing that</i>
	<p>Meeting needs vs cost of resources (5)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 3/1 104-120 EO 1 <i>Making a decision about meeting a child's needs within a public educational system and that involves a whole number of factors</i> • DWR 2/1 382 EO 2 <i>In my view we've seen the budget as a fixed factor. I went to this meeting and councillor X made a speech at the beginning during which he referred to the fact that resources are very over-stretched and then just stopped and basically the message was you have to manage within the available resources. That's not good enough. It's a competition.</i>
	<p>Political challenge of policy and legislation (4)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 3/1 158-170 EO 1 <i>What does the ASL Act mean...if on the one hand it has spirit which supports inclusion but it has a letter which in many instances goes against that..it has its own internal contradictions and some of that has to be worked through...it was totally unrealistic but hey this is politics</i> • DWR 2/1 385 EO 2 <i>The politicians are in charge of budgets and I think as civil servants we should also have the means of lobbying politicians rather than budgets being a fixed fact that we just put up with eternally. Why isn't the council tax going up from time to time? It's ridiculous.</i>

Therefore within the case study local authority, there are limited resources to meet the ASN of children and young people, a consequence of which is the need for a resource allocation model that enables the authority to prioritise need and allocate limited resources on an equitable basis. Some children will receive more resources than others based on assessment of need that informs the decision-making process to allocate resources. PAG activity, therefore, is concerned with the allocation of specialist educational provision places in a local authority based on a multi-agency assessment and prioritisation of individual need.

6.2.3 The Object of PAG Activity

DWR participants were asked to describe the object of PAG activity. See Tables 11-13 and Figure 18 for participants' comments based on completion of their own view of PAG as an activity system. For example, to what extent do they understand what it is that is being worked on in PAG activity? Do they understand the on-going 'project' of PAG activity over historical time as distinct from their individual contributions at any given moment in time? The object of PAG activity according to the participants of the DWR workshops is to make recommendations and decisions about meeting a child's needs that may be influenced by several factors and constraints such as meeting the needs of the individual child whilst considering the needs of, and impact on, other children. PAG activity, defined as professional discussion of reports, is about prioritizing need, not the allocation of places in specialist provisions.

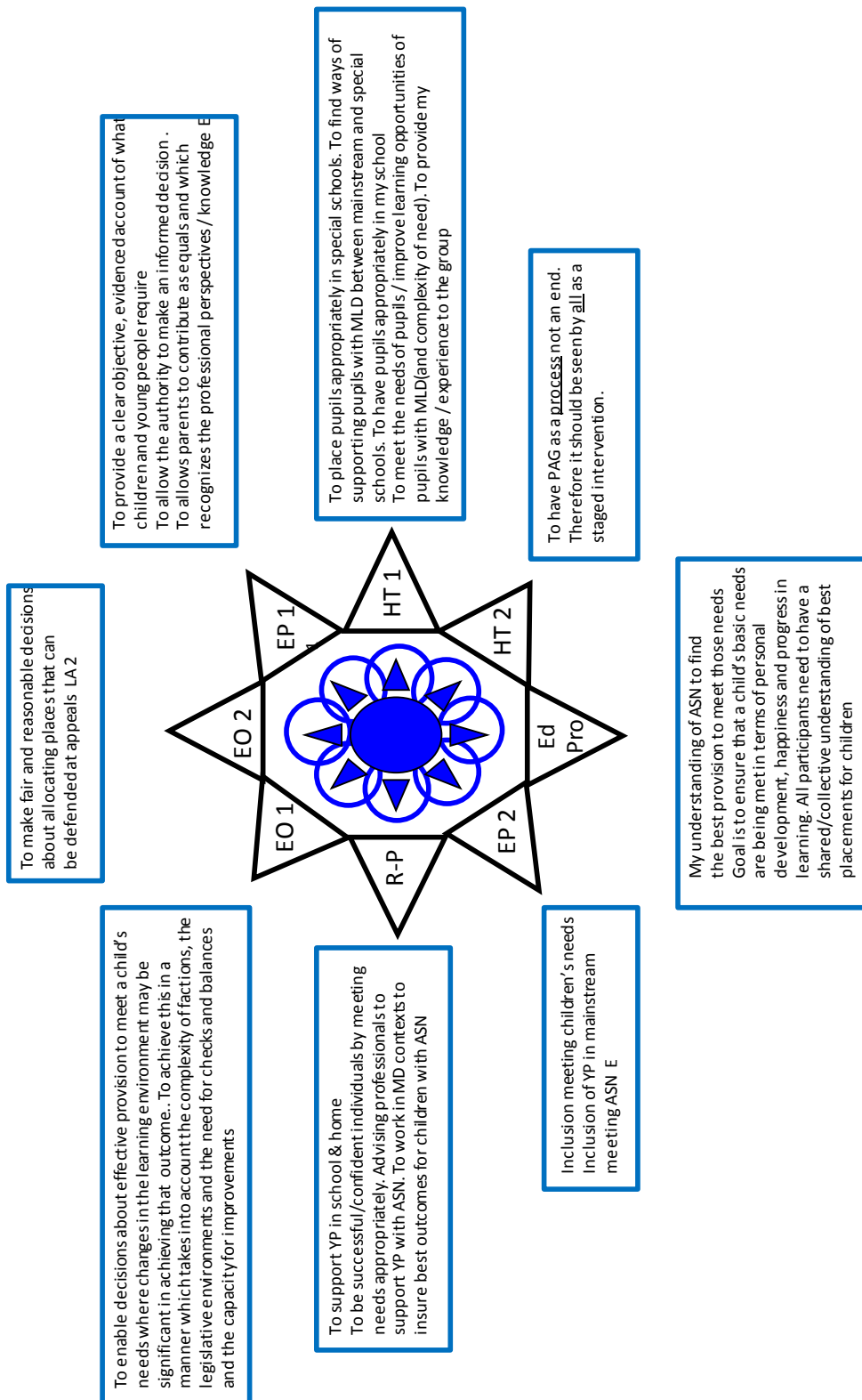


Figure 18: Participants' perceptions of the object of PAG activity.

Table 11: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Object of PAG Activity

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
<p>Object / outcome of PAG activity (Linked to research Question 1)</p>	<p>Questioning the rationale of PAG (5)</p>	<p>DWR 3/1 742 EO 1 <i>It may no longer be relevant. Or it may be that we just need to refresh it but the principal design of the PAG process was that there was a forum, a professional forum, which could look at the child's needs and make recommendations that could inform a decision by the authority in terms of placement or forms of support. But there was intended to be some clear water between those two processes.</i></p> <p>• DWR 1/1 103 P-R <i>But I think it is a decision making process about how we are meeting children's needs and one possible route is considering special school but this is why we need to unpick the what and the how of this process. Because what is coming out of the data is that people have very different ideas about what PAG is and why it's there</i></p>
	<p>Historicity of the PAG process (7)</p>	<p>• DWR1/2 375 EP 2 <i>A faceless bureaucrat looking at six hundred and eighty three applications thinking of all of that paperwork and trying to look right across Lothian at special schools and where and who's to go what and where and.</i></p> <p>• DWR 1/2 379 EO 1 <i>It was nineteen ninety, well, effectively it was nineteen ninety five, ninety six (unclear) at the time was that come (unclear) a group of individuals who had the most significant needs who didn't have special school places</i></p> <p>• DWR1/2 397 EP 2 <i>I don't think the quality of assessment process was of any use. I think that for parents it was a complete lottery about who they got and who was there and who they saw in terms of the school. They could choose any school that they wanted across Lothian. The implications resource wise were huge in terms of transport</i></p>
	<p>PAG activity as prioritising need (6)</p>	<p>• DWR 3 /2 347 EO 2 <i>The reason is because it is implicit in the process that we have to have comparative discussions about children because we are prioritising. PAG isn't allocating places but it is prioritising. So I find that PAG quite rightly is saying, what did we say about that child, let's go back to that one, let's make sure we are being consistent.</i></p>
	<p>Double bind of misplaced children (8)</p>	<p>• DWR 2 /1 989 HT 1 <i>Although we are all sitting here saying we've got children in the wrong places in our schools and I think that is the point made earlier that there are kids in MLD schools that really could be better placed in mainstream.</i></p>
	<p>Received Wisdom about special schools (10)</p>	<p>• DWR 2/ 1 259 EO 3 <i>And in actual fact that was one of the points I wanted to make from this paper here were someone had talked about that the received wisdom is that special schools are better.</i></p> <p>• DWR 1/ 2 EO 1 <i>Essentially there's if people who are operating on that assumption then they will see the special schools offering something over and above.</i></p> <p>• DWR 1/ 2 315 EP2 <i>Well yeah, I think that is my original intention. The very fact that they [special schools] exist, what does that say to families that there is something that intrinsically out there, there is something better.</i></p>

Table 12a: Participants' Descriptions of the 'PAG Process': Subject Positioning.

Subject	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
EP 1 Myself as a senior officer and obliged to work within the education authority's policies and resources	To provide a clear objective, evidenced account of what children and young people require To allow the authority to make an informed decision. To allow parents to contribute as equals and which recognizes the professional perspectives / knowledge	Making this an open multi disciplinary process Expectation of evidence based practice	We have structures of meetings: A multi-disciplinary framework We exchange reports with each other. We encourage parents to explore options for themselves. We have a range of assessment tools	Given responsibilities to coordinate the process for the education authority As a manager, to achieve Best Value in the use of our time and to do better psychology	Other professionals who may appear non-inclusive of colleagues who have more experience of Edinburgh than I have. Parents who have strong opinions on what they want for their children who have a right to a voice
EP 2 PAG chair Background views on inclusion Special school psychologist	Inclusion meeting children's needs Inclusion of YP in mainstream meeting ASN	Concerns about outcomes for YP Tariffs of need Not being able to support staff to make changes – explain need and ask LA to make provision	Discussion with staff in school PSG (outside agencies) Parental views Assessment tools	Overlaps in roles Time allocation / needs of staff/parents	Parents Community / voluntary agencies Opinions of special schools
HT 1 Me –HT Degree Psychology; PGCE Mainstream teaching experience Residential social worker – MLD Support worker, physical disability DHT mainstream Acting HT nursery / mainstream /special	To place pupils appropriately in special schools. To find ways of supporting pupils with MLD between mainstream and special schools. To have pupils appropriately in my school To meet the needs of pupils / improve learning opportunities of pupils with MLD (and complexity of need). To provide my knowledge / experience to the group	Presumption to mainstreaming ASL act Council employee Placing requests Appeals committee	Reports Meetings PAG papers Reviews Knowledge of education and special needs	Attending PAG's Reading papers To provide my knowledge / experience to the group	Educational psychologists Other HT's (monthly special) Health – Dr, OT, SALT, clinical psychology

Table 12b: Participants' Descriptions of the 'PAG Process': Subject Positioning.

Subject	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
HT 2 Myself as a HT	To have PAG as a <u>process</u> not an end. Therefore it should be seen by <u>all</u> as a staged intervention.	Informal rules: Contradictions / confusions in the PAG system. Formal rules also change according to the need of the pupil population	The PAG papers SALT professionals, Ed. Psy's , CEC professional officers	When parents, ed. psy. and pupils visit school, I encourage an understanding in the process of support.	Talk to other profs. in and out of school
Participant researcher Former CT/DHT Maingrade EP Doctoral student (mediating participants' understanding of PAG activity to create change)	To support YP in school & home To be successful/confident individuals by meeting needs appropriately. Advising professionals to support YP with ASN. To work in MD contexts to insure best outcomes for children with ASN	Legislative context, Authority policies Psych service policies. Procedures and protocols. Strategic and operational rules/policies. Implicit or tacit knowledge of rules Guidelines for working with young people. Professional body (BPS/HPC) Professional standards and ethics	Procedural knowledge National guidelines, EP training Colleagues, Reports, Meetings, Emails, Calls, Chats Assessment Tools (Proformas Referral forms, Letters, Consultation skills, Knowledge of ASN, Psychological theories Abstract tools (Interpersonal skills, Research skills, Evidence base for practice, Models, Theories, Frameworks (SF, CBT, Eco-systemic), Professional language, Policies, procedures	MD working with range of professionals. SLA with schools Obligations as authority officer/roles/tasks Multi-level roles of EP's in PAG Joint working with professionals/parents/YP 5 roles of Currie Matrix: Change agent, researcher, interventionist, assessor, trainer, consultant	Schools, Local community Home, Local amenities Authority systems Partner/voluntary agencies
LA Officer 2 Combination of generalist and specialist (specialist re understanding of the law and of management information systems). Supporting PAG meetings – particularly by assisting in meetings to maintain consistency in applying criteria to give full reasoning	To make fair and reasonable decisions about allocating places that can be defended at appeals	A major constraint is the huge pressure of time making and issuing decisions	Most crucially the expertise, creativity and goodwill of the PAG members and of the case Ed. Psych. Administrative resources of the ASL team and HQ	Once the PAGs are over, I really have to just Work thru it on my own/ very little scope for sharing / delegation	In addition to the PAG members Council Appeal Committee Additional Support Needs Tribunal Occasionally OT and Physio service Parents Children

Table 12c: Participants' Descriptions of the 'PAG Process': Subject Positioning.

Subject	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
LA Officer 1 Manager ASL Services	To enable decisions about effective provision to meet a child's needs where changes in the learning environment may be significant in achieving that outcome. To achieve this in a manner which takes into account the complexity of factors, the legislative environments and the need for checks and balances and the capacity for improvements	PAG procedure Best Value / resource constraints Legislation – ASNT, PR regulations	Multi disciplining input, Professional, assessments, Peer review, PAG chairs Parental views, Pupil views , Deliberation Time, Problem-solving ; ASL Policy ASL SVs, Self evaluations ; Capacity building to enhance environments Support services, VTSS, HOTS, SLT, etc. IOTA, CoP, ASL Act, ASNT SCYP colleagues	Multi-agency working with partner agencies	EP's, HT's, Health professionals VTSS staff, HOTS, QIOs
Ed Support Professional I offer advice to PAG 1 Previous primary and secondary teacher CT in special class within m/s Doctoral student	My understanding of ASN to find the best provision to meet those needs Goal is to ensure that a child's basic needs are being met in terms of personal development, happiness and progress in learning All participants need to have a shared / collective understanding of best placements for children	The Edinburgh context The ASL Act Presumption to mainstream Being part of the NSC service (Supporting Learning Services)	Colleagues, Chair of PAG 1 Criteria for PAG 1, Consultation with SFL teachers, NSC as a team. My teacher experience and training. Principles of inclusion guide my work PAG 1 process helps me. My knowledge and skills to impart advice to parents and colleagues. Reports and letters, written correspondence. Discussion and telephone calls	To give advice to PAG To provide feedback from meetings. Working with a range of professionals. Advice-giving to a range of professionals out with PAG liaising with other professionals. To be aware of the intricacies & complexities of the range of MLD placements	Parents – their voices need to be heard Children's voices are 'quiet' Other professionals not on PAG (SW, SALT, OT, HTs, schools) ASL monitoring group

Table 13a: Participants' Constructions of PAG as an Activity System: Conflicts, Dilemmas and Double Binds.

DWR participant	Subject positioning and Professional identity	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
EP 1	Myself as an educationalist; as an educational psychologist; as a service manager; as someone with experience of different systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tensions around the presumption to mainstream and the parents vision for a specialist placement Authority's decision to establish and maintain a network of specialist facilities; with the knowledge that special schools <u>will be</u> the better option for some children 	The process <u>nowhere</u> is explained to the parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We lack an account – an agreed and published account – of what the special schools and classes offer. We lack <u>guidelines</u> on which children should be considered for placement – who do well. We also need to define the process by which we determine that a young person's needs <u>cannot be</u> met effectively in mainstream settings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worrying about their time allocations Can't get SALT, OT, physio seen as important knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff (HT) views on inclusion is a problem Neighbourhood commitment is variable
EP 2	Protection of quality of decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not enough support for inclusive practice Concerns about outcomes for yp 	Not being able to support staff to make changes – explain need and ask LA to make provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not enough resources in schools Staff (HT) views on inclusion is a problem Neighbourhood commitment is variable 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff (HT) views on inclusion is a problem Neighbourhood commitment is variable
HT 1	Me – acting special HT Degree Psychology; PGCE Mainstream teaching experience Residential social worker – MLD, Support worker, physical disability) DHT mainstream, Acting HT nursery / mainstream /special	<p>Tensions: Special schools have limitations in helping children reaching their full potential</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tensions around: trying to get the perfect fit in an imperfect system. Trying to get an ideal education, fitting an individual in to a 'generic' school or placement. Why is the end product seen to be more important than the process? 	PAG procedures can be vague	Not enough resources Number of places available	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The special schools and classes Management being unable to join us. Not enough time to run a school and read PAG papers 	Different views on who else should be there (social workers, doctors, AAP's etc.)
HT 2	Myself as HT		Budgetary constraints, Parents demanding a place that may be wrong. Placing request/legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time pressure, and lack of a clear vision as to what PAG actually sets out to achieve. Tensions around schools writing reports for PAG. Time (large number of applications to get through at a PAG meeting and reading all the papers before the meeting) 	<p>As HT do I make decisions for the 'school' or for the authority? Or am I aware of parental 'requests' / 'demands'? Not sure as I am often seen as the 'person' at the end of the PAG process and part of the decision making process.</p>	Parents' and pupils' views swayed by whatever, whoever

Table 13b: Participants' Constructions of PAG as an Activity System: Conflicts, Dilemmas and Double Binds.

	Subject	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
<p>Researcher Participant</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former CT/DHT • Maingrade EP • Doctoral student • Researcher-practitioner mediating participants' understanding of PAG activity to create change • Role as practitioner vs role as researcher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of shared purposes/goals for PAG from range of stakeholders • Needs vs provision • PAG recommendations vs authority outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National legislation vs authority policy. • Ideological/professional views vs authority policy / obligations as employee • Ineffective procedures and protocols 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of clarity for PAG criteria • PAG system not fit for stakeholder needs – evidence? • Assessing for inclusion vs assessing for special school. • Problems with definitions of assessment • Time allocation model vs responding to stakeholder needs • Models of EP service delivery. • Tensions around types of assessment used for PAG; • 'Old' vs 'new' ways of EP working. • Assessment used for selection purposes • Marketing our role better • Reporting assessment outcomes • Purpose of EP reports – inconsistency of approach, differences in reporting styles • Applying psychology vs admin tasks • Protecting knowledge vs sharing knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideological incompatibility among range of stakeholders • Personal beliefs vs professional obligations. • Priority of work vs perceived responsibility from others. • Not understanding each others' roles; inaccurate perceptions. • Having independent voice vs consensus in MD settings • Gaps vs overlaps: outcome of ineffective MD working • Tensions over roles and tasks within PAG (visiting schools w/parents, advising parents, report writing, chairing, co-ordination). • Professional identity/autonomy vs participant in MD settings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Received wisdom that special schools are better than mainstream • Partnership with parents vs dominant professional discourse • Voice of the child vs adults • Time demands /expectation of community vs working protocols in EPS (SLA) • Knowing who should be involved and when • Inclusion: presumption to mainstream vs Special school 	
EO 2	Manager of Services	No comment.				

Table 13c: Participants' Constructions of PAG as an Activity System: Conflicts, Dilemmas and Double Binds.

	Subject	Object	Rules	Tools	Division of Labour	Community
EO 1	<p>Combination of piggy-in-the-middle and decision-maker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Neighbourhood Support coordinator (NSC) Am I the best NSC to sit on PAG 1 (in terms of experience, expertise; I have never taught in MLD provision)? My main role is to promote integration/inclusion in mainstream – is this a strength or bias in terms of making recommendations to PAG 1 	<p>The hardest part of the job for me is working through the permutations – several children may be linked in a chain in relation to places in as many as three different settings for each (that's probably the maximum) of those children.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Audit and PAG misunderstood in schools. There is not yet a shared/collective understanding of how to meet children's needs 	<p>And this is in the context of the huge pressure to meet the statutory deadline for making decisions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is Form 5 really representing authentic voice of the parents? Unclear criteria for PAG recommendations Parents do not know criteria for special schools. Split v FT placements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NSC's often unhappy with PAG 1 recommendations - there is the sense that I am not supporting their decisions / recommendations Not all of us are equally pro-mainstream) We are an expensive service. We are part of a hierarchy. We are subject to perceptions of others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expectations of my role in school that I can influence the PAG decision The Edinburgh context: belief that special schools are better for children with ASN Presumption to mainstream: are teachers being trained to meet the needs of children with ASN –how else is inclusion going to work? Ideology of inclusion v range of professional views. Elaborated curriculum v special school, Unclear criteria for mainstream school
Education Support Professional						

Authority officers acknowledged stakeholders' suggestions for greater transparency (presented as 'mirror' data in the workshops) with the caveat that the decision-making process is, by necessity, a 'messy' and iterative process that requires flexibility to enable exceptions to be made. The key outcome of PAG activity is that children's needs are met via a placement in specialist provision if appropriate and if requested by parents/carers. However, at times the two-tier authority process of making recommendations and decisions may result in inappropriate placement in which aspects of a child's needs are not met. Participants suggested several reasons why this may be in terms of tools, division of labour, rules and the wider community. For example, ineffective assessment methodology, parental choice of school and the received wisdom in society that special schools are 'better' for children with significant needs may lead to a child's needs not being met or being 'misplaced' in an inappropriate educational setting.

Historicity of the PAG process was discussed in terms of a non-transparent, inequitable process, the outcomes of which led to unmet needs. The rationale and effectiveness of the current PAG process was described by an EO as 'more sophisticated' than 'ten years ago', implying improvement over historical time with the development of a two-tiered multi-professional forum. However he then suggested that: 'it may never have worked. It may no longer be relevant'.

Hypothesising contradictions in PAG activity: The Perceptions of DWR Participants

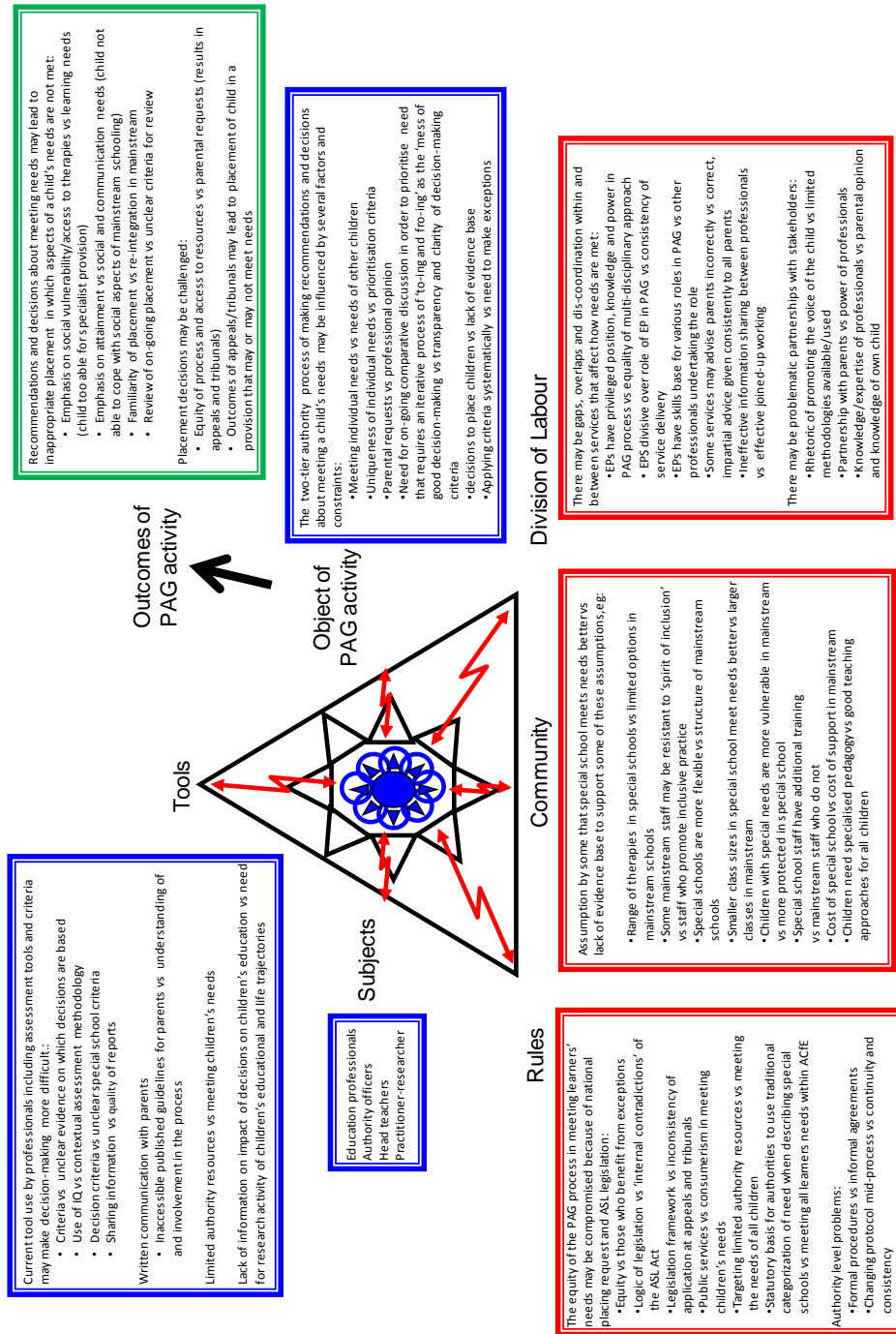


Figure 19: Summary of contradictions perceived by DWR participants.

6.2.4 Contradictions in PAG Activity: An Integrative Summary

Based on a CHAT analysis of data collected from the workshop transcripts and the participants' individual activity systems, a summary of hypotheses are presented of DWR participants' discursive manifestations of contradictions in the processes and outcomes of PAG activity. Themes within CHAT categories of community, tools, rules, and division of labour are discussed. (See Figure 19 and Tables 14-17.)

Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Community

In the wider community of PAG activity, a key contradiction, expressed as a dilemma, is the co-existence of specialist provisions in the context of presumption to mainstream to support children with ASN (Allen, 2010; Florian, 2008; Wedell, 2008). (See Figure 19 and Table 14.) Participants made reference to the 'received wisdom' that special schools meet the needs of children with ASN better than mainstream schools and that this may reproduce the belief that special schools meet the needs of some children more effectively. Reference was also made to a limited evidence base to support such assumptions, for example that children with ASN require a specialised pedagogy versus good teaching approaches for all children (Lunt and Norwich, 2009; Riddell et al, 2006). Also highlighted by participants was the need for evidence of impact of decisions on children's education and by extension, the need for more research activity on children's educational and life trajectories following placement decisions via the authority decision-making processes (Hick et al, 2009; Norwich, 2007).

Table 14a: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Community in PAG Activity.

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
	Attitudes and Ideological positions about Inclusion (12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2/ 1 349 HT 1 <i>There's two things, persuading the mainstream schools to take them back and then we are up against sometimes attitudes or whatever. And then there are constant (unclear) support budget and asking them my child's already got a place in a special school and you funded that, we are actually paying extra funding as well to support them in their day at mainstream school or whatever and then it becomes even more expensive. But we are trying.</i> • DWR 3/1/191: R-P <i>I think there are a range of ideological positions about inclusion. People aren't against inclusion because they can't be bothered supporting children. I think our problem is because people have this ideological position that it's not fair on children with additional support needs to be included in, for example, a large mainstream secondary. And you try to have a conversation, like what do you need to change in mainstream secondary schools such that it would be fair to include children with additional support needs that's where it gets stuck. I think it is entrenched ideological positions and I think that's where we are</i> • DWR 3/ 1 201 EO 1 <i>I'm not saying there aren't attitudinal issues there, cultural issues but it maybe that change is happening but it's an incremental process.</i> • DWR 1/ 2 345 EO 1 <i>And you can't create truly comprehensive schools.</i>
Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Community (Linked to research Question 5)	Status of special schools (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2/ 1 61 EO 3 <i>A number of parents have told me that they have specifically moved to Edinburgh because of our special schools.</i> • DWR3/1 272 HT 1 <i>I just want to say that, you are talking as though special schools and mainstream schools are two separate things and they are on one level but not on the other level. What we are doing here is a lot of split placements and a lot of mainstream experience, and I think that is perhaps part of our model for the future where special schools could be supporting mainstream schools and including children. We shouldn't be looking at when they come to special schools they are here to stay or they are here for the full week or whatever. They can benefit by being in a special school, let's face it, small environment, mainly adult input. They can become more independent and confident but it's not the real world in the special school for these kids and four adults and obviously it totally isolates them from their community. So I really think that is where we should be looking.</i>
	Variable practice in mainstream schools (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2/ 1292 EP 2 <i>And when people are under that amount of pressure were they feel beleaguered that they don't feel that they can be as flexible as they need to be with, a down syndrome child is obviously a very well perceived and understood. You can see that they've got learning difficulties and needs. We can't, it doesn't matter what we say about the system, our presumption to mainstream or anything else we're going to get nowhere until it's sorted.</i> • DWR 2/1 699 Ed professional. <i>There are so many schools that will do anything to keep a child in and it doesn't matter how much the resources are cut but there does seem to be across the city I guess there are pockets of schools that just think that's not my job...and it's very difficult to change that.</i> • DWR 1/ 2 33 HT 1 <i>Also the mainstream schools I think that makes a very big difference, some mainstream schools support children with additional support needs very, very well and others don't. (unclear) in my limited time in PAG, particular schools said we can support children, other schools don't.</i>

Table 14b: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Community in PAG Activity

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Community (Linked to research Question 5)	Range of views on how to meet needs (9)	<p>DWR 2/ 1283 EP 2 and this will happen more and more of the budget, schools feel more and more, mainstream schools feel more and more under pressure and won't have support audit and won't hire this, I won't be able in my budget to buy in another half day just to help me Johnny and I sat in the meeting last week and the head teacher of the school said and this was the specialist provision within it, he said I cannot see how you could suggest that your down syndrome child goes into a mainstream school because they cannot and will not be supported over the next wee while in the way that he would be in a special school and I sat there mouth open</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DWR 2/ 1 310 HT 2 But that's what we're saying in school is we will be getting from our point of view probably much easier youngsters because the mainstream schools will be saying we're not going to deal with it. And I agree with you that we should be able to say no youngster comes into special school until after the age of seven but only if there's the right, relevant support available to all. DWR 1/ 2 43 R-P All of a sudden, people who are inclusive suddenly thinks that this child will not cope in a secondary school setting and it's as if arguments that have prevailed throughout the whole of the child's primary school are suddenly turned on their head. DWR 3/ 1 212 EO 1 Because if you are a child, let's take a child with autism in a mainstream school and you spend your, your experience of being in that mainstream school is that you have very little agency, you are anxious, you are frightened, you are distressed, you don't know how to communicate, others don't know how to communicate with you, well some people would normally count that as inclusion but that child could be in a special school like this and have quite different experiences at a personal level and have, and be building the capacity to understand what happens when you go to the shops, what happens when you go to the library, what happens when you go to the cinema and developing skills that actually enables them to be more included in their community.
	Lack of evidence base of benefits of special education (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DWR 1/ 1 551 EO 1 But we are admitting we don't have the evidence base on in which to make informed decisions? DWR 2/ 1 268 R-P I think what's coming out of the data that we will look at shortly is that some people are querying that there isn't any research evidence and we are all making assumptions, anecdotally and I think that's why there is a desperate need for research in that area. But I think some people think that there are more expectations for the children. So a child with a similar profile being supported through mainstream and a similar child going into special school there are more expectations. But again we have no evidence, that's just people's views, opinions, anecdotes we don't have any firm research evidence to say. DWR 2/ 1 317 EO 2 So that is a huge project but we're talking about, given that we haven't done that work, it's like we are operating in the dark, but you could take a previous step to that, that's a huge bit of qualitative work. You could surely do a singular piece of quantitative research to actual cost support in mainstream and special school or special class placement because we're talking about this in the context of the budget. So that people just assuming that it is cheaper to support a child in mainstream than in special and do we actually have reason to believe that.

Stakeholder assumptions about special education may impact on the effectiveness of the decision-making and recommending process in several ways. First, professionals may have difficulty in achieving a shared purpose or goal for PAG, expressed as conflict in terms of views on inclusion and the need for specialist provisions for some children. Second, authority decisions on placements, at times, may not reflect professional recommendations from PAG groups, a consequence of placing request legislation (parental choice), a limited evidence base on which decisions are made and the many ‘permutations’ of meeting learners’ needs that arise before final decisions are made. Third, effective and equitable allocation of resources to meet learners’ needs is perceived as problematic and dilemmatic in terms of the extent to which authority resources are or should be targeted in mainstream and specialist provision.

The prevalence of specialist provisions in the authority is perceived by participants as a double bind: a claim is made that legislation demands authority provision for a range of needs with the contradictory presumption to mainstream as a guiding principle; and whilst such provisions continue to be offered, requests for placements continue with the belief that they are required. Discussion about conflicts and dilemmas of inclusive practice was pervasive in workshop discussions; a theme that is likely to be reiterated in PAG discussions that inform professional recommendations and authority decisions.

Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Tool Use

Two Head Teachers highlighted a contradiction expressed as a double bind around ‘trying to get an ideal education, fitting an individual in to a generic school or placement’ and ‘trying to get the perfect fit in an imperfect system’ (see Table 15). In response to being asked how she would profile children’s needs in her school, a Head Teacher referred to the range of need as a ‘melting pot’ of learning, behavioural, communication and medical needs, expressing a systemic contradiction as critical conflict. The implication of this ‘melting pot’ of complexity of need is that traditional categorization of need, as a tool, may no longer be fit for purpose in terms

of prioritizing and decision-making for placement of children with ASN (Florian, 2008). In response, an education officer clarified the legislative requirement on authorities to describe special schools in terms of the profile of pupil need such as moderate learning difficulties or a communication disorder.

Table 15a: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Tools in PAG Activity

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
<p>Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Tool Use (Research Question 3)</p>	<p>Transparency of criteria vs the 'mess' of good decision-making (13)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2/2 38 HT 2 Exactly and that is where the tension is because there are youngsters in the school that have been placed that don't fit the criteria according to the rule book. • DWR 2 /1 28 EO 3 Wiggle room. You're really talking about space. We need to have flexibility to have space for contingencies not too strict with rules • DWR 1/2 443 EP 2: The other way of looking at the very creative solutions that are discussed is that it's huge wiggle room. There's a lot of wiggle room that the authority requires to look at complex children with complex needs and complex situations and to be able to try and support them in the best way they can. They have to have a school place for them and that in a sense of what you're saying you want the parents to understand that, that wiggle room is really something people don't want to close down that much in my view because then it's you've got this, everybody is striving to get that diagnosis or that complexity or that whatever it is and write the paper that means that they get that place. That to me is just not what this set out to do • DWR 2 /2 793 EO 1 I think that is a fudge that a educational officer sometimes has to make. I don't think that's a fudge that PAG should make. • DWR 3 /2 804 EO 2 and I say no there is the internal [M: (unclear) laughs] to-ing and thro-ing that is the mess of good decision making and that to-ing and thro-ing I promise you is happening because I have been asked for information I know that is (unclear) but that is really. If we keep telling you every time something changes we are going to slow the process up even more and you have to trust us that's happening. I don't have, most families don't have a problem with that. It is only the exceptions that really do. Most families recognise that this is an authority wide look at every child that requires placement • DWR 1 /2 468 R-P So that's one of the things that's been suggested is that we need to have published what criteria the authority uses to determine a placement decision. What is the description of X school, what is the description of Y school...What needs are being met if you go to this school? • DWR 3/1 389 EO 1 I think we have to look at the whole process, the whole system. One of the points here was about moderation. Well there were various checks and balances in terms of practice that were introduced at different points.

Table 15b: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Tools in PAG Activity

Level One	Level Two	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
	Questioning assessment methodology (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2 /2 306 HT 1 As I said to you earlier I'd have to look up his file to see how big the discrepancy was and I don't even know the level of cognitive assessment was done before he went to PAG. As you were saying not all educational psychologists do cognitive assessments. They might do different ones but I know when I asked my educational psychologist to do some assessment work with him he found a lot of his skills to be age appropriate (unclear) but certainly his academic ones, reading, writing and maths are well within the normal range I would say or a mild level of disability. But this isn't the school for children with mild learning disabilities. • DWR 2 /2 315 EO 1 You need to be able to make an assessment that's reliable • DWR 2 /2 348 R-P We need some type of independent measure. If we are saying as we said some schools have invested interest in writing reports or IEP targets that's going to get them being offered a place in special school. We need some independent assessment [HT 2: Yeah] that's impartial. • DWR 2 /1 989 HT 1 Although we are all sitting here saying we've got children in the wrong places in our schools and I think that is the point made earlier that there are kids in MLD schools that really could be better placed in mainstream.
Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Tool Use (Research Question 3)	Persistence of traditional categorization of need (17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 2 /2 116 EO 3 I think sometimes we are in danger of seeing what special schools define their role into terms of children's needs rather than defining it in what they can offer and what level of support are in there. And I think we need to think about that more. What is the service we can offer? Rather than saying we are for X (unclear). • DWR 2 /2 146 EO 3 what I was saying to them is nationally for MLD the number is ten and for ASD it's six. So actually X school are staffed at one to eight and they don't have fifty percent of their pupils with • DWR 3 /2 494 EO 2 I'm sorry to be always working back to the worst case scenario of appeals. But when we go to appeal we have to show that often, we have to say that a school was full, we're happy to say the yellow book says it is an MLD school or an autistic school or whatever and therefore the class sizes are this. • DWR 3 /2 498 R-P Do we think we need to redefine what we mean by moderate learning difficulties? We are still using traditional categorisation. I think we need to be very explicit what we mean by MLD because PAG One has a requirement of MLD as one of the five criteria when a child is assessed for placement in a PAG One provision.
	Lack of published information, evidence & criteria for specialist provisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DWR 1 /2 292 EP1 And I think that this is a problem for all of us, parents and professionals because we haven't articulated what it is specialist schools and classes can offer and therefore in contributing to assessment and what we are assessing against and parents can't see why an assessment, which is not our assessment it's the whole assessment, why it has failed to find a place for their child in this school or that class. So I think that is knowledge that needs to be shared about the process and I think part of the process (unclear) still missing. (unclear) but also what process we go through as authorities to determine that (unclear) • DWR 3 /1 453 EP 1 And I think the rules have to be clear and have to be published otherwise parents will say you are just making it up as you go along. • DWR 1 /2 429 HT 1 We're just taking everybody...We've become a melting pot now, we've got children with autistic spectrum, we've got children with behavioural difficulties. It's quite complex

Criteria used to prioritise children's needs may not mediate decision-making effectively if, for example, they are dependent upon accurate and reliable assessment methodology. Participants discussed circumstances in which a child's needs may not be described accurately or in sufficient enough detail to enable a correct decision to be made about a child's placement in specialist provision. Also, while an EP called for development and publication of criteria used to prioritise decision-making together with profiles of specialist provisions, it may be that current criteria, based on traditional categorization of need, may require revision as recommended by Lamb (2009).

However, in contrast to views expressed in authority reports of the PAG process, DWR participants offered a less critical view of PAG as a decision-making system or tool. This is perhaps to be expected as they have a more strategic overview of policy and practice, focusing more on the pragmatics of decision-making within a legislative and budgetary context. A key theme in the authority's studies of the PAG process was the lack of clarity in criteria to guide recommendations and decisions about placements. In the empirical investigation this is explained as the need to have criteria that are not 'mechanistic' or 'formulaic' to allow for 'multiple contingencies'. An education officer viewed the 'mess of decision-making' as a necessary part of the process, where as parents and practitioners may perceive the 'mess' of the process as non-transparent and inequitable. This discursive manifestation of a systemic contradiction may be viewed as dilemmatic. For example, the need for greater transparency is acknowledged as conflict and criticism by an education professional appealing for 'honesty' about the 'inconsistent use of criteria'. In contrast, this is defended by an authority officer as a 'flexible' process of decision-making allowing for 'further checks and clarification'. 'Wiggle room' and 'to-ing and fro-ing' is referred to as the 'mess of good-decision-making' that requires 'comparative discussions to enable prioritisation'.

Table 16: Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in PAG Activity: Rules in PAG Activity

Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level Two Categories
Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Legislative and Procedural Rules (Linked to research Question 2)	Inconsistency and non-transparency of the PAG process (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● DWR 1/2 304 HT 2 I see that as a tension. What informal and formal rules do you have in order to meet your goals? And I put informal rules leads to contradictions and confusions in the PAG system. ● DWR 3 /1 458 EP2 That's shifting of the goalposts which we know happens every single year. ● DWR 3/1 374 EP1 Yes. I think it is essential to be transparent and to have a well founded and defensible system. ● DWR 3 /1 448 EP1 Because we hear that rules change in a middle of a PAG.
	Legislation: placing requests and tribunals (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● DWR 2/2 138 EO 2 One of the problems with that is the yellow book defines special schools in terms of needs of the child that they generally provide for so. P-R : But is that not what we are discussing here we can maybe turn that around and not define schools by diagnostic labels or categories of need? EO 2: But the yellow book has a statutory basis so how do we change that? ● DWR 3 /1 104 EO 1 What is interesting to me is that it goes much wider to what X is saying in that it is about perception about what is involved in making a decision about meeting a child's needs within a public educational system, within a school educational system and that involves a whole number of factors being taken into account. Yes the child's needs are required to be met within that but there are constraints with that and there are elements that have implications for other children that need to be born in mind and I think that part of the difficulty is that there isn't, we don't follow through, well the legislation doesn't follow through in a coherent way it's own philosophy and things get bolted on ● DWR 2/1 46 EO 2 There's one thing missing from inclusion versus special schools which is that there is a need for the existence of special schools and classes in law exactly as a certain expectation. ● DWR 2/2 53 EO2 We won that appeal because we argued successfully that she was at a very early developmental stage. It goes back to what you were saying earlier about not placing children to standardized assessment. We didn't. ● DWR 2/1 58 EO 2 Well what I'm saying is the law distinguishes between mainstream classes and special school classes. They recognise special school classes as a distinct kind of establishment which parents make placement requests for.

Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Legislative and Procedural Rules

Legislative rules underpinning the PAG process are perceived to be the source of conflict in terms of equity of the process and access to resources versus parental requests that may result in appeals and tribunals if a request is refused (see Table 16). If a parent wins an appeal, a child may be placed in a provision against professional recommendations on how best to meet a child's needs. Referring to the 'internal contradictions' of the ASL Act, an authority officer described the legislation as that which 'doesn't follow through in a coherent way its own philosophy and things get bolted on', suggesting that the legislation supports inclusion in 'spirit' but which 'has a letter which in many instances goes against that'.

At the authority level, the equity of the PAG process in meeting learners' needs may be compromised because of tensions between professionals consistently following procedures versus short cuts and informal agreements on how to meet children's needs. An example cited is when protocol or criteria are changed mid-process without formal consultation or briefing versus continuity, transparency and consistency of approach. For example, a Head Teacher of a special school thought that there were too many exceptions made in placement decisions, asking 'Why exceptions for some and not others?' Rules and criteria changing during a cycle of PAG applications is described as 'indefensible' and as a 'shifting of the goal posts'. Rules also change 'according to the need of the pupil population'.

Discursive Manifestations of Contradictions in Professional Roles and Tasks

In terms of professional roles and tasks, the division of labour in CHAT terms, there may be conflict and critical conflict in partnership working because of gaps, overlaps and dis-coordination within and between services (see Table 17). Participants identified a range of problems and tensions with multi-agency working in PAG activity which is consistent with CHAT studies in which the division of labour (the differentiation of task or role) may lead to different and often conflicting positions within and between activity systems. Kallio (2010) refers to the multi-voicedness of activity systems in terms of 'polyphony' and the dynamics of an activity system. See

Tables 12 and 13 for participants' comments on their own subject positioning in PAG activity. 'Polyphony' is a useful term to describe the 'noise' of the many voices and subject positioning within the networks of PAG activity as individuals with differential levels of power, authority and influence afforded by the division of labour in PAG activity may not be hearing the voices of the less powerful.

Critiques of Activity Theory have focused on developing a 'language of description or communicative action' (Daniels, 2010) to account for power, influence and authority in activity systems, using Bernstein's theory of cultural transmission to examine the strength of classification between roles within division of labour and the explicitness of how rules are framed to explain asymmetrical power in organizations (Bernstein, 2000). Participants made direct references to power, influence and authority in terms of division of labour, professional identity and subject positioning. Implicit reference was made to a historically strong insulation of professional categories, classification boundaries and such as those of doctors and educational psychologists.

Similar issues were raised by workshops participants, with a focus on differential power, control, knowledge and agency between professional groups that have developed historically. In terms of agency, one participant believed that some professionals were 'resisting the spirit of inclusion while another suggested that individuals must ask: 'What's within my power?' Views were also expressed that 'certain people hold the knowledge' and that 'myths' persist about 'vested interests at play.'

Workshop participants discussed the EP role in PAG activity, providing an additional layer to the perceptions of the EPs as powerful and influential in the PAG process. For example, an authority officer referred to the ‘strength’ of the EPs in their analytical skills, how they deal with complexity and the ‘pragmatic evolution’ of the EP role to help the authority to understand children’s needs, being ‘immensely grateful for that’. Although EPs are perceived as being ‘integral’ and ‘core to the assessment process’ by one participant, it was pointed out that the EP is ‘one of several contributors’ to the assessment process and that the main contribution of EPs is promotion of the ‘presumption to mainstream’. Furthermore, there is a perception that EPs are not always ‘consistent in the assessment process’. An education officer suggested that an EP assessment has to be ‘reliable’ and that an EP assessment of need must be a ‘distinctive and valued contribution to that assessment process’. See Appendix 10 for EPS assessment policy.

Workshop participants also referred to power differentials between professionals and parents suggesting strong classification of professional roles and rules in PAG activity compared to those of parents. Participant views on the notion of partnership with parents were broad and varied, particularly with regard to sharing information about pathways to support and having knowledge of available resources to support children with ASN. An education officer questioned the extent to which parents can be equal contributors to the assessment and decision-making process as it may be open to different interpretations, focusing instead upon professional capacity and authority versus parental choice. However, an education professional suggested that the authority should create opportunities for parents to contribute to a transparent assessment process, otherwise conflict in partnership with parents may diminish parental confidence in authority systems and support structures (Lamb, 2009; Truss, 2008).

6.2.5 Dual Stimulation and Expansive Learning

Research Question 6: What do Professionals Identify as Areas for Potential Transformational Change and Expansive Learning in PAG Activity?

The identification of contradictions in PAG activity, expressed as discursive manifestations, led to four qualitative turning points in the construction of the new object of activity in the workshop discussions (Engeström and Sannino, 2010:8). It is argued that the key turning points provide evidence of expansion of the object of PAG activity by DWR participants as they developed new ways of working to meeting learners' needs within a model of progressive allocation of resources. Thus, expansive learning occurred in the workshops. Each turning point was a reflection of discursive contradictions in the workshops expressed as dilemmas, conflicts and double binds from a range of perspectives.

DWR Workshops as ZPD: Key Turning Points as Evidence of Expansive learning

Turning point discussion was considered as evidence to assess the extent to which expansive learning had occurred in the zone of proximal development (ZPD) of PAG activity. Evidence for the identification of tension or 'critical conflict' in workshop discussion was considered as individuals challenged and broke away from 'dominant trails' of established professional practice in the PAG process (Engeström, 2009). The ZPD developed in formative interventions has been characterized as a

multi-dimensional and tension-laden space in which qualitatively different developmental directions and priorities struggle and choices are made by real actors between alternative futures (Engeström and Sannino, 2010:10).

Within the ZPD of PAG activity, individuals engaged with each other's views and resolved misunderstandings as firmly held beliefs were challenged and future envisioning of new PAG activity was offered. Discussion reflected an iterative process between specific issues in the PAG process and more general principles of inclusion. Engeström (2000) highlights multiple dimensions of the expansion of an

object, including space, time, moral, and ideological that enable consideration of who will do what and why in future, expanded activity. For example, the ideological dilemma of inclusion (Norwich, 2008) featured repeatedly in workshop discussions in addition to the socio-spatial, temporal and systemic-developmental (Engeström and Sannino, 2010:8).

DWR methodology and CHAT analysis enabled contradictions to be identified and resolved with the ZPD of PAG activity which led to suggestions for tool development and re-configured division of labour. Engeström (2009) views expansive learning in DWR interventions as ‘co-terminus’ with new forms of work practices or activity. By understanding the expansion of PAG activity as learning at the level of the activity system, it helped to conceptualise ‘collective intent’ in professional work practice to improve service delivery for children and families (Blackler, 2009). As such, the DWR intervention undertaken in this study provided a mechanism, via dual stimulation, to consider the problems of PAG activity (first stimulus) as a collective mirror of stakeholder perspectives (second stimulus) that led to the development of new ways of working using further second stimuli of models of activity systems, participant-created tools and 3x3’ surfaces (see Figure 19).

Key turning points occurred principally in workshop two, repeated and expanded further in workshop three as the work-plan and recommendations were being developed. This may be because the focus of the first workshop was learning about activity theory. In DWR 2, the focus was on mirror data and case studies presented to the group. Expansion of the object of PAG activity is articulated through four stages, each of which is addressed in turn (see Figure 20).

- The first turning point was the need for change in the PAG process.
- The second turning point broadened out the focus of PAG activity to wider authority support structures.
- The third turning point was the need to promote inclusive practice in mainstream schools

- The fourth turning point was the meeting of learners' needs through a re-configuration of services to deliver holistic and joined up support at the local level (see Figure 25).

Key Turning Points in Expansion of Object of PAG Activity with Illustrative Quotes

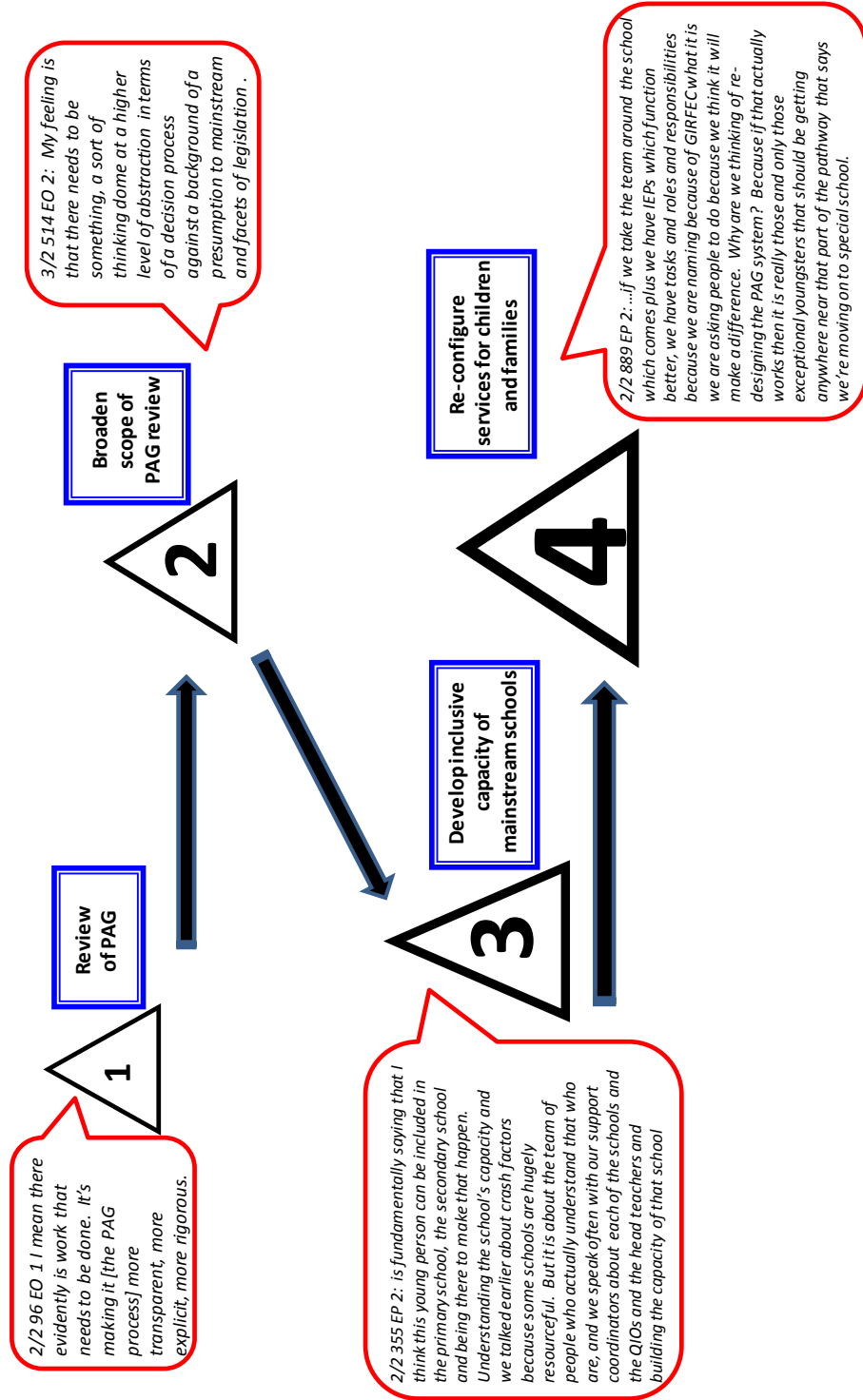


Figure 20: Key Turning Points in the Expansion of the Object of PAG Activity.

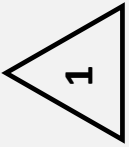
Expansion of the Object of PAG Activity: Review of the PAG Process

Initial discussion of the expansion of the object of PAG activity followed completion of individual activity systems and consideration of contradictions in PAG activity (See Table 18). Further discussion responded to stakeholder views presented as mirror data and case studies highlighting the need for change in the PAG process. Initially, DWR participants were positive about the PAG process, taking a narrow view of its object/motive (Engeström and Sannino, 2010). For example, the PAG process ‘finds creative solutions’ when considering the complexity of children’s needs. Another participant commented on the purpose of the current model of decision-making, emphasising ‘equality, good information and quality of decision-making’.

The participants, at this stage, could not find a new object/motive for their professional activity perhaps because of object-tool reversal (Virkkunen et al, 2010). The PAG process, as a resource allocation tool, was being defined as the object of their activity. However, as the discussion developed, participants took a broader view of their activity, acknowledging the limitations of the process as a tool for resource allocation. An EP acknowledged that ‘PAG was a context twelve years ago, a re-write is needed’ (DWR3/2 EP2:144). Further comments highlighted the developing recognition of the need for change and improvement in some areas whilst maintaining an overall perspective of the process:

DWR 2/2 96 EO: I mean there evidently is work that needs to be done. It’s making it more transparent, more explicit, more rigorous.

Table 18: Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: First Key Turning Point in DWR Workshop Discussion.

Level 1 Categories	Level 2 Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level 2 Categories
	<p>Need for more transparent and rigorous process that is evidence-based (12)</p>	<p>DWR 2/2 96 EO 1 <i>I mean there evidently is work that needs to be done. It's making it more transparent, more explicit, more rigorous.</i></p> <p>DWR 3/ 1 466 P-R <i>An evidential base for decision-making (unclear) for placement requests. I think a major theme that has been coming out is that we need an evidence base for the decisions that are made.</i></p> <p>DWR 3/ 2 481HT 1 <i>I've come up with, I've said, a more distinct description about what your special schools provide.</i></p> <p>DWR 2/ 2 425 EO 1 <i>No but clearly there are things that we need to learn and we need to improve and we've already identified that IEPs are not being used effectively in mainstream schools. We've already identified in the work we've been doing looking at the audit process that we need to improve the quality of discussions that take place, consideration that takes place with regards to the presumption of mainstream. Those things are known problems that we need to address in their own right but have a bearing on us too.</i></p> <p>DWR 3/ 2 250 EP 1 <i>I think we should go back to, for me, what needs to be established in terms of evidence for a child to be placed in a special school or not and that defines what contribution we make to the assessment process. And it puts it into a context what other's, look how others contribute.</i></p> <p>DWR 3/2 143 EP 2 <i>I think if we do the PAG. No I think the action point is that I want a PAG process review. No matter who wants to do this but it has to be that it fits into the context now. PAG was a context twelve years ago</i></p>
<p>Review of PAG</p>	<p>The process works within constraints of wider context of education systems (4)</p>	<p>DWR 3/ 1 104 EO 1 <i>it is about [the] perception about what is involved in making a decision about meeting a child's needs within a public educational system, within a school educational system and that involves a whole number of factors being taken into account. Yes the child's needs are required to be met within that but there are constraints with that and there are elements that have implications for other children that need to be born in mind</i></p> <p>DWR 1/ 2 440 EP 2 <i>The other way of looking at the very creative solutions that are discussed is that it's huge wiggle room. There's a lot of wiggle room that the authority requires to look at complex children with complex needs and complex situations and to be able to try and support them in the best way they can. They have to have a school place for them and that in a sense of what you're saying you want the parents to understand that, that wiggle room is really something people don't want to close down that much... this [PAG] process, it was about quality, it was about information, it was about good information for everybody, it was about quality decision making that was multi-disciplinary for the first time.</i></p>

Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Broadening the scope of the object of PAG Activity

Participants moved towards a broader view of their work, constructing learners' needs as the object of their activity and viewing the PAG process as a tool. In doing so, the object of their work broadened out from a narrow focus on improvement of the PAG process to consideration of how the authority meets learners' needs, particularly those with significant ASN (see Table 19). An education officer suggested that the outcomes of the research activity could contribute to the authority's ASL self-evaluation process of how learners' needs are met in mainstream and specialist provisions. This provides an example of how mediating artefacts such as the authority self-evaluation process enabled activity-level envisioning (Engeström, 2008).

2/2 870 EO 1. So I think that's really important and we do have a massive opportunity because we are in a process of self-evaluation of provision for ASN within the authority and this could be kind of located within that bigger picture and at the moment we're just gathering feedback and ideas from people as part of that process but this can very much sit there so that it is relating in a relevant way to other parts of what is a much bigger system out there.

Participants' move to a broader view of meeting learners' needs exemplified the expansion of the object of their activity understood in the context of historical expansion from segregation of children with ASN to inclusion in mainstream schools (Allan, 2010). Comments focused on the 'design of the whole process before you decide who does what, when to get the right overall balance' and the need to consider the PAG process as 'that bit of the jigsaw' within the wider context how the authority meets learners' needs. An example of 'future-oriented activity-level envisioning' occurred as an EO explained that by identifying the key components of the process the terms of reference for it can then be defined (Engeström, 2008). The following quote illustrates how a participant started to think in 'theoretical generalizations' (Sannino, 2011:565) via a conceptual framework for PAG activity:

3/2 514 EO 1. My feeling is that there needs to be something, a sort of thinking done at a higher level of abstraction in terms of a decision process against a background of a presumption to mainstream and facets of legislation.

Table 19: Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Second Key Turning Point in DWR Workshop Discussion.

<p>Level 1 Categories</p>	<p>Level 2 Categories</p>	<p>Illustrative Quotes of Level 2 Categories</p>
<p>2 Broaden scope of PAG review</p>	<p>Review of PAG contributes to the authority self-evaluation process (4)</p>	<p>DWR 1 /2 759 EO 1: <i>And in addition to that the authority is partaking a self-evaluation exercise on ASL and inclusion and everybody here will have the opportunity to contribute to that.</i> DWR2/2 870 EO 1 <i>So I think that's really important and we do have a massive opportunity because we are in a process of self-evaluation of provision for additional support needs within the authority and this could be kind of located within that bigger picture and at the moment we're just gathering feedback and ideas from people as part of that process but this can very much sit there so that it is relating in a relevant way to other parts of what is a much bigger system out there.</i></p>
	<p>Greater focus on meeting learners' needs more effectively (8)</p>	<p>DWR 2/2 865 EO 2 / <i>mean about looking critically at how effectively we're meeting that learner's needs and I think it's really, really important that anything done in relation to PAG sits within that wider context because you could redesign the PAG but if you're not attendant to the wider picture then it's just going to become more efficient. It could become more efficient at doing the wrong things</i></p>
	<p>Wider context of legislation - presumption to mainstream (3)</p>	<p>DWR 3/2 514 EO 1: <i>My feeling is that there needs to be something, a sort of thinking done at a higher level of abstraction in terms of a decision process against a background of a presumption to mainstream and facets of legislation and what the key components of it are and I think on that basis you can then begin to define the terms of reference for different components of it. I think if you start in any one particular place the possibilities are too wide and I think that we need that to be able to say this is that bit of jigsaw.</i></p>

Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Developing Capacity of Schools to be more inclusive

With continuing expansion of the object of PAG activity, participants recognized the need to develop the capacity of mainstream schools to support children with significant ASN (see Table 20). Participants' perceptions that some schools appear to be 'hugely resourceful' and inclusive whilst other schools appear to 'resist the spirit of inclusion' raised questions about variation in practice in schools across the authority (see Lewis et al, 2010). In CHAT terms, variation may be understood as old and new practice in meeting learners' needs, locating professional activity in the early phase of a new developmental cycle (Virkkunen et al, 2010). Variation in the quality of individual planning for children with ASN was also discussed in this context emphasizing the need for more robust quality assurance and raising expectations of learners' achievements: 'If you don't have a good quality IEP how do you know that the existing placement can't meet that learners' needs?' Participants continued to expand on a new object of PAG activity, outlining requirements to develop the capacity of schools including professional access to knowledge of best teaching strategies for all learners (See Ofsted, 2010). An officer suggested that with the building of capacity in mainstream schools, some children currently in specialist provisions could be supported in a mainstream context.

3/2 253 EO 1: I'm not saying by making mainstream schools more effective in meeting learners needs and providing them opportunities and support that you may also not be able to include a lot of children who currently require provisional special schools and I think that in as far as we can interpret that data it would suggest that that is the process that is underway.

Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Re-configuring Children's Services

Discussion about 'misplaced children' in special schools because the 'appropriate need is not being met' led to a debate about the lack of resources to support vulnerable families in their communities (see Table 21). Examples were provided of

special school places being offered to children whose educational needs could be supported in mainstream but who came from vulnerable families with limited parenting skills. The case study presentation provided an example of dual stimulation. Together with mirror data and conceptual models, case studies of children placed in specialist provisions represented second stimuli, the use of which enabled participants to identify, interpret and resolve contradictions in PAG activity. The case study of the ‘misplaced’ child led to theoretical generalizations about meeting appropriate needs.

2/2 566 EO 2: I think the reason we made that placement is because there aren't enough resources to improve parents' parenting skills and that's why that boy was placed in a special school.

2/2 571 EP 2: That's the problem. It's not addressing the appropriate need. That family if they need support we need to be finding them a means to support them so they can parent their child.

Because of this, discussion turned to transformational change required to meet learners and families' needs more effectively, focusing on the key principles of GIRFEC such as improving partnership working to provide more holistic services at the local level for children and families. The expanded thinking of participants was demonstrated in several ways as they recognized the need for a shift in focus from decision-making about specialist placements as a tool to a more contextual, holistic view of meeting children needs as the object/motive of joint activity. In this sense, participants mastered the ‘shifting tool-object relationship’, acknowledged as a difficult problem in education (Virkkunen et al, 2010).

An EO called for ‘radical’ change whilst other participants referred to a need for ‘roots and branches change’, a ‘clean sheet of paper’, ‘a re-think’, a ‘re-visiting’, a re-configuring of services’, the ‘need to rule-bend to support children who don't fit rules’, and the need to develop a ‘culture of co-creation instead of selling and telling to parents’. Such comments exemplify discursive ‘deviations’ from established professional ‘scripts’ in PAG activity as participants continued to engage in activity-

level envisioning (Engeström, 2008). For example, suggestions were made for targeting resources more effectively in mainstream schools and the community thus developing inclusive capacity in schools and meeting families' needs locally. With this came the realization that all stakeholders need to learn collaboratively to develop better services for children and families. In doing so, participants were using theoretical generalizations as psychological tools that enabled the origin of PAG problems to be identified and defined. Problem definition thus functioned as a mediating tool for interpretation and transformation of PAG activity (Sannino and Sutter, 2011). The workshops, as a formative intervention, enabled participants to move from a process of problem-solving about PAG (abstract/empirical thinking in terms of causal relationships and everyday understandings) to a focus on systems development or a 'theoretical-genetic analysis and model-based design of a new solution' (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011:637).

Table 20: Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Third Key Turning Point in DWR Workshop Discussion.


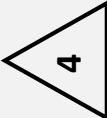
Level 1 Categories	Level 2 Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level 2 Categories
<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>Develop inclusive capacity of mainstream schools</p>	<p>Promote inclusive practice in schools (7)</p>	<p>DWR 2/2 355 EP 2 I think there's a major problem for me. I spoke earlier that I think psychologists' contribution in here is about this presumption of mainstream and it is about inclusion. It is fundamentally saying that I think this young person can be included [EO 3 : Mmm mmm] in the primary school, the secondary school and being there to make that happen.</p>
	<p>Team around the school to develop capacity (7)</p>	<p>DWR 2/ 2 358 EP 2 <i>Understanding the school's capacity and we talked earlier about crash factors because some schools are hugely resourceful. But it is about the team of people who actually understand that who are, and we speak often with our support coordinators about each of the schools and the QIOs and the head teachers and building the capacity of that school</i></p> <p>DWR 2/2 394 R-P: <i>What you are saying there?. Are we in terms of setting criteria and it's almost like we're needing in our work plan we're obviously needing to look at helping schools assess, helping mainstream schools assess their capacity to support children in mainstream.</i></p> <p>DWR2/2 885 EP2 <i>What is our capacity to meet those needs in mainstream school?</i></p>
	<p>Assessing and meeting appropriate needs in flexible way (9)</p>	<p>DWR 2/2 471 EO 1: <i>Well if you look at the function of IEP. It's meeting learners' needs. Then in first instance if you don't have a good quality IEP how do you know that the existing placement can't be that learner's needs?</i></p> <p>DWR 3 253 EO 1 <i>I'm not saying by making mainstream schools more effective in meeting learners needs and providing them opportunities and support that you may also not be able to include a lot of children who currently require provisional special schools and I think that in as far as we can interpret that data it would suggest that that is the process that is underway.</i></p> <p>DWR 2/2 913 EP 2 <i>I think we need to look at defining additional support needs. We need to look at the range of support in school. We need to think about assessing additional support needs and then meeting needs. PAG is just part of that process. [HT 2: Yep] It's just part of it. It's not as in schools (unclear) as A or B. It's just part of the process of meeting children's needs.</i></p> <p>DWR 2/2 917 HT 2 <i>And that's what I've just written down there just after what [EO 1] said [R-P: Yeah]. The PAG is a process it is not the end product and I think that's what too many people see it as. Because of what [EO 1] said there we often place the youngster into a school setting whether it's mainstream or whether it's special education and then say right okay that's it, so it's done. But the nature of the youngster changes [R-P: Yes] so therefore we have to be able to be flexible, to change the environment to suit that young person.</i></p>

Table 21.: Expanding the Object of PAG Activity: Fourth Key Turning Point in DWR Workshop Discussion.

Level 1 Categories	Level 2 Categories	Illustrative Quotes of Level 2 Categories
 Re-configure services	Target resources more effectively (8)	<p>DWR 2/2 A 781 EP 2: <i>And I think we have identified this morning that one of the core problems is making sure where we are getting these applications from we have to have the most rigorous [P-R: Yes] and most appropriate assessment, conversation [P-R: Yes], engagement with families, engagement with services to a level that we really maybe hither to have not been really working on.</i></p> <p>DWR 2/1 595 EO 3: <i>But it is also looking at [EP 2: (unclear)] what we spoke about before about involving our parents and saying what would make this work? Now if we do that and if the answer was okay I can't manage I don't have the capacity to take my child to the local school. It's certainly much more effective use of targeted resources to arrange the taxi from their door to the local school than it is to get them to the special school</i></p> <p>DWR 2/ 2 244 EO 3: <i>I think it needs to go further than that. I think it needs to be more flexible than that because we have a child at the moment in that provision and we're going to have to do something radical there. The child would not have survived in a primary school and it's not only looking at that provision just in education terms it is also with that commission service looking at the children's needs and how we can use some of our other resources to marry up on that if.</i></p>
	Engagement with families and improved partnership working (6)	<p>DWR 2/2 566 EO 2: <i>I don't agree. [HT 1: (unclear)] I think the reason we made that placement is because there aren't enough resources to improve parents parenting skills and that's why that boy was placed in a special school. [HT 1: But we don't do parenting skills] But he also had [HT 1: (laughs)]. So the parents want a small group for a child with mild cognitive learning difficulties and because we are not providing a holistic service as a children, families department we end up making these stupid compromises.</i></p> <p>DWR 2/ 2 591 EO 3: <i>But is that not, again you're back to the culture of where we are at perceived roles and creating a culture of co-creation instead of a culture of telling or selling or whatever? You have to look at how you're doing that and have open discussions. HT 2: I'd like to think that the GIRFEC model is going to promote that and it's just, just seems so top heavy at the moment for us. HT 1: And you need to get all professionals to buy into it. HT 2: Yes. HT 1: And not just say they'll buy into it. EP 2: It's a real cultural change.</i></p> <p>DWR 3/ 1 692 EO 1: <i>I think what we are talking about is considering what information parents need and want at different points then ensuring that it's available in appropriate form and there is an agreed framework within which that would be used by professionals and I think that would be really helpful.</i></p>
	Linking ASL pathways to support (including PAG) with GIRFEC service delivery model (11)	<p>DWR 2/ 2 250 EP 1: <i>You are talking transformational change, you are actually talking about root and branch change making totally different decisions about that are based on ASL Act, staged intervention. They're of a completely different plain. That is the only way that you in my opinion that you will actually change. This is not a little bit of primary kids who don't behave well. This is about every aspect of youngsters' development and our response to these kids</i></p> <p>DWR 2/2 889 EP 2: <i>It goes on and on and on and if we take the team around the school which comes plus we have IEPs which function better, we have tasks and roles and responsibilities because we are naming because of GIRFEC what it is we are asking people to do because we think it will make a difference. Why are we thinking of re-designing the PAG system? Because if that actually works then it is really those and only those exceptional youngsters that should be getting anywhere near that part of the pathway that says we're moving on</i></p> <p>DWR3104 3/2 EP 2: <i>Again, making links with GIRFEC and the ASL pathways to support audit and inclusion has the highest agenda for me. I just feel that a number of things under the PAG process review which you've mentioned, I just said if you are doing a PAG process review then this is the one thing I've said you've got to drop PAG. The name.</i></p>

Outcomes for Change: Suggestions for Tool Development

DWR participants identified a broad and varied range of ideas for tool development across the four areas of expanded PAG activity. (See Figure 21.) Similar to themes from the authority studies of the PAG process, participants identified concrete communication tools such as improved assessment methodology and IEP targets, parent-friendly correspondence, more evidence-based report writing, and the development of published criteria for PAG applications and profiles of specialist provisions, all of which may improve the decision-making process. Broadening out the scope of the PAG review, more conceptual tools were suggested for development such as legislative, educational research-based frameworks and a quality assurance process of applications for specialist provisions, decision-making and impact of placement. The use of school and authority data to quality assure and measure impact of supports were also mentioned. According to Engeström (2008), participants identified ‘where to’ and ‘how to’ tools.

Expansion of the Object of PAG Activity: Suggestions for Tool Development and Reconfigured Division of Labour Based on work-plan and table of recommendations

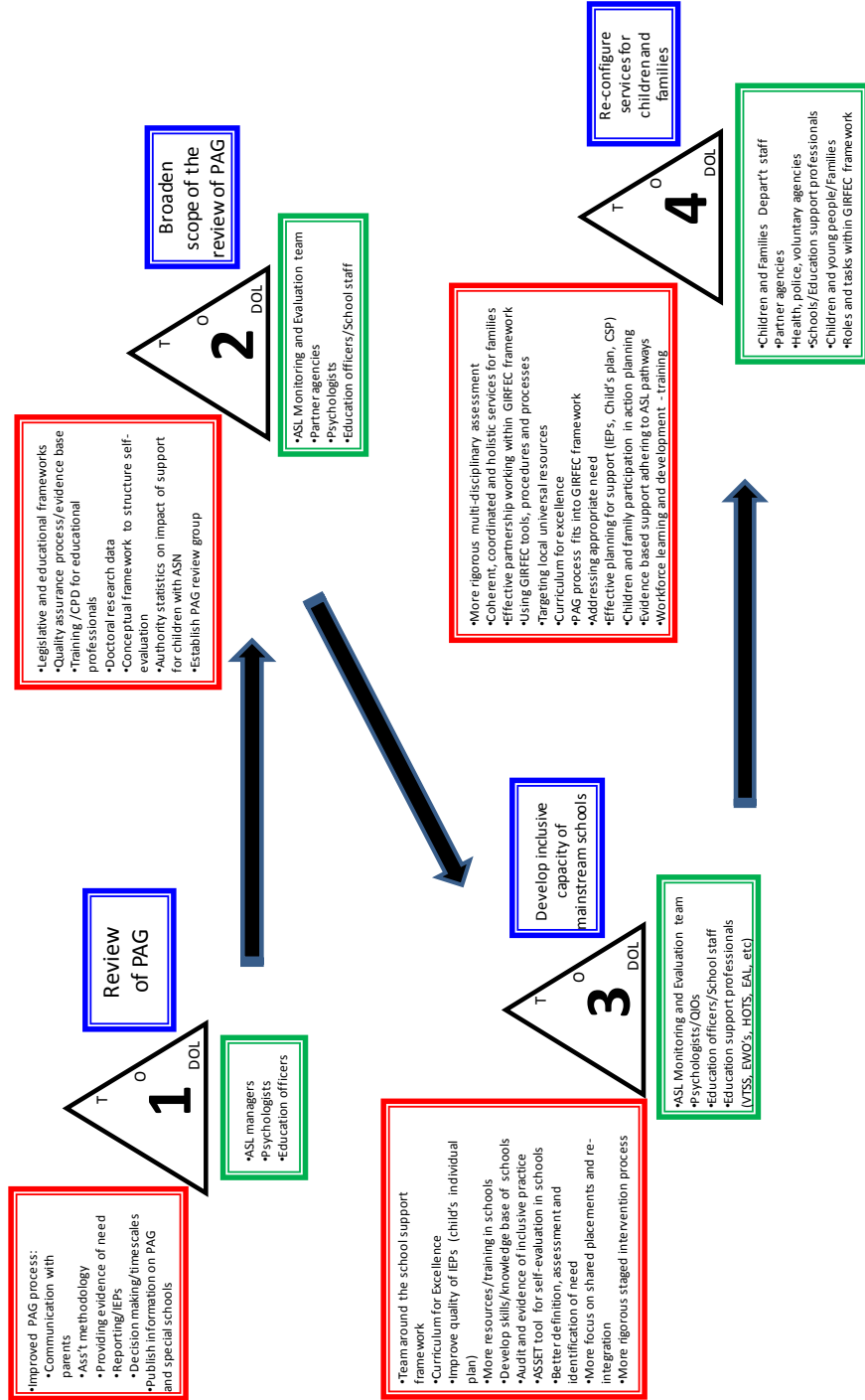


Figure 21: Suggestions for tool development and reconfigured roles.

Frameworks and Models of Service Delivery as Tools

The importance of developing the capacity of mainstream schools to support the needs of learners highlighted the need to implement the concept of ‘Team Around the School or Cluster’, a network of partner agencies providing local support to schools (Appendix 22). The new CfE was viewed as a key mechanism in meeting the needs of all learners as was the need for quality IEPs for children and young people. Issues around workforce learning and development were raised and the need for on-going training and self-evaluation within and across partner agencies to develop the skills and knowledge base to meet children’s needs within a holistic and coherent framework of service delivery and inter-professional practice. Participants agreed upon the need for improved definition, assessment and identification of ASN within a more rigorous staged intervention process of support in mainstream schools, shared placements with specialist provisions and the process of re-integration into mainstream. The need for a new resource allocation model for meeting learners’ needs was discussed (see Chapter 7).

As discussion focused on the need for a re-configuration of services for children and families, ‘GIRFEC’ was mentioned repeatedly as the key tool for improving service delivery to children and families. Working within this new service delivery model, participants envisaged a more coherent and holistic system of support in which GIRFEC resources, procedures and processes are adhered to with the child and family at the centre of action planning. Additionally, the idea of targeting resources at the local level within the universal services structure was emphasised as a more appropriate and cost-effective way of addressing children’s needs. The expanded PAG process, to become progressive case management, would fit into this wider framework of support. Again the need for a focus on workforce learning and development to implement the changes was considered essential.

Suggestions for Re-configured Division of Labour

Discussion about re-configured roles and tasks within the division of labour to realise the expanded object of PAG activity and to develop the new tools required to do this

focused initially on the core group of strategic managers and educational professionals with already established roles in PAG activity. However as the object of PAG activity was expanded, the discussion broadened out to ‘clarifying roles of different professionals’ and thinking about ‘what different contributions people are able to make’.

With a widening focus on supporting mainstream schools to be more inclusive and a recognised need for the re-configuring of services, the list of professionals and services expanded, including health, social work and education professionals. Most importantly, participants recognised that children and families are central in the process of a ‘culture of co-creation’ in which service users contribute to the design of services that they will use.

DWR 2/2 595 EO 3. But it is also looking at [unclear] what we spoke about before about involving our parents and saying what would make this work?

The roll-out of GIRFEC in this authority has radical implications for specific and explicit roles and responsibilities for a range of professionals, agencies and services with the expectation that this will contribute to a more coherent, joined up framework of service delivery for children and their families and this recognition by participants dominated the DWR discussions as the object of PAG activity was expanded.

The Role of the EP

The EP role in PAG was considered central to the assessment, coordination and recommendation processes of PAG activity, discussed extensively in DWR 3 as the contents of the work-plan were agreed upon and possible re-configured divisions of labour in PAG activity were considered. The only challenge to the status quo of the EP role came from the two EPs who expressed views against this position, similar to arguments expressed in the authority studies, and perhaps ‘creating a tension in psychological services’ which may be aiming for ‘the middle ground’ when the authority want EPs ‘to be at the centre’

An EP thought that psychologists should not be as centrally involved in PAG activity as it implied privileged position and ownership of the process: ‘Well that means that psychologists are unduly influencing that process and that is not what we are trying to do’. However, as discussion developed and contradictions were surfaced, another EP experienced a personal turning point as his view on the role of the EP as a chair of a PAG group was changed.

3/2 343 EP 1: I’m becoming less anxious about psychologists chairing PAGs than I was...it seemed to be saying that that psychologists run the show and that’s very definitely I wanted to change that thinking. If some of the things we were talking about actually come into place it becomes less important to me because we would be demonstrating that the process is a multi-based process. That we are transparent about the way our assessments are made and decisions.

Creation of New Tools: The Work-plan and Table of Recommendations

Initial ideas for the object of activity for the group were discussed in DWR 1 and 2 as participants drew up individual activity systems for the research group. The details of a work-plan for the group were developed in DWR 3 as part of a planned activity called ‘Keep, Drop, Create’ (Ryan, 2004) that formed the basis of the work-plan and a table of recommendations to the authority to improve the systems that support children’s learning and the wider context of family support (Appendix 11; See Tables 22a-d and 23.)

Table 22a: Key Recommendations for Review of PAG.

Key Areas	Key Recommendations	Possible Tasks/Changes	Authority Response
<p>Improve and Stream-line the Process</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review the role of professionals in the process (EP role in particular) and membership of PAGs 2. Emphasise the multi-disciplinary nature of the process through professional training and published guidelines 3. Consider capacity to manage the process more centrally 4. Review number of PAG groups 5. PAG groups meet prior to decisions being made public 6. Commit to timelines and deadlines for applications 7. Improve communication with parents and professionals about recommendations and decisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Psychological Services negotiate role in PAG with senior managers o Training provided for professionals who contribute to PAG o Professionals ensure they have updated knowledge of specialist provisions; part of CPD/training o Arrange knowledge-sharing days: HT's of specialist provisions could talk about their schools; agencies and services could provide input on what they do o PAG 1 training to be delivered in September, 2010. Evaluated very positively o Reduce number of professionals on each PAG group? o Mainstream representation on PAG? o Education officers/managers give PAG groups authority to reject applications after deadlines; state criteria for acceptance of post deadline applications o Consider adapting PAG minutes: should parents have access to minutes on their child? o Adam meets with PAG chairs to discuss decisions before being made public o Re-think how decisions are communicated to parents 	<p>A PAG work-stream is included in the ASL Improvement Plan. A lead officer is to be allocated.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. EP's do have a role in PAG both as members and chairs, which is suited to their skills in terms of analysis and synthesis of information. To be revisited in one year's time. 'Year 2' of PAG review 2. Emphasis on MD process included in new Form 1 and Form 3 guidance. Offer EPs opportunity to shadow PAG members as part of CPD/PRD, without commitment to becoming a PAG member 3. Capacity to manage PAG more centrally considered but not an option at present 4. Number of 'PAGs' to be reviewed in 'Year 2'. SEBD PAG to be part of main process – 'same standards should apply'; develop set of generic paperwork for SEBN/non-SEBN officer 5. To be negotiated between PAG chairs and education officer 6. Agreed to set out clearer timelines. HQ cannot refuse to circulate a late application but continue with efforts to impress upon all concerned the importance of deadlines 7. Education officer to consider how to make communication with parents more user-friendly; less legalistic and more use of plain English

Table 22b: Key Recommendations for Review of PAG.

Key Areas	Key Recommendations	Possible Tasks/Changes	Authority Response
<p>Promote Inclusive Learning</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create resourceful, inclusive schools to meet learners' needs 2. Implement support and challenge agenda via Team Around the School; emphasise presumption to mainstream 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EPs already working with education officer and QIO's to support and challenge schools • EPS team plan shows commitment to inclusive practice in schools • Working group developing split placement guidelines 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All agreed on the importance of inclusive learning 2. Is more still needed to be done to promote inclusive learning? To what extent are split placements efficient use of resources?
<p>Match Needs to Provision</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Publish criteria for admission to special schools and provisions 4. Publish guidelines on PAG for parents and professionals 5. Re-examine provision and targeting of services 6. Agree a ceiling on numbers in specialist provisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group of EPs /other professionals could re-write criteria that provides measures to position children developmentally • Develop tools to consider continuum of need; EP is adapting aspects of CRISP model to develop a questionnaire • A cross-agency/service group could work with <i>Kindred</i> to set up a parent reference group to help write/edit guidelines • A budget exercise on numbers in specialist provisions 	<p>This is considered to be the most important area.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Publishing criteria is considered to be a critical piece of work to enable rational decisions about placement; CRISP model is being considered. Head teachers of specialist provisions could contribute to this 4. Links to KINDRED 5. On-going 13. This requires long-term planning

Table 22c: Key Recommendations for Review of PAG.

Key Areas	Key Recommendations	Possible Tasks/Changes	Authority Response
<p>Providing Evidence to Improve Decision-making</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide more robust evidence of support for pupils in mainstream schools prior to PAG applications 2. Provide more robust evidence of need in mainstream schools prior to PAG applications 3. Determine what is available in terms of planning (ASP's/IEP's) to inform decision-making 4. Return applications if the required evidence is not provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guidelines on PAG process to be written for schools and EP's to encourage gathering of more robust evidence. EP has drafted guidelines for Form 1 and Form 3 • Follow up evaluation of impact of reporting guidelines perhaps in June, 2011 • Consider what is most appropriate assessment methodologies eg, IQ in PAG 1; if not, what alternatives could demonstrate MLD? Group of EPs could work on this 	<p>14, 15 & 16:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreed that new Forms 1 & 3 and their requirement for better evidence will enable the PAG groups to consider how best to meet the needs of children put forward for consideration. • EPS to send new Form 1 and guidance to schools now for use for March 2011 and onwards • EP's to use new Form 3 from February 2011 onwards • EP's continue to use standardised assessment but EP's have a two-year window to explore alternative assessment methodologies that demonstrate MLD. This would be reflected within criteria to guide admissions to special schools and classes. To discuss with EPS Research and Evaluation Group

Table 22d: Key Recommendations for Review of PAG.

Key Areas	Key Recommendations	Possible Tasks/Changes	Authority Response
<p>Evaluation and Accountability</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Consider research into range of educational models for children with ASN; outcomes for children 2. Create an evidence-base for local authority decision-making; consider other resource allocation models 3. Commission research to establish this evidence base 4. Evaluate recommendations/decisions on outcomes for children 5. Examine patterns of referrals; track children with ASN known to PAG in mainstream/specialist settings; measure outcomes short and long term 6. Involve families in the co-design of services with professionals; take account of parental perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature review to consider the relative benefits of specialist provision, specialist provision in mainstream settings and full mainstreaming for children with ASN • Working group could examine pattern of referrals at cluster, area and school levels; compare like-schools • HT's of specialist provisions could be surveyed in December regarding appropriateness of placement of children in their schools • EPs could design methodologies that capture parental and child views; re-design current questionnaire; consider other methodologies such as interviews, focus groups, on-line facilities for parents to record views • PAG chairs as a group could moderate PAG referrals; examine and evaluate patterns of referrals, quality of evidence provided; appropriateness of placement 	<p>Agreed to review assessment and reporting mechanisms and compare to Forms 1& 3. This would involve asking special schools and classes to reflect on pupils admitted in August 2010.</p> <p>Ask:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do they feel each pupil has been appropriately placed? • To what extent did Form 1& 3 enable them to make effective plans for each pupil? <p>The idea is to compare appropriateness of placements recommended by each PAG, placement as a result of a placing request, and placements made by the authority</p> <p>EP's could carry out literature review and/or some direct research comparing outcomes for children in specialist placements and supported mainstream placements</p>

Table 23. Work Plan from Review of PAG Workshop Group

Action Point Responsibility	Short-Term Action Points	Mid and Long-Term Action Points
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ASL Monitoring and Evaluation Group Director of Children and Families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consider recommendations from the review of PAG group to contribute to the self-evaluation process of ASL in the authority Consider possible work streams for review of PAG group to implement recommendations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recommendations from the review of PAG group to contribute to the self-evaluation process of ASL in the authority
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The 'PAG' review group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meet for 4th workshop in June to review progress of work plan EO 4 to be invited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take steer from ASL Group regarding possible work-stream within overall self-evaluation of ASL in the authority
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> R-P (Educational Psychologist) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Summary of research project reviewing PAG process to be shared with ASL Group - 19th March Recommendations from the review group to be shared with the ASL Group R-P to present to EPS in March on project reviewing PAG process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Write-up of project for doctoral thesis to be presented for examination late 2011/2012
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Education officers/managers) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Criteria and descriptors of special schools compiled by LG to be considered prior to publication on authority website
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Psychological Services (EP 1, EP 2 and R-P) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter-professional training with support services has been requested for May, 2010 Form 1 (school info to PAG) and Audit form to be merged –EP 1 to discuss with, HESS 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On-going development of EP reporting formats for PAG and other proformas EP 2 to liaise with IM and SNIP to discuss development of information documents about PAG for parents (parents involved in process?) Continue to make connections with partner agencies

The mechanism of dual stimulation is demonstrated in the production of a work-plan and table of recommendations (see Figure 22). The first stimulus in the formative intervention was the range of problems identified in PAG activity. Second stimuli not only consisted of the mediating conceptual tools of activity theory and mirror data but also the work-plan and table of recommendations, new mediating tools developed and negotiated by the participants in the second and third workshops (Engeström, 2011). However, it is important to understand at this stage in the cycle of expansive learning, that the second stimulus, the table of recommendations, is not the solution to the identified problems. Instead, solutions to the problems emerge once the second stimulus is enacted upon. Evidence of emerging solutions to problems identified in PAG activity is presented in section 6.4 and in Chapter 7. Engeström points out that:

The crucial issue is that the second stimulus is a mediating artifact, not the solution in itself. Adopting a new organization chart is not an automatic solution to the loss of the object. It has to be implemented as an instrument to solve the problem, which in turn means that the new solution, the new concept, only emerges as the second stimulus is put into action (Engeström, 2011:619).

The first point of action was to present a summary of research findings and the table of recommendations to the Director of Children and Families and a group of services managers to raise awareness of the need to develop the PAG process and to make recommendations to refine the authority decision-making process for specialist provisions. The authority provided responses to each of the recommendations that formed the basis of the work-streams for the PAG review group that was subsequently formed. The recommendations were grouped according to five themes as agreed by the DWR participants.

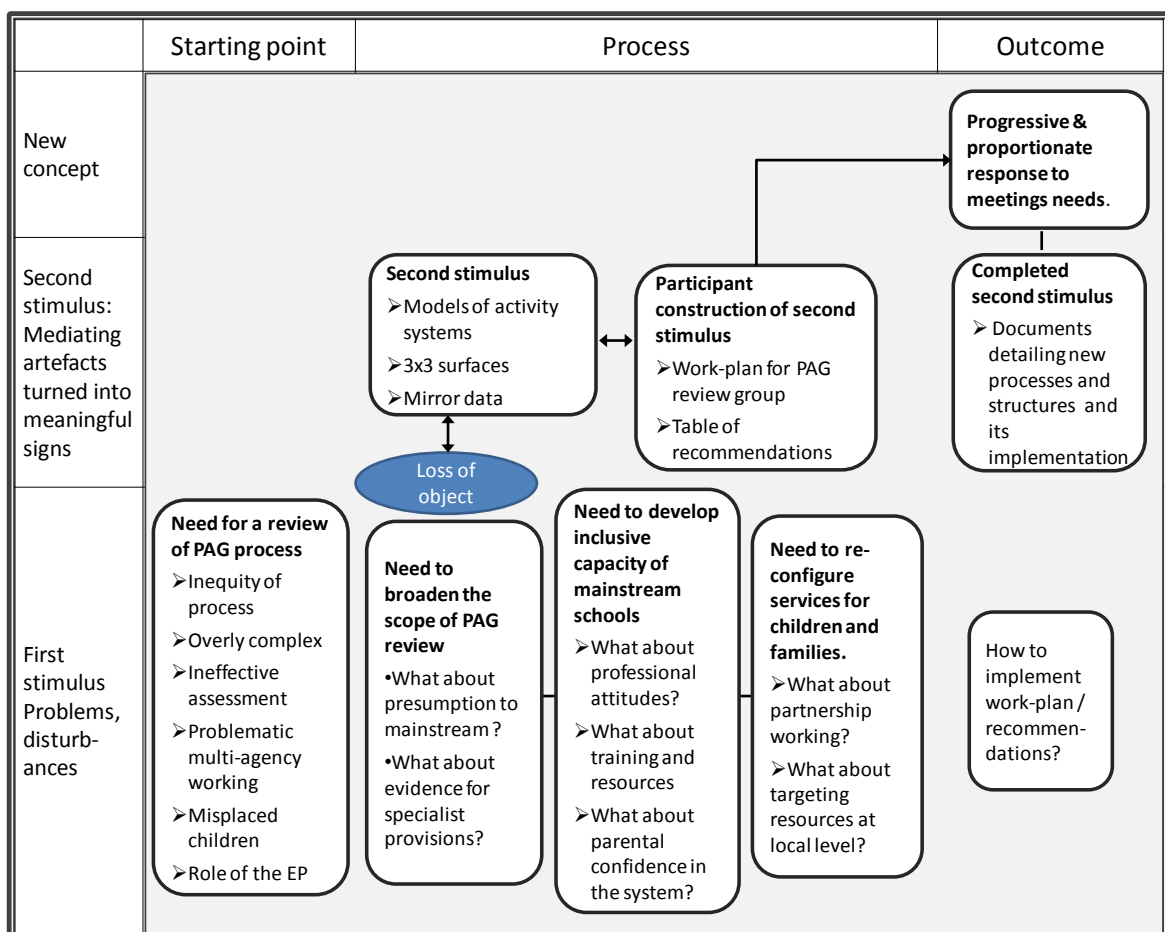


Figure 22: Layered character of PAG DWR Intervention: Process (Source: Engeström, 2011).

DWR workshops as a Mediatlional and Developmental Mechanism: The ZPD of PAG Activity

As participants' understanding of PAG activity was expanded, the DWR intervention could be considered as a 'mediational mechanism' (Engeström, 2004) that opened up the ZPD of PAG activity as participants developed a model of future practice (Engeström, 2011, 2008, 2004; Sannino, 2011). (See Table 24.) The ZPD is considered as both 'representational' and 'processual' because participants modelled old, current and new PAG activity, achieving theoretical generalizations, whilst mastering peer or social collaboration (Sannino and Sutter, 2011). As emphasised in Engeström's theory of expansive learning, mediated activity occurs in the form of dual or double stimulation (the historical-genetic method). Participants' activity in the workshops was mediated by the researcher-practitioner as they considered scientific concepts (CHAT) and models (activity systems) to expand their everyday understanding of PAG activity that was represented through mirror data, case study presentations and the sharing of knowledge and experience of PAG activity over historical time (Engeström et al, 2003). The researcher-practitioner re-mediated a shift in participants' thinking from 'inductive generalizations' about PAG based on everyday work experiences to form theoretical generalizations based on historical-genetic analysis of PAG activity (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011:645).

The dialectical processes of internalisation and externalization explain the means by which the DWR participants endeavoured to shape future processes and services to meet learners' and families' needs. The mediated activity in the workshops enabled a focus on the process of externalization as contradictions were surfaced, leading to expansive learning as new ways of working were discussed. In turn, the development of new models led to the creation of new 'instrumentalities' (Engeström, 2000), evident in the workshop discussions and reflected in the work-plan and table of recommendations for tool development and re-configured division of labour. Participants expressed agency to shape new models for meeting learners' needs within the constraints of local and national policy and legislation.

For example, although professionals may not be ‘entirely free’ to change the legislative context of PAG activity, participants were nonetheless acting to change and develop work activity within a context of local interpretation and implementation of the legislative framework, perceived by an education officer as having its own ‘internal contradictions’. In this sense, the concepts of ‘internalization’ and ‘externalization’ may explain how people are shaped by but also shape their work practices through agency in work contexts (Daniels, 2010, 2008; Edwards et al, 2009), a balance of people not being ‘entirely free’ to challenge or change established practices but also not being ‘entirely bounded’ by such practices (Sellman, 2011, 2003).

6.2.6 Participants’ Perceptions of DWR Methodology

The results in this section, based on analysis of participants’ perceptions of DWR methodology, address the key research question.

In what ways can a cultural historical activity theory analysis illuminate the processes and outcomes of a local authority decision-making process (PAG) for educational placement of children with ASN?

Data is based on thematic analysis of transcripts and participants’ own evaluative and reflective comments (see Table 25a-c; Appendix 5). The analysis is presented as two key themes:

- Learning about and engaging with CHAT and DWR
- Critique of the approach for a review of the PAG process

Table 24: DWR PAG workshops as Formative Intervention

DWR Workshops: review of the PAG process as a cycle of expansive learning			
Formative intervention	<p>DWR Workshops, as formative intervention, were considered as a collective zone of proximal development in which established work practice in PAG activity was challenged via the psychological processes or epistemological principles of dual stimulation and theoretical generalization.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The DWR methodology is predicated on Vygotsky's notion of the 'instrumentality' of tools used in 'mediational settings' to solve problems (Engeström, 2007). Workshop activity can be understood as an interactive process as participants are encouraged to consider empirical data together with conceptual models and theory to develop theoretical generalizations of PAG activity. 		
Epistemological principles	Dual Stimulation	Theoretical generalizations	ZPD
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first stimulus focused on the problems of the PAG process and the need for a review. Three 'second stimuli' were introduced by the R-P 'with mediating potential' (Engeström, 2007) to develop a theoretical understanding of the PAG process. 1. 'Mirror' data 'based on stakeholders' perceptions providing insight into systemic contradictions in PAG activity. 2. Triangular models of activity systems were used as heuristic devices to map out PAG activity as interacting activity systems. 3. 3x3 surfaces were used to consider past, present and future PAG activity. The model enabled movement in three dimensions: between theoretical and practical considerations of situated PAG activity; between 'layers of time' in historical cycles of the PAG process; and between multi-perspectives of participants and stakeholders (Engeström, 2007:375) Participants created a work-plan and table of recommendations as second stimuli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The R-P facilitated participants' learning of the genetic historical analysis of PAG activity to define the nature of the perceived problems in PAG activity, to interpret the problems and to develop new concepts/solutions/new working practices. Participants used shared conceptual tools to problem-solve the dilemmas in PAG activity and to gain a better understanding of the origins of problems in the PAG process, building on their everyday understandings of professional practice. In doing so, they moved from 'everyday thinking' about PAG to a more 'scientific understanding' of theoretical generalizations; envisioning of future professional practice (Engeström, 1999). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Via dual stimulation and theoretical generalization the ZPD of PAG activity was opened up and redefined. The workshops were designed as 'spaces for reflection', a simultaneous 'separation and embeddedness' of day-to-day work activity as presentation of ethnographic data and case studies enabled participants to reflect on professional practice in the PAG process and to engage in a problem-solving process (Engeström, 2007). The study of the PAG process captured interacting activity systems undergoing change and transformation over time both naturally in practice and under 'provocation' in the DWR research process.
Epistemic threads	Unit of analysis	Contradictions	Agency
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PAG activity was considered as interacting networks of activity systems with partially shared objects, consistent with the third generation of activity theory (Engeström, 2001). CHAT analysis provided information to develop hypotheses on eight interacting activity systems as a network of PAG activity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presentation of ethnographic data enabled participants to consider problems in PAG activity. Transcript analysis identified manifestations of systemic contradictions. 	<p>The R-P & participants engaged in 'a dialectical, dialogic relationship with activity' (Daniels, 2008). Participants expressed resistance and agency to direct the research process.</p> <p>The study led to the expansion of professional practice with a new object of joint activity, & the creation of new tools & roles.</p>

Table 25a: DWR Participants' Perceptions of CHAT and DWR Methodology (see Appendix 5).

Level 1 categories	Level 2 categories	Illustrative quotes from Researcher-Practitioner	Illustrative quotes from DWR Participants
Learning about and engaging with CHAT and DWR framework	Learning about CHAT concepts	<p>DWR 1/ 1.150 More recently Engestrom...he's done a huge amount of work on activity theory, taking Vygotsky's idea and developing activity systems, analysis and developmental work research. Which is what we're doing today. It's an interventionist methodology. And he developed this approach in order to examine complex human interactions in work situations but you can apply the ideas to a much broader context. Any group of people coming together is an activity system. He's done a huge amount of work in work contexts, looking at how professionals work together to deliver services.</p> <p>DWR 1/2 165 When I first started reading about this it was the tools section that I puzzled about...What does it mean? ...And it helped me when I thought of abstract and concrete tools. And some people get very confused about the object of the activity system. Separating it into objects and outcomes so object is what are you working on. So as a PAG group, say for example, PAG three meeting, what you are working on is you are discussing applications. But why are you doing it in the long-term? It's in order for children to be placed in the provision that best meets their needs.</p>	<p>164 1 / 2 HT 2: I still don't have my head around an activity system</p> <p>DWR 1/ 2 301 HT 2: I see that as a tension. What informal and formal rules do you have in order to meet your goals? And I put informal rules leads to contradictions and confusions in the PAG system.</p> <p>DWR 1/2 229 EP1 I've listed my roles as to provide clear, objective and evidence based information of what young people require in order to make progress in education. And to allow the authority to make an informed decision about whether and how these needs can be provided for. And to do this in a way which allows parents to contribute (unclear) and which recognises the professional perspectives of other contributors.</p>
Learning about and engaging with CHAT and DWR framework	Checking understanding of CHAT concepts	<p>DWR 1/ 1 EP 2 So what you are saying is...I just reckon in my work, PAG deconstructed. P-R: Yes it is. Yeah. EP 2: And by that deconstruction. P-R: You reconstruct. EP 2: You reconstruct a new future and so the activity theory is saying it is that deconstruction. R-P: Looking at the problem. EP 2: Which makes a different, a new future. P-R: Yes because you are surfacing all the tensions and problems that bubble under the surface. EP 2: That we get around.</p>	<p>DWR 1/ 1 536 HT 2: I would also suggest that part of the activity systems would probably have to add in the politicians, typically in the financial restraints we've got at the moment because the decisions are very much made at this moment in time not often on the best educational outcome but it's what we can do with the money we have. DWR 1/1 494 EO 2: Another stakeholder, she's a huge looming presence which I don't see there. At a tribunal. DWR 3/1 816 EP 2: We're tinkering with it but we need to actually look at this, you know, get a clean sheet of paper and absolutely take it from the principles and experience that we now have...the ramifications are massive across the system and I think that means we have to do a rethink... We as psychological services are agitating. By agitating we're causing tensions that'll be magnified</p>
Explaining the PAG process from a CHAT perceptive	Explaining the PAG process from a CHAT perceptive	<p>DWR 1/ 1 228 And in a recent multi-disciplinary meeting there were sixteen professionals in attendance for this child and family and what we were saying is when we meet again there is always a different permutation of people who will be at that meeting for that child and family. So it's a very loose grouping of people. The individual membership changes at any one time but somehow we all think we are coming together for a purpose to support the child and family. So it is looking at how we can make these systems work better...When we are thinking about a PAG application we are all coming from a different background of training, models, perspectives...and how do we get all these different people to come together with all the existing tension and agree to work together and have a shared outcome</p>	<p>DWR 1/ 1 536 HT 2: I would also suggest that part of the activity systems would probably have to add in the politicians, typically in the financial restraints we've got at the moment because the decisions are very much made at this moment in time not often on the best educational outcome but it's what we can do with the money we have. DWR 1/1 494 EO 2: Another stakeholder, she's a huge looming presence which I don't see there. At a tribunal. DWR 3/1 816 EP 2: We're tinkering with it but we need to actually look at this, you know, get a clean sheet of paper and absolutely take it from the principles and experience that we now have...the ramifications are massive across the system and I think that means we have to do a rethink... We as psychological services are agitating. By agitating we're causing tensions that'll be magnified</p>

Table 25b:: DWR Participants' Perceptions of CHAT and DWR Methodology (see Appendix 5).

Level 1 categories	Level 2 categories	Illustrative quotes from Researcher-Practitioner	Illustrative quotes from DWR Participants
<p>Critique of CHAT/DWR framework for review of PAG process</p>	<p>Usefulness of CHAT framework for PAG change process</p>	<p>R-P I think that using mirror data in the workshops and selected quotes was a very powerful way to share stakeholder views with senior officers and professionals. I also thought that the developmental aspect of the workshops enabled participants to reflect on their own contributions and those of others as they worked towards resolution of systemic contradictions and the expansion of the object of PAG activity</p> <p>R-P I think that the idea of key turning points in workshop discussions helped to focus participants as they expanded their understanding of the object of PAG activity. There were 'ureka' moments when participants realised that the most effective way of meeting learners' needs was to develop the inclusive capacity in mainstream schools and to re-configure services to provide a coherent service for children and families targeting the appropriate need with targeted resources.</p>	<p>EP professional It seemed to me to be extremely well thought-out approach with clear, built-in systems for change</p> <p>EP 2 The activity triangle and workshop process does get you off the treadmill and thinking. There have been action points that we can make happen outside and in the service that will change part of the system but a complete rethink might now be on the cards</p> <p>HT 1 The idea of looking at why and for who we are providing a service and all the underlying tensions was a good basis for working towards change. The model requires a lot of time but as change should be for a necessary purpose then it is worthwhile spending the time debating it</p> <p>Ed Professional: For me the review has clearly highlighted the need for more collaborative working and discussions between mainstream and special schools, as the question 'why is this child in mainstream?' is, I feel, asked too often by mainstream staff. It was interesting to hear the flip side of this – 'Why is this child in special education?'</p> <p>EP 1: There would have been no review of PAG without these workshops. Many had concerns about the PAG process, a review was needed, but outside of psychological services, nothing had actually happened. The workshops brought a number of key stakeholders together, including officers of sufficient seniority, who could give us the authority to proceed.</p>
<p>Enhanced understanding of the PAG process</p>	<p>Enhanced understanding of the PAG process</p>	<p>R-P I thought that the participants engaged very well with the complexity of CHAT and DWR. Because of their engagement, I think that we as a group have considered in great depth the history of PAG, current practice and how a future system could look in terms of meeting the needs of children and families.</p>	<p>HT 1. We arrived at the workshop with very different views about PAG but we have managed to come to the same conclusions about what aspects of PAG need to be changed. We have negotiated a shared understanding. We have agreed that the core process is good but needs developing.</p> <p>EP 2: The outcomes of the research have exceeded my expectations. We now have a clear pathway to take things forward.</p> <p>EO 2 The workshops enabled a thorough explanation of the process of PAG.</p>

Table 25c:: DWR Participants' Perceptions of CHAT and DWR Methodology (see Appendix 5).

Level 1 categories	Level 2 categories	Illustrative quotes from Researcher-Practitioner	Illustrative quotes from DWR Participants
Evaluation of potential impact of the DWR intervention on authority change process	EP research skills used at strategic level	<p>R-P EP skills in organisational and systemic change could be used more effectively within the authority</p> <p>R-P Next steps to raise profile of the service ; raise status of our profession; great deal of skills of use at the strategic level</p>	<p>EO 1 Future funding for EP doctorate work linked directly to strategic goals</p> <p>EP 1 Future doctorate work needs to link research to issues that the authority needs to be addressed. This also creates support for the student; and there is added momentum to it.</p>
	Develop professional learning	<p>R-P Idea for professional forums in which debates about on-going issues are organised at an inter-professional level</p>	<p>EO 1 Tracey's proposal for a professional forum could link in with how we support and challenge ; working within whole system; EPS could be responsible for this</p> <p>EP 2: This kind of knowledge exchange between professionals within our department would be hugely welcomed. It would provide a real opportunity to hear and learn about each other</p>

From Inductive to Theoretical Generalizations: Expansive Learning in Workshops

The workshops represented the ZPD of PAG activity within which the principles of dual stimulation and theoretical generalization were applied. This involved the introduction of meditational tools as second stimuli to facilitate a shift in participants' thinking from inductive generalizations of every day work practice to theoretical generalizations based on a historical-genetic analysis of PAG activity (Table 24; Appendix 12). Expansive learning of participants at the level of the collective developed from individual representation of the PAG process. Each participant produced an activity system of the PAG process to develop an understanding of it as joint activity and as a network of interacting activity systems, following which they were invited to share their 'activity systems' with each other (Figure 17). For example, an EP first shared his own subject positioning in PAG activity before presenting his idea of an expanded object of collective PAG activity.

The researcher-practitioner made explicit her own learning and development at the individual and collective levels. She shared with the participants her developing understanding of activity theory and how this provided a new perspective with which to consider the PAG process and her own activity within it. As the workshops progressed she shared with participants her developing understanding of the expansive potential of the intervention to bring about transformational and qualitative change to PAG activity.

Understanding the PAG process from a CHAT perspective

The researcher-practitioner created conditions for dual stimulation in the workshops as participants learned about and applied a historical-genetic analysis of the PAG process and moved to theoretical generalizations thus opening up the ZPD of PAG activity to develop new concepts, tools and ways of working. In doing so, participants were able to explain the PAG process as a network of interacting activity systems. For example, an education officer suggested that a key activity system, the tribunal process, was missing from the researcher-practitioner's interpretation of PAG depicted diagrammatically and shared with participants (Appendix 13) and a Head

teacher emphasized the need for the inclusion of politicians into the element of the ‘community’ of the PAG activity system in the context of “financial restraints’ as educational outcomes depend on ‘the money we have’.

Table 26: DWR 1st and 2nd Stimuli.

First stimulus	Second stimulus	Epistemological principles
Perceived problems in PAG activity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inequity of process • Overly complex • Ineffective assessment • Problematic multi-agency working • Misplaced children • Role of the EP 	CHAT Conceptual tools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Models of activity systems • ‘3x3’ surfaces • Mirror data Research literature Alternative models of resource allocation Case studies Work-plan Table of recommendations	ZPD Theoretical generalizations Dual stimulation

Understanding of epistemological principles was evidenced in the description of the formative intervention as the PAG process being ‘deconstructed’ and that contradictions are the driving force for change in organizations, ‘you reconstruct a new future’ by ‘surfacing all the tensions and problems that bubble under the surface’. Indeed, the CHAT notion of contradictions as a mechanism to expand and develop new ways of working was described as ‘EPs agitating’ and ‘causing tensions that’ll be magnified’. In this sense, participants had shifted their focus from problem-solving PAG issues to a systems perspective that is model-based in creating new solutions (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011).

Usefulness of the CHAT framework for a Review of the PAG Process

Collaborative development was evidenced in the degree of consensus reached by participants as they ‘negotiated a shared understanding’ and ‘agreed that the core process is good but needs developing’. Engeström (2009) emphasizes expansive learning at the level of activity and the collective; also as the co-development of the individual and the collective. The researcher-practitioner concluded that:

the participants engaged very well with the complexity of CHAT and DWR. Because of this engagement, I think that we as a group have considered in great depth the history of PAG, current practice and how a future system could look in terms of meeting the needs of children and families.

An EP suggested that ‘the workshops have enabled a thorough explanation of the process of PAG’ and that the ‘outcomes of the research have far exceeded my expectations’. Participants wrote positively about the research methodology as an ‘extremely well thought-out approach with clear, built-in systems for change’, enabling consideration of ‘all the underlying tensions’ as a ‘good basis for working towards change’. An EP shared his views about the impact of the research activity as a stimulus for systems change at the authority level:

There would have been no review of PAG without these workshops. Many had concerns about the PAG process, a review was needed, but outside of psychological services, nothing had actually happened. The workshops brought a number of key stakeholders together, including officers of sufficient seniority, who could give us the authority to proceed.

Reflexivity: Identity and Subject Positioning

The consideration of participant reflexivity is important because of the qualitative nature of the intervention and the emphasis on the researcher role in DWR interventionist methodology. The analysis of reflexivity is presented as four key themes (see Table 27):

- Professional identity and subject positioning
- Values, biases and prejudices
- Sharing opinions about PAG from a CHAT perspective
- The role of the researcher

Table 27: Reflexivity of DWR Participants.

Level 1 Categories	Practitioner- Researcher's views	DWR Participants' views
Professional identity and subject positioning	Dwr 1/1 611 Multi-disciplinary working. How is the work shared? Well I think there are huge tensions there. I've said I work with a range of professionals. I have service agreements with schools. I have obligations as an employee of the authority. I've multi-level roles as a psychologist. I have multi-level roles as a psychologist in PAG. I think there are tensions over roles and tasks in the PAG process. I have the five roles of the Currie matrix. I've joint working with parents, professionals and young people.	DWR 1/ 2 306 EP2 There happens to be special schools in [X authority] but I probably sometimes think I'd be better in an authority where there are no special schools because that would make it easier for me to be able to find ways to meet the needs of the children that are in the schools and their communities. DWR 3/ 1 185 HT 2 It's the spirit of inclusion and that people are resisting in accepting that spirit of inclusion. That is where I see the real challenge in my job in particular, with people saying this child is not coping with mainstream so let's get them out. So why are they going to mainstream. It's not good enough to say the class teacher has said that, so they must be out. That's what I see as the most disappointing aspect of my work with schools.
Values, biases and prejudices	DWR 1/ 1 247 I'm constantly changing the people I work with and the perspective I have. And I think that's very complex and I think we need to recognise that that's what our work looks like. What are my biases in PAG activity?	Ed professional The research framework has enabled us as professionals to learn and develop; to consider our own views and biases, and those of others within a very complex system. HT 1 The workshops gave us the opportunity for an open and sustained professional debate. They also gave the opportunity for us to reflect on our own values, beliefs and practices. That many things we take as based on fact are really based on assumption. That I have a lot to learn
Power, authority and sharing opinions	DWR 1/ 1 467 when I was starting to read about this, I was trying to map out. How do I understand PAG in terms of activity systems? DWR 1/2 684 R-P If we come up with some ideas and an action plan, for example, at the end of session three do we have any level of authority to try and enact what we have in an action plan? That's what I would like to discuss. So I'm talking about power out there and politics. How is this all fitting in to the larger scheme of things?	DWR 3/ 2 583 HT 1 Given that we've sat through a lot of workshops and had a lot of discussions, or whatever. That maybe we don't have the authority to change things but maybe we do, we should be the ones coming up with a recommendation or something like that. Because bringing lots of new people in and I know there are lots of voices missing as you've said. But bringing extra people in who have not had the opportunity to go through the process that you've taken us through and the debate we've been fortunate to have with each other within this environment. Maybe we do have some ownership of it but we don't have authority I don't think.
The role of the researcher	DWR 1/ 2 192 the researcher must make their own views and involvement very explicit. How am I interpreting this data? DWR 1/1 560 It's all about being reflexive as a researcher. So when I'm writing out my thesis I will be sharing with the reader of that thesis what my prejudices are, what my background is, what I bring to the study, my interpretation of the data, my views about PAG. It's really important to make that clear... I would be expecting you to have a completely different view and opinion from me. This my opinion as a piece of data.	DWR 1/ 2 179 EP2 The way you [practitioner-researcher] are discussing this and feeding us with information makes me ask mentally whether you expect your views of the, your views are not to be discreet about this group but to be influenced because I'm uncomfortable about having an activity system that we're working on that you are seeing as outside because I don't think anything you have done today that you presented yourself as being outside EP 1 We had a skilled but neutral 'chair' and the structured nature of the discussions helped us to move on.

Participants considered professional identity in PAG activity at the individual and discursive levels. For example, a Head teacher discussed her disappointment at colleagues who appear to resist ‘the spirit of inclusion’ when considering support for children with significant ASN. Continuing with the dilemma of inclusion theme, an EP considered whether it would be better for her to work in an authority ‘where there are no special schools’. The researcher-practitioner shared her understanding of the complexity of the EP role in the authority and the concomitant dilemmas and double binds associated with it.

Reflexivity: Values, Biases and Prejudices

Participants reflected openly about their own value systems, biases and prejudices in PAG activity, welcoming the opportunity to discuss with colleagues and reflect individually how gaining greater awareness of them may improve professional practice. For example, an education professional wrote that the ‘research framework has enabled us as professionals to learn and develop, to consider our own views and biases, and those of others within a very complex system’. The researcher-practitioner asked of herself ‘What are my biases in PAG activity?’ In terms of shifting from inductive generalizations of everyday practice to theoretical generalizations based on a historical-genetic analysis, a Head Teacher wrote of having ‘a lot to learn’ in terms of the ‘many things we take as based on fact are really based on assumption’.

Reflexivity: Power, Authority and Agency

A Head Teacher welcomed the opportunity for ‘open and sustained professional debate’ sharing views and opinions about PAG activity from a CHAT perspective. The researcher-practitioner made explicit her awareness of levels of seniority between the participants and how this may influence group dynamics. For example, she stated how her perception of power differentials might influence her own behaviour if her own view on a topic contradicted the views of those with more senior designations. She explained to the group a possible source of conflict between knowing what her

line manager's views were about the EP role in the PAG process and the research aims of the study which had a wider focus.

2/2 770 P-R: X has very clear ideas and is quite focused on our service's role in this. I had to explain that the point of this project I'm doing is, it's not just focusing on our service, it is the wider picture. So I wanted to see what people thought about that.

The researcher-practitioner brought participants' attention to the issue of power and authority of the group to act on behalf of the authority to bring about change to the PAG process. Questions were addressed specifically to the remit and object of the group's activity. For example, how did participants want to define the object of their activity as a PAG review group? The researcher-practitioner was aware of the need for sensitivity of this questioning given the power and authority of several participants who held senior positions within the department in terms of strategic and operational PAG activity. The extent to which the group had power and/or authority to make changes was discussed in detail in the third workshop.

Participant agency and power to direct the research process and the outcomes of the intervention (Engeström, 2011) was evidenced in the creation of second stimuli: the work-plan and the table of recommendations. Consensus was reached that the recommendations for a review of PAG would contribute to the authority-wide self-evaluation process which may also be viewed as a mediating tool or second stimulus for the expansion of PAG activity. A transcript extract is provided to enable readers to capture the richness of discussion about sources of power and authority to implement changes to the PAG process (see Table 28). In this regard, Blackler emphasizes the need for greater theorization of power and politics in CHAT intervention studies. Power may be understood as participant resources used in the 'complex and contested processes' of formative interventions (Blackler, 2011) and in this sense, power may also be viewed as a mediator of collective activity.

Table 28: Negotiation of Power and Authority to Implement the PAG Change Process.

<p>Extract One: Transcript 3/2</p>	<p>Extract Two Transcript 3/ 2</p>
<p>3/ 2 559 R-P Do we need to form a smaller group to draw up this work plan for long-term, medium and short-term goals? What authority or scope do we have as this group and what authority do we have to form a sub-group of people? ...What does this actually look like? What is it going to look like in practice?</p> <p>565 EP 1: Well, I think that is a very good question. What authority do we have to do anything? The responsibilities I think are quite diffuse because to know who is responsible for this and the other. It's a sort of process that personally I would have wanted X to be involved in. Maybe Y has the remit now.</p> <p>571 EO 1 : I think the work, the different tasks that are undertaken by different members of the management group in support of young people will be worked out against the background of self-evaluation in the medium term. Talking within a kind of three to six month horizon. In the interim there will be some pragmatic decisions about who's doing what and I would see the work of this group should fit into the self-evaluation and be a work stream that is identified within that and things specified as far as they can be.</p>	<p>DWR 3/ 2 583 HT 1 Given that we've sat through a lot of workshops and had a lot of discussions, or whatever. That maybe we don't have the authority to change things but maybe we do, we should be the ones coming up with a recommendation or something like that. Because bringing lots of new people in and I know there are lots of voices missing as you've said. But bringing extra people in who have not had the opportunity to go through the process that you've taken us through and the debate we've been fortunate to have with each other within this environment. Maybe we do have some ownership of it but we don't have authority I don't think.</p> <p>590 EO 1: Now, I entirely endorse that. What I'm saying is that locating it within self-evaluation. Self-evaluation is one of the ways we are collecting evidence.</p> <p>592 P-R: So this could provide evidence, so our recommendations are part of the authority self-evaluation process. So would you be happy to leave it there then? That we would put forward recommendations rather than having a work plan.</p> <p>595 EP 2: If we are putting forward recommendations, we need to have a work plan of what those recommendations look like in practice.</p>

Reflexivity: The Role of the Researcher-Practitioner

Engeström et al (2003:310) suggest that ‘researchers may need to step out of their traditional role of observers and analysts only’ and Blackler (2009:39) refers to the CHAT researcher’s role being concerned with ‘problem analysis, problem solution, solution implementation, and change evaluation’ to recognise the expansive potential of work activity as a result of surfacing tensions and contradictions. During the workshop sessions, the researcher-practitioner experienced her role simultaneously as researcher and EP working with partner agencies, senior managers and authority officers. In this respect, an attempt was made to bridge ‘research and practice’ through the DWR intervention (Blackler, 2009).

The researcher-practitioner aimed to be explicit regarding her position in the study. It was explained to participants that her contributions to the discussions would be subject to analysis as would their contributions. Information about her professional and academic background together with professional roles and tasks undertaken within the PAG process was provided to make explicit how it may influence interpretation of the data. This was achieved in two ways.

First, she shared her understanding of the PAG process and the EP role from a CHAT perspective. She considered the PAG process in terms of PAG as an activity system from the subject perspective of an EP and researcher-practitioner, providing a model of PAG as a network of interacting activity systems (Appendix 13). Personal thoughts were also shared about the object of activity of the group. Second, throughout the workshop discussions, she shared her understanding of the issues identified in the mirror data, interpreted within a CHAT framework, suggesting hypotheses for contradictions as discursive manifestations from stakeholder perspectives.

The researcher-practitioner’s perceptions of the DWR sessions were of a shared experience with the participants in consideration of possible future forms of PAG activity. Efforts were made to expand participants’ ‘everyday’ understandings of PAG activity by introducing scientific concepts as stimulus in the Vygotskian process

of double stimulation. For example, all participants constructed and applied new mediating tools, concepts and models to facilitate expansion of the object of PAG activity temporally and spatially. Engeström and Kerosuo (2007:307) refer to this activity as ‘making development visible’, a key feature of DWR interventionist methodology that enables joint activity of ‘envisioning’ and ‘decision-making’ in organizations. In doing so, the researcher-practitioner provided participants with tools to develop their own activity (Clot, 2009).

Apposite questioning of the utility of CHAT and DWR interventionist methodology as a change process mechanism demonstrated participant understanding of the research process and the epistemological underpinnings of rigorous methodology and data analysis in qualitative research. It also demonstrates the agency and resistance of participants in the research process, a factor that Engeström considers essential in DWR intervention research. For example, an EP challenged the researcher-practitioner to be explicit about the status of her own active involvement in the workshop activity.

Turning Point in Participants’ Understanding of DWR as Formative Intervention

A salient turning point from a CHAT perspective occurred in DWR 2, the focus of which was the expansion of participants’ understanding of DWR methodology as a formative intervention underpinned by the collective intentionality and agency of participants to shape the intervention of which they are a part. As the participants considered past and present contradictions and began to expand the object of PAG activity, the researcher-practitioner’s methodology and research questions were challenged. In CHAT terms, this represented a ‘significant deviating action’ (Engeström, 2008:223) as participants’ expressed ‘resistance and subversion’ in the research process (Sannino and Sutter, 2011:565) via dual stimulation as the core mechanism to attain agency (Engeström, 2011).

The challenge was provoked by the development and expansion of the object of PAG activity from a focus on the decision-making process for placement of children with ASN to an engagement with the development of inclusive practice to meet children’s

needs in mainstream settings. Two participants perceived this expansion of the object of PAG activity as an error in the research question: focusing on the PAG process rather than on how to improve inclusive practice in mainstream schools. The researcher-practitioner responded to the challenge using CHAT and DWR concepts to explain how the research design, as a formative intervention, could ‘accommodate this kind of shift’ as the object of PAG activity was expanded. Engeström et al (2003:286) describe this process as the ‘researcher-interventionists’ making themselves ‘contestable and fallible participants of the discourse’. A transcript excerpt is provided in Table 29 in order to demonstrate how the research design was challenged and defended.

Analysis of her own discursive contributions as objects of data collection, interpretation and critique enabled her to be explicit about issues of reflexivity in the role of researcher-practitioner. In doing so, she made the multiple role of the CHAT researcher ‘visible, recordable and analyzable’ (Engeström et al, 2003:312). Her experience of the workshops was that of involvement in the interactions and discussions, making contributions to key turning points as the object of PAG activity was expanded. In this sense she had a voice, thereby contributing to the multi-voicedness of the intervention. Developing a greater understanding of the dialectical nature of CHAT methodology, the researcher-practitioner, in collaboration with participants, shaped but was also shaped by the DWR intervention to bring about expansive learning in PAG activity. Engeström refers to the process of change in researchers as well as the phenomena that they study:

‘In the social sciences, we study phenomena that change while we are studying them. Being ourselves part of the phenomena we study, we researchers also change as our research objects change’ (2008: xi)

Table 29: Understanding DWR as Formative Intervention.

Participants' Challenge to Research Design
<p>DWR2/2 881 EP 2: <i>I'm really, I'm struck that we've got this the wrong way around. If we say that what we're about is inclusion that's our activity map we're there about inclusion and presumption to mainstream and support for kids with additional support now that doesn't sound radical. [F and M: (laughs)] What we're doing is saying and you describe it as that self-evaluation that. What is our capacity to meet those needs in mainstream school?</i></p>
<p>DWR 2/2 964 EO 1 <i>Think of what was outlined to you earlier is a challenge to you as a researcher in effect saying you're asking the wrong questions and this data all relates to the wrong question. Now some of it will tell us something useful about what we think is the right question... but can the constraints you're operating within accommodate this kind of shift?</i></p>
<p>DWR2/2 969 P-R <i>It is designed exactly to do that. So, right. So this is a model for creating systems change and professional learning. The catalyst for a system change was the identified problems that people were saying were wrong with PAG [M: Yeah]. So for the purpose of our research I could have chosen any problem out there in our department, in our system. I chose PAG because I was particularly interested in it and saw that a starting point. What I would be expecting through any systems change work is where you're original catalyst for doing it in the first place will always look very different from your end point. So what has happened, so what has happened beautifully in doing this is that we started off by saying right there is a review of PAG happening right can I tap into this piece of research and what we've done is that we have interrogated a practice, we have looked at stakeholders' perceptions and what we have arrived at the end of workshop two reframing what the focus of our work plan should be. And that is exactly what I would have hoped would have happened. Is that we need to look at the wider system. It's going to affect it and it's happened beautifully in terms of what I would be expecting. So it's not like [M: Yeah] I'm trapped I wanted to look at PAG but we should be looking at inclusion. It's what I was expecting, I was hoping that as we discussed it we would arrive at this point and that is exactly what's happened – we've re-configured or expanded the object of PAG. In terms of activity theory, we engaged in this research activity to open up the ZPD of PAG, to challenge established, dominant practice and expand the object of work activity. That is what you have done. You have re-focused what the object of PAG activity should be. The research methodology is based on a formative intervention design which means that, you know, we were aiming to change and develop practice without prior knowledge of the direction we would go in. We did this based on analysis and discussion of ethnographic data of historical and current work activity, you know, parent views and education professional views. We have engaged in a process of co-construction and negotiation as participants and researchers. As a researcher, I didn't expect 'nicely linear results' and I didn't know what the solutions and outcomes would be before we started. A formative intervention emphasises the agency of participants to shape the intervention and that is exactly what you have done</i></p>

6.2.7 The Cycle of Expansive Learning: Implementation and Evaluation

DWR participants were asked to reflect upon changes in PAG activity one year after the intervention. Seven out nine participants completed an evaluation proforma

which asked questions around the themes of noticing change, pace of change, resistance to change and implications of change (see Table 30; Appendix 6).

Analysis of responses indicated uncertainty about the direction and pace of change, particularly regarding professional tasks in the PAG change process. Several comments were made about the uncertainty of roles in the PAG change process and who has ownership of it. For instance, it 'needs to be explicit who manages PAG and the role of partner agencies in the process' and 'I am not sure what the roles of others are in the change process'. One respondent suggested that key professionals needed to focus on the recommendations made in the DWR workshops as they were at the risk of being 'diverted by new ideas being added on in adhoc, anecdotal manner'. A senior manager suggested better organization of the PAG review group with an improvement plan indicating clearer timelines and work-streams with lead professionals identified for each area of development. One comment focussed upon the pace of change being too slow, particularly with reference to linking the PAG process to the GIRFEC framework. An education officer suggested that schools should have more ownership of GIRFEC and pathways to support and have greater capacity to be more inclusive using local resources.

Table 30a. Themes and Illustrative Quotes about PAG Change Process

	Slow pace of change	Need to Publish information on PAG process	Changes noticed	Need for criteria for PAG groups and profiles for specialist provisions	Power, ownership and leadership	Assessment, reporting and advising parents
HT2	I can honestly say I have not seen any change to the process. ...I would like the whole process to change... reading increasing number of PAG papers is challenging.		The pro-forma developed for PAG 1 helps....			We need to look at reducing the narrative style of the PAG papers
EP3	PAG and Getting It Right more closely linked; schools central to this. More need to be done with this		There needs to be a summary of the various changes and this needs to be conveyed to the whole service	The language classes and secondary resources being for young people with less severe needs; specialist schools for the more needy. This seems obvious, even trite now but needs reinforcing.		Some would rather that we just described need but we must have a views on specialist provision as it exists in X authority
EP2	I would really appreciate a calm reflection of this year's process. I wonder if the 'tinkering' could stop and the GIREC/ASL 'together' process be owned by schools		There are more voices within and outside worrying about changes which is raising the profile Role tensions continue. Need to continue interrogating processes; professional boundaries being explored heightens tension and confusion but develops creative solutions. Anxiety about cost of inclusion; uncertainties is adding pressure and increasing resistance		Resistance not new but expected; Clear leadership about where we want to be/ where we are now helps colleagues keep things in perspective and offers reassurance	
EP1	In truth, I hadn't changed my views. I'd simply changed my tactics, looking for a slower but still incremental process. Let's fight the battles we can win, Tracey! The workshops set the direction of travel and we just need to get on with it Psychological Services can support the development of a revised process. However, I feel that preparing child-friendly letters, while important, is simply tinkering round the edges.	We need to prepare a guide to the PAG process for parents, and we need to publish this. Once we've told parents what we're going to do, the cat is out of the bag	Revision of Form 5 and letter to parents; guidance on reporting formats for schools and EPs. This was intended firstly to show that we were serious about change...and to start us on a journey where the assessment process would be more clearly transparent and multi-professional The profiling of provision; the Birmingham CRISP framework	We need a profile of our provision. If this is constructed around the 'kinds of children' who typically go to each of our facilities, we'll just re-create the pre-Warwick eleven (or was it thirteen) categories of handicap. The profile needs to focus on what each class and each school can provide distinctively in terms of curriculum, staff skills, specialist facilities... and so on. This needs to be published and parents need to have access to it. We need to produce and agree the criteria which will guide PAG in their decisions	I think the Children and Families Department needs to manage the PAG process...at best, it's administered. A very senior officer needs to take a grip of it – but I doubt this will happen	Once we have a new process, I hope that educational psychologists will simply be one contributor to a properly multi-professional process

Table 30b. Themes and Illustrative Quotes about PAG Change Process

	Slow pace of change	Need to Publish information on PAG process	Changes noticed	Need for criteria for PAG groups and profiles for specialist provisions	Power, ownership and leadership	Assessment, reporting and advising parents
Ed. ProPI	<p>I feel personal resistance</p> <p>There is still a tremendous amount of work to do for the October and March PAGs 1 and 3</p>	<p>I know there has been comprehensive training and a standardised record sheet for PAG 1 members and I think these sound like excellent changes and improvements. My colleague reported that she was very content with the PAG 1 training day and with the record sheet.</p>	<p>I have noticed changes in terms of advice going out to schools about forms to use and I sense a change in people voicing that it needs to get better</p> <p>Next steps would involve a clearer time line of meetings, developments and events which need to happen over the next year. Need a plan with the lead person identified for each area of development and a timescale</p> <p>Need for an improvement plan and I think a steering group which meets regularly would be a useful way forward</p>			
E04	<p>I think there is a greater commitment by some people to improve the process.</p> <p>I don't think there is resistance by most people in a negative or explicit way. However, I think some people do not want to change their way of working</p> <p>Change seems to be very slow with poor communication</p> <p>Sense of change is that it is superficial</p> <p>Establish a steering group to manage work-streams to get things done</p>		<p>Individuals involved in some changes.</p> <p>Reports/forms/letters have changed.</p> <p>Awareness at senior level of areas recommended for change. more ideas being put forward.</p> <p>More focus on meeting needs than on provision</p> <p>Workstreams need to be established to take on specific jobs to implement changes to PAG; be explicit about people, remits and timescales.</p> <p>We know what needs to be done, let's get on and do it.</p>	<p>Understand the need to move other developments such as the capacity in our special schools, the profiling of specials etc alongside the developments of the PAG process</p>	<p>I am not sure what the roles of others are in the change process. It appears to be a bit random and whatever idea is on the table is the one we go with. Perhaps I am being too harsh but that is what it feels like</p>	
R-P	<p>Involvement of senior officers and heads of services to make transformational change but unclear if there is consensus on direction of significant change; reluctance to look at professional role change</p>	<p>Aware that plans are being made to involve parents in producing/publishing of PAG information via ASL parent forum and KINDRED</p> <p>Aware that moderation of PAG applications being made; trends and patterns being examined</p>	<p>Reports/forms/letters have changed.</p> <p>Awareness at senior level of areas recommended for change. more ideas being put forward.</p> <p>More focus on meeting needs than on provision</p> <p>Workstreams need to be established to take on specific jobs to implement changes to PAG; be explicit about people, remits and timescales.</p> <p>We know what needs to be done, let's get on and do it.</p>	<p>Aware that senior education officers and education professionals are producing workstreams to produce criteria for PAG and profiles of special schools.</p>	<p>Needs to be made explicit roles of partner agencies in the process</p> <p>Need to base changes on recommendations made from research workshops; need to focus on this and not be diverted by new ideas being added on in adhoc, anecdotal manner</p>	<p>Psychologists continue to have key role in PAG (assessment and chairing); some debate about assessments used</p>

It is widely documented in the literature that effective change takes time to embed because of factors such as resistance to change in the status quo and other extraneous factors that could not be accounted for at the planning for change stage. For example, see the systematic review by Fernandez and Rainey (2006) of public sector organizational change studies. Pawson (2006:218) suggests that because interventions are open systems then ‘effectiveness may be subverted or enhanced through the unanticipated intrusion of new contexts and causal powers’. Commentary in the literature emphasises realistic expectation of change in research studies, that researchers should not expect significant change, and that it is a developmental process not an event (Fullan, 2007), and a process that takes at least two years (Robson, 2011:192). Significant change processes are now being implemented in the authority two years after the DWR intervention.

Edwards (2010) and Daniels (2008) point out a challenge for CHAT research studies to account for subjects’ ‘lived experience’ of systemic contradictions and of systemic change efforts aimed at resolution of such contradictions, whilst activity theorists in general are calling for a greater focus on experiencing in activity-theoretical based research (Roth, 2009; Daniels and Warmington, 2007; Roth and Lee, 2007). The notion of ‘cognitive trails’ may explain personal experience of ‘the gap between design and implementation of new ways of working’ (Engeström, 2007). Engeström’s expansion of the notion of cognitive trails may capture the lived experiences of professionals currently involved in the PAG change process and how this impacts on established practice and professional identity as they work with the new Children’s Service Delivery Model (GIRFEC) to assess children’s needs. For example, professionals may use ‘cognitive trails’ that serve as ‘anchors’ and ‘stabilizing networks’ to enable practice to continue through the change process.

6.2.8 Limitations of the Empirical Investigation

Data analysis

Reference is made to ‘discourse’ in the study; however a discourse analysis of transcripts was not undertaken and it is likely that rich data analysis has been missed because of this. A discourse analysis of DWR workshop transcripts may have provided a more in-depth and richer analysis of the professional talk and dominant discourses within PAG activity (Blackler, 2009). For example, use of discourse analysis may have captured better the extent to which activity had been reconceptualised. A research study whose aim is a more focused analysis of discourse in the context of PAG activity would perhaps achieve a deeper understanding of participants’ language use and how it may illuminate further power and authority hierarchies through discourse.

In this regard, although reference is made in the study to Bernstein’s theory of cultural transmission as a means to understand participants’ accounts of power and authority, a full analysis using his framework was not undertaken. Instead, suggestions are made as to how a language of description could enhance analysis and understanding of dominant and marginal discourses and discursive practices in PAG activity (Daniels, 2010, 2008; Blackler, 2009) as could analysis of the institutional structures of PAG activity considered as cultural artefacts that ‘implicitly mediate’ or shape professional practice in the PAG process (Daniels, 2010; Edwards et al, 2009).

Using template analysis may have limited the extent to which theory was developed in the inductive tradition of grounded theory and therefore may not have captured to the same extent the richness of the data analysed in the workshop transcripts.

However, because CHAT as a theory was being tested, template analysis enabled greater analytical focus upon key aspects of CHAT. Also, because of time constraints analysis of the transcripts of the DWR workshop sessions was at a general level based on template codes and emerging themes.

Limitations of the DWR Intervention

Methodologically, a key criticism of the empirical investigation may be that it did not follow Engeström's recommendations for the behaviour of the researcher in change laboratories. For example, although the importance of the researcher's 'multiple contributions' and involvement 'in the interaction in his/her own voice' is emphasized, it is also important that there are at least two researchers in order that 'none of them bearing alone the whole responsibility for observing and interpreting the events, or trying to guide and channel them according to a pre-established script' (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007:312). Although a colleague helped with template analysis of data, the researcher-practitioner had principle responsibility for the design, implementation and analysis of the study.

Because of this, the role of the researcher in the study may be criticised in terms of the feasibility of an 'insider' or practitioner taking part in a credible enquiry. This is because the active involvement of the researcher-practitioner may compromise objectivity and neutrality of the analytic and interpretative process and may involve exploitation of the researcher by strategic managers (Robson, 2011; Engeström, 2004; Pawson and Tilley, 1997). However, the benefits of a researcher-practitioner approach outweigh this criticism because of the participation, collaboration and involvement of service users and practitioners and the subsequent impact on long-term outcomes (Robson, 2011; Edwards et al, 2009; Teddlie and Tashakori, 2009; Engeström, 2008; Brymen, 2008). Furthermore, Engeström (2004) argues that in DWR methodology in particular, the researcher-practitioner enters an activity system and observes development of processes and outcomes in real time and, in doing so, has a claim to strong internal validity because explanation of the spatial and temporal order of events is provided.

Representation of Multi-Perspectives

CHAT studies acknowledge that in the application of DWR methodology the perspectives of all stakeholders cannot be captured (Engeström, 2009; 2004; 2000). A limitation of DWR methodology in this study was that many partnership agencies

were not directly represented due to the limited scope of the study. For example, health, social work and voluntary agencies were not represented as the focus was on education professionals. This limitation was discussed by participants during the course of the DWR workshops. The conclusion therefore must focus on the limitations of the hypotheses formed and interpretation of analysis presented because of ‘missing’ voices in the study. A particular limitation in this regard is that parents/carers and case workers were not present in the workshops to give personal case study accounts of experiences and outcomes for individual children. Instead, participants presented summaries of cases from their perspective. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, data from on-going authority-led consultation processes about the PAG process were used as mirror data in the workshops together with summaries of two authority reports, one of which was based on parents’ views via questionnaires gathered over a 10-year period and the other which was based on education professional views of the PAG process via interviews and focus group.

Engeström (2000) included patients in his DWR change laboratories in a CHAT study of health systems in Finland, arguing that service user presence provides a powerful ‘mirror’ for professionals to consider problems in a system from the perspective of service users. An extension of this argument for the thesis is that the young people themselves were not present to give authentic accounts of outcomes of placement decisions. However, DWR methodology may not be the most accessible for young people with complex needs. Also, the dynamics of such a group composition may have constrained the frank discussion that took place in the DWR workshops between strategic and operational managers who hold senior positions of authority and responsibility for the PAG process and decisions made on behalf of children and young people. Educational psychologists in the authority are developing methodologies to consult with children and young people with complex needs and perhaps research activities such as this could have complimented the DWR intervention (Appendix 29).

6.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Identifying systemic contradictions in the PAG process

The key aim of the empirical investigation was to engage senior education professionals and senior authority strategists in intervention research to consider current PAG activity based on a historical/developmental analysis. Using Engeström's cycle of expansive learning, participants engaged in collective learning at the level of the activity system to develop new ways of working in PAG activity. By focusing on perceptions of problems within PAG activity, expressed as discursive manifestations such as double binds, conflict and dilemmas, key themes derived from template analysis were considered as hypotheses about systemic contradictions in the PAG process which was modelled by participants as an interconnecting network of activity systems. The themes are consistent across the empirical investigation, the two authority studies and key reviews of special educational needs in England (Ofsted, 2010; Lamb 2009).

- Problems with assessment methodology (tools)
- Conflict in partnership working (division of labour)
- Confusion over professional roles and remits (division of labour)
- Enduring dilemmas of inclusive practice and special needs education (community)
- Persistence in law and in professional practice of the language of categorization of need (rules)
- Problematic partnership and communication with parents (division of labour)
- Support systems are overly complex, inequitable and non-transparent (tools)

Evidence of Expansive Learning

DWR methodology is an application of the cycle of expansive learning, the key aim of which is transformational work practice or developmental remediation via

epistemological principles of a collective ZPD, dual stimulation and theoretical generalizations. Evidence of expansive learning in the study is provided in the turning points identified in workshop discussions, in participants' evaluations of the workshops and in their development of new tools or instrumentalities to expand the object of PAG activity.

The identification of contradictions in PAG activity, expressed as discursive manifestations, led to four qualitative turning points in the construction of the new object of activity in the workshop discussions. This was considered as evidence to assess the extent to which expansive learning had occurred in the zone of proximal development (ZPD) of PAG activity as individuals challenged and broke away from 'dominant trails' of established professional practice in the PAG process. It is argued that the key turning points provide evidence of expansion of the object of PAG activity by participants as they developed new ways of working to meeting learners' needs. Within the metaphorical ZPD, participants were supported to consider the problems of PAG activity (first stimulus) as a collective mirror of stakeholder perspectives (second stimulus) that led to theoretical understandings of the process and, in turn, to modelling of new ways of working using further second stimuli of models of activity systems, participant-created tools and 3x3' surfaces.

DWR participants identified a broad and varied range of ideas for tool development and re-configured division of labour across the four areas of expanded PAG activity. Via the mechanism of dual stimulation, new mediating tools such as the work-plan and table of recommendations, were developed and negotiated by the participants. The dialectical processes of internalisation and externalization explain the means by which participants endeavoured to shape future processes and services to meet learners' and families' needs. In doing so, they expressed agency to develop new ways of working within the constraints of local and national policy and legislation. In this sense, the concepts of 'internalization' and 'externalization' may explain how people are shaped by but also shape their work practices through agency in work contexts.

The researcher-practitioner created conditions for dual stimulation in the workshops as participants learned about and applied a historical-genetic analysis of the PAG process and moved to theoretical generalizations thus opening up the ZPD of PAG activity to develop new concepts, tools and ways of working. For example, as discussion focused on the need for a re-configuration of services for children and families, 'GIRFEC' was identified as the key tool for improving service delivery to children and families. In doing so, participants moved from a process of problem-solving about PAG (abstract/empirical thinking in terms of causal relationships and everyday understandings) to a focus on systems development or a 'theoretical-genetic analysis and model-based design of a new solution.

Apposite questioning of the utility of CHAT and DWR interventionist methodology as a change process mechanism demonstrated participant understanding of, and agency in, the research process. For example, as participants expanded the object of PAG activity, the researcher-practitioner's methodology and research questions were challenged. In CHAT terms, this represented a 'significant deviating action' as participants' expressed 'resistance and subversion' in the research process. Engeström et al (2003:286) describe this process as the 'researcher-interventionists' making themselves 'contestable and fallible participants of the discourse'.

The researcher-practitioner experienced her role simultaneously as researcher and EP working with partner agencies, senior managers and authority officers. In this respect, an attempt was made to bridge 'research and practice' through the DWR intervention. The researcher-practitioner aimed to be explicit regarding her position in the study by explaining that her contributions to the discussions would be subject to analysis as would their contributions. In doing so, she made the multiple role of the CHAT researcher 'visible, recordable and analyzable' (Engeström et al, 2003:312).

Reflecting on the Change Process

DWR participants were asked to reflect upon changes in PAG activity one year after the intervention. Analysis of responses indicated uncertainty about the direction and

pace of change, particularly regarding professional tasks in the PAG change process. Engeström's expansion of the notion of cognitive trails may capture the lived experiences of professionals currently involved in the PAG change process and how this impacts on established practice and professional identity as they work with the new Children's Service Delivery Model (GIRFEC) to assess children's needs. For example, professionals may use 'cognitive trails' that serve as 'anchors' and 'stabilizing networks' to enable practice to continue through the change process. However, at this stage there are also likely to be new conflicts, dilemmas and double binds as new ways of working clash with established practice. Engeström (2004:4) refers to successive stages of the expansive cycle as revealing tensions between the old and new ways of working. Stage five and six of the cycle of expansive learning enables further questioning, analysis and reflection of changes that have been made.

In the next chapter evaluative comments of slow pace of change one year after the intervention are compared to changes that have subsequently taken place, two years after, in the development of authority processes for the assessment and meeting of children's needs terms such as of the Progressive Case Management Model and the Children's Service Delivery Model. (See Sections 7.1 and 7.2.)

CHAPTER 7. CONSOLIDATING NEW PRACTICE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

To gauge longer-term impact of the DWR intervention, data was gathered from several sources over an eighteen-month period following the DWR workshops. Engeström (2011:625) emphasizes that in a cycle of expansive learning it is important that ‘various kinds of follow-up data are collected and specific follow-up sessions are included in the longitudinal intervention process’. The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates how DWR participants together with strategic and operational managers have considered the recommendations in the changing context of authority re-structuring over a two-year period (see Figure 23).

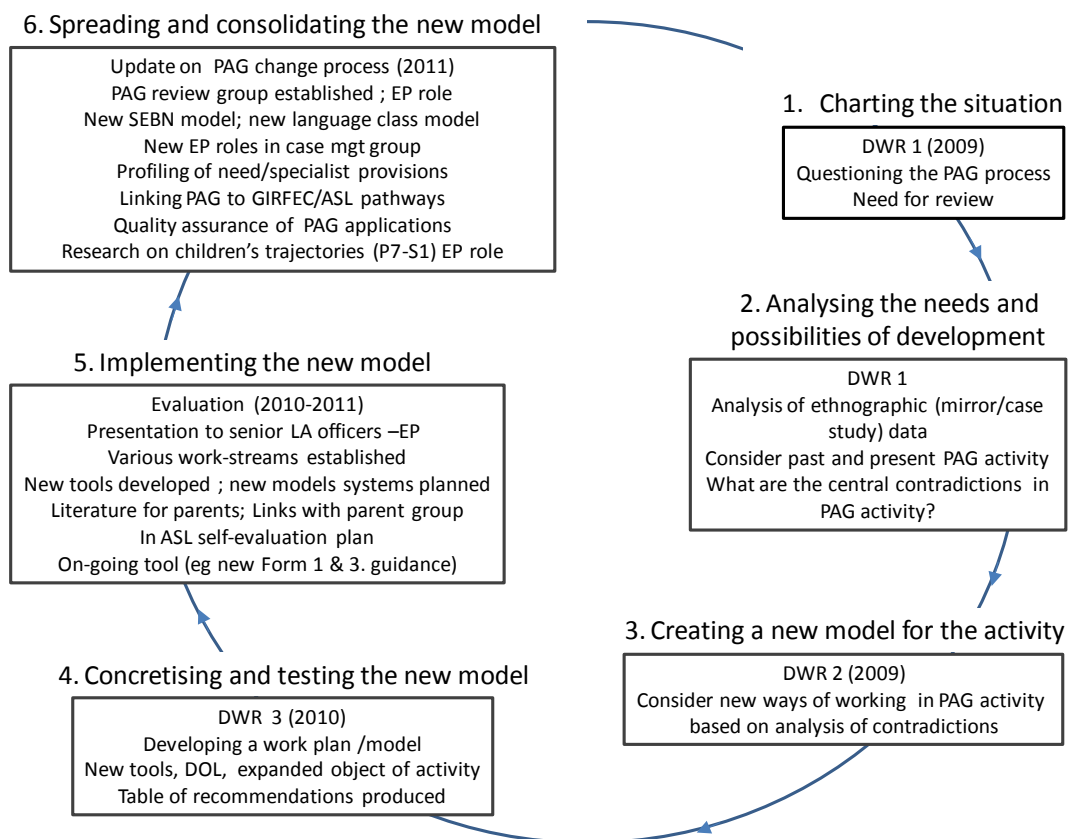


Figure 23: DWR Workshops as Cycle of Expansive Learning.

Expansion of the object of PAG activity in the DWR workshops focused upon the need to re-structure services for children and families within the GIRFEC framework. Engeström et al (2003:310-311) describe DWR interventions as ‘marginal microcosms’ of the interacting networks of activity systems in authentic contexts. Referring to the ‘centripetal potential’ of DWR laboratories, it is suggested that the transformational activity achieved in workshop sessions may make ‘inroads and tends to spread into the central structures and interactional routines of the organization’. In this way, DWR methodology can account for mechanisms via which a wider range of practitioners and stakeholders actually change practice over time once the DWR sessions have ended.

Significant changes to ‘central structures’ in the case study local authority have been implemented since the DWR workshops, the most of important of which is the development of a new resource allocation process, part of the wider CSDM (GIRFEC) model of services for children and families. Developments to date in terms of transformational change to authority processes, structures and systems are discussed within a CHAT framework. In doing so, change is discussed in terms of the newly created tools and re-configured division of labour aimed at successful outcomes of the new object of CSDM collective activity: progressive and proportionate response to meeting needs (see Figure 24).

Analysis of intervention impact in terms of authority change processes to date is presented. Table 31a-e provides a comparative analysis of original recommendations and actions to date, evidenced in authority documentation (Appendix 14-28). Figure 25 represents the completed layered structure of the DWR workshops as a formative intervention with details of how the new concept has been enacted once the workshops were completed.

Table 31a: DWR Recommendations (2010) and Authority-level Changes (2012).

DWR Recommendations (2010)	Authority-level Change process (2012) Object of activity	Authority-level Change process (2012) Tools	Authority-level Change process (2012) Division of Labour	Sources of Evidence (2012) Key draft documents and appendices
<p>Promote Inclusive Learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Audit capacity of mainstream schools to support P1 children with ASN • Create resourceful, inclusive schools to meet learners' needs • Implement support and challenge agenda via Team Around the School; emphasise presumption to mainstream 	<p>Building capacity of universal services to meet needs at local level</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GIRFEC national policy; local CSDM • Progressive case management model and CMRG • Curriculum for Excellence • Children's Services Priorities • ASL Improvement Plan • Early Years and Parenting Framework • Case management/Staged intervention at class, school, partner agency and specialist provision levels/ASL Pathways to support/GIRFEC • Single planning approach - Child's plan-reviewed at each level of staged intervention • Team around the school/cluster • Support and challenge framework to develop inclusive capacity of mainstream schools • Consultancy, CPD / training/info sharing events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic managers and authority officers • Children and young people, families, school staff • Partner services and agencies • Named person and lead professional • Service /school managers on CMRG to support and challenge mainstream schools to meet the needs of children with ASN • HTs, QIOs, support professionals, partner agencies/services 	<p>GIRFEC Guidelines (Appendix 14): P.2 'to deliver GIRFEC in Edinburgh we will build on our existing good practice in schools and other settings and work together to improve the support we offer children, young people and families and make sure it's available at the earliest age or stage'.</p> <p>Extended Case Management document (Appendix 15): 'supporting schools to meet immediate challenges'; 'supporting systemic improvement in schools'</p> <p>Child Planning Diagram (Appendix 16): 'to build capacity of universal services to meet needs to ensure that children's/young people's needs are met wherever possible within their family, local community, and local mainstream school'</p> <p>Child Planning Diagram: 'to improve children's life chances and enable all children and young people to become successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens'</p> <p>Planning for Children and Managing their Needs (Appendix 18): 'The child's plan is reviewed in a cycle involving the core people around the learner'</p> <p>Case management (SEBN) (Appendix 17): 'Consultation and guidance from a range of partner services and agencies will support establishments to build capacity in meeting learners' needs'</p>

Table 31b: DWR Recommendations (2010) and Authority-level Changes (2012)

DWR Recommendations (2010)	Authority-level Change process (2012) Object of activity	Authority-level Change process (2012) Tools	Authority-level Change process (2012) Division of Labour	Sources of Evidence (2012) Key draft documents and appendices
<p>Evidence-based decision-making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide more robust evidence of support for pupils in mainstream schools prior to applications for specialist provision • Provide more robust evidence of need in mainstream schools prior to applications for specialist provision • Determine what is available in terms of planning (ASP's/IEP's) to inform decision-making 	<p>Evidence-based assessment of need</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessment of need as a 'thinking tool' • Case work underpinned by principle of least intrusive and most effective intervention • Progressive case management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Child Planning process ○ Child's plan • National practice model used to profile a child's needs/strengths and identify resources in child's plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Named Person • Lead professional • ASL team • Partner agencies • Team around the cluster 	<p>GIRFEC guidelines, page 5: <i>'Early identification of need – and delivering appropriate, proportionate and time support- is at the heart of Getting it Right for Every Child'</i></p> <p>Child Planning diagram: <i>'to ensure that needs are identified early and that support is timely and proportionate in scope, duration and intensity'</i> <i>'that all children/young people's needs are being met across the eight well-being indicators and evidenced'</i></p> <p>Extending Case management document: <i>'a one door access to a range of integrated support for schools, learners and families appropriate to need'</i> <i>'a model of progressive intervention which aims to support outcomes within the child's school and community wherever possible'</i> <i>'A case management model providing continuity of support and collaboration over time, engaging different resources as required. Avoiding the need for sequential referrals/re-referrals.'</i> <i>'An evidence-based assessment of need and planning to ensure that intervention is timely, proportionate and responsive. This includes managed transition where a child requires access to a change of environment or specialist placement'</i></p>

Table 31c: DWR Recommendations (2010) and Authority-level Changes (2012)

DWR Recommendations (2010)	Authority-level Change process (2012) Object of activity	Authority-level Change process (2012) Tools	Authority-level Change process (2012) Division of Labour	Sources of Evidence (2012) Key draft documents and appendices
<p>Develop partnership working:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consult with parents on service re-design • Involve children and young people more in planning and decision-making processes that effect them • More effective inter-professional working 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To work in partnership with children, families, and wider community to improve life chances of children and young people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Single planning process (child planning) used to assess strengths, concerns, develop an action plan and access support • National practice model tools: well-being indicators, resilience matrix and my world triangle • Case management resource group (CMRG) Links to KINDRED; input from parents about re-design of PAG process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Named person • Lead professional • Local community • Partner agencies • Peer groups 	<p>GIRFEC Guidelines P.2 'Our CSDM describes our commitment to strengthening universal services and to developing more effective ways of working 'in-house' and with colleagues from other agencies to respond quickly to support children and young people'.</p> <p>'it's being used in families, schools, nurseries, health care, social work, law enforcement, housing and areas that involve children and young people of any age.'</p> <p>Child Planning Diagram: 'to work in partnership with children/young people, parents, and the wider community'</p> <p>'All children will have access to consistent, co-ordinated support when they need it'.</p> <p>Extended case management document: 2.1 'a case management model providing continuity of support and collaboration over time, engaging different resources as required'</p> <p>3.3 'Systemic improvement has been supported through the development of a Team Around the School/Establishment approach in collaboration with the Headteacher and Quality Improvement Officer'</p> <p>3.2 'The remit of the CMRG is much broader than the PAG and includes all requests for support'</p> <p>5.1 'The CMRG has adopted a flexible approach to enabling access to the widest range of expertise and resources through a single managed process'.</p> <p>6.1 'It is proposed that there should be two secondary case management review groups for pupils being considered for entry to specialist secondary provision. Both groups will report to the Executive group and their chairs will be members of the Executive group.'</p>

Table 31d: DWR recommendations (2010) and Authority-level Changes (2012)

DWR Recommendations (2010)	Authority-level Change process (2012) Object of activity	Authority-level Change process (2012) Tools	Authority-level Change process (2012) Division of Labour	Sources of Evidence (2012) Key draft documents and appendices
<p>Evaluation and Accountability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New reporting formats; more evidence-based professional reports; evidence of assessment and support; evidence of impact of progressive support • Create an evidence-base for local authority decision-making; • Commission research to establish this evidence base • Evaluate impact of decisions on outcomes for children • Examine patterns of referrals; track children with ASN known to PAG in mainstream/specialist settings; measure outcomes short and long term 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To quality assure engagement with and access to the single planning process within the CSDM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case management executive group to provide management and leadership, performance, management and monitoring • Professional reports; evidence of assessment and support; evidence of impact of progressive support • Audit of child's plans • Action planning and review in a planned cycle evidence that needs are being met within CSDM • Via child planning, dual planning for specialist provision and mainstream 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic managers and authority officers • Named Person • Lead professional • ASL team • Partner agencies • Team around the cluster 	<p>Extended case management 2.1: 'in-built quality assurance (support and challenge) to support self-evaluation and improvement at school, service and authority levels'</p> <p>3.3 'Quality assurance to ensure consistency of standards and inform planning for service improvements'</p> <p>4.5 'Although the CWRG has been functioning for six months, from the casework that it has dealt with and the scrutiny it has given to individual cases it is clear that supports that have been put in place and interventions that have been agreed have made a positive difference to the education and to the care circumstances of children'</p> <p>4.5 'At the institutional level feedback we have had indicates that planning for children has improved, is recorded in the appropriate format and consistently attends to the views of children and parents'</p> <p>Strategic meeting minute (20/2/2012) (Appendix 23): 'On the needs to have a child's planning meeting for all cases to consider dual planning to meet needs of learners i.e. mainstream and specialist provision planning</p> <p>Principal Psychologist's email (22/3/2012) (Appendix 19): You will see from the subject line of this e-mail that I am using this data as part of a move to fit our PAG system in line with Scottish Govt view of early years as pre-school until the end of P1. Please take the time to read these short positive case studies. I will be contacting a few of you shortly to ask about cases you have put forward this year who could go to special class [there are spaces] but in light of what I have said in these case studies, I will ask you to state what would be needed to support this year's child in a mainstream P1 class</p>

Table 3 1e: DWR Recommendations (2010) and Authority-level Changes (2012)

DWR Recommendations (2010)	Authority-level Change process (2012) Object of activity	Authority-level Change process (2012) Tools	Authority-level Change process (2012) Division of Labour	Sources of Evidence (2012) Key draft documents and appendices
<p>Develop a stream-lined resource allocation model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consider alternative models; develop more effective resource allocation model Review the role of professionals in the process (EP role in particular) and membership of PAGs Increase parental confidence in systems and improve communication Consider capacity to manage the process more centrally; Review number of PAG groups Publish criteria for admission to special schools and provisions; develop profiles of specialist provisions Re-examine provision and targeting of services Agree a ceiling on numbers in specialist provisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To manage cases through a stream-lined, single planning process To ensure that needs are identified early and that support is timely and proportionate in scope, duration and intensity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meeting learners' needs via Case management review groups within children services delivery model (GIRFEC); models developed for EY, primary and secondary; primary groups also to be established; groups defined more by sector and less by categorization of need. SEBN will be a separate group from other ASN Executive Group for CMRGs Progressive case management model Managers from psychological services will chair several of the CMRGs Groups will meet regularly and decisions to parents more timely 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children, young people, parents, school staff and partner agencies discuss specialist provision at a child planning meeting Lead professional coordinates application for specialist provision, not an EP Strategic and service managers are members of CMRGs 	<p>Extended case management draft document (Appendix 15):6.4 <i>The decision to make a referral for non-mainstream placement should be agreed at a child's planning meeting and the lead professional should submit the most recent child's plan, assessment of need and any recent professional reports'</i></p> <p>6.5 <i>'Child planning meetings in making a decision with parents/carers and young people about recommending a move to non-mainstream provision should make decisions which are informed by up-to-date information on any provisions that are being considered for placement.'</i></p> <p>5.2 <i>Likewise in light of the initial phase of operation an Early Years case management review group has been established where referrals for family support either targeted or universal will be considered. The group will be chaired by an Early Years manager'</i></p> <p>6.1 <i>'It is proposed that there should be two secondary case management review groups (SCMRG) for pupils being considered for entry to specialist secondary provision. Both groups will report to the Executive group and their chairs will be members of the Executive group'</i></p> <p>6.6 <i>'the chair [of the SCMRG LSEBN] will be a manager from Psychological Services'. 6.8 'The chair [of the SCMRG LASN] will be a manager from Psychological Services.'</i></p> <p>Good practice document (Appendix 20): <i>'At present specialist provision is accessed through Professional Assessment Groups (PAGS) which are chaired by educational psychologists. The coordination of reports for referrals to PAGS is also undertaken by educational psychologists. This is a way of working which is now somewhat at odds with the model of the delivery of children's services (GIRFEC) where children's plans have a named person and/or a lead professional who would be expected to ensure that agreed actions are carried out'</i></p>

Impact of DWR Intervention on Expansion of Object of PAG Activity: Actual Tool Development and Reconfigured Division of Labour

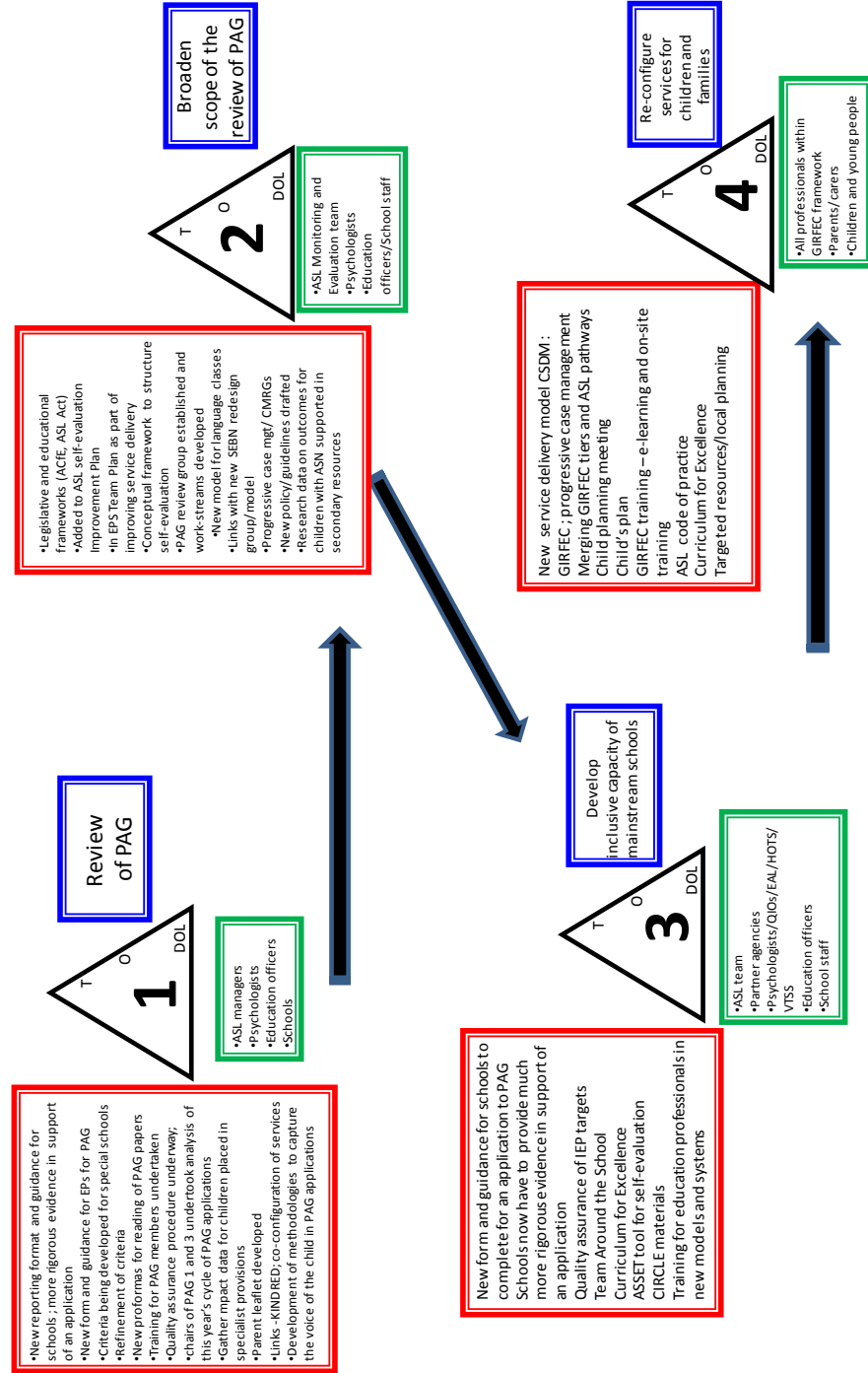


Figure 24: Actual tool development and re-configured division of labour.

7.2 FRAMEWORKS AND MODELS OF SERVICE DELIVERY AS TOOLS

The CSDM is a conceptual tool to meet the needs of children and families within a cohesive and responsive framework, answering many of the questions raised in the DWR workshops. (See Figure 26 for CSDM as an activity system & Appendix 14.) In doing so, many of the systemic contradictions of the PAG process are resolved. For example, the model aims to provide a staged approach to service delivery with a commitment to strengthening universal services, early intervention and accessing resources in the community. A key principle is partnership working in fluid and responsive ways, aiming for the participation of children and young people, to provide appropriate, proportionate and timely support to children and families. In this sense, the CHAT notions of knot-working, boundary crossing, relational agency and distributed expertise can be viewed as tools that may enable stakeholders to develop 'cohering goals' to meet children's and families' needs in the developing work context of loosely connected networks of professionals in school, cluster and neighbourhood teams (Edwards and Kinti, 2010).

The CSDM focuses on partnerships such as team around the school and cluster, sharing a common language, knowledge and expertise, 'designed to thread through all services and areas'. (Appendix 14). The key tool in the model is the child's plan, a focus of partnership working and allocation of resources. It is used to record and evaluate the effectiveness of strategies, intervention and support (Appendix 21). A particular feature of a child's planning meeting is the child-centredness of the approach. It has been developed to facilitate the participation of children and young people using solution focused approaches to identify strengths and concerns and to generate solutions. This approach is inclusive, participatory and collaborative. Mediating tools are available when developing support for children and families. For example, national well-being indicators and resilience factors are presented in diagrams to be used in assessment of need processes and child planning meetings. Child's plans are to be stored on an authority-wide electronic system and a web-site has been developed with CSDM guidelines, tools and resources for parents and practitioners.

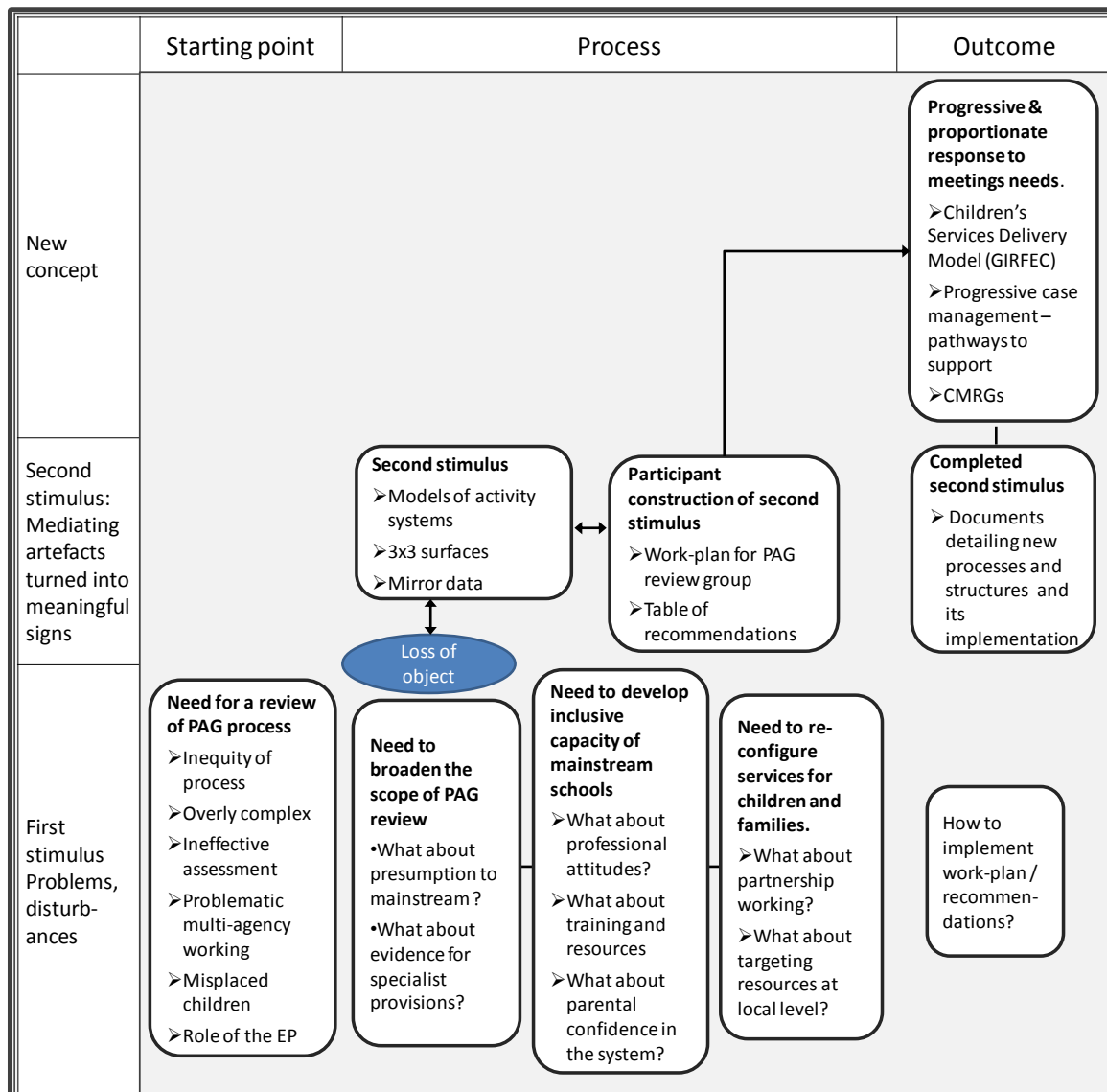


Figure 25: Layered DWR intervention:Outcomes

Children's Service Delivery Model: Supporting Children's and Families' Needs

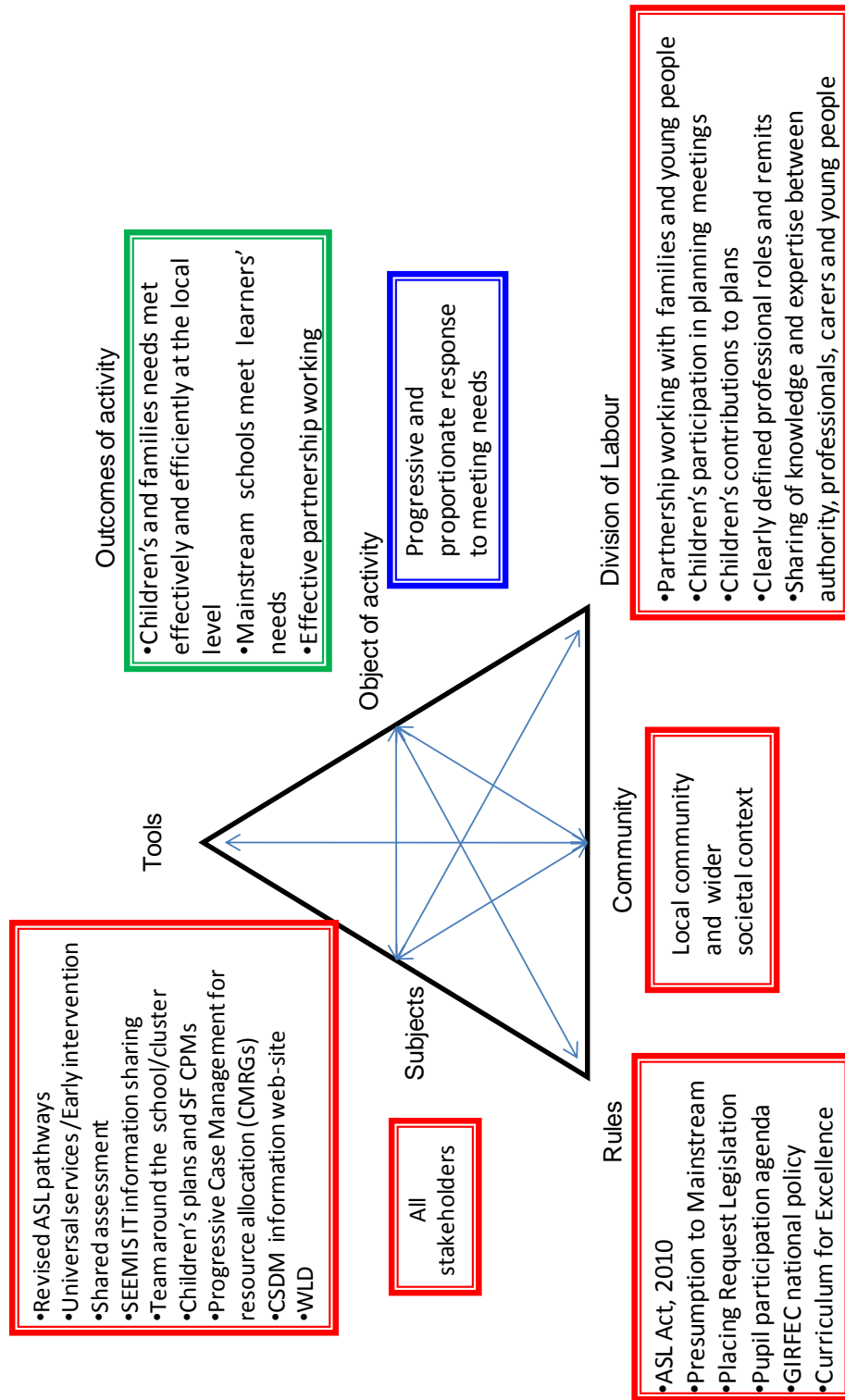


Figure 26: Children's Service Delivery Model as Activity System.

The GIRFEC CSDM has now been rolled out across all establishments in the city and schools. A number of strategic groups are working to support establishments and services with the implementation of the model as a coherent framework of service delivery for the children and families. Formal training and support is available at the establishment, service and city-wide levels and workforce learning and development opportunities are on-going for school staff and partner agencies. CSDM managers are involved in evaluation activity with a focus on quality assurance of child's plans and assessment documents. Strategic development groups are currently working on links between the CSDM and pathways to support for children with ASN, of which the PAG process was a part.

7.3 RE-CONFIGURED PAG PROCESS: PROGRESSIVE CASE MANAGEMENT

The PAG review group, convened to consider recommendations from the DWR intervention, has focused on the task of aligning pathways to progressive support and intervention with the GIRFEC/CSDM model to achieve a more coherent process for meeting the needs of children and families (Appendices 16, 18, 23). The original PAG process is being incorporated into this new model. There are links with other strategic groups tasked with specific remits within the CSDM change process. An education officer alluded to a sense that there has been a 'culture change' in the focus on meeting the needs of most children in mainstream via a staged intervention approach to support, a specialist placement being one of many options.

In CHAT terms, learning has expanded in a collective manner as PAG activity has undergone transformational change captured in the various stages of Engeström's cycle of expansive learning. See Figure 23 for stages in the cycle of expansive learning for the PAG process. The PAG process, as a decision-making model for allocation of specialist placements, is being re-configured within the ASL pathways to support and the Children's Service Delivery Model because it was considered to be 'a way of working which is now somewhat at odds with the model of the delivery of children's services (Appendix 20). A progressive Case Management approach, based

on a pilot model for children with SEBN, and embedded within the wider CSDM, is the new resource allocation model for all specialist provisions in the authority.

Case management is a model of staged allocation of resources and specialist provisions together with support for individual schools, based on a team around the cluster, to develop their inclusive capacity to meet learners' needs locally using universal and targeted resources (Appendix 15). In CHAT terms, it is a conceptual tool that provides an evidence-based process for meeting significant and exceptional needs of children and young people, based on a presumption to mainstream schooling for the majority of children and young people. Case management review groups, based on sector rather than on categorization of need, will replace the PAG groups to scrutinize evidence for appropriateness of placement in specialist settings. The new model is designed with layers of quality assurance and support mechanisms such as Team around the School and Cluster, described as 'filters', to increase the capacity of mainstream schools to include more children with significant ASN and to reduce the number of children whose needs are met in specialist provisions (Appendix 22).

7.4 THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE EP

In their continuous improvement planning, Psychological Services have identified their work at the strategic, research and change process levels as examples of good practice (Appendix 20). This study was mentioned as evidence of working collaboratively with stakeholders, to contribute to research, policy and practice to achieve better outcomes for children and families in a recent inspection process. As evidence of impact of the DWR intervention to authority change processes, the continuing contributions of educational psychologists to the review of the PAG process, the development of the CSDM and the case management model of resource allocation are discussed below. The impact of new service delivery models and processes on the changing roles and remits of the EP is also discussed.

7.4.1 The Role of the EP and the Case Management Model

EPS managers, including the researcher-practitioner are members of the progressive case management development and executive group, tasked to develop case management resource groups to consider applications for specialist provisions. The researcher-practitioner is also a member of strategic groups tasked to develop pathways to support with the CSDM, and the profiling of learners' needs and specialist provisions. At the time of writing, the researcher-practitioner continues to chair one of the PAG groups but she is also involved strategically in the transition development and planning from the PAG process to the new case management model to be implemented later this year.

For example, the role of the EP in the case management model is being negotiated but it is likely to be at the multi-agency casework level and at the level of the team around the cluster, the remit of which is to support and challenge schools to include children with ASN and to quality assure the evidence of support submitted when progressive intervention is sought. It is also likely that EP managers may have strategic involvement on case management review groups (CMRGs), previously PAG, to consider applications for specialist provisions. EPs do not have a co-ordinating role in this new model; rather it is the role of the named or lead professional to co-ordinate applications to the CMRG if specialist provision is being considered.

Adhering to the Early Years Curriculum for Excellence and the inclusion agenda, a strategic group is currently scoping out the capacity of mainstream schools and support services to meet the needs of more children with ASN in mainstream primary one. For example, packages of support in mainstream are now being considered for children who have already been prioritized for specialist placement via the PAG process (Appendix 19, 23 & 24). In doing so, an aim is to increase parental confidence in mainstream schools to provide an appropriate educational environment for children with ASN. In CHAT terms, this entails further tool development and re-configured division of labour as staff and resources are re-directed towards primary one classes rather than specialist provisions.

7.4.2 The Role of the EP and the Children’s Service Delivery Model

Psychological Services (EPS) have been involved in the development and implementation of the CDSM at both the strategic and operational levels through collaborative partnership with the GIRFEC team, partner agencies and educational establishments. The Director of Education stated that

“I have been very grateful to the Psychological Service for their involvement in this development strategically across the City and then making it happen in individual schools” (Appendix 25)

All EPs have key roles in the implementation of the new service delivery model both at the case work level and systemic level supporting schools and working in partnership with services and agencies. Members of the EPS management team, including the researcher-practitioner, are involved in strategic planning and development groups of the CDSM with on-going involvement at operational and strategic levels of the CSDM implementation process. The cornerstone of EPS contribution to the service delivery model is the framework for child planning meetings based on a solution focused approach and one which advocates child participation. The framework, developed by Psychological Services in collaboration with schools and partner agencies, promotes an inclusive, action-oriented and empowering forum for change. (Appendix 21). EPs, as change agents, have developed a process that creates positive change for children and their families. The Director of Children and Families stated that:

I have had excellent feedback about solution-focussed child planning meetings and the positive impact on outcomes for some of our most vulnerable children and families. Making sure that different services come together to look holistically at children's needs, seems to me to be the key, as does the engagement of children and families so that we are "working with" them and not "doing to". (Appendix 25)

The contributions of educational psychologists to the development and implementation of the CSDM have also been externally validated by two sources: National EPS Quality framework indicator ‘5.5 – Research and Strategic Development’(HMIE, 2007; Appendix 27) and Education Scotland Inspection of the case study EPS (2012), highlighting its role in the development and implementation of CSDM as an example of good practice (Appendix 26)

Educational psychologists are working very effectively to support an important change management process with Education Children and Families...The service has been particularly influential in promoting the *Children’s Service Delivery Model* which ensures that children and families are fully involved when important decisions are being made about their lives (Education Scotland, 2012).

7.5 PARTNERSHIP WITH PARENTS

A key recommendation from the DWR intervention was co-configuration work with parents in the re-design of services and authority processes for meeting the needs of children with ASN. Following the intervention, the researcher-practitioner made links with a charity organization that support parents through formal authority and legislative processes. See Table 32 or summary of work undertaken and further worked planned. The impact of the work was reported by a parent:

I was very pleased to hear from X charity that wholesale changes that are planned to the PAG process. It was great to cooperate with you on this and to have the views of parents taken into account. (Appendix 28).

Table 32: Work undertaken and planned with parents

Work with parent support charity organisation	Planned co-configuration work with parents
<p>Presentation of research findings to the parent representative group that also included senior authority officers and charity support workers</p> <p>Collaborative work with parent members of the charity to consider the research outcomes of the PAG process and to suggest changes that could make the process more parent friendly</p> <p>Suggestions for change were presented to senior managers and a summary report was written for the authority</p> <p>Suggestions have been incorporated into the design of the case management model</p>	<p>Commissioning EPs or external researchers to facilitate a series of workshops with representatives from partner agencies, schools and the parent body to consider how to increase parental and professional confidence in the mainstream system to support needs</p> <p>To gather evidence in the form of case studies of successful mainstream placement of P1 children who could have been considered for specialist placements</p> <p>To use methodologies to capture the experiences of children directly in such case studies</p> <p>To use this piece of work as a pilot for training delivered to professionals to promote inclusive practice in the authority</p>

To develop further co-configuration work with parents in the development and evaluation of authority processes, a senior manager, who participated in the DWR intervention, has suggested a further application of DWR methodology in the development of authority processes to meet learners' needs in mainstream settings. The proposal is to engage parents to work collaboratively with partner agencies in a series of workshops to consider the ways in which the authority can increase parental confidence in mainstream schools to support children with a range of ASN.

7.6 DISCUSSION

PAG Activity as Partnership Working: Learning, Expertise and Agency

A consistent theme across the two authority studies and the empirical investigation is the contradiction manifested as conflict around professional roles in the PAG process. The idea of a boundary zone (based on Vygotsky's zone of proximal development) may explain multi-agency working in PAG activity as 'sites of struggle' and 'adjustments in identity' as established work practices are transformed into more effective partnership working (Edwards et al, 2009). Engeström (2009:122-123) suggests that more effective 'agentic' collaboration can occur between professional

groups, giving rise to ‘collaborative intentionality capital’ viewed as an ‘asset’ or ‘feature’ of organizations that engage in successful multi-agency working. For example, DWR participants discussed how within the broader GIRFEC framework the division of labour is set out more explicitly assigning ‘tasks, roles and responsibilities’ to professionals working in effective partnership with young people and their families to meet needs.

The current PAG process considered together with the expansion of PAG activity (GIRFEC and progressive case management) could be viewed together as ‘old and new’ work activity, representing a developmental cycle of systems change in a local authority setting. Engeström (2000:971) describes new models of activity as existing in parallel with established practice leading to ‘tension-laden co-existence and struggle’ between old and new ways of working. The learning challenge in the DWR workshops was to consider new ways of working because current support pathways did not reflect the complexity of children’s needs and family circumstances. The aim was to provide one model of service delivery to meet all needs, a ‘single door’ approach.

The new model of service delivery, within which the ‘old’ PAG process is located, is now the key tool or instrument of partnership working in the local authority. In CHAT terms the zone of proximal development of expertise and partnership working has been opened up to expand interactions in meeting children’s needs (Engeström, 2004). However, the expansion complements rather than replaces linear, established dimensions of support pathways (Kallio, 2010, Edwards et al 2010; Edwards et al, 2009). As a result, the authority may be able to target resources more effectively at the local level adhering to demands of cost-efficiency and best value principles (Harris & Allen, 2011). DWR participants discussed the implications of this new way of working for children who may have been placed on a special school trajectory by traditional support pathways but who may now be supported by effective targeting of local resources through effective partnership working.

To develop effective partnership working, professionals will be expected to work collaboratively within the Children’s Service Delivery Model to deliver a joined up

service for children and families, providing greater coherence to a range of services and support pathways (Forbes and McCartney, 2011). Edwards (2009) suggests that effective partnership working offers an enhanced form of personal agency in which people recognise their own resources and agency and those of others to achieve a negotiated understanding of presenting problems. Indeed, Edwards and Kinti (2010:41) refer to effective partnership working as the dialectical process of shaping and being shaped by the context in which we work, indicating that:

‘relational agency requires that practitioners are not only able to recognise and draw on expertise that is distributed across local systems, but also contribute to it’

Understanding the need for professional expertise in complex partnership working contexts, several commentators have attempted to resolve the dilemma of the need for distributed expertise in multi-agency working whilst acknowledging that certain professionals need to have specialist knowledge and training (Edwards et al, 2010; Engeström and Middleton, 1996). This dilemma is reflected in the DWR discussions regarding the role of the EP during which an EO referred to the need for psychologists to be making a ‘distinctive and valued contribution’ to the assessment process, suggesting that if there is ‘something pure that psychologists can contribute...we need to know how it can be bottled and applied’ (EO 2 DWR 2/ 2 687). Engeström and Middleton’s (1996) notion of expertise acknowledges the need for an ‘exclusive knowledge base and experience’ but not ‘an individual capacity’ while the need for ‘specialist knowledge and resources that sustain knowledge in action’ is proposed by Edwards et al (2010).

Engeström (2004) refers to ‘collective expertise’ being distributed across systems and drawn upon by professionals to support children and families. Developing this idea further, Edwards et al (2009) define the notion of distributed expertise and relational agency as being able to ‘know how to know who’ and working with others to expand a collective understanding of complexity. However, Engeström (2004) acknowledges the persistence in professional work practices of a strongly held individual knowledge base that creates an on-going challenge for partnership

working, recognising a need to understand professional values and motives at the boundaries of partnership working. In this regard, social capital theory has been applied to Scottish teachers' capacity to co-work with other children's services practitioners within GIRFEC (Forbes, 2011; Forbes and McCartney, 2010). Individual knowledge and skills together with the ability to problem-solve collaboratively is referred to as human and social capital respectively, the extension of which is required in inter-professional practice in GIRFEC as policy and practice become increasingly linked via networks (Forbes and McCartney, 2011).

Within the case study local authority, each professional group may experience the object of new work activity (GIRFEC) in different ways and the challenge of GIRFEC will be to promote partnership working whilst maintaining professional identity. The concept of complex objects (Daniels, 2010; Edwards and Kinti, 2010; Engeström, 2009) is helpful in understanding the complex object of meeting learners' needs as an interacting network of activity systems. Edwards and Kinti suggest that people work together on 'cohering goals' and 'value-laden aspirations' such as children's well-being which everyone is able to connect with. According to the perceptions of participants in the workshops and ethnographic data, professionals involved in supporting children with ASN may be working together to some extent on 'cohering goals' and value-laden aspirations such as social justice, children's rights and access to positive educational experiences for children with ASN.

Harris and Allen (2011) have considered the evidence of impact of joined up multi-agency working on outcomes for children and families in the exploration of views, perceptions and experiences of professionals, and young people and their families. Examination of English authority structures and processes that supported effective multi-working indicated that strategic control of the pace of change is important in the development of collaborative cultures, referring to Engeström's notion of 'knot-working' and 'rhizomatic structures' (Engeström, 2008). Findings indicated that the most effective local authorities were those that organized effective multi-agency working through school networks or clusters.

The need for a common language within the wider GIRFEC framework is reflected in the CHAT literature (Harris & Allen, 2011; Virkkunen et al, 2010; Kallio, 2010). It is argued that historical differences in professional language may have reflected strong demarcations of professional identity and practice that now hinder effective partnership working (Edwards et al, 2009). Tool development in the expansion of PAG activity referred to the need for narrative and communication tools in addition to conceptual models such as the GIRFEC framework and the CfE. In this sense, DWR participants recognised that the joint object of expanded PAG activity required a common language to implement and sustain systems change. Miettinen (2005) refers to the epistemic nature of an object of activity that motivates workers to understand and improve their work practices.

There are direct links to the area of workforce learning and development in terms of developing professional flexibility in multi-agency working with notions of ‘hybridity’ and ‘interprofessionalism’ (Daniels, 2010; Engeström, 2004). The suggestion is made that professional learning could be linked with the primary purpose of service industries which is to offer services for users (Warmington and Leadbetter, 2010) and Engeström (2009, 2008) argues that the process of co-configuration, the on-going development of services with service users, captures the expansive learning of professionals. The organizational change process and the new models of service delivery in the authority impact on all professionals, services and partner agencies. The following section focuses on the impact of the DWR intervention on educational psychologists and parents because of data available and because of their prominence in the data sets of the two authority studies and the empirical investigation.

The Role of the EP in New Processes: Labour-Power and Professional Agency

The notion of an ‘installed base’, taken from the field of information infrastructures, has been applied in a CHAT study to understand how unresolved contradictions of historical practices are sometimes transferred into new systems during developmental transformations (Igira and Aanestad, 2009). A key contradiction manifested as

critical conflict in both investigations was in the role of the EP in PAG activity. It is suggested that the role may be an installed base in new models and systems because the consensus reached by DWR participants was that the skills of EPs are essential in the role of assessor of needs, coordinator and chair of meetings and that they should continue with such tasks and roles until new models are established. The authority response to DWR recommendations for changes to PAG activity was that the role of the EP in PAG would be reviewed over a two year period as new models for partnership working and pathways to support are established and replace the old ways of working.

If the key driver for changes to the EP role in PAG is Psychological Services then it is perhaps surprising that EPs continue to be as centrally involved as they were before and indeed have taken on additional roles in quality assurance and change processes of authority systems for meeting learners' needs. However, continuing EP involvement in resource allocation processes may be explained in the following way: in a economic climate of public service budgetary cuts and rationalization of services, EP engagement in authority plans and strategic objectives to deliver best value may be considered as a prudent or pragmatic way forward to demonstrate impact and added value as a valuable service within the authority.

The notion of 'labour-power' as a recent development in CHAT may help to explain the enduring role of the EP in PAG activity (Warmington and Leadbetter, 2010; Daniels and Warmington, 2007) (See Chapter Four). EPs may be considered as 'simultaneously actor and labour-power resource (Edwards et al, 2009; Daniels 2008) in authority processes as they re-configure their own tasks in the GIRFEC/ CSDM such as assessment of need, research, and evaluation and quality assurance of the wider processes in place to meet learners' needs. In the dialectical tradition of CHAT, EPs are simultaneously shaping and being shaped by authority priorities to support children and families. In other words, although the service is responding to authority priorities for children and families, EPs are also developing innovative practice as they re-negotiate their EP role within the authority.

Understood in this way, re-negotiation of the EP role may be viewed as the ZPD of EP activity; an activity system undergoing expansive development as established practice is increasingly challenged to consider new ways of working (Engeström, 2009). In this sense EPs may be experiencing the Vygotskian process of internalization as employees of the authority, adhering to a re-structuring of the division of labour contributing to the notion of the EP role as an installed base (Igira and Aanestad, 2009). They are also likely to experience the externalization process as agentic professionals, seeking to shape the direction of work practice within their own service and profession.

Partnership Working as Co-Configuration Work

Engeström (2000) has drawn on Victor and Boynton's concept of co-configuration (1998) whereby service user or customer needs inform product design. A CHAT conception of co-configuration is described as a process of constructing a joint object of activity that is to some extent shared by all of those involved (Kallio, 2010; Virkkunen et al, 2010; Engeström, 2009). Indeed, partnership working with parents figured strongly in the third DWR workshop as the work-plan and table of recommendations were developed and an authority officer's comment about 'involving parents more and saying what would make this work?' perhaps reflects a need for co-configuration of services for children and families. Certainly, the future work planned with parents reflects the authority's commitment to genuine co-configuration work with parents. Co-configuration in PAG activity could be described as partnership working between the authority, professionals and parents in on-going service improvement, adapting services and support to the changing needs of children and families, a notion that reflects the key principles of the GIRFEC/CSDM.

The notion of co-configuration in the CSDM has great appeal in terms of service user empowerment and participation. However, the perceptions or 'lived contradictions' for practitioners and parents involved in PAG activity may be that the power to change and improve the PAG process and systems to meet learners' needs lies with

senior authority officers and managers. Indeed, it may be worth considering what will set the boundaries of co-configuration work in expanded PAG activity and the extent to which information and knowledge about new processes will become ‘dialogical knowledge’ in a ‘community of expertise’ as services for children and families are reconfigured within the GIRFEC framework (Engeström, 2004).

Co-configuration work, according to Kallio (2010) will not ‘supplant labour market realities’ or bureaucratic control within service industry contexts. However, it may create different types of working relationships between people involved. Although DWR participants endeavoured to expand the object of PAG activity towards working in a more transparent way with parents, workshop discussion focused on the extent to which parents should have access to knowledge about PAG activity at certain points in a child’s trajectory, implying that knowledge may remain tacit, confined to certain people (Kallio, 2010).

Tacit knowledge may create disturbances in communication between professionals and parents that hinder collaboration because of the extent to which parents’ knowledge of support systems is limited (Kallio, 2010). In this respect, exclusive knowledge, not available to the customer or client has been referred to as a ‘closed code’ (Kallio, 2010:43) while Edwards, Lunt and Stamou (2010:30) refer to the ‘profane status’ of parents who do not have equal access to professional knowledge. This point of conflict may hinder progress towards co-configuration work (Kallio, 2010) based on the extent to which authority officers are prepared to work in partnership with parents to improve service delivery. In this sense, partnership working with parents within the GIRFEC framework may develop as ‘sites of struggle’ and negotiation.

The involvement of children and young people in the co-construction of plans and supports is highlighted by Harris and Allen (2011) because of the need for better ‘calibration’ between the needs of young people and the services provided. However, there may still be ‘too much primacy attached to professional knowledge rather than a mixed mode of public policy making’ such as co-configuration. The participation of children and young people in planning meetings and their contributions to support

plans is the central focus of the GIRFEC/CSDM yet pupil participation did not feature strongly in the DWR workshop discussions.

7.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Viewing the DWR workshops as marginal microcosms with centripetal potential to make inroads to central processes, the impact of the intervention can be considered via the contributions of a wider range of practitioners, policy-makers and stakeholders to change policy and practice once the workshop intervention ended. The outcomes of the layered structure of the DWR intervention, as a journey through the collective ZPD of PAG activity, details the formation of a new concept for complex professional practice: progressive and proportionate response to meeting needs. Evidence of impact of the DWR intervention on transformational policy and practice was demonstrated via analysis of new policy documentation, comparative analysis of the original table of recommendations with actions to date, professional discourse in strategic working groups and external validation by Inspection processes.

Change is demonstrated in the development of the new authority service delivery model (CSDM) and a more coherent linking of sub-systems to access services, resources and provisions. The CSDM is a conceptual tool to meet the needs of children and families within a cohesive and responsive framework, answering many of the questions raised in the DWR workshops via resolution of systemic contradictions in terms of the development of an object/outcome of partnership working, new tools and a re-configured division of labour. Effective partnership working is understood in terms of notions such as relational agency, distributed expertise and agentic collaboration based on adjustments in identity and established work practices that may lead to collaborative intentionality capital as a feature of the local authority as a learning organization. However, there is acknowledgement of tension and struggle between old and new ways of working as resistance to change is evidenced in cognitive trails that may provide stability to individuals experiencing changes to professional practice. In this regard, the need to focus on workforce leaning and development is highlighted.

The contribution of EPs in the authority change process has been externally validated via national inspection processes, and the role of the EP in the new authority model is clarified at both the operational and strategic levels. However, the role may be viewed as an installed base as unresolved contradictions in the EP role are transferred into new systems. Although EPs no longer have a coordinating role in the decision-making process, main-grade EPs continue to have a role in the assessment of need and managers now have a key role in the new system as chairs of strategic groups that have a support and challenge role in addition to a resource allocation role. This is explained in terms of pragmatic strategic planning to demonstrate value and impact in the current political and economic climate. The EP role is considered as labour-power, used and shaped by the authority as a resource but also with professional agency to shape its future direction. In this regard, the role of the EP can be viewed as dialectically linked to authority structures.

The importance of co-configuration work with parents in the new authority model is emphasized in the context of adapting services to support the changing needs of children and families. However, the implementation of this concept may result in lived contradictions for parents as the boundaries set in practice may result in tacit knowledge being confined to certain people as a closed code. The reality of co-configuration work between professionals, authority officers and parents may play out as sites of struggle and negotiation. Extending co-configuration to include children and young people has currency in social justice agendas but again the reality of this in practice may be tokenistic. EPs in this local authority have led the promotion of consultation with and participation of children and young people with additional support needs, developing a range of methodologies to enable participation in child planning meetings.

CHAPTER 8. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The area of enquiry was a Scottish local authority decision-making process for educational provision and specialist placement for children with ASN. The study was located in the dialectical tradition of CHAT using DWR methodology within a flexible case study design. The review of theory and methodology highlighted the increasing number of applications of CHAT and DWR methodology in public sector settings but few studies included strategic managers as participants in DWR interventions and there were no published CHAT studies of authority decision-making processes for specialist provisions (Edwards et al, 2009; Blackler, 2009; Martin, 2008). Therefore, the thesis extends the scope of CHAT theory and adds to knowledge and understanding of special needs systems.

8.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The key research question was ‘To what extent can a CHAT theoretical approach illuminate the processes and outcomes of a local authority decision-making process?’ Data analysis indicated that a CHAT approach to the enquiry of the ‘PAG process’ illuminated systemic contradictions based on ethnographic data. The intervention phase of the study led to the expansion of professional practice with a new object of joint professional activity (meeting more learners’ needs in mainstream), the creation of new tools (new models and procedures) and the re-negotiation of professional tasks and roles evidenced in the analysis of evaluation data. The impact of the study was the re-design of organizational systems through which children’s and families needs could be met more effectively. Within this re-design, a new resource allocation tool for meeting learners’ needs in mainstream and specialist provisions was developed. The study findings were externally validated by inspection processes, highlighting EPS contribution to authority change processes, the involvement of children and families in decision-making and the development of Children’s Service Delivery Model (CSDM) as good practice, all of which aim to promote inclusive practice.

8.2.1 The Relevance of CHAT for Authority Decision-making Processes

A study of the PAG process required an analytic framework that would permit the examination of participants' understanding of their work and to trace the institutional history of it. It is argued that CHAT provided a relevant and valid framework for a study of the PAG process highlighting a range of primary and systemic contradictions expressed as dilemmas, conflicts and double binds in policy and practice for children with ASN. The primary contradiction in PAG activity was described as the contradiction between the use-value of professionals (as potential labour power resource and labouring action) working in an 'ethico-moral' professional context to meet the needs of children, and the exchange value of the cost efficiency of public services (Daniels, 2010; Avis, 2009; Hartley 2009). Manifestations of systemic contradictions in PAG activity were presented as hypotheses based on analysis of participants' perceptions (Engeström and Sannino, 2011).

Conclusions reached by participants were that ineffective tools, dilemmatic professional ideologies, and conflictual partnership working (division of labour) may not be effective mediators to achieve best outcomes for children. Participants viewed the PAG process as no longer being fit for purpose as a tool for meeting learners' needs because of over-complexity, non-transparency and outmoded categorization systems for assessment and identification of need within a context of local services being re-configured with the GIRFEC model. Moreover, the double bind of legislative and procedural rules was highlighted, leading to inequity of access to limited resources perhaps because of parental choice, causing discrepant outcomes in the two-tiered process between professional recommendations and authority decisions.

8.2.2 DWR workshops as ZPD: Dual Stimulation and Theoretical Generalizations

Strategic managers and practitioners had previously identified the need for a review of the PAG process and the researcher-practitioner, in suggesting a formative intervention, provided a tool to develop systems and processes for meeting learners' and families' needs (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011). DWR methodology provides a means by which professionals define and then solve practice problems mediated by tools and artefacts. The DWR workshops thus enabled participants to consider their own and stakeholder perceptions of the problems in the PAG process as theoretical generalizations, enabling expansion of the object of joint PAG activity.

The DWR workshops were considered as a collective ZPD in which established practice in PAG activity was challenged with the application of epistemological principles of dual stimulation and the development of theoretical generalizations. DWR methodology, predicated on Vygotsky's notion of the instrumentality of tools in meditational settings to solve problems, enabled participants to engage in collective learning activity as they considered ethnographic data using conceptual models and theory as lens' through which they gained a theoretical understanding of the PAG process based on historical analysis. In doing so, workshop activity enabled participants to develop multiple reformulations of professional practice, processes and structures to meet children's needs using a range of conceptual tools and ethnographic data as second stimuli. The formative intervention enabled participants in collaboration with the researcher-practitioner to explore the potential to improve professional practice and processes while theorizing it in its social-cultural and historical context.

As participants travelled through the collective ZPD they developed an understanding of the need for a historical analysis of the PAG process rather than searching for a quick solution to identified problems. In doing so, they engaged in radical questioning of the process as they shifted from a problem-solving, empirical approach about a known process to a theoretical re-design of organizational systems. In this regard, Virkkunen and Ristimäki (2012) emphasise the difference between empirical

problem-solving and theoretical, systems-based thinking: theoretical thinking provides explanatory power.

Workshop activity can be understood as an interactive process as participants were encouraged to consider empirical data together with conceptual models and theory using intermediate tools and concepts. Participants were invited to consider how the perceived problems in PAG activity could be understood from a theoretical perspective. Mapping out PAG activity as triangular models facilitated a theoretical understanding of the PAG process and the '3 x 3' model enabled participants and research-practitioner to engage with conceptual tools in the process of analysing practice. The study is an example of how DWR workshops, as formative intervention, are designed to support 'collaborative application of new tools' (Engeström, 2007; 1999). The participants, together with the practitioner-researcher, engaged in dialogue and debate to consider past, present and future PAG activity and potential changes to working practices. The aim was to facilitate transformations in PAG activity via the analysis of manifestations of contradictions in professional work and authority systems. The workshop sequences functioned as the collective ZPD of participants involved in the PAG process.

As participants developed a theoretical understanding of the PAG process, the expansion of the object of PAG activity occurred at four key turning points in the DWR workshops: from a review of the PAG process, (the stimulus for the research); to broadening the scope of the PAG process; to increasing capacity of mainstream schools to support children with ASN; and finally to locating the PAG process in the wider re-configuration of children's services at the authority and national levels. In CHAT terms, learning was expanded in a collective manner as PAG activity underwent transformational change captured in the various stages of Engeström's cycle of expansive learning. The researcher-practitioner 'provoked and sustained' (Engeström, 2011) participants' learning in the ZPD of PAG activity to form theoretical generalizations based on historical-genetic analysis of PAG activity.

The ZPD of PAG activity opened up in the workshops presented an opportunity for participants to engage in dynamic collective activity during which established

professional practice and understandings of it were first challenged, then developed. The researcher-practitioner mediated participants' learning in their collective ZPD and this was recognized by them in their evaluations of the workshops. Day-to-day practice was subjected to a historical analysis the outcome of which was accurate problem definition of current PAG activity that then functioned as an additional conceptual tool to expand the object of it. Because of this, the ZPD of PAG activity is viewed as both representational and processual in that participants used conceptual models of historical development of PAG activity to expand their understanding of professional practice and systems (Sannino, 2011). More advanced problem-solving in collective activity was achieved via social collaboration to support the process of re-mediation of PAG activity. In doing so, the co-development of the individual and the collective was achieved. Participants learned how to define professional practice in terms of causative, interpretive and contradictory layers (Engeström, 2011). Identification of systemic contradictions in their own practice and their understandings of them enabled participants to consider the potential for qualitative transformations in systems and professional practice.

In doing so, participants learned how to engage in model-based thinking that enabled an understanding of changes to PAG activity as systems development of interacting object-orientated activity systems (Virkkunen and Schaup, 2011). Allocating specialist provision is now embedded in the new service delivery model of meeting the development, care and educational needs of children and young people. It is no longer a separate process; rather it is part of a coherent, systems-based approach, the principles of which are progressive and proportionate intervention with an emphasis on presumption to mainstream.

It has been argued that transition from abstract thinking of causative relationships to model-based systems development thinking is essential for future intervention studies because of the changing landscape of work environments (Sannino and Sutter 2011; Engeström, 2009). The psychological principles of dual stimulation and theoretical generalization are important in the development of intervention studies, the aim of which is to promote a systems development mode of thinking. For example, Sannino

(2011:565) emphasises that ‘elaboration on the intertwined nature of these two epistemological principles is seen as a key challenge for future activity-theoretical interventionist research’ and Engeström (2011:625) reflects that ‘there is no doubt that Vygotsky’s principle of double stimulation has found a new life in the emerging methodology of formative interventions’.

8.2.3 Realistic Expectation of Change

Evaluation one year after the DWR interventions suggested that for some participants, the pace of incremental change in PAG activity was slower than expected. In CHAT terms, perceptions of slow pace of change or obstacles in the way of change are understood as stages of the cycle of expansive learning. As new models of practice are introduced, new contradictions emerge. Problems solved by participants in DWR workshops do not guarantee that further problems will not emerge; in fact, it is to the contrary. Rather, ‘the resolution of one contradiction leads to another, to be dealt with in a new developmental phase’ (Toiviainen, 2009:346).

DWR interventions have been described as ‘marginal, but centripetal microcosms out of which new work spreads to central organizational structures’ (Engeström and Kerosuo, 2007:307). Moreover, Blackler (2009:37) cautions that there are ‘multiple mediators in complex systems of activity’ and that ‘fundamental shifts in practices must be encouraged over time and in multiple ways’. Two years after the intervention, significant change has taken place across systems, new models have been piloted and previous systems are being integrated into the new children’s service delivery model. New tasks and roles have been negotiated for key professionals and training/development events have been planned to improve partnership working and capacity building in schools.

Engeström and Sannino (2011) view such events as conditions for the manifestations of tertiary and quaternary contradictions in boundary zones as new ways of working clash with the old across networked and neighbouring activity systems (see also Toiviainen, 2009). The PAG process could be viewed as being in a new

developmental phase (progressive case management) with uncertainty, conflict and disagreement among stakeholders expected as necessary conditions for change. The researcher-practitioner has on-going involvement at the strategic level as new developmental cycles enter phases of embedding, consolidating and then the questioning of 'new' established practice or activity. This takes the thesis full circle in the invocation of Vygotsky's dialectical notions of internalization and externalization in the zone of proximal development of PAG activity.

8.2.4 The Dialectical Tradition of CHAT

CHAT provided a conceptual, theoretical and methodological framework to undertake a study of the PAG process. With an emphasis on object-oriented activity, the PAG process can now be understood as a historical network of interacting activity systems within which professionals endeavoured to work together with partially shared, often contested and conflicting objects of PAG activity, the outcomes of which were various pathways for meeting the educational needs of children with ASN. By focusing on activity as the unit of analysis, the micro and macro levels of society and therefore the PAG process are interconnected, invoking the dialectical tradition by which the relationships of professionals and the authority structures within which they work are understood as being mutually constitutive of each other. Lave (2012) refers to the importance of 'historical and dialectical theorizing' about how people's lives and social practices are shaped by everyday activity.

Understood as a cultural theory of mind, individuals acting in the PAG process were shaped by the social structures of the authority but individuals also had a degree of agency to shape and develop the processes and systems. Daniels (2010) refers to the 'shaping effects of institutions' but also the means by which they are transformed by the agency of their members. The differential levels of power and authority manifested in the division of labour in the interacting activity systems influenced the extent to which agentic action could be realized in systems characterized by multi-voicedness. Engeström (2009:307) has proposed a 'possible unit of analysis for examining power relations at work' that considers partially and contested objects of

activity from the varying subject positions of managers, workers or practitioner and clients or service users. For example, stakeholders did not have a shared understanding of the object of PAG activity; at best views expressed a partial understanding of the object as assessment of needs matched to provision.

8.2.5 Modeling and Transforming the Social Structures of the PAG Process

Applying a CHAT framework to the study of the PAG process also enabled the modeling of its structure and the relationships between the elements within it. In doing so, it provided illumination of the inter-relationships in PAG activity, as complex social phenonema, together with an increased understanding of distal and proximal factors that both constrain and influence such relationships. Based on the CHAT analysis, PAG activity can now be understood as networks of interconnecting activity systems within which subjects had tasks and roles within a division of labour engaged in object-oriented activity constrained and enabled by mediating tools and rules. The outcomes of object-oriented, artifact mediated PAG activity were a result of the dynamic tensions between individuals, groups and processes. Contradictions in PAG activity, manifested as dilemmas, conflict and double binds, could be considered as mechanisms by which new forms of PAG activity were developed, transforming the object of PAG activity from educational placement of children, to the supporting learners' needs in mainstream, and finally to the re-configuration of children's services.

Identified contradictions enabled movement through stages of a cycle of expansive learning via DWR intervention that artificially provoked collective learning and transformational change in the zone of proximal development of the PAG process. Historical analysis of contradictions in PAG activity was considered as a means of understanding present professional practice; understanding how historical practice and resolution of contradictions over socio-cultural time has shaped current PAG activity. Furthermore, it provides insight for participants into the contingent nature of current activity in that the present process is only one of many alternatives that could have been.

Ellis refers to this as ‘sedimentation’ or ‘sediments of historical layers’. In understanding the notion, participants were able to consider how hegemonic practice in PAG activity may have been established and that by defining systemic contradictions they revealed ‘traces’ of concealed alternative models of meeting needs (Ellis, 2011). For example, participants questioned the reproduction and maintenance of specialist provision for children with special needs based on unchallenged assumptions that special schooling is a good thing. In doing so, ‘buds’ or ‘shoots’ of possible new models of professional practice emerged. Gutierrez (2012) suggests that CHAT approaches provide the means by which to undertake an ‘archeological dig’ to reveal inequalities in educational systems for children and young people who have developmental, educational and care needs.

The consideration of contradictions enabled envisioning of future PAG activity, manifested as a work-plan for the development and re-organization of practice in the decision-making process. As such, DWR methodology enabled a link between envisioning and action-level decision-making, turning ideas into transformed practice facilitated by the continuing involvement of the EPS managers and the researcher-practitioner in strategic level work-streams (Engeström and Sannino, 2010).

Engeström et al (2003:287) recommends this because ‘plans and scenarios do not translate easily into practice’ with a ‘tendency of becoming glorified small talk’. The role of research for Engeström (2009) is to support participants to manage the change process themselves. In the new expansive cycle of the of the PAG process, the researcher-practitioner in collaboration with strategic managers and senior practitioners, work to maintain the momentum for change generated in the workshops in actual practice, aware that attempts to ‘re-mediate’ and re-organize professional practice in PAG activity may face resistance as established and dominant practice are reproduced by practitioners motivated to maintain the status quo. Also, Blackler (2009) reminds us of the multiple mediators of change in complex work settings and Engeström (2009) offers the notion of DWR interventions as germ cells or marginal microcosms, the longer term impact of which is evidenced in the centripetal potential to make inroads into central structures.

DWR methodology also enabled the study of the PAG process as activity under transformation in real time. Via the psychological process of double stimulation, the researcher-practitioner helped participants gain insight into their everyday understandings of the PAG process using scientific concepts of CHAT, models of activity systems and mirror data as second stimuli to solve the original problems identified in the PAG process. Engeström (2009) claims that this activity ‘bridges research and practice via interventions’.

8.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ENQUIRY

8.3.1 Building on the Work of the Thesis

There are several possibilities for undertaking further CHAT research in the interacting activity systems of schools, families and authority processes. For example, research activity could focus on the ways in which strategic managers and practitioners have assimilated various systems and pathways of support into one coherent service delivery model. It would entail an enquiry of a cycle of expansive learning during which there may be issues with GIRFEC tools, ambiguity about professional roles and tasks, and the policy and legislative frameworks that may constrain effective roll-out of the model across the city. Enquiry could focus upon the structure of the activity systems and identification of contradictions between elements of the system. Engeström and Sannino (2010:16) call for greater focus on expansive learning methodology in research activity to develop ‘cumulative knowledge creation’ and a ‘more systematic mode of research on expansive learning’, aligning studies of collective activity systems and subject experiencing and development.

An outcome from a CHAT study on integrated children’s service practice showed that professionals were not engaging fully with the partnership with parents’ agenda and it is suggested that this is an area that should be prioritized in further research (Edwards et al, 2009). Similarly, Martin (2008) suggests that an interesting development of activity theory would be the inclusion of parents and young people in the process of collective learning towards development of more responsive children’s

services. In doing so, they would be participating to some extent in co-configuration work with professionals (Doran, 2012; Christie, 2011; Harris and Allen, 2011; Edwards et al, 2009; Engeström, 2008).

DWR methodology could provide a forum for support professionals (eg, outreach services, EAL, education welfare, visiting teachers) to consider what enables and constrains partnership working. For example, DWR sessions with education professionals who work with children with ASN may address issues such as effective partnership working, professional identity understood in CHAT terms such as boundary work, relational agency, distributed expertise and knot-working. Widening out the community of partnership working, similar sessions could be held for social work, allied health colleagues such as occupational and speech and language therapists, and paediatricians in terms of the resources and tools that professionals use, how work is shared and the rules that both enable and constrain effective partnership working in a broader sense.

CHAT studies with a focus on children and young people who have ASN would be useful for professionals working with and making decisions on behalf of such children. Also, following children's educational trajectories at key points of transition between nursery, mainstream primary and secondary and specialist provisions would illuminate and add to the evidence base of what works and why in the support of children with ASN (Terzi, 2010). Moreover, studies of classroom and learning environments as activity systems may expand professional understanding of the factors that enable and constrain successful learning for children with ASN. For example, Sellman (2011) has undertaken a CHAT analysis of peer mediation systems in primary schools. Consideration of shared mainstream and specialist placements would provide an interesting area of CHAT enquiry in the comparison of each setting as an activity system of learning. It may be worth asking what factors mediate learning in each of the environments for children on the autistic spectrum. Findings would contribute to the evidence base of what educational environments work for children with significant ASN (Lunt and Norwich, 2009). In calling for a critique of a functional approach to child development, Hedegaard (2012, 2009) argues instead for

a cultural-historical and Childhood Studies approach in which children's developmental pathways are studied in real time and space to capture the variability in developmental trajectories (James, Jenks and Prout, 2002). She invokes the dialectical tradition and the concept of praxis to explain the agency and creativity of children to shape the social and cultural practices that they internalise as they grow and develop.

8.3.2 CHAT Approaches and Educational Psychology

Applying a CHAT approach to aspects of EP work would provide a conceptual, theoretical and methodological framework upon which to conduct evidence-based organizational analysis and interventions. Core work for EPs involves an understanding of how learning is mediated and influenced by motivation, how behaviour is understood from an interactionist perspective and how children develop in social-cultural contexts (Hick et al, 2009; MacKay, 2008). EPs also have an understanding of how individuals interact with each other in group and organizational contexts, often beset by tensions and dynamics as power and authority differentials play out. Undertaking systemic work and research in educational establishments is a core function for EPs in Scotland (SEED, 2002).

Moreover, many EPs use solution focused approaches in their work (Brown et al, 2012; Stobie et al, 2005) which corresponds with the future-oriented envisioning of DWR interventionist methodology (Engeström and Sannino, 2011). Also, solution focused child planning meetings used within the GIRFEC framework (Alexander and Sked, 2010) may be a further application of Vygotsky's dual stimulation in that conceptual tools such as the meeting agenda, the action plan table, the well-being indicators and the resilience matrix are used as second stimuli together with the first stimulus of presenting concerns to develop a child's plan. This would be an interesting area of enquiry for educational psychologists.

CHAT approaches could also be used as school and authority systems analysis tools. For example, EPs could work collaboratively with their schools in self-evaluation, development of practice and the implementation of the new curriculum.

Psychological services could also use it as a self-evaluation tool as could inspectors as they support schools and educational services to develop their practice.

Comparative CHAT studies of local authorities systems for supporting children with ASN would enable consideration of extent to which manifestations of contradictions illustrate or contrast with the local authority studied in the thesis. Analysis would show how different sites expand their object of activity such as meeting children's educational needs in changing context of legislation, curriculum and multi-agency service delivery models via new tool creation and re-negotiation of roles and tasks.

8.3.3 Promoting Inclusive Practice

Locating the study outcomes within the inclusion literature, Nilholm (2006:442) examines democratic principles required for inclusive practice suggesting that 'all stakeholders have to be involved in decisions and deliberations about inclusion' and that 'inclusion has to be arrived at in decision-making processes that are inclusive in nature'. The principles, partnerships, and processes of the CSDM support Nilholm's democratic principles of inclusion. For example, the re-configuration of the decision-making process, as a new resource allocation model, is located within the authority's new CSDM (GIRFEC), aligned with ASN pathways to support. The process of case management (a tool) and the CMRG (division of labour) aims for progressive and proportionate responses to meeting needs through the Child Planning Process and Child's Plan which ensure inclusive and collaborative action planning and review. Progressive case management has in-built quality-assurance processes that ensure evidence-based intervention as increasing levels of support are requested for a child with ASN, thus ensuring that inclusive principles are adhered to in mainstream settings.

However, the persistence of a dilemmatic framework for the identification, curriculum and placement of children with ASN is also reflected in the study outcomes, again validating the inclusion literature (Gray, 2011; Terzi, 2010; Norwich, 2008). Participants recognised the dilemma of inclusive practice within PAG activity as options with equal negative risk: to recognise difference or not within

an ethical and caring context and with due regard to parental wishes. This was demonstrated in the complexity of expressed views in DWR workshops, focus groups and interviews which appeared to be at variance with expressed values about inclusion: a belief in the continuing need for specialist provision for children with significant complexity of need.

It is important, therefore, that children's services practitioners working within the GIRFEC model understand that school management and teachers are 'key members of the change implementation process' regarding needs being met a local level within the presumption to mainstream inclusion policy framework (Boyle et al, 2012). This needs to be understood and acted upon in regard to the persistence of contradictory teacher attitudes towards inclusion in terms of philosophical support for the principle of inclusion but perceived difficulties in the practical application of inclusive strategies in mainstream classes to support children with ASN (Boyle, 2009; Woolfson and Brady, 2009; Subban and Sharma, 2006).

In this regard, Boyle et al (2012) identify a key role for EPs in schools to support staff with inclusive strategies. Facilitation of teacher peer-support systems and the delivery of teacher training programmes may contribute to inclusive policy implementation because they enhance supportive working environments in schools. Culture change and leadership development to promote inclusive schools (Ainscow and Sandill, 2010) could be subject to a CHAT analysis as a cycle of expansive learning and DWR methodology could be applied in the development of teacher peer-support programmes. Similarly, with demands for greater input in initial teacher training programmes on the teaching of children with additional support needs (Nash and Norwich, (2010), a CHAT analysis could focus on teachers in their probationary year as a cycle of expansive learning. For schools and children's services in general, Forbes and McCartney (2011: 49) call for a 'transdisciplinary national research centre into children's sector public services' to develop an evidence-base of what is required of practitioners to meet the needs of children and their families within the collaborative context of GIRFEC. See also the Christie report (2011) on public service delivery in Scotland. In particular, Doran (2012) recommends that

consideration should be given to factors that mediate support for professionals working with children and young people with complex additional support needs.

8.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

8.4.1 The ‘Inference Quality’ of Conclusions

Conclusions drawn and hypotheses formed are based on the perceptions of a limited number of participants. Therefore interpretation of PAG activity must be limited to the perceptions of the participants and the researcher-practitioner and cannot claim to account for the perceptions all stakeholders about the PAG process. Knowing this, there are likely to be alternative interpretations of PAG activity. Although the design of the study included respondent validation of initial data analysis, the final analysis is the responsibility of the researcher-practitioner. Issues regarding reflexivity are discussed in the methodology chapter, and measures have been taken to be as transparent and reflexive as possible to enable readers to judge the extent to which the thesis has been subject to issues of bias.

8.4.2 The Testing of CHAT Theory

Acknowledging the limitations of perspectives represented in the study, a claim is nevertheless made for strong internal validity of hypotheses formed from data analysis of the empirical investigation. This is based on consistency of views expressed across the range of perspectives given a ‘voice’ in the data analysis. A CHAT approach to research advocates that human development is best understood by observing rudimentary behaviour and provoking new behaviour in authentic settings using data collection tools that aid understanding of these processes (Engeström, 1999a). The two authority studies provided initial hypotheses of rudimentary behaviour in PAG activity tested further in the empirical investigation. DWR methodology enabled provocation of new behaviour in PAG activity considered as a network of activity systems undergoing transformation.

8.4.3 Case Study Approach: Accumulating Knowledge

A key aim of the study was to test the principles of CHAT for practical validity in terms of understanding the PAG process as a unique social context and measuring the impact of change based on DWR intervention. It is therefore a unique case and cannot be used to generalize to other studies. However, it could be argued that the intervention/change process is a 'germ cell' of new practice (Engeström, 2004). Also, the conclusions drawn in this unique case study may be useful for the understanding of processes in similar but not identical settings. For example, all local authorities must make provision for children with ASN. Therefore, similar issues must be addressed.

In this way the accumulation of knowledge from CHAT case studies of local authority decision-making processes may contribute to a more generalised understanding of the processes, mechanisms and outcomes common to all special needs systems. The special needs systems reviews discussed in Chapter 1 highlight common themes across a range of settings; nevertheless, CHAT researchers claim that actual change at the level of the unique organization is more likely to occur via methodologies similar to that of DWR in which the focus is on intervention and transformational change at the local level, involving key stakeholders as co-researchers with a vested interest in the development and sustainability of change.

8.5 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER-PRACTITIONER AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

In addition to the comments made about the role of the researcher in DWR methodology in chapter 6 and 7, it is important to consider the political implications of the outcomes of study and the extent to which the analysis may be perceived as criticism of those in positions of power and authority. It is acknowledged that there is a degree of conflict between the need for rigour of social science research and the political sensitivity required of an enquiry of a public service process. The DWR workshops enabled consideration of 'what is going on?' in the PAG process from multiple perspectives, including the 'official view' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Because of the identification of a range of conflicting views about the efficacy and

efficiency of the PAG process, it was incumbent on the researcher-practitioner to be aware that because stakeholders such as practitioners, managers and parents are likely to have different interests and concern about the PAG process, certain groups may have much to lose or gain from outcomes of the study. Robson cautions that

‘Evaluation is intrinsically a very sensitive activity where there may be a risk or duty of revealing inadequacy or worse’. (Robson, 2011:176).

Robson also reminds researchers engaged in intervention and evaluation research activity that some stakeholders ‘will be pleased, some not’ and, as the researcher, to ‘expect criticism and controversy’ that may be methodological or political. In this regard it was essential that in the design and methodology of the study that the ‘legitimate concerns of gatekeepers’ were taken into account (Robson, 2011:185). This was achieved because strategic managers and senior professionals in the DWR workshops participated as co-collaborators in the research process. It is argued that a researcher is more likely to get a response if the research is with and for those involved and this is the one of the key aims of Engeström’s DWR methodology (Blackler, 2009; Pawson, 2006).

The DWR workshops, as a formative intervention, enabled participants to consider their own practice and to envision new ways of working. The approach avoided the ‘teleological directionality’ of a researcher’s agenda in traditional intervention studies (Engeström, 2004). In short, because the research was not undertaken independently of key gatekeepers, the risk of not taking account of their legitimate concerns may have been minimized. However, the presentation of ‘critical’ ethnographic data and case studies of the PAG process ensured that DWR participants took cognizance of stakeholders’ perceptions of problems in the PAG process. In doing so, participants had access to extensive data to support their development of a work-plan to make recommendations and implement changes to the PAG process. The fact that some of the DWR participants do have strategic responsibility for the process may explain their commitment to, and investment in, the on-going change process to PAG activity

and the sustainability of the DWR intervention. The on-going involvement of the researcher-practitioner and other EPS managers may also be a contributory factor.

8.6 CHAT AS SOCIAL CRITICISM

The researcher-practitioner was aware of the requirement of public services managers to ensure that policies and systems to meet the needs of children and families are as effective and efficient as possible (Hartley, 2009). However, there was also awareness of the need to consider emancipatory issues of research (Robson, 2011). Therefore, not only did the study need to ask: what constrains the design and delivery of services in the PAG process? it also had to address the extent to which, if any, the DWR intervention and evaluation outcomes contributed to social change.

Greater emphasis on the primary contradiction in studies of local activity systems is suggested, particularly in public services where the primary contradiction is between the use-value of professionals (as potential labour power resource and labouring action) working in an 'ethico-moral' professional context to meet the needs of children, and the exchange value of the cost efficiency of reconfigured public services (Daniels, 2010; Daniels and Warmington, 2007; Avis, 2009; Hartley 2009). To do so would realize what Avis (2009) calls CHAT's 'progressive possibilities' in terms of workplace learning and knowledge development. Gutierrez (2012) suggests that CHAT researchers should ask how current educational practice could be remediated and organized into new forms of education for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children and young people that 'befits a democracy'. The Christie report on future public service delivery in Scotland also calls for more effective and cost efficient service delivery for vulnerable and disadvantaged people in our society (Christie, 2011).

Although participants in the study articulated understanding of the primary contradiction, perceptions in the first workshop indicated that they had limited power and authority to change this. However, the transformation of PAG activity to a focus on the re-configuring of services and resources targeted at the local level may be a legitimate response to the primary contradiction. As the authority engages in priority-

based planning (improving service delivery with greater cost-efficiency), a focus on the CSDM and case management review groups merging with ASL pathways may adhere to Engeström's notion of 'local radicalism'. For example, the re-configuring of services, via GIRFEC, may enable needs to be met more effectively and efficiently in mainstream schools with greater scrutiny of evidence before a child is placed in a specialist provision. Re-configuration of services may thus promote inclusion and social justice agendas more effectively with better cost-efficiency.

8.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the thesis argues that the two aims of the study were achieved. First, CHAT and DWR have been presented as useful analytical and intervention tools for local authority organizational change processes. Second, the study contributed to the change process of local authority policy and practice for children with ASN. The key outcome is that the decision-making process for specialist educational placements has been re-configured as a new resource allocation model, located within the authority's new Children's Service Delivery Model (GIRFEC).

CHAT and DWR provided a theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework within which to consider systemic contradictions in working practice that in turn contributed to organizational change and observable impact on policy and practice. The approach emphasizes the importance of historical analysis of contradictory professional practice to gain a system-based understanding of complex work settings (Ellis, 2011). It provides a means by which to consider fluid and complex professional practice such as PAG activity as object-oriented interacting activity systems and a process via which qualitative transformations in work practice can be achieved through joint learning activity and knowledge development in a collective ZPD.

Analysis and development of the PAG process as a case study exemplifies broader principles of DWR methodology as translational research and applied psychological theory in public sector organizational change and development.

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