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‘We’re in a prime position …’: secondary English teachers’ perspectives on their responsibility for health and wellbeing

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Doctor of Education

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I set out to explore the ways in which teachers of English in Scottish secondary schools understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, and to identify factors which enable or constrain that enactment. Since proposals were first introduced in 2004, the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence has placed at its centre the health and wellbeing of children and young people. Aspects of health and wellbeing, including mental, emotional and social wellbeing, are considered to be the responsibility of all teachers. Despite the inclusion of mental wellbeing in the curriculum, reports published before and since the COVID-19 pandemic have noted increasing mental health issues amongst young people of secondary school age.

The overarching policy for education in Scotland, the National Improvement Framework, first published by Scottish Government in 2016, sets out key priorities which include improving the health and wellbeing of children and young people, alongside the raising of attainment in literacy and numeracy. Within the context of the secondary school curriculum, there is a possible tension for English teachers created by the dual expectation to raise pupils' attainment in literacy and to contribute to improving their health and wellbeing through teaching and learning of the subject of English. My interest in exploring this tension arose from my role as subject tutor for secondary English within a Scottish university offering programmes of initial teacher education and my desire to support student teachers of English to meet the requirements of the Standard for Provisional Registration (General Teaching Council for Scotland, 2021), which include effective teaching and learning of the subject and the promoting of pupils' wellbeing.

In addition to exploring definitions and curricular expectations in relation to health and wellbeing and English, I examined the concerns raised by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) about a rise in therapeutic education and what they see as the consequent diminishing of the subject, in the sense of the young person and of the curriculum area. I explored the concept of wellbeing as flourishing and the role of the arts, including literature, in promoting flourishing, and this led to the identification of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach as a suitable framework for analysis of interview data. A review of recent primary research literature examining the implementation of health and wellbeing promotion in the UK, Australia and New Zealand revealed influences on understandings of

wellbeing, the importance of relationships within school settings and tensions between attainment in secondary subjects and the enactment of health and wellbeing policy.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with eight teachers of English and analysed the data gathered through the lens of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. Findings suggest a significant role for English teachers in developing functionings within the school environment, and capabilities for the future, in several areas. The central position of English in the secondary school curriculum, with often daily timetabling of classes for each year group, and the discursive nature of the subject enable English teachers to contribute significantly to the whole school approach to health and wellbeing, particularly in the areas of *Emotions* and *Affiliation*. The teaching of literature, in particular, and creative writing offers rich contexts for the development of capabilities and functionings in the areas of *Senses, imagination, and thought*, *Affiliation*, *Practical reason*, and *Emotions*.

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Finally, I thank my husband, Brendan, for his patience, and the many cups of tea and coffee, particularly during the most intense period of writing up, and my sons, Cameron and Patrick, for their quiet support. Cameron and Patrick have recently set out on their own higher education journeys and I wish them every success.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Louise Grace Barrett

Signature:

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

I began to plan this study in the autumn of 2016, when I undertook the first of two research methods modules in year three of the Doctorate in Education programme. Having entered the dissertation stage in 2017, I found my progress disrupted by bereavement in December 2018 and the COVID-19 pandemic from March 2020. I offer this context at the outset as I intend to draw on policy and reports which provided impetus and justification for the study in the initial stages. Although these can no longer be termed 'recent', the policy priorities and issues raised in the reports remain current in 2022.

When the overarching policy for education in Scotland, the National Improvement Framework, was published by Scottish Government in 2016, it set out priorities which included improving the health and wellbeing of children and young people, alongside raising attainment in literacy and numeracy. Since proposals were first introduced in 2004, the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) has placed at its centre the health and wellbeing of children and young people. Within this curriculum, aspects of health and wellbeing, in particular mental, emotional and social wellbeing, are considered the responsibility of all teachers. Despite the inclusion of mental wellbeing in the curriculum, reports by National Health Service (NHS) Health Scotland (2016), Scottish Government (2017c) and the Institute of Education at University College London (Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2017) have noted increasing mental health issues amongst young people of secondary school age. As a lecturer in initial teacher education (ITE), preparing students who would become teachers of secondary English, I developed an interest in exploring the ways in which English teachers might understand and enact the responsibility for health and wellbeing set out in the curriculum, while delivering effective teaching and learning in English.

Having gathered data through semi-structured interviews with English teachers and begun the process of analysis, I found the writing of my dissertation interrupted by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and its impact on the delivery of the ITE programmes for which I have lead responsibility as a senior lecturer. Returning to my study in 2022, I had some concern that the policy and reports which stimulated my interest in the topic and justified it as a worthwhile focus were no longer relevant. This was not the case, however. The

refreshed CfE narrative (Scottish Government, 2019a) has retained the central status of health and wellbeing and, in the 2022 National Improvement Framework and Improvement Plan (Scottish Government, 2021a), raising attainment in literacy and numeracy and improving pupils' health and wellbeing remain key priorities. A range of reports (Children's Parliament, 2020; Schools Health and Wellbeing Improvement Research Network (SHINE) and Generation Scotland, 2020; Scottish Youth Parliament et al., 2020a, 2020b, 2021; McCluskey et al., 2021) indicate that the COVID-19 pandemic has had a negative impact on young people's mental health and wellbeing, in many cases exacerbated by school closures during periods of lockdown.

In this chapter, I will set out the key messages of the National Improvement Framework (Scottish Government, 2016) and explain how their relevance to my professional context led to the aim and research questions of my study. I will provide summaries of the chapters to come.

1.2 National Improvement Framework

In the first iteration of the National Improvement Framework, Scottish Government stated its commitment to creating

> … a Scotland in which **all** children and young people can realise their potential, regardless of their social background or learning needs, thereby developing the knowledge, skills and attributes they will need to flourish in life, learning and work. (Scottish Government, 2016, p.2)

Scottish Government (2016) acknowledged the need to invest in education to achieve fairer outcomes for children and young people, and that a successful education system is key to enabling children and young people to thrive. The Framework set out Scottish Government's vision to achieve excellence and equity through raising attainment in literacy and numeracy and closing the poverty-related attainment gap. The stated purpose of the Framework was to galvanise the efforts of all partners in the education system and align improvement activities to address Scottish Government's priorities. Of four priorities, the two of particular interest to this study were 'improvement in attainment, particularly in literacy and numeracy' and 'improvement in children and young people's health and wellbeing' (Scottish Government, 2016, p.7). Within the context of the secondary school curriculum, tension could be created for English teachers by this dual expectation to raise

pupils' attainment in literacy and contribute to improving their health and wellbeing through teaching and learning of the subject of English.

It was proposed that data on the achievement of CfE levels for literacy and numeracy would be collected at national and local authority level at the end of P1, P4, P7 and S3. Data would be based on teacher judgement but informed by the Scottish National Standardised Assessments (Scottish Government, n.d.). A training package would be offered to support schools to interpret results and connect them to other sources of assessment evidence (Scottish Government, 2016). For secondary English teachers, the gathering of S3 data could add additional pressure. Although literacy is the responsibility of all teachers within CfE, English teachers lead on the delivery of literacy within the wider English curriculum.

Lessons from the Finnish school system (Sahlberg, 2009, cited in Marcus, 2016) suggest that stating increased attainment as the criterion for success narrows teaching to the content and methods considered effective in improving results, and discourages the educational risk-taking of creative teaching. Similarly, focusing on basic skills in reading and writing takes attention away from broad and deep learning which places value on 'all aspects of the growth of an individual's personality, moral character, creativity, knowledge and skills' (Sahlberg, 2009, cited in Marcus, 2016, p.11). If standardised assessment were to continue to be used to gather data, it would be important to ensure that teachers' judgement of pupils' attainment is also based, as proposed, on wider evidence of learning within the subject area.

Scottish Government (2016, p.3) suggested that the Framework built on 'a strong track record of improvements and reforms' across a range of areas of education and children's services. The two most relevant to the priorities of improving health and wellbeing and raising attainment in literacy were the Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) approach and CfE. Scottish Government (2016) stated that GIRFEC acknowledges that, although children and young people have different experiences in their lives, each child or young person has the right to appropriate adult support to enable them to grow and develop. In relation to CfE, Scottish Government (2016) suggested that by moving away from more rigid prescription, teachers have more professional autonomy to decide how they teach within a more coherent, flexible and child-focused curriculum. Teachers have flexibility to

design a curriculum that best meets the ‘needs and aspirations for each individual child’ (Scottish Government, 2016, p.4).

A third area of reform mentioned by Scottish Government (2016) which is relevant to the study is the implementation of Teaching Scotland’s Future (Scottish Government, 2010c), which made recommendations to ensure a highly professional, skilled workforce. The National Improvement Framework (Scottish Government, 2016) builds on this reform by including teacher professionalism as one of the key drivers of improvement, alongside, for example, school leadership and assessment of children’s progress. As an improvement driver, teacher professionalism refers to the overall quality of the teaching workforce in Scotland and the impact of their professional learning on children and young people’s learning and the outcomes that they achieve (Scottish Government, 2016). In Scotland, the highly professional, graduate teaching workforce is regulated by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTC Scotland) and required to meet and uphold high professional standards (Scottish Government, 2016). Student teachers are required to meet the Standard for Provisional Registration by the end of their ITE programme. In 2016, student teachers were working towards the Standard which had been published in 2012 (GTC Scotland, 2012); an updated version was published in 2021 (GTC Scotland, 2021).

Like the previous version, the new Standard requires provisionally registered teachers to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of ‘theory and practical skills required in curricular areas as set out in current national and local guidelines’ and ‘curriculum content and its relevance to the education of every learner’ (GTC Scotland, 2021, p.7). Newly qualified teachers are also required to demonstrate professional skills and abilities in relation to planning ‘coherent, progressive and engaging teaching programmes which address the needs of learners’ (GTC Scotland, 2021, p.9). The expectation that newly qualified teachers should be prepared to develop pupils’ wellbeing is very clear in both versions of the Standard for Provisional Registration (GTC Scotland, 2012, 2021). Professional values are expected to include ‘commitment to all learners’ [intellectual/cognitive], social and ethical growth and wellbeing’ (GTC Scotland, 2012, p.5; GTC Scotland, 2021, p.4), respecting learners’ entitlement ‘to have all aspects of their learning and wellbeing developed and supported’ as outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (GTC Scotland, 2012, p.6; GTC Scotland, 2021, p.4) and providing and ensuring ‘a safe and secure environment for all learners within a caring and compassionate ethos’ (GTC Scotland, 2012, p.6; GTC Scotland, 2021, p.5).

Newly qualified teachers' responsibility for promoting wellbeing is referred to more regularly and more explicitly in the new version of the Standard for Provisional Registration. For example, a benchmark entitled 'Utilise partnerships for learning and wellbeing' includes a range of skills and abilities new teachers are expected to demonstrate (GTC Scotland, 2021, p.9). These include contributing to 'a rights-respecting culture where learners can meaningfully participate in decisions related to their learning [and] wellbeing', creating and sustaining 'effective working relationships with colleagues, parents/carers, families and the wider school community and partner agencies … to support … wellbeing' and '[practising] self-care and [supporting] the wellbeing of others, seeking support where necessary' (GTC Scotland, 2021, p.9).

GTC Scotland has a suite of Standards for teachers at different stages of their careers: full registration; career-long professional learning; and leadership and management. In the National Improvement Framework, Scottish Government (2016) stated that ensuring high standards for teachers' professional skills and competences would help to ensure high quality learning experiences for children and young people, adding the aspiration that 'all new teachers … develop as enquiring professionals who are experts in teaching literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing' (Scottish Government, 2016, p.1). It was indicated that, to support improvement, information on ITE programmes' coverage of literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing would be gathered through the mechanism of GTC Scotland accreditation of programmes and this would aid evaluation of how prepared student teachers are to teach literacy and numeracy, and support health and wellbeing (Scottish Government, 2016). Looking beyond ITE, information would be gathered from GTC Scotland on teachers' views of teaching literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing, and opportunities for professional learning, during the first year as a newly qualified teacher and this would enable further evaluation of the impact of ITE and the teacher induction scheme in supporting newly qualified teachers in these areas (Scottish Government, 2016).

1.3 My professional context

My interest in exploring these aspects in my dissertation research emerged from my professional context. I am a senior lecturer with a lead role in ITE at a Scottish university. My main teaching responsibility is with the Professional Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) students who are studying to become secondary English teachers. I lead their

subject-specific workshops during blocks of university learning and assess them on school experience placements. These student teachers are learning how to teach the subject of English effectively, but also how to understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing as set out in CfE. Although I encourage them to consider how they could address health and wellbeing outcomes within English lessons, I am not able to draw on my own experience, as I took up my post at the university in 2006, when CfE had been introduced but before the details of the curriculum framework were published. Back in the autumn of 2016, when I was choosing a focus for my dissertation research, I saw an opportunity for my student teachers of English to learn from more experienced practitioners through the findings of my study.

1.4 Aim and research questions

The aim of the study was to explore how secondary English teachers might reconcile the dual expectations of policy, as set out in the curriculum, to promote pupils' mental health and wellbeing whilst delivering effective teaching and learning in English. I set out to consider the following research questions.

> How do English teachers understand their responsibility for health and wellbeing?
>
> How do English teachers enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing in the classroom and what factors enable or constrain enactment?

1.5 Chapter summaries

In Chapter 2, I will set out definitions of mental health and wellbeing before drawing on reports from Scotland and the wider United Kingdom (UK) to highlight some of the key issues relating to the mental health and wellbeing of young people of secondary school age, in particular, before and since the COVID-19 pandemic. I will also identify in these reports suggestions for ways in which schools can support young people's mental health and wellbeing. I will summarise how the responsibility of all teachers for aspects of pupils' health and wellbeing is set out in the CfE documentation and will also outline some key expectations of the whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing published to support schools during recovery from the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. I will consider the discourses of wellbeing which underpin the curriculum. I will discuss the concerns about a rise in therapeutic education expressed by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008,

2009, 2019) and consider the issue of the diminished subject, in terms of the curricular area such as English and the young person. I will offer the concept of wellbeing as flourishing as an alternative discourse. To begin to consider how English teachers might enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, I will define literacy and effective teaching and learning in English and summarise curricular expectations for the teaching of English. I will close the chapter by exploring the role of the arts, including literature, in promoting flourishing, and identify Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) as a suitable framework for analysis for exploring English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing.

I have reviewed mainly primary research literature relating to the implementation of the aspects of health and wellbeing which are the responsibility of all within CfE in Scotland, as well as that relating to the implementation of programmes of mental health or wellbeing promotion in other parts of the UK, Australia and New Zealand. In Chapter Three, I will discuss this literature in relation to the following themes which I have identified across the reports: enacting CfE, understandings of health and wellbeing, engaging staff in the promotion of health and wellbeing, whole school approaches, relationships, tensions between health ad wellbeing and subjects, implementing health and wellbeing in subjects, difficulties evaluating practice or assessing health and wellbeing. I will set out Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach in Chapter Four and consider some key issues relating to how it applies to education which are relevant to this study.

In Chapter Five, I will explain the methodology for the study, considering the interpretivist paradigm and qualitative methods. I will explain and justify my choice of semi-structured interviews and size of participant group. I will set out ethical approaches and considerations. I will explain my use of thematic analysis and consideration of Bernstein's languages of description as a way of making connections between the theory and the data.

In Chapter Six, I will set out my findings in relation to a number of key themes and discuss these in relation to Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach and key aspects of the literature reviewed in Chapter Three. In Chapter Seven, I will conclude the dissertation by reiterating what I set out to find out and how, answering my research questions, evaluating the quality and trustworthiness of the research and reflecting on the impact it has had on my professional practice.

Chapter Two: Health and wellbeing and English

2.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I will set out definitions of mental health and wellbeing before drawing on reports from Scotland and the wider United Kingdom (UK) to highlight some of the key issues relating to the mental health and wellbeing of young people of secondary school age, in particular, before and since the COVID-19 pandemic. I will also identify in these reports suggestions for ways in which schools can support young people's mental health and wellbeing. I will summarise how the responsibility of all teachers for aspects of pupils' health and wellbeing is set out in the CfE documentation and will also outline some key expectations of the whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing published to support schools during recovery from the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. I will consider the discourses of wellbeing which underpin the curriculum. I will discuss the concerns about a rise in therapeutic education expressed by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) and consider the issue of the diminished subject, in terms of the curricular area such as English and the young person. I will offer the concept of wellbeing as flourishing as an alternative discourse. To begin to consider how English teachers might enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, I will define literacy and effective teaching and learning in English and summarise curricular expectations for the teaching of English. I will close the chapter by exploring the role of the arts, including literature, in promoting flourishing, and identify Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) as a suitable framework for analysis for exploring English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing.

2.2 Mental health and wellbeing

Ereaut and Whiting (2008) state that the terms 'mental health' and 'wellbeing' are often used together but without their relationship being explained. Norwich et al. (2022) note recent examples of this type of usage by voluntary organisations leading work in this area: Young Minds (2020, cited in Norwich et al., 2022, p.807) refers to 'mental health and wellbeing' without providing details of the relationship, and Mentally Healthy Schools (2020, cited in Norwich et al., 2022, p.807) explains that 'mental health … refers to your emotional, psychological and social wellbeing'. It is likely that these organisations have drawn on the way in which mental health is defined by the World Health Organisation as:

> … a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community. (World Health Organisation, 2014, non-paginated)

This definition aligns mental health with wellbeing, in a concept Norwich et al. (2022, p.807) refer to 'mental health as wellbeing' and stresses the importance to mental health of the positive dimension of wellbeing, which is more than simply the absence of mental health disorders, difficulties or conditions.

This study sits within the wider context of the national priority to improve the mental health of the population in Scotland (NHS Health Scotland, 2016). NHS Health Scotland (2016) uses the umbrella term 'mental health' to refer to both mental wellbeing and mental health problems. They recognise that across a range of definitions of mental wellbeing most emphasise aspects of 'subjective wellbeing', such as effect and life satisfaction, and 'psychological wellbeing', which includes cognitive aspects such as having a sense of control, a purpose in life and a sense of belonging (NHS Health Scotland, 2016, p.24). They assert that positive mental wellbeing can contribute to heightened self-esteem, optimism, confidence and assertiveness, and can enable individuals to develop emotionally, creatively, intellectually and spiritually (NHS Health Scotland, 2016). Individuals with good mental wellbeing are able to face, resolve and learn from problems, and show resilience in coping with adversities, but also play and have fun; they are able to empathise with others, initiate, develop and sustain mutually satisfying personal relationships, contribute to family and other social networks, local community and society, but also use and enjoy solitude (NHS Health Scotland, 2016). The NHS Health Scotland (2016) definition has many similarities with that of the Canadian Public Health Agency (2006, p.i, cited in Norwich et al. 2022, p.809) but the latter extends the social dimension of wellbeing to include respect for 'the importance of culture, equity, social justice, interconnections and personal dignity.'

Mental health problems are defined by NHS Health Scotland (2016) as a range of symptoms affecting the way people think, feel and behave, which meet the criteria for clinical diagnosis. These range from common mental health problems such as depression and anxiety to severe, enduring mental health problems such as schizophrenia (NHS Health Scotland, 2016). In the *Mental Health Strategy 2017-2027*, Scottish Government

(2017b, p.11) recognises the overarching definition of ‘mental health’ as applying to a continuum from ‘emotional wellbeing like happiness and sadness, to mental disorder like the acute reaction that can happen to stress, to mental illness like schizophrenia’. Norwich et al. (2022) suggest that the middle of such a continuum would be characterised as coping or struggling and would include mental health difficulties not severe enough to be diagnosed disorders.

Drawing on the work of Keyes, Norwich et al. (2022) offer an alternative conception of mental health-illness which considers mental health and wellbeing as a separate dimension from mental disorder or illness. In this dual-factor model, there are two continua: psychiatric disorder to no disorder and high mental health (flourishing) to low mental health (languishing). In this model, the mental health as wellbeing and mental illness/psychiatric disorder dimensions are related to but distinct from each other (Keyes et al., 2002; Keyes, 2014, cited in Norwich et al., 2022). Here, flourishing is defined as ‘a state of mental health in which people are free of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual mental disorders such as major depression and filled with high levels of emotional, psychological, and social well-being’ and languishing as ‘a state of emptiness in which individuals are devoid of emotional, psychological, and social well-being, but they are not mentally ill’ (Keyes, 2006, p.7). Keyes (2006, p.7) adds further illustration that ‘moderately mentally healthy adults are not depressed or languishing, but neither have they reached the level of flourishing in life’. In the dual-factor model, it is possible for someone to be identified as having a mental health difficulty and be flourishing or for someone to be languishing without a diagnosed disorder. Norwich et al. (2022) note that it has been observed more recently by the Children’s Society when reporting on UK studies of wellbeing that ‘children may thus have low subjective wellbeing without and high subjective wellbeing despite a diagnosis of mental illness’ (2019, p.13, cited in Norwich et al., 2022, p.808). It is helpful to be mindful of this relationship when considering reports of the mental health and wellbeing of young people.

2.3 Young people’s mental health and wellbeing

Various reports give indications of the mental health and wellbeing of different age groups within the population of Scotland and the UK. NHS Health Scotland (2016) indicates that, while many people in Scotland enjoy good mental health, one in ten adults has two or more symptoms of depression. There is evidence of growth in mental health issues among

younger people. Drawing on data from the Scottish Health Survey 2012-15, Scottish Government (2017c) observes more marked increases since the previous Scottish Health Survey (2008-11) in the proportions of young adults reporting two or more symptoms of depression (from 4% to 8%) and anxiety (from 6% to 12%), than for all adults.

There is also evidence that mental wellbeing indicators decrease and mental health problems increase with age for children and adolescents. Drawing on the Health Behaviour in School-aged Children survey, which surveys 11-, 13- and 15-year-olds every four years, Scottish Government (2017c) indicates that, in the 2014 survey, 87% of adolescents in Scotland report high life satisfaction but this declines between age 11 and 15. NHS Health Scotland (2014) indicates that being happy was only reported by around half of 11-year-olds, less than half of 13-year-olds and about a third of 15-year-olds. In a UK-wide study, Patalay and Fitzsimons (2017) report that emotional symptoms, such as feeling depressed and anxious, increase through childhood into adolescence, almost doubling from early childhood to age 14. The Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality (2017) suggests that adolescents are put under increasing pressure by the focus on raising educational attainment, while social media use has been linked to increased rates of anxiety and depression.

Half of adult mental health issues begin by the age of 14 and three quarters before the age of 24 (Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2017; Scottish Government 2017c; Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality, 2017). NHS Health Scotland (2016) states that good social, emotional and psychological wellbeing in childhood helps to prevent social, emotional and behavioural problems in the long term. Scottish Government (2017c) and the Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality (2017) add that poor mental health may have an impact on longer-term health outcomes, and the ability to engage in education and employment, which can affect prospects and increase risk of poverty. The prevalence of mental health issues at age 14 suggests that schools have an important role to play relating to support for young people.

In March 2020, increasing concerns about the spread of coronavirus (COVID-19) led to a national lockdown, during which schools were closed. Having reviewed 72 studies from 20 countries, Viner et al. (2021) conclude that, as part of broader social distancing measures, school closures 'are associated with considerable harms to [children's and young people's] health and wellbeing', particularly for those living in the most deprived areas. Norwich et

al. (2022) refer to evidence that the COVID-19 crisis worsened some mental health problems and reinforced the central role of schools. The National Performance Framework report (Scottish Government and COSLA, 2020) indicates that during the early stage of the pandemic there was a general worsening of mental wellbeing, especially in terms of anxiety, loneliness and depression. The mental wellbeing of children and young people was impacted by boredom, isolation, uncertainty and lack of control, with remote schooling, excessive screen time and limited outdoor play contributing (Scottish Government and COSLA, 2020). Between April 2020 and June 2021, various organisations surveyed and/or interviewed children and young people to gather their concerns about the impact of the pandemic on their lives (Children's Parliament, 2020; SHINE and Generation Scotland, 2020; Scottish Youth Parliament et al., 2020a, 2020b, 2021; McCluskey et al., 2021). Three main areas of concern for young people about the impact emerge from these reports: school learning and future education and employment; their relationships; and their mental health and wellbeing.

2.4 The role of schools

Increasing mental health issues and societal concerns about mental, emotional and social wellbeing have led to calls for schools to meet the mental health needs of children and young people and for policymakers in many countries to emphasise positive mental health promotion (Hardley et al., 2021; Holt et al., 2022; Norwich et al., 2022; Thorburn, 2020). Thorburn (2020) suggests that the heightened interest in educating for wellbeing is based on the belief that 'schools can be a civilising force for good and help to make young people's lives more fulfilling and meaningful'. Matthews et al. (2015, pp.661-662) agree that, while a network of groups, including extended families and carers, educators, health workers, and the children themselves, share responsibility for children's wellbeing, a school can be 'a significant influence on a child's transition through adolescence, their emotional and social wellbeing and their engagement in activities inside and outside of school time'. They recognise that schools are 'crowded policy spaces' but suggest that this should not detract from their potential to contribute positively to the wellbeing of children and young people (Matthews et al., 2015, p.664).

The Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality (2017) recognises the centrality of the family environment and peer relationships to young people's mental health but indicates that more emphasis on preventative mental health approaches is needed in schools. In the

Mental Health Strategy 2017-2027, Scottish Government (2017b) states a commitment to make prevention and early intervention a focus of activity and funding, recognising that they are key to minimising the prevalence of mental health issues and the potential lifetime impact of mental illnesses. Support from teachers and other school staff is considered vital in helping ensure the mental wellbeing of children and young people (Scottish Government, 2017b). The Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality (2017) states that schools could focus more strongly on the causes of mental health issues and on helping young people before they reach a need for treatment. Scottish Government (2017b) highlights the importance of every child and young person having access to appropriate support in school for emotional and mental wellbeing. NHS Health Scotland (2016) suggests that this requires teachers and other staff to be trained to identify signs in children and young people of anxiety or social and emotional problems and schools to offer effective targeted interventions to support children and their families. Scottish Government (2017b) agrees that evidence-based interventions to address behavioural and emotional issues, appropriate pastoral care and access to educational psychologists should be available.

Scottish Government (2017b) emphasises the need for schools to provide a positive culture which enables children and young people to be included, engaged and involved in their education, stating that a positive culture which helps children to feel secure, resilient, confident, supported, and ready to learn is fundamental to achievement and attainment. NHS Health Scotland (2016) encourages schools to promote safe environments which nurture young people's sense of self-worth, reduce the threat of bullying and violence, and promote positive behaviour. Within a positive culture, schools and local authorities are encouraged to develop a broad curriculum that promotes wellbeing, maximises educational achievement and supports those least likely to engage in formal education (NHS Health Scotland, 2016). NHS Health Scotland (2016) recommends that schools implement programmes which promote good emotional and social wellbeing and which are integrated into all aspects of the curriculum. In that regard, Scottish Government (2017b) highlights the responsibility of all adults who work in schools to support and develop the mental, emotional and social wellbeing of pupils. NHS Health Scotland (2016) note that staff must be trained to do so effectively.

Respondents to the surveys about the impact of COVID-19 requested improved support for mental health and wellbeing in schools (Scottish Youth Parliament et al., 2021).

McCluskey et al. (2021) report that young people called for training for all school staff on mental health and wellbeing to be significantly improved; guidance/pastoral care teachers to be given specialised training; structured opportunities for reflective conversations with sharing of experiences, concerns and questions; school counselling to be provided as a norm; increased opportunities for peer support, for example, through the wider introduction of mental health ambassadors; and better signposting to sources of support beyond school.

2.5 Health and wellbeing in Curriculum for Excellence

The positioning of health and wellbeing as central to CfE has been clear across a range of policy documents since the report of the Curriculum Review Group (Scottish Executive, 2004), which set the development of CfE in motion, and a paper on progress and proposals two years later (Scottish Executive, 2006a). These early documents described the purposes of the curriculum in terms of promoting four key capacities - all young people should become successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors (Scottish Executive, 2004) – and indicated plans to bring together existing secondary subjects, Personal and Social Education, Physical Education and Home Economics, into the proposed curriculum area, health and wellbeing, and to ensure that a range of aspects, including the four capacities and health, were ‘embedded and developed coherently across the curriculum’ (Scottish Executive, 2006a, p.24).

Following this paper, a series of *Building the Curriculum* documents introduced details of the new curriculum framework which has guided teachers’ practice since. *Building the Curriculum 1* (Scottish Executive, 2006b) indicates ways in which the four capacities might be developed within the curriculum areas, including health and wellbeing, and makes a clear statement that, because ‘learning through health and wellbeing promotes confidence, independent thinking and positive attitudes and dispositions’, every teacher has responsibility to ‘contribute to learning and development in their area’ (p.10). *Building the Curriculum 3* (Scottish Government, 2008b) describes ways in which four contexts for learning – the ethos and life of the school as a community, curriculum areas and subjects, interdisciplinary projects, and opportunities for personal achievement – should create a framework for learning and teaching. It states that, within the ethos and life of the school, all members of staff are expected to be ‘sensitive and responsive to each young person’s wellbeing’ (Scottish Government, 2008b, p.20). It also indicates that, once published, the

experiences and outcomes would provide guidance as to how all staff might review and develop skills related to health and wellbeing, and attributes and capabilities which support the development of the four capacities, across curriculum areas and subjects (Scottish Government, 2008b). *Building the Curriculum 4* (Scottish Government, 2009a) provides guidance on how schools, along with a wide range of partners, can enable young people to develop their skills for learning, life and work, focusing particularly on literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing, across the curriculum, in ways that are 'integrated and embedded into programmes and courses, permeating learning and teaching' (Scottish Government, 2009a, p.1). In the document, skills for health and wellbeing are identified as 'personal learning planning, career management skills, working with others, leadership and physical co-ordination and movement skills' (Scottish Government, 2009a, p.10). *Building the Curriculum 5* (Scottish Government, 2010a), which contains guidance on assessment within CfE, states that assessment in health and wellbeing should take account of the breadth and purpose of the wide range of young people's learning experiences in the curriculum area and suggests that progress will be seen in how young people apply their knowledge, understanding and skills in aspects of healthy living and relationships, and the ways in which they approach personal planning, assessing risk and decision making.

Documents detailing the principles underpinning practice in the eight curriculum areas and the intended experiences and outcomes for learners were also published in 2009. *Health and wellbeing: principles and practice* (Scottish Government, 2009e) describes in detail the expected whole school approach to promoting children and young people's health and wellbeing, while *Health and wellbeing: experiences and outcomes* (Scottish Government, 2009d) provides a structured curriculum framework. This framework includes experiences and outcomes to be used in planning learning by teachers of secondary subjects, Physical Education, Home Economics and Personal and Social Education, and by teachers of all other subjects, responsible for health and wellbeing across learning. To make clear to secondary teachers the aspects of the health and wellbeing curriculum for which they would be responsible, the relevant parts were extracted from the fuller documents and published as *Health and wellbeing across learning: responsibilities of all: principles and practice* (Scottish Government, 2009c) and *Health and wellbeing across learning: responsibilities of all: experiences and outcomes* (Scottish Government, 2009b). Both *Principles and practice* documents (Scottish Government, 2009c and 2009e) state that all practitioners should make connections between the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes and their learning and teaching in other areas of the curriculum. *Health and*

wellbeing across learning: responsibilities of all: experiences and outcomes (Scottish Government, 2009b) provides a structured curriculum framework for those aspects of health and wellbeing which are the responsibility of all teachers, setting out experiences and outcomes under the organisers of mental, emotional, social and physical wellbeing, planning for choices and changes, and relationships.

The *Principles and practice* document (Scottish Government, 2009c) states that all staff should act under the auspices of ‘robust policies and practice which ensure the safety and wellbeing of children’ which are expected to be in place (Scottish Government, 2009c, p.2). Scottish Government (2009c) also set out in a diagram which has become known as the SHANARRI wheel, a ‘shared vision and common goal’ (p.2) of eight wellbeing indicators that are the entitlement of young people to which schools and their partners should contribute – safe, healthy, achieving, nurtured, active, respected, responsible and included. The reference to ‘robust policies and practice’ (Scottish Government, 2009c, p.2) and the eight wellbeing indicators establish links between the health and wellbeing curriculum and GIRFEC, the national approach to improving outcomes for and supporting the wellbeing of children and young people, which began its development 2001, when the Scottish Executive set out aspirations for integrated children’s services (Scottish Government, 2017a). In 2004, the Minister for Children published a review of the Children’s Hearing System entitled *Getting it right for every child*, which highlighted a dramatic increase in the number of children identified as having multiple needs (Scottish Government, 2017a). A new approach piloted in Highland Council saw the development of a single- or multi-agency National Practice Model which was published in *A Guide to Getting it right for every child* (Scottish Government, 2008a). GIRFEC aims to have in place a network of support from family/carers, community and universal services of health and education to promote wellbeing so that children and young people receive appropriate help when they need it (Scottish Government, 2012). If support from this network can no longer meet a child or young person’s needs, targeted support for learning and/or specialist help to address more complex needs will be called upon and immediate compulsory intervention implemented when necessary to keep children or young people safe (Scottish Government, 2012). It is within this broader context that teachers are expected to enact their responsibility for young people’s health and wellbeing.

Throughout the documentation, there is an emphasis on all teachers’ responsibility to promote young people’s mental, social and emotional wellbeing. In the early papers

(Scottish Executive, 2004, 2006b) which set out the four capacities which underpin the curriculum, a number of the detailed attributes and skills relate to these aspects of wellbeing. It is intended that young people will learn to be self-aware, have self-respect, manage themselves, live as independently as they can, pursue healthy and active lifestyles, assess risk and make informed choices and decisions (Scottish Executive, 2004, 2006b). It is hoped that young people will develop confidence and resilience in order to embrace change and challenge with optimism and hope, deal with the unexpected and cope with adversity (Scottish Executive, 2004, 2006b). The curriculum should promote young people's enthusiasm and motivation for learning, and enable them to learn and express themselves creatively independently and in groups, and to deal with competitive and challenging situations (Scottish Executive, 2004, 2006b). Young people should be able to relate to others, sustain satisfying personal relationships, communicate and work in partnership and in teams, respect and value other people, and understand different beliefs, cultures and feelings in order to counter discrimination and promote equality (Scottish Executive, 2004, 2006b).

These aspects are reiterated in the *Principles and practice* and *Experiences and outcomes* documents (Scottish Government, 2009c, 2009b) where the main purposes of learning in health and wellbeing are summarised. In these documents, there is an emphasis on enabling young people to develop the knowledge and understanding, skills, capabilities and attributes which they will need for wellbeing not only during their school years but also in the future (Scottish Government, 2009c). Young people should expect their learning environment to prepare them to independently make good choices relating to health and wellbeing by enabling them to learn where to find help and resources to inform choices, to assess and manage risk and understand the impact of risk-taking behaviour, and to reflect on their strengths and skills when planning next steps in relation to education or work (Scottish Government, 2009b, 2009c). It is hoped that young people will be able to sustain into adult life the healthy lifestyles they are encouraged to pursue and, in so doing, will support the health and wellbeing of the next generation of Scottish children (Scottish Government, 2009c).

Throughout the documentation, it is indicated that all teachers are expected to promote young people's health and wellbeing by contributing to a positive ethos and climate of respect and trust within a school, principally through building open and supportive relationships which encourage young people to feel that they are listened to, and are safe

and secure (Scottish Executive, 2006b; Scottish Government, 2008b, 2009c). Teachers working with young people regularly are effectively placed to notice minor changes of mood which might be caused by emotional, social or mental health issues which require support (Scottish Government, 2009c). They have a responsibility to show they have time to listen and to help, so that young people feel that they can share their anxieties and be comfortable discussing sensitive issues, and will be directed to appropriate sources of support (Scottish Executive, 2006b; Scottish Government, 2009c). Young people are expected to understand the responsibility of adults in the school community to look after them, listen to their concerns, and involve appropriate others where necessary (Scottish Government, 2009b). The benefit to a young person's health and wellbeing of having individual support and pastoral care from an identified member of staff, who is able to offer support in facing changes and challenges and in making choices, such as subjects to study, is highlighted, as is the responsibility of all practitioners to understand policies relating to discrimination, bullying and child protection, including knowing the appropriate steps to take in response to situations which arise (Scottish Government, 2009c). It is suggested that, by giving all teachers responsibility for health and wellbeing, the needs, including the care and welfare needs, of young people can be identified and met through partnership working (Scottish Government, 2008b).

In addition to contributing to the wider school ethos, teachers are expected to incorporate health and wellbeing in their curriculum areas. Many statements in the documentation relate to pedagogy rather than the subject content of curriculum areas. In learning activities across the curriculum, young people should have opportunities to learn independently and as part of a group, work in partnership and in teams, relate to others and manage themselves, and make informed choices and decisions (Scottish Executive, 2004b). It is stated that successful learning depends on 'good personal, social and working relationships' to foster motivation and engagement, encourage self-esteem and confidence, and develop resilience in the face of challenges (Scottish Government, 2009a, p.12). Learning and teaching approaches should include active, cooperative and peer learning, and make effective use of technology and the outdoor environment (Scottish Government, 2009c). It is expected that participation in varied, relevant, realistic and enjoyable experiences relating to health and wellbeing will lead young people to make a lasting commitment to following a healthy lifestyle and encourage them to act as positive role models for others within the educational community (Scottish Government, 2009c).

When planning for learning and teaching in health and wellbeing, teachers should take into account young people's backgrounds and home circumstances, as well as their individual development, keeping in mind that the ways in which attitudes, values and behaviours are formed are influenced by social and environmental factors (Scottish Government, 2009c). It is stated that progression and development in aspects of health and wellbeing depend upon the stage of growth, development and maturity of pupils, as well as social issues affecting them and their community context (Scottish Government, 2009c). Teachers are expected to take these factors into account, as well as the views and experiences of young people, when planning to ensure that experiences in health and wellbeing are relevant and realistic for them.

Examples are provided of the ways in which health and wellbeing might be incorporated across the curriculum (Scottish Executive, 2006b; Scottish Government, 2009e). It is suggested that skills in literacy and numeracy can be developed through health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes; important links exist between health and wellbeing and religious and moral education in relation to establishing values and considering relationships; participating in the expressive arts can contribute to young people's sense of wellbeing, and that specific activities, for example role play, can engage young people in issues such as bullying; and there are strong links between social studies and aspects of health and wellbeing relating to citizenship and participation (Scottish Executive, 2006b; Scottish Government, 2009e). Teachers are encouraged to 'group experiences and outcomes together in different and imaginative ways which enrich, consolidate and enhance progression in learning' (Scottish Government, 2009e, p.7).

In *Building the Curriculum* 5, it is also suggested that assessment in health and wellbeing should link with other areas of the curriculum, giving young people opportunities to apply their knowledge and skills in learning or social contexts which are more complex, demanding or unfamiliar (Scottish Government, 2010a). Linking the assessment of health and wellbeing with other areas of the curriculum implies that teachers of those subjects are expected to carry out the assessment. Otherwise, it is not made explicit in the assessment framework who has responsibility for the assessment of young people's health and wellbeing in the secondary school.

2.6 A whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing

Acknowledging evidence of the impact of the pandemic on the mental health and wellbeing of children and young people, and their parents and carers, Scottish Government (2020) sets out in its mental health transition and recovery plan the intention to continue to develop mental health and wellbeing support in schools, focusing on promoting good mental wellbeing and ensuring the right help and support, for example from Educational Psychology and school counselling services, is provided when it is needed. The support offered to schools in this plan centres around a framework for a whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing (Scottish Government, 2021d) which, it is stated, draws on effective practice being used in schools, which other schools could adopt, as appropriate, in their own settings.

In the framework, Scottish Government describes a whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing as one which is

> … preventative, universal and includes targeted interventions to ensure that all members of a school community can flourish and sustain a state of being mentally healthy. (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.7)

The preventative and universal aspects of the approach are most relevant to subject teachers and the responsibility of all. The framework states that a whole school approach requires strong leadership to take it forward across the whole school community, must have a focus on ethos, relationships and pedagogy, and relates well to whole school relationship-based and nurturing approaches (Scottish Government, 2021d).

The framework challenges schools to evaluate the extent to which they have ‘embedded a whole school relational approach and recognise the importance of this in supporting mental health and wellbeing’ (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.33). In setting out what good practice might look like, Scottish Government (2021d) highlights the positive impact on mental health and wellbeing that positive relationships can have, whether between teachers, between teachers and pupils, or between pupils. It states that the responsibility for creating a positive ethos and climate of respect and trust is shared by everyone within the school setting and its wider community (Scottish Government, 2021d). It suggests that, to best support mental health and wellbeing, the school ethos and environment should be

underpinned by relational approaches such as whole school nurture and restorative approaches, which increase the sense of belonging and connectedness to school (Scottish Government, 2021d). Nurturing approaches allow children and young people to thrive by providing care and challenge, 'incorporating attunement, warmth and connection alongside structure, high expectations and a focus on achievement and attainment' (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.12). The framework also asks schools to consider how well their 'values support diversity and recognise practices which support those with protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010' (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.33). Scottish Government (2021d) highlights the link between equity, equality and the promotion of mental health and notes that diversity and difference should be welcomed and celebrated by the school community.

The framework asks schools to evaluate how well approaches to 'responsibility for all' are 'incorporated into curriculum content and learning and teaching approaches' and to consider what evidence they have that 'lesson design and delivery is supporting the development of resilience and mental, emotional, social and physical wellbeing' (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.34). The framework suggests that specific evidence-informed programmes to promote mental health and wellbeing might be used to complement the delivery of the curriculum but should be well integrated in order to be effective (Scottish Government, 2021d). Schools are reminded to emphasise the importance of outdoor activities to support and maintain mental health (Scottish Government, 2021d). Pupils should have meaningful opportunities to contribute to, influence and lead on aspects of their learning within health and wellbeing, including helping to co-design and deliver core components of the health and wellbeing curriculum (Scottish Government, 2021d). The framework also asks schools to evaluate the extent to which there is 'a clear and proportionate approach to monitoring and evaluating progress of wellbeing' (Scottish Government, 2021d, p.34). The guidance proposes that there should be approaches in place to track and monitor pupils' progress in relation to the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes, including those which are responsibility of all and those relating to Personal and Social Education, with consideration also being given to the GIRFEC wellbeing indicators (Scottish Government, 2021d).

2.7 Discourses of wellbeing in schools

The concept of 'wellbeing' has been accepted in many areas of political and policy discourse since the early 2000s with schools expected to take some of the responsibilities towards wellbeing which 'have become "taken-for-granted" in our considerations of childhood' (Spratt, 2016, p.223). Although the term has become ubiquitous, its meaning is unclear (Watson et al., 2012), and, despite the prominence of the concept in political, educational, and public discussion, there is a lack of consensus on its definition (Hardley et al., 2021). Spratt (2016) indicates that, within education, wellbeing is referred to in many contexts, including school ethos, emotional literacy and flourishing, with little consensus about how the word is used and understood. She points out that, even in the 'well-documented policy [of CfE], the concept of wellbeing is evasive' (Spratt, 2016, p.224).

Ereaut and Whiting (2008) suggest that to make sense of how 'wellbeing' behaves in contemporary discourse it is necessary to understand that it is a social construct. Because there are no 'uncontested biological, spiritual, social, economic or any other kind of markers', the meaning of wellbeing cannot be fixed (Ereaut and Whiting, 2008, p.7). They describe wellbeing as having 'a "holographic" quality': different parties project different meanings and how one interprets what is meant by the use of term depends on one's own position (Ereaut and Whiting, 2008, p.5). Ecclestone and Hayes (2009, p.16) criticise the conflation of different concepts under one umbrella term, calling it a 'slippery elision of constructs'.

Ereaut and Whiting (2008) point out that, although wellbeing is considered ill-defined, it is never criticised as an ideal but, rather, is universally accepted as positive. They suggest that the acceptance of the concept, along with the flexibility of its meaning, makes it a helpful concept for bringing together policies and actions across different agencies, such as health, education and social services, as the term appears to allow a range of professional perspectives (Ereaut and Whiting, 2008). In practice, however, the lack of clarity may lead to confusion and disagreement (Spratt, 2016) as competing discourses may suggest to schools different expectations about the enactment of policy (Hardley et al., 2021). The ways in which teachers enact the curriculum are likely to be related to the ways in which they conceptualise wellbeing and this is further complicated by competing discourses on the best way to promote it (Hardley et al., 2021).

In her study of wellbeing in Scottish schools, Spratt (2016, 2017) uses a modified version of Ereaut and Whiting's (2008) typology, informed by literature and her data, to identify four main discursive themes of wellbeing, each having its origins in a different academic or professional discipline. Spratt's (2016, 2017) four overlapping discursive themes of wellbeing are: physical health promotion, emerging from medicine; care, emerging from the field of social care; social and emotional literacy, emerging from psychology; and flourishing, emerging from philosophy. As the discourse of physical health promotion is not directly relevant to the focus of my study, I will not elaborate on it here. Instead, I will outline the discourses of care and social and emotional literacy and return to flourishing later in the chapter.

The discursive theme of care links education with the field of social care of children (Spratt, 2016; 2017). It considers the 'whole child' in the context of her relationships and addresses the roles and responsibilities of adults to promote and support the wellbeing of children in their care. Hardley et al. (2021) note that the repetition of 'responsibility of all' in the CfE policy documentation demonstrates this discourse. It encompasses the relationships and ethos within schools, and, again, the expectation that all staff members will contribute to these aspects is emphasised throughout CfE documentation (Spratt, 2016). With its origins in social care, this discourse is prevalent in interagency contexts and this is demonstrated in the emphasis on interagency work to promote wellbeing within CfE and GIRFEC policies (Hardley et al., 2021, p.516; Spratt, 2016). Spratt (2016, 2017) draws attention to the GIRFEC 'wellbeing wheel', which represents the 'whole child' and features eight segments which set out the responsibilities of adults to ensure that children are 'safe, healthy, active, nurtured, achieving, responsible, respected and included' (Scottish Government, 2012). Spratt (2016, p.228) suggests that, with the word 'wellbeing' at its centre, the diagram implies that 'the provisions made by parents, teachers and other professionals in creating a caring and supportive environment' are central to the fostering of children's wellbeing.

Spratt (2016) suggests, however, that professional 'caring' relationships are not always as child-centred as they may seem. She refers to Noddings (2005, cited in Spratt, 2016) who distinguishes between two interpretations of the concept of caring in professional contexts. One interpretation is that care is 'a virtue of the carer, who makes decisions on behalf of the child' (p.228). Cockburn (2011, cited in Spratt, 2016) indicates that, due to power imbalances inherent in caring relationships, actions undertaken by professionals in these

contexts may not be in the best interests of the child and may actually be harmful. Hardley et al. (2021) note Noddings's (2005) contention that in a properly caring relationship 'the carer and the cared-for should be equals' (p.516). In the dialogic encounter which typifies this interpretation of care, the teacher must attend to the needs expressed by the child rather than assuming the child's needs on the basis of school aims or current policy imperatives (Spratt, 2016). Within caring relationships in schools, however, teachers are usually assumed to be in the role of carer and this can lead to 'teacher-driven care that may constrain students' autonomy' (Hardley et al., 2021, p.516).

In relation to the discursive theme of social and emotional literacy, Spratt (2017) observes that school-based programmes to support psychological wellbeing, often referred to as 'emotional literacy' or later 'social and emotional learning', have grown since the emergence of the concept of emotional intelligence. She highlights the influential work of Weare (2000, 2004) in developing practical approaches for schools, based on the ideas of Goleman (1996). Goleman's (1996) work served to operationalise a model of emotional and social awareness and self-management, under five broad categories of: emotional self-awareness; managing emotions; harnessing emotions productively; reading emotions; and handling relationships. In similar ways, Weare (2004, p.2) defines emotional literacy as the ability to: 'understand ourselves and other people'; 'be aware of, understand, and use information about the emotional states of ourselves and others with competence'; and 'understand, express and manage our emotions, and respond to the emotions of others, in ways that are helpful to ourselves and others'. These aspects, which relate to understanding and controlling one's internal state and to managing oneself in social situations (Spratt, 2017), are reflected in the 'Mental, emotional, social and physical wellbeing' and 'Relationships' organisers of the *Health and wellbeing across learning: responsibilities of all: experiences and outcomes* (Scottish Government, 2009b). Supporting children's social and emotional literacy in schools is justified in terms of the positive impact on other school goals 'such as improved behaviour, attendance and performance' (Spratt, 2016, p.226).

Spratt (2016) asserts that the CfE policy not only promotes the self-management of behaviours and emotions but also seeks to influence feelings by communicating value judgements about the types of emotions, such as confidence, self-esteem and resilience, which are considered appropriate. Drawing on Gillies (2011), Hardley et al. (2021, p.516) add that this therapeutic discourse of emotion management advocates for 'the production of socially and emotionally competent individuals who can maintain "appropriate"

emotionality'. Coppock (2010) suggests that conceptualising emotional wellbeing as a pre-defined operational list of attributes, determined by professional adults, ignores children's experience or understanding of wellbeing. Watson et al. (2012) argue that an individualised operationalised model of emotional wellbeing does not take account of the social aspects, although CfE does include social wellbeing in the experiences and outcomes which are the responsibility of all. Spratt (2016) asserts that, although CfE acknowledges the importance of social interactions to personal wellbeing, it frames social wellbeing as a set of skills, describing in the experiences and outcomes 'behaviours that would constitute acceptable social conduct' (p.227). She refers to Fielding (2011) describing this as 'doing' relationships rather than 'having' relationships and to Rose (1999) observing that such policies have led to a focus on the individual's management of self rather than development of mutually fulfilling friendships' (Spratt, 2016, p.227).

2.8 Concerns about therapeutic education

Weare (2010), Kidger et al. (2010) and Spratt (2017) acknowledge the critique articulated by Ecclestone (2007) and Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) of, what they see as, the dangerous rise of therapeutic education. Ecclestone and Hayes are critical of the extent to which the state currently intervenes in the emotional lives of children, through their experiences at school. They draw from Furedi (2004) to argue that recent trends in education have taken a 'therapeutic turn' which believes all children are emotionally vulnerable and need the support of professionals to fully develop emotionally and socially. Ecclestone (2007, p.464) suggests that the resulting 'rise of the diminished self' is damaging for two main reasons. Firstly, professional intervention in children's emotional lives conveys an assumption of universal deficit and, if children accept this version of themselves as weak, vulnerable and in need of external emotional support, it will act as self-fulfilling prophecy (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2008). Rather than producing resilient and self-confident individuals, Ecclestone and Hayes (2008) suggest that this approach will undermine children's agency and autonomy. Secondly, Ecclestone and Hayes (2008) argue that changes to the curriculum to enable timetabled lessons to be devoted to 'therapeutic' subjects, and the adapting of teaching approaches to be more relevant to pupils, cause the subject content of traditional academic disciplines to be diluted, resulting in failure to educate children properly.

In their 2008 text, published as a second edition in 2019, Ecclestone and Hayes highlight specific concerns relating to what they refer to as 'the therapeutic secondary school' (2019, p.46). They refer to Weare's (2004) list of ways in which subjects can promote emotional literacy as an indication of the extent to which traditional subjects are being 'marshalled for therapeutic education' (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2019, p.60). The focus on the implications for teachers of secondary subjects, including English, is relevant to this study.

Ecclestone and Hayes (2019, p.63) express concern that in the pursuit of emotional and social education, teachers are encouraged to surrender their 'inappropriate, outdated authority' by playing down their subject expertise and, instead, disclosing their own vulnerability about learning. Educational goals are no longer seen to include 'learning a body of worthwhile and inspiring knowledge, or learning to love particular subjects, or aspiring to excel in them' (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2019, p.62). Rather, Ecclestone and Hayes (2019, p.62) indicate that such ideas signify 'dysfunctional' teachers who care more about their subjects than pupils and who use this to maintain 'inappropriate' power relations. Concerns about pupils' difficulties with schooling result in the hollowing out of subject disciplines to create vehicles for relevant, real-life learning in which emotional literacy and wellbeing play a key role (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2019).

Ecclestone and Hayes (2019, p.63) acknowledge that 'educational activities have always produced affective and social outcomes alongside cognitive or practical ones', yet they express concern that, when described as developing emotional skills and wellbeing, the teaching of appropriate values, dispositions and attributes encourages children to see themselves, their feelings and opportunities to participate as the most important topics they can learn about. They also suggest that teachers are made to feel guilty about not listening to young people's anxieties and this leads them to believe that 'stressed-out and anxious' young people are not able to cope with a traditional subject-based curriculum and would prefer a more personally relevant and engaging education (Ecclestone and Hayes, 2019, p.63).

Writing in response to the inclusion of 'confident individuals' as one of the four capacities of CfE, Ecclestone (2013) expresses concerns about the effects an 'emotional' subject can have on curriculum priorities and practices. She states that an explicit focus on a disposition such as confidence raises important questions about how teachers should interpret demands to develop it (Ecclestone, 2013). For example, does raised confidence

transfer between situations and, in turn, lead to mastery of knowledge, or does mastering knowledge instil confidence, making a direct focus on it unnecessary and unhelpful (Ecclestone, 2013)? Although there are assertions that teachers should develop subject knowledge and dispositions simultaneously, a response to a crisis about confidence can lead to a focus on curriculum planning which includes opportunities to practise confidence, without coherence of content (Ecclestone, 2013).

Ecclestone (2013) draws on anecdotal evidence to suggest that giving confidence higher status within the curriculum makes teachers more concerned about the role they have in seeming to foster or hinder it. Teachers' selection of curriculum content, pedagogies and assessment methods is informed by concern not to undermine confidence, which changes the levels of challenge, difficulty or unpleasantness teachers are prepared to let pupils experience and influences decisions about when to intervene in uncomfortable feelings or when to accept their necessary role in learning difficult things (Ecclestone, 2013). Ecclestone (2013, p.90) points out that these dilemmas are exacerbated by the expectation to build confidence through techniques such as 'offering more praise than criticism' and 'always ending feedback on a positive note'. Difficult curriculum content and the associated tedium and challenge of activities necessary to master it can undermine confidence, but this is often only temporary and can spur a pupil to rise to the challenge (Ecclestone, 2013). Ecclestone (2013) draws on anecdotal evidence to suggest that, nevertheless, teachers are becoming increasingly nervous about presenting students with challenging, difficult or stressful tasks, or imposing subject knowledge that is depicted increasingly as difficult, tedious or irrelevant, and this can distract them from encouraging pupils to focus on the subject knowledge or skills which would help them to gain confidence. This example illustrates the two senses in which therapeutic education can diminish the subject, as set out by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008): focusing on a pupil's lack of confidence is likely to enhance that individual's sense of vulnerability, while responding by reducing the level of challenge offered erodes the academic standing of the school subject.

Downes (2018) challenges some of the key arguments put forward by Ecclestone and Hayes (2009), including the 'diminished self' view of social and emotional education and a view that places curricular wellbeing themes as being opposed to academic subjects. In relation to the first, Downes (2018) addresses the way in which Ecclestone and Hayes (2009, p.380) set out a Cartesian split between reason and emotion when they describe 'the

turn towards the emotional … and away from the intellectual'. Downes (2018, p.148) explains that 'this Cartesian view treats emotions as irrational, in diametric oppositional terms to reason'. Downes (2018, p.149) notes the pejorative way in which Ecclestone (2007) frames the human need for emotional wellbeing, vulnerability and relationality as a 'diminished self', presenting 'a reduction or even negation of selfhood'. Downes (2018, p.150) argues that the human subject is not diminished by needing 'love, attention, concern, respect, support and voice' and suggests that a contrary argument could be made that a conception of self which is independent of these needs is a 'diminution of subjectivity'. Downes (2018) also draws on Glasser (1969) and Bruner (1990, 2002) to challenge the view that places curricular wellbeing themes as being opposed to academic subjects. He notes that Glasser's (1969, cited in Downes, 2018) work on constructivist approaches promotes engagement with emotions in order to support the construction of meaning for students by enabling them to relate material to their own worlds. Bruner (1990, cited in Downes, 2018, p.150) also challenges 'a narrowly cognitivist, information processing paradigm as neglecting construction of meaning' and emphasises the role of storytelling, which 'necessitates emotional features of such narratives', in the construction of meaning in education (Bruner, 2002, cited in Downes, 2018, p.150). Downes (2018) argues that, as emotions can facilitate the construction of meaning, including in a culturally-relevant way, they should not be treated as opposed to intellectual concerns. Instead, he states that a concern with emotions in teaching and learning complements and facilitates intellectual engagement (Downes, 2018).

2.9 Wellbeing as flourishing

Spratt (2017, p.45) refers to a growing body of writers, many of them philosophers (eg Suissa, 2008; Fielding, 2011; Cigman, 2012; Clack, 2012), who object strongly to the idea that childhood wellbeing can be divided into 'itemised lists of personal constructs', arguing that being a fully functioning human is much more complex than being able to 'operationalise a series of descriptors'. Spratt (2017) gives the example of Suissa (2008, p.582) who questions 'in what sense … forming and sustaining "productive relationships" or "caring for others" [can] be described as "skills"?' Spratt (2017) also draws on Fielding (2011), who argues that contemporary approaches encourage children to 'do' relationships rather than to 'have' friends. Such critiques suggest that the scope of teaching social and emotional literacy is limiting and emotions would be better developed through life experiences and learning (Spratt, 2017). In the preface to their second edition, Ecclestone

and Hayes (2019, p.xv) also note the growing interest of Cigman (2012), Clack (2012) and others in promoting the ‘richness of the curriculum subject’ as a source of ‘more nuanced, holistic ways of understanding and dealing with emotion’.

When talking of wellbeing, philosophers often draw on Aristotle’s concept of happiness, which is referred to in contemporary language as ‘flourishing’ (Spratt, 2017). There are different understandings of the word ‘happiness’ and a distinction should be made between hedonic and eudaimonic happiness (Spratt, 2017). Deci and Ryan (2008, p.1) define hedonia as ‘the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect’. Spratt (2017) adds that hedonia is a subjective state of pleasure which applies to the present moment and may be transient. Clack (2012, p.501) states that as ‘emotions are by their nature transitory’, it is unlikely that a feeling of happiness could be maintained. In addition, if the meaning of a person’s life is dependent on how she feels, she is vulnerable to the effect external events might have (Clack, 2012).

In contrast, Aristotle’s (2009) notion of eudaimonia is a longer-term sense of fulfilment derived from leading a ‘good’ life. Clack (2012, p.501) explains that Aristotle argued that the goal of human life was happiness, but he did not identify it predominantly with the feelings associated with it, such as ‘euphoria, ecstasy, joy, elation and so on’. For him, happiness was a state of ‘flourishing’ involving self-actualisation, and a sense of self-determination, which Deci and Ryan (2008, p.3) describe as being ‘fully functioning’. While hedonic happiness has an inward-looking focus on feelings and emotions, eudaimonia looks outwardly on how a life is lived in relation to the wider world (Spratt, 2017). Eudaimonic happiness was achieved through the way a person lived and, for Aristotle, it was important that individuals were able to make autonomous decisions about what counted as ‘the good’ for them (Spratt, 2017). Cigman (2012, pp.451-452) notes that Aristotle’s conception of wellbeing was located within an ethical frame, as living well was ‘not merely living pleasurably, but taking pleasure in thinking, feeling and acting well’. It was thought that living a ‘noble’ or ‘virtuous’ life was essential to happiness and, in part, virtue was achieved through interactions with others and doing good in the world (Spratt, 2017). Clack (2012, p.501) adds that this life required the fostering of critical reflection, which ‘enabled one to hold in balance the different aspects of life; for example, one’s relationships, creativity and physical needs’, from which would emerge a sense of fulfilment or, in this sense, ‘happiness’. For Aristotle (2009), happiness was not the means to achieve other ends, but the ultimate ‘good’ in life.

Aristotle claimed that women and slaves could not be philosophers as the reflective life required the time available only to the leisured classes (Clack, 2012). In a similar vein, women, children and slaves were thought to be unable to develop the powers of reasoning required in order to decide how to lead a virtuous life (Spratt, 2017). Although this was an elitist position, Clack (2012, p.501) acknowledges that it recognised that a good life required 'the cultivation of an appropriate disposition and a supportive external context in which such an outlook might flourish'. Spratt (2017, p.51) notes that although there is some dissonance between the ancient and modern worlds, Aristotle's concept of happiness as flourishing through leading a meaningful life is still influential in philosophical and political thinking.

Taking Aristotelian eudaimonia as an exemplar, Wolbert et al. (2015) propose two formal criteria of 'human flourishing', in order to contribute to clarifying the use of the term. They are concerned that, without formal criteria, casual use of the term will devalue the concept until it is used indiscriminately (Wolbert et al., 2015). They intend that the formal criteria they have set out will facilitate reflection on different conceptions of human flourishing, enable elucidation of the aspects of conceptions which are similar or different, provide a tool which can be used to discriminate between flourishing and other terms, such as happiness and wellbeing (Wolbert et al., 2015). According to the criteria set out by Wolbert et al. (2015), flourishing should be considered intrinsically worthwhile and take the form of 'actualisation of human potential'. The second criterion is subdivided into three further criteria: to say that someone flourishes, one has to look at her life holistically; a continuous development process is required to actualise human potential; and objective goods are identified, which are needed in order to live well (Wolbert et al., 2015).

In relation to objective goods, de Ruyter (2004) explains that flourishing requires that a person gives her own meaning to these or develops her own interpretation. Objectively identifiable goods such as 'health and physical pursuits, friendship/social relations, safety, intellectual development, creative development, freedom and materialistic possessions' are too general to assist a person to lead a flourishing life and the person has to construct her own interpretation (de Ruyter, 2004, p.382). De Ruyter (2004) gives the example of the objective good of having relationships and explains that whether one has one exclusive relationship, several friendships or many acquaintances, and whether the exclusive relationship is with a deity or another person, is dependent on the individual. There are many ways in which people can interpret and combine objective goods, which means that

human flourishing is personal and diverse (de Ruyter, 2004). There is an expectation that the individual will take responsibility for their interpretation of the objective goods and act in a way they believe to be for the best, whether they give their own interpretation or follow the interpretation of another (de Ruyter, 2004).

Wolbert et al. (2015) indicate that if enabling children to lead a flourishing life is the aim of education, it is not enough to teach them how to get a well-paid job and be profitable to society (Nussbaum, 2010). Children should be equipped to contribute to society in a meaningful way and have the best chance of leading a flourishing life (Wolbert et al., 2015). Helping children to flourish requires moving away from thinking about wellbeing as primarily located in emotional wellbeing towards identifying it as coming from the sense that one is living well (Clack, 2012). Such a move shifts the emphasis from maximising feelings of happiness, which are likely to be transient, to prioritising attitudes and actions that contribute to the formation of the well-lived life (Clack, 2012). Clack (2012) suggests that this focus requires educational practice to offer more than the training of skills, including psychological skills, deemed necessary for living. She notes an intimate connection between the well-lived life and the development of character, which requires time and not a quick fix (Clack, 2012). Wolbert et al. (2015, p.127) describe striving for a flourishing life as ‘a life-long journey in which one keeps asking what might bring out the best of oneself'. They suggest that flourishing appeals to educators as an aim of education because it emphasises children’s ongoing development of objectively good capacities and their striving to make something out of their lives (Wolbert et al., 2015). Helping children to flourish means supporting them to gain knowledge of themselves, to be able to make good choices and to create a balance across their whole lives (Wolbert et al., 2015).

Kristjansson (2017) observes that although the flourishing paradigm is sometimes connected to a focus on the whole child, education for flourishing is intended to include traditional subject knowledge within a well-rounded education. It should not replace any aspect of the curriculum but ‘enhance and add new layers’ to school practices already in place (Kristjansson, 2017). Cigman (2012) proposes that an education for flourishing should pay attention to mastery of knowledge and skill because acquiring mastery, although sometimes arduous and painful, can also bring much pleasure and satisfaction, as well as self-respect and, ultimately, economic rewards. Acquiring mastery enables the development of personal qualities such as patience, self-discipline and resilience, without prioritising these over knowledge in the meaningless ways sometimes promoted by the

wellbeing agenda (Cigman, 2012). Humes (2011) agrees that confidence, happiness and wellbeing are often gained as by-products of other activities, such as doing well in mathematics or acquiring skill in playing a musical instrument. He suggests that teachers might make their most effective contribution to pupils' wellbeing and development by imparting as much competence as possible in their own area of specialism, rather than trying to promote aspects of wellbeing more directly (Humes, 2011).

Clack (2012, p.508) states that an emphasis on the well-lived life necessitates a rich curriculum that provides 'opportunities for all to find subjects and disciplines that, through their exploration and practice, cultivate their sense of well-being'. Her wording suggests, appropriately, that the subjects and disciplines which do this will vary, to some extent, across pupils. She also indicates that there should be spaces in the curriculum which facilitate 'reflection on the nature of life and the meaning of a life' and suggests that this is implied in the statement by the Department of Education in England that all subjects in the National Curriculum should provide 'opportunities to promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development' (Clack, 2012, p.508).

2.10 Literacy and English

'There is no 'best' way to define literacy', claim Fellowes and Oakley (2023, p.2), as it changes and is moulded according to the needs and practices of groups of people. Similarly, Corden (2000, p.38) states that literacy is 'a living dynamic process', which changes constantly as it responds to and reflects cultural, socio-economic and political contexts.

Literacy 'permeates all aspects of life' (Rowsell and Pahl, 2015, p.1). It is not only an individual trait but requires and builds relationships with other people (Keefe and Copeland, 2011). Rowsell and Pahl (2015) describe a range of contexts in which literacy is significant. Literacy exists in homes in the variety of ways that individuals live, speak and go about their daily activities. In order to assist others and build bridges across various practices and viewpoints, literacy occurs in communities. Literacy can be a catalyst for change and inspire new kinds of activism, resistance and revolution. In the workplace, literacy is used to complete duties and provide services that support economies. In schools, children and young people who are literate are more likely to want to communicate,

improve their competences and, hopefully, develop passions and interests. Both locally and globally, literacy is apparent in urban and rural environments, and is associated with place.

Although definitions of literacy vary, most modern definitions include reading, writing, speaking and listening, and, typically, viewing or visual literacy. Critical thinking, critical literacy, adaptability and the capacity to select the best means of communication for a given situation or purpose are also included in many definitions (Fellowes and Oakley, 2023). Literacy changes with practices and is increasingly digital and networked (Rowsell and Pahl, 2015). Using and creating a range of text types, such as electronic and multimodal texts, is considered a necessary component of literacy (Fellowes and Oakley, 2023). Corden (2000) states that, over the past 40 years, rapid advancements in technology and changes in social practices have led to substantial additions to our vocabulary, the emergence of a new metalanguage, and the need to be proficient in new ways, with new knowledge, understanding and skills. As advancements in technology and cultural communication patterns change the nature of literacy, its definitions also change (Fellowes and Oakley, 2023).

Marshall et al. (2019, p.130) note that, however it is defined, literacy is a central policy concern in every country and one reason is the view that ‘society needs “functionally” literate people’. This suggests that literacy is necessary for fundamental social and professional needs, like following employer directions, reading instructions, communicating basic information verbally and in writing, filling out tax and job application forms and so on (Marshall et al., 2019). One major disadvantage of thinking of literacy in this way is that functional literacy is really a concept entirely relative to a person’s situation. Even if they are normally fully capable people, many adults find themselves in roles in local communities or voluntary organisations when they realise that they lack expertise and confidence in, for example, a type of writing that is required (Marshall et al., 2019). Fellowes and Oakley (2023, p.3) suggest that what is required is ‘a flexible group of skills and strategies that are closely linked to context and purpose’. Marshall et al. (2019, p.132) draw on Traves (1992) to argue that people’s entitlement to be literate extends far beyond the functional to encompass ‘being empowered to think rationally, critically evaluate influences in their world and control their own lives and value systems’.

Farrar and Stone (2019, p.337) present critical literacy as 'an embodied stance, attitude or disposition' that informs how meaning is made from a text. Pratt and Foley (2020, p.74) explain that the theory of critical literacy emerged from Freire's (1970) field practice, 'as a tool for democratic education'. Key understandings include recognising that literacy is a social and cultural construct, that its applications and purposes are never politically neutral, and that the meanings that texts convey are invariably ideological and connected to power disparities (Farrar and Stone, 2019). A critically literate stance acknowledges the ideological aspect of texts and reading, the diversity of viewpoints, and the flexibility of interpretation (Farrar and Stone, 2019). In adopting a critical literacy approach, educators must be curious about how social and institutional injustices give some groups more or less power, and be committed to teaching and learning approaches that locate injustices, critique them, and aim to change them (Stone and Farrar, 2021). Using a 'problem-posing, dialogic pedagogical approach' that incorporates a variety of texts to provoke questions and discussion in an atmosphere that 'positions young people as active agents in their own learning', critical literacy theory demonstrates the capacity of critical literacy to promote social justice (Stone and Farrar, 2021, p.101).

Haworth et al. (2004, p.6) describe the term, literacy, as 'a fairly new arrival on the secondary English stage', claiming that, until recently, the term would be more likely to have been used in the context of early years' teaching, adult classes in basic literacy or national and international tests of reading and writing. The term, literacy, was introduced in relation to the teaching of secondary English in new curriculum policy in England and Scotland in the early 2000s. Haworth et al. (2004) suggest that this change in terminology is linked to political discourse around raising standards.

Marshall et al. (2019) examined Scottish policy documents and observed and interviewed four English teachers to identify characteristics of good English teaching in this context. They assert that three key ideas 'of long-standing significance' continue to underpin English work in Scottish secondary schools (Marshall et al, 2019, p. 87). The three ideas are

> … personal growth and the essential humanness of the individual learner, focus on how language works and engagement with literature in taking forward both of these principles. (Marshall et al, 2019, p. 87)

The personal growth view is associated with work undertaken in the 1960s to develop a child-centred approach to teaching and learning in English and, in particular, with John Dixon's book, *Growth Through English*, first published in 1967 (Moss, 2014). This approach was stimulated by an increasing desire that English teaching would make cognitive, aesthetic and social development accessible to all pupils, especially those at risk of marginalisation (Locke, 2015). Tarpey (2017, p.159) describes personal growth as 'firmly located in children's own social and cultural realities', suggesting that their real lives should be central to their learning. The intention of the approach is that dynamic classroom experiences enable children to grow to have greater agency in their lives (Tarpey, 2017).

The personal growth view emphasises 'the relationship between language and learning in the individual child' and 'the role of literature in developing children's imaginative and aesthetic lives' (Cox, 1991, cited in Dickinson, 2010, p. 27 and Rigby, 2009, p.5). Primarily, a child or young person would develop through intensive engagement with literature and personal creative writing (Fleming and Stevens, 2015) There is a strong emphasis on individual voice, innovation and exploration (Locke, 2015; Tarpey, 2017). Locke (2015, p.17) asserts that the acquiring of certain linguistic competencies by pupils is central to their 'ongoing task of making sense of their world' and Rigby (2009, p.6) recognises that pupils can see their world in new and different ways as a result of the 'transforming power' of literature studied in the English classroom. The nature of texts studied allows teachers to deal with issues in ways that develop learners as people (Haworth et al., 2004). Because of the centrality of pupils' real lives to the personal growth view of English, the range of text types considered appropriate for the English classroom widened and popular culture texts relevant to pupils' lives were admitted (Locke, 2015). In relation to writing activities, the processes of thinking and writing are considered more important than the end product (Locke, 2015; Tarpey, 2017) and the benefits of other activities, such as student talk, critical discussion and improvised drama are recognised (Moss, 2014; Tarpey, 2017). Promoting personal growth and emphasising the essential humanness of the individual learner in these ways lead to the understanding and use of language as 'a means of responding to and giving meaning to experiences, learning other things, relating to people, conducting dialogue, solving problems' and more (Marshall et al, 2019, p.85).

Personal growth is one of five views of English teaching identified by Professor Brian Cox during the process of creating the framework for English in the National Curriculum in England (DES, 1989, cited in Fleming and Stevens, 2015 and Haworth et al., 2004; DES, 1991, cited in Dickinson, 2010 and Rigby, 2009), the others being cross-curricular, adult needs, cultural heritage and cultural analysis. Cox (1991, cited in Dickinson, 2010 and Rigby, 2009) described these in the following ways: the cross-curricular view emphasises the responsibility of all teachers, of English and other subjects, to support children to cope with the language demands of subject areas, otherwise these subjects may be inaccessible to them; the adult needs view focuses on English teachers' responsibility to prepare children for the language demands of the work place and other aspects of adult life, in a world that is changing rapidly; the cultural heritage view emphasises the responsibility of schools to encourage children to appreciate what are considered to be great works of literature; and the cultural analysis view focuses on the role of English in helping children to develop a critical understanding of the world and cultural environment in which they live. Although it was suggested by Cox that most English teachers combine several, if not all, of these in their teaching (Fleming and Stevens, 2015), Rigby (2009) suggests that teachers are likely to find themselves drawn towards a particular viewpoint which will be closely tied to their individual personalities and interests. Goodwyn (2011) notes that, in his own research (Goodwyn, 1992; Goodwyn and Findlay, 1999), English teachers are engaged by all the models except cross-curricular, which they see as the responsibility of all teachers, and, when asked to rank them, the majority put personal growth first.

The second key idea suggested by Marshall et al. (2019, pp.84-85) as underpinning English work in Scottish secondary schools is focus on how language works, which they refer to as 'English as a discipline'. Within the four contexts of listening, talking, reading and writing, there is focus on understanding the nature of language, forms and structures, and awareness of how language achieves meaning and affects readers' responses (Marshall et al, 2019). This relates to literacy, as discussed earlier in this section. Haworth et al. (2004, p.7) note that, within policy in England (DfEE, 1999), having 'sophisticated literacy skills' is equated with being 'a shrewd and fluent independent reader, a confident writer and an effective speaker and listener', suggesting that literacy teaching is 'good holistic English teaching across the four modes of reading, writing, speaking and listening'.

Marshall et al. (2019) indicate that, in Scottish secondary education, literature has consistently been regarded as integral to learning and teaching in English, as a means of

stimulating thinking and emotions and exploring and analysing texts, including the use of language in them. In Scotland, there have never been separate language and literature courses or examinations (Marshall et al., 2019). The situation is less positive in England where, Goodwyn (2012, p.213) reports, English teachers struggle with assessment regimes which ‘diminish what is valuable in the engagement of students with literature’. Drawing on an editorial by the English Association (2012), Cambridge Assessment (2013) states that much of the value that the subject of English adds to a child’s progress, individuality and maturity is difficult to measure against levels of attainment and assessment objectives. Despite these challenges, Goodwyn (2012) suggests that English teachers are committed to the importance of literature for their pupils, particularly where it has significance to pupils and their developing lives, and where it is drawn from many cultures to relate strongly to pupils’ identities and varied heritages. Children and young people should benefit from access to ‘a vast and intricately depicted range of human experience and reflection’ recorded in world literature (Hannon, 1995, p.3).

Cremin (2009, p.1) describes teaching and learning in English as ‘at its richest, an energising, purposeful and imaginatively vital experience for all involved’. In setting out what they consider to be characteristics of very good English work, Marshall et al. (2019) emphasise the importance of teachers challenging pupils intellectually by providing much experience of new ideas through their choice of literature and setting learning within contexts which draw on current social, ethical, cultural and scientific issues. Very good teaching and learning in English should also include much reflection on the ways in which we use language to articulate our own ideas and to interpret and evaluate those of others, in informative, reflective, persuasive and imaginative types of communication, and regular analysis and evaluation of ideas, viewpoints and writer’s craft in a range of texts, building on a pupil’s personal understanding of the author’s communication as a whole (Marshall et al., 2019). Marshall et al. (2019) and Gibbons (2015) highlight the importance of speaking and listening within very good English teaching and learning in terms of debate about ideas, and discussion of texts to show comprehension and analysis skills, supported by open questioning which stimulates thought. Gibbons (2015, p.160) indicates that speaking and listening which takes place when pupils work in groups to discuss a topic, issue or problem has great value in developing understanding, as pupils are ‘using talk to think aloud’. Marshall et al. (2019) posit that effective English teachers do not only challenge pupils intellectually but demonstrate care for their emotional and psychological development by seeing them as whole persons, interacting with them on a personal level,

and encouraging them to consider where their personalities and potential may take them in the future. They also suggest that teachers must be mindful of pupils' capacity 'to develop, to expand horizons, to become confident choosers of what their lives can be' and, in support, they must provide 'many ideas of all sorts' (Marshall et al., 2019, p.131).

Marshall et al. (2019) opine that many English teachers recognise the principled characteristics of very good English teaching and aspire to teach in ways that reflect these but rich literacy teaching can be challenged by pressure from policymakers and assessment systems, including the washback effects of end-of-school examinations. Marshall et al. (2019) claim that their Scottish case study shows that long-term preparation for later examinations can still provide opportunities which motivate and engage young people in thinking about ideas and emotions and the use of language in literary texts. They argue that teaching English in ways which develop young people as thinkers and critics will promote their success not only in school examinations but also in lifelong learning. They urge English teachers to be confident that these positive outcomes will follow from the rich literacy learning and teaching which they advocate (Marshall et al., 2019).

2.11 English in Curriculum for Excellence

In the same way that *Building the Curriculum 1* describes the contribution of the health and wellbeing area of the curriculum, it also describes the contribution of the languages area to children and young people's learning and development (Scottish Executive, 2006b). The document specifies that one of the two aspects of the languages area is 'the language a young person needs in order to fully engage in society and in learning' (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p.13). For the purposes of this study, that language is English (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p.13). In describing the valuable contribution of this aspect of the languages area of the curriculum, *Building the Curriculum 1* states that language is central to thinking, elaborating that, through language, we reflect, communicate and develop our ideas (Scottish Executive, 2006b). Literacy makes learning accessible to young people and enables them to prepare to be actively involved in society and employment (Scottish Executive, 2006b). Literature, the document states, 'opens up new horizons' and a love of reading can lead to lifelong learning (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p.13).

Amongst the documents detailing the principles underpinning practice in the eight curriculum areas and the intended experiences and outcomes for learners which were

published in 2009 were *Literacy and English: principles and practice* (Scottish Government, 2009i) and *Literacy and English: experiences and outcomes* (Scottish Government, 2009h). The *Literacy and English: principles and practice* document begins by stating the personal, social and economic importance of language and literacy, and the centrality of language use to 'the development and expression of our emotions, our thinking, our learning and our sense of personal identity' (Scottish Government, 2009i). The structured curriculum framework provided by the latter includes seven lines of development with experiences and outcomes labelled 'ENG' to be used in planning learning by teachers of secondary English, and 24 labelled 'LIT' to be used by teachers of English and also by teachers of all other subjects, who are responsible for literacy across learning. The aspects which are solely the responsibility of English teachers relate to analysis and evaluation of spoken language, non-fiction texts and literary texts, such as poems, plays, novels and films, and to application of language, style and tone as appropriate to genre in writing, particularly in relation to creative forms, such as personal reflective and imaginative writing. All other aspects set out within the curriculum framework, including group discussion, using non-fiction texts to find information and make notes, and informative, persuasive and discursive writing, are the responsibility of all teachers but feature regularly in the teaching and learning of secondary English. For the benefit of teachers of subjects other than English, the details relating to the literacy curriculum are set out separately in *Literacy across learning: principles and practice* (Scottish Government, 2009g) and *Literacy across learning: experiences and outcomes* (Scottish Government, 2009f).

Given the balance is tipped towards literacy in the *Literacy and English: experiences and outcomes* document (Scottish Government, 2009h), it should be expected that there is an emphasis on literacy in the *Literacy and English: principles and practice* document (Scottish Government, 2009i), including provision of a definition which takes into account the ways in which language and its uses are changing in the 21st century. Literacy is defined as:

> … the set of skills which allows an individual to engage fully in society and in learning, through the different forms of language, and the range of texts, which society values and finds useful. (Scottish Government, 2009i, p.3)

The importance of being literate is emphasised in terms of its enabling young people to access the wider curriculum while in school and have a basis for lifelong learning and work beyond (Scottish Government, 2009i). The development of critical and creative thinking, competence in listening, talking, reading and writing, and personal, interpersonal and team-working skills promoted by the Literacy and English framework are all described as very important in life and in the world of work (Scottish Government, 2009i). The skills in using language which are promoted by the framework are those which are used regularly by people in their everyday lives: young people need to be able to communicate effectively through spoken language and in writing, using a growing range of media, and to be able to work collaboratively in order to develop their thinking and learning (Scottish Government, 2009i). The importance of developing critical literacy skills is also highlighted, in order that young people are able to judge whether or not to trust information they are reading and to identify when and how people are trying to persuade or influence them (Scottish Government, 2009i).

In order to develop these skills, effective learning and teaching in literacy and English should involve the use of ‘relevant, real-life and enjoyable contexts which build upon children and young people’s own experiences’; regular opportunities to communicate in ‘a wide range of contexts, for relevant purposes and for real audiences within and beyond places of learning’; both independent thinking and learning and collaborative working; and meaningful links with learning in different curriculum areas (Scottish Government, 2009i, p.2).

The *Literacy and English: principles and practice* document (Scottish Government, 2009i) also refers to the important relationship between language and literature, highlighting that language enables young people to access ‘the literary heritage of humanity and develop their appreciation of the richness and breadth of Scotland’s literary heritage’. The document states that young people should experience a language-rich environment and enrich their learning, develop their language skills and find enjoyment by engaging with stories, literature and other texts (Scottish Government, 2009i). It is suggested that when assessing progress in literacy and English teachers should observe and discuss young people’s enthusiasm for literature and should note the extent to which young people are exploring and enjoying varied texts of increasing depth and complexity and making increasingly sophisticated personal responses (Scottish Government, 2009i).

During the senior phase from S4 to S6, young people's learning in English is shaped by the National Qualifications offered by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). Many pupils will work towards National 5 English in S4 or S5 and progress to Higher English in S5 or S6. The rationale for National 5 within the course specification (SQA, 2018b) draws heavily on the *Literacy and English: principles and practice* document (Scottish Government, 2009i) to suggest articulation from the CfE curriculum framework of experiences and outcomes to the National 5 course. Indicating an emphasis on literacy and communication, the rationale repeats the points about the importance of language skills to personal, social and economic development, expression of emotions, thinking and personal identity, and access to learning across subjects (SQA, 2018b). The rationale adds that the skills in reading, writing, talking and listening should enable candidates to 'use detailed language for a range of purposes in practical and relevant contexts' (SQA, 2018b, p.2). Engagement with a wide range of literature, language and media texts is expected, with candidates encouraged to reflect on and develop an understanding of their own and other people's experiences, environments and cultures, in order to foster 'an awareness and a celebration of cultural diversity' (SQA, 2018b, p.2).

Higher English is designed to build on National 5, providing candidates with language skills which will enable them 'to contribute to and to flourish within a communications-driven society' (SQA, 2018a, p.2). The rationale for Higher English promotes the qualification as 'a gateway' to further study in English literature and language and other disciplines and a means of being equipped for the demands of further or higher education and the modern workplace (SQA, 2018a, p.2) The centrality of literature to the course is highlighted and explained in terms of being both 'a rich source of powerful examples of language in effective use' and a way of exposing candidates to 'a diversity of people, places, events, thoughts and ideas, many of which are outside their own immediate experience' (SQA, 2018a, p.2).

Assessment of English at both National 5 and Higher consists of an examination worth 70% and a folio worth 30%. The examination has two papers: a Reading for Understanding, Analysis and Evaluation paper, which assesses the close reading of unseen non-fiction writing (worth 30% of the total); and a Critical Reading paper, which assesses understanding of and ability to analyse and evaluate a Scottish text from a set list and another text of choice in a different genre via textual analysis questions and a critical essay, respectively (each worth 20% of the total). The folio requires inclusion of two pieces of

writing, one persuasive or discursive and the other personal reflective or imaginative (each worth 15% of the total). Listening and talking are assessed internally on a pass or fail basis and must be passed, though there is no weighting in the final qualification awarded (SQA, 2018a, 2018b).

2.12 The role of English in promoting a flourishing concept of wellbeing

Suissa (2008), Cigman (2012) and Dixon (2012) refer to the study of literature as a source of learning about how to live a flourishing life. Suissa (2008, p.582) suggests that to ‘live skilfully as a human’ it is necessary to understand ‘what it means to be human, what makes one’s life worthwhile, and what values one cherishes and why’ and one of the best ways to achieve such understanding is through ‘rigorous and reflective engagement with the thick descriptions of “the shape of a life” reflected in works of literature’. Cigman (2012, p.456) describes knowledge as developing in association with ‘the entire gamut of human emotions’, including curiosity, love of truth and beauty, anger and pity. She notes that, while this applies to a range of subjects including science, it is most obvious in relation to literature and history, where ‘reflection on human folly and wisdom (including emotional excesses and deficiencies …) are of the essence’ (Cigman, 2012, p.456). Dixon (2012, p.492) advises that each child’s emotions are a product of their singular biographical narrative, within particular social systems and influenced by specific cultural, linguistic and intellectual schemes, and, therefore, children need a framework for emotional education which enables them to ‘produce their own meanings and develop their own emotional languages’. He suggests that learning about emotions can be effective where it happens indirectly through the teaching of literature, along with drama, music, art and moral philosophy (Dixon, 2012). Suissa (2008) adds that truly educational experiences, relating to literature or otherwise, need to be challenging and unsettling, rather than straightforward and comfortable, in order that children encounter and begin to understand what Nussbaum describes as ‘the messy, unclear stuff of which our humanity is made’ (Nussbaum, 2001, cited in Suissa, 2008, p.588).

Without specifically referring to literature as a suitable context, de Ruyter (2004) and Cigman (2012) describe ways in which educators should enable children to deliberate what is meant by a well-lived life. Educating children about the objective goods that contribute to their flourishing requires examples of diverse ways in which these goods are interpreted by people (de Ruyter, 2004). Educators should also assist children to become practically

wise people who can ‘deliberate well about what is good and expedient for’ themselves and ‘what sorts of thing conduce to the good life in general’ (Aristotle, 2009, p.106). For the development of the virtue necessary to be able to do this, as well as defining their own interpretation of good, children need experience and guidance (de Ruyter, 2004). Children need guidance to deliberate on which interpretation of a particular good best serves themselves and others, and they need their own experience to assist them in deciding how they wish to pursue good. De Ruyter (2004) states that educators cannot give children this experience directly, but can provide information, advice and freedom of exploration. She suggests that the more direct role of educators is to cultivate the capacities to deliberate by ‘passing on knowledge, assisting children to think and reflect, and foremost by being an example … and by offering other exemplars’ (de Ruyter, 2004, p.386). Drawing on the writing of James (1892), Cigman (2012) considers the need to trace the ‘lawful bounds’ of our responses, particularly our emotions. The disposition to respond appropriately, in terms of thought, feeling and action, to the situations in which we find ourselves is the key to wellbeing for Aristotle (Cigman, 2012). Emotions such as pride and anger are part of human life, but problems occur when they are felt or expressed in ways which are too intense or mild for the circumstances in which they are provoked (Cigman, 2012). Children need to be guided to cultivate their emotions and helped to understand why certain responses are deficient or excessive in particular situations (Cigman, 2012). In both these cases, English teachers are well-placed to provide pupils with opportunities to think about, reflect on and learn from other people’s experiences, actions and emotional responses through the literature they teach.

As well as studying literature, opportunities for creative expression are also considered important in education for flourishing. Humes (2011) considers that one of the reasons why the arts are very important in education is that they recognise that every human being is unique. He observes that young people are pushed in the direction of conformity in many aspects of formal schooling, for example through uniforms and school rules, and uniqueness is often suppressed (Humes, 2011). Art, music, drama, dance and literature enable individuality to express itself and the distinctive qualities of the person to be celebrated (Humes, 2011). Gordon and O’Toole (2015, p.345) state that creativity is central to children leading happy, healthy, and meaningful lives because it enables them to ‘feel recognised for who they are, and feel belonging and a sense of agency to express themselves’. Writing more specifically about music, dance, drama and visual arts, Wright and Pascoe (2015, p.296) recognise the opportunities that the arts provide for ‘inquiry as

well as expression', the linking of 'cognition, affect and somatic ways of knowing', and 'sharing and engaging with diversity of viewpoints, experience, ideas and visions' about what is life-affirming and meaningful for individuals. According to Wright and Pascoe (2015), arts practice develops creativity, perseverance, imagination and discipline, deepens connections with concepts, forms, history and heritage, and contributes to building identity. By teaching the arts, educators can awaken and develop a full range of intelligences and creative habits of mind which promote 'a hidden wealth of experiences of self, others and culture, … filling life with engagement, meaning, relationships and a fuller humanity' (Wright and Pascoe, 2015, p.305). Perhaps due to the structure of the curriculum and the focus on literacy within the English subject curriculum, English is often excluded from conversations about the arts in secondary education. Learning in the subject of English, however, offers young people the opportunity to express themselves in personal reflective and imaginative forms of creative writing and can contribute to education for flourishing in the ways described.

Wellbeing as flourishing is a way of conceptualising wellbeing which demands quality teaching and learning of subjects in the context of which teachers convey the value of what is taught. Understanding different possibilities for living a worthwhile life and how to deal with the emotions inherent in many situations could be developed through the reading of literature and associated learning. Creativity is also seen as a way of enabling young people to express what is important to them. This suggests that the subject of English has much potential to promote wellbeing as flourishing. The capability approach as developed by Amartya Sen is based on a eudaimonic understanding of wellbeing. Further developed by Martha Nussbaum to propose ten central capabilities necessary for a life of human dignity, Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach presents itself as an appropriate evaluative space for the consideration of English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing. In Chapter Four, I will set out my understanding of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach and how it might support me to analyse my data.

2.13 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out definitions of mental health and wellbeing and drawn on reports from Scotland and the wider United Kingdom (UK) to highlight some of the key issues relating to the mental health and wellbeing of young people of secondary school age, in particular, before and since the COVID-19 pandemic. I have identified in these

reports suggestions for ways in which schools can support young people's mental health and wellbeing. I have summarised how the responsibility of all teachers for aspects of pupils' health and wellbeing is set out in the CfE documentation and have also outlined some key expectations of the whole school approach to mental health and wellbeing published to support schools during recovery from the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. I have considered the discourses of wellbeing which underpin the curriculum. I have discussed the concerns about a rise in therapeutic education expressed by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) and considered the issue of the diminished subject, in terms of the curricular area such as English and the young person. I have offered the concept of wellbeing as flourishing as an alternative discourse. To begin to consider how English teachers might enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, I have defined literacy and effective teaching and learning in English and summarised curricular expectations for the teaching of English. I have explored the role of the arts, including literature, in promoting flourishing, and identified Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) as a suitable framework for analysis for exploring English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing. In the next chapter, I will present a review of literature relating to the implementation of programmes of health and wellbeing promotion in Scotland, the wider UK, Australia and New Zealand.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Chapter introduction

I have reviewed mainly primary research literature relating to the implementation of the aspects of health and wellbeing which are the responsibility of all within CfE in Scotland, as well as that relating to the implementation of programmes of mental health or wellbeing promotion in other parts of the UK, Australia and New Zealand. In this chapter, I will discuss this literature in relation to the following themes which I have identified across the reports: enacting CfE, understandings of health and wellbeing, engaging staff in the promotion of health and wellbeing, whole school approaches, relationships, tensions between health ad wellbeing and subjects, implementing health and wellbeing in subjects, difficulties evaluating practice or assessing health and wellbeing.

3.2 Enacting Curriculum for Excellence

From 2004 onwards, the CfE documentation, including the curriculum framework for health and wellbeing across learning, was provided to teachers, but they were given responsibility to flesh out content and decide on learning and teaching contexts and approaches as appropriate to local context. Drawing on interviews with head teachers, teacher education academics and staff with national and local authority remits for quality improvement, Thorburn (2017) reports that interviewees considered it in-keeping with the spirit of CfE when the curriculum framework of experiences and outcomes in health and wellbeing was interpreted at school level, although this would, naturally, lead to variation across and within schools. Drawing on two research projects, Priestley (2013) reports that teachers generally welcomed the principles underpinning CfE but many were less content with the process of implementation. The policy and guidance materials were perceived by many to be vague and lacking a clearly articulated process for development (Priestley, 2013). Wright et al. (2021) found that physical education (PE) teachers considered there to be a lack of clarity, partly because the new curriculum was implemented in different phases. Thorburn (2017) also identifies concerns about the open-endedness of CfE and the lack of exemplars. Thorburn (2015) refers to teachers in Scotland and New Zealand seeking more guidance about the teaching of health and wellbeing while national organisations expect them to be more responsible for their own teaching practices.

The research on which Priestley (2013) draws suggested that, at a time when cuts to education services were being made, teachers struggled with little time and few resources to make sense of the new curriculum. Thorburn (2017) reports that low levels of local authority support, due to financial cutbacks, meant sharing of good practice was difficult. These points are supported by Wright et al. (2021), who state that teachers find the interpretation and enactment of new curricula challenging because they are not given the space, time, support or resources which are needed to enable them to critically engage with curriculum design and pedagogic innovation. Drawing on their discourse analysis of a report on four case studies by Education Scotland (2014), Hardley et al. (2021) suggest that schools located in areas of social and economic disadvantage may need more time to engage with local curriculum planning, in order to be able to recontextualise the curriculum to meet the needs of these learners.

In the report of an impact review of 3 to 18 provision in relation to the aspects of health and wellbeing considered the responsibility of all teachers, Education Scotland (2013) reports that, although the principles of health and wellbeing had been successfully embedded into practice in many secondary schools, a significant number of staff felt that they had not had adequate time for professional dialogue or appropriate training in health and wellbeing. Consequently, they were not clear about their role in delivering the aspects of health and wellbeing which are the responsibility of all (Education Scotland, 2013). In a study involving interviews with eight teachers in four secondary schools, Thorburn and Dey (2017) found confusion about the expected roles and responsibilities of teachers in terms of the responsibility of all and the specific remit of some for guidance and pupil support. Education Scotland (2013) also found that teachers were not clear about how health and wellbeing would be implemented in the senior phase (S4 to S6), where the CfE experiences and outcomes do not apply (Education Scotland, 2013). Education Scotland (2014) note that understanding of what is meant by ‘responsibility of all’ varied. While some respondents thought it meant that all subjects needed to contribute to all experiences and outcomes every year, most thought it meant that teachers needed to find some appropriate links between the experiences and outcomes and their subject areas and that the focus of these links might be influenced by young people and school priorities (Education Scotland, 2014).

3.3 Understandings of health and wellbeing

Hardley et al. (2021) carried out a discourse analysis of the four case studies presented in Education Scotland (2014). The aim of the analysis was to understand the interpretation and implementation of health and wellbeing policy discourse at the school level and what impact this might have had on the actions of teachers (Hardley et al., 2021). The findings identified two main constructions of health and wellbeing in the schools as either 'teaching for outcome achievement or as a process for character development', which, respectively, related to care and flourishing discourses (Hardley et al., 2021). These two constructions suggested that teachers should take different actions, creating tension (Hardley et al., 2021). Hardley et al. (2021) caution that where health and wellbeing is centred on outcome achievement responsibility is placed on teachers to pass on required knowledge to pupils, and teachers may rely too much on predefined objectives to assess their learning. Priestley and Drew (2016, cited in Hardley et al., 2021) suggest that the autonomy of both teachers and pupils can be stifled by restricted emphasis on outcomes; Hardley et al. (2021) add that this conflicts with the underlying goal of health and wellbeing, which is to provide teachers with more flexibility to support pupil-driven learning. Hardley et al. (2021) identified the flourishing discourse, which encourages pupils to take ownership of their learning, as most apparent in the process-focused construction. The flourishing discourse relates to 'social liberal ideology and ideals of social justice' and promotes the role of education to support pupils' capabilities 'to decide what is of value to them', regardless of their socioeconomic background (Hardley et al., 2021, p.523). According to Hardley et al. (2021), schools may be confused about how to put curriculum goals into practice due to competing discourses surrounding wellbeing. Each construction suggests different types of action and evaluation by school staff and teachers may be caught between these conflicting aims. Priestley and Drew (2016, cited in Hardley et al., 2021) suggest that uncertainty can lead schools to cling to previous approaches, which could stifle innovative teaching and maintain the status quo.

Drawing on interviews with six teachers to explore the factors that contribute to the ways in which a Scottish secondary school and its local feeder primary schools attempt to support their pupils' positive social, emotional and mental wellbeing as they move from P7 to S1, Holt et al. (2022) note that the promotion of social, emotional and mental wellbeing is greatly influenced by how individuals and groups conceptualise and define it. Holt et al. (2022, p.9) report that, in their study, teachers frequently conceptualised social, emotional and mental wellbeing holistically as social competency, positive emotions and emotional

regulation, and mental health, using expressions such as 'being happy', 'looking on the bright side' and 'even-keeled'. At times, however, a deficit view of mental health was presented with reference to mental health problems such as 'anxiety' and 'stress' and social wellbeing issues such as having 'social anxiety' or being 'shy' (Holt et al., 2022, p.9). Referring to Graham et al. (2011), Holt et al. (2022) suggest that a co-ordinated strengths-based universal approach to health promotion is more difficult to implement if teachers have a deficit view in which they see emotional and mental health in terms of illness or problems to be fixed.

In Spratt's (2016, 2017) study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine policy actors and sixteen teachers, to explore how the written policies were re-interpreted by each group. She found that interviewees tended to echo the written policy, emphasising 'wellbeing as social and emotional literacy, linked to a discourse of care' (Spratt, 2016, p.232). She also found that the policy assertion that health and wellbeing is a pre-requisite for learning was repeated in the interviews. Learning was described as contingent on emotional wellbeing; that is, if children are not happy then they will not be effective learners. In some interviews, wellbeing was conflated with the capacity to learn. One interviewee used the metaphor of being in a 'place to learn' to define health and wellbeing (Spratt, 2016, p.233, 2017, p.106). Spratt (2017) suggests this demonstrates a discursive shift from health and wellbeing as a pre-requisite for learning to health and wellbeing becoming bound up with educational success. The conflation of the personal wellbeing of children with the objectives of schools is also noted by Spratt (2016, 2017) in the way in which emotional and social health and wellbeing is seen as a solution to problems, including behaviour, bullying, motivation and learning. She suggests that health and wellbeing is seen to underpin success in other areas, rather than being construed as the outcome of high-quality learning (Spratt, 2016, 2017). In other interviews, however, the opportunities and experiences offered by education, including high-quality learning, were considered to be important aspects of wellbeing (Spratt, 2016, 2017).

Reporting on a study based on interviews with 11 teachers across the four nations of the UK to explore physical education teachers' understanding and enactment of health and wellbeing, Gray et al. (2023) note that, in a previous analysis of the health discourses present in the UK's four curricula (Gray et al., 2022b, cited in Gray et al., 2023), they found that the Scottish and Welsh curricula emphasised a discourse of holistic health and wellbeing. Gray et al. (2023) state that this discourse could be identified in the responses of

all the teachers but was more prevalent in the responses from the Scottish and Welsh teachers. Political issues and ideologies are also implicit within curriculum discourses and the responses from the Scottish and Welsh teachers reflected broader political priorities to support young people's social, emotional and, in particular, mental wellbeing in references to 'self-esteem and confidence', 'mental awareness' and 'self-worth' (Gray et al., 2023, p.10). This highlights that the ways in which teachers think about and teach health and wellbeing are influenced by curriculum discourse (Gray et al., 2023).

Gray et al. (2023, p.13) also note that, while being present in the Scottish, Northern Irish and Welsh curricula, there was a particular emphasis on the discourse of care in the responses of Scottish teachers, who mentioned 'showing empathy', 'developing positive relationships', 'nurturing' and 'ensuring that they feel safe'. An important factor to take into account while discussing a discourse of care is the power that teachers have in schools, which can influence how care is perceived and practised (Gray et al., 2023). Teachers may take on a dominant role that restricts the autonomy that young people have to live the lives they choose. Although the Scottish teachers discussed the importance of having conversations with pupils, listening and responding to their needs, in some of their responses teachers also mentioned providing information about how to be healthy (Gray et al., 2023). Delaune (2017, cited in Gray et al., 2023) suggests that prioritising the promotion of specific knowledge over engaging directly and in a reciprocal way with learners does not constitute a caring relationship. Gray et al. (2023) note, however, that a better alignment with Noddings's conceptualisation of care—where both parties contribute to the caring relationship—was suggested by the Scottish teachers' discourse of care, which made greater reference to building relationships, having conversations and respecting learners' rights.

Despite limited evidence of the discourse in policy, Spratt (2016, 2017) identified some ways in which teachers in the Scottish context could be said to be promoting wellbeing as flourishing. In some interviews, the opportunities and experiences offered by education, including high-quality learning, were considered to be important aspects of human flourishing (Spratt, 2016, 2017). Spratt (2016) relates a teacher's efforts to involve learners in activities they have reason to value to the notion of wellbeing as flourishing, as well as taking learning out of the classroom to enable young people to experience nature (Spratt, 2016). Spratt (2016, 2017) describes the work of one interviewee who led the school's health and wellbeing committee and offered extra-curricular experiences for young people

to explore their worlds and to better understand themselves, with the intention of enhancing their opportunities to lead a life they have reason to value.

One secondary English teacher in Spratt's study (2016, 2017) articulated ways in which reading literature could promote understanding of important issues in human lives, such as love, friendship and death, and suggested that being able to read about characters in texts dealing with these themes enables learners to examine reactions in a detached way (Spratt, 2016, 2017). Relating this example to the work of Suissa (2008), Spratt (2016, 2017) suggests that the study of literature offers young people a means to understand human experiences and emotions and, as such, facilitates emotional development through curricular learning. The same teacher (Spratt, 2016, 2017) also identifies English as providing opportunities to show young people how to express themselves through writing, such as reflective essays or diary entries or poems. He suggests that at a difficult time in their lives writing provides an outlet for young people to express feelings about situations they are experiencing (Spratt, 2016, 2017). Spratt (2016, 2017) recognises self-expression as a means of coping with emotional difficulties, but drawing on Gordon and O'Toole (2015), also links it to creativity, which she suggests is bound up with human flourishing.

Drawing on interviews with 14 physical education teachers and focus groups with 32 pupils taught by those teachers to understand the interpretation and implementation of social and emotional learning in physical education, Wright et al. (2021) found that prior socialisation experiences influenced physical education teachers' subjective ideas about the aims and purposes of physical education and how they interpreted and implemented the curriculum. Implementation of social and emotional learning was more likely to happen when prior experiences promoted aspects of this approach, such as creating a positive learning environment. When experiences contrasted with social and emotional learning, such as promoting physical activity and sport content rather than holistic education, implementation was less likely (Wright et al., 2021). In order to increase its implementation, Wright et al. (2021) recommend that initial teacher education programmes clarify what social and emotional learning is, its significance, the ways in which it is incorporated into the curriculum and what it might look like in practice.

In an investigation of PGDE (Secondary) students' confidence to provide learning experiences in health and wellbeing, Campbell et al. (2020) found that some focus group participants mentioned their pastoral responsibilities when asked about the requirement to

develop learners' skills within the curriculum, and they suggest that this shows a lack of awareness of the expectations of this aspect of teachers' curricular responsibilities. This highlights that student teachers need to know the curricular expectations associated with health and wellbeing and to be supported to understand how the teaching of their subject might be influenced by their responsibilities in this area (Campbell et al., 2020).

3.4 Engaging staff in the promotion of health and wellbeing

In 2010, Weare published an overview of 'evidence, practice and driving principles in mental health promotion and social and emotional education in schools' (Weare, 2010, p.5), in which she draws on evidence from across the globe, in particular the US, Europe, Australia and the UK, to explore some of the tensions, balances and debates in the field. One of the main reasons why programmes to promote mental health do not have a positive impact, Weare (2010) reports, is the lack of staff skills and engagement with the process. In an evaluation of 48 secondary schools implementing the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning programme in England, Lendrum et al. (2013, cited in Holt et al., 2022) discovered that obstacles to effective implementation included teachers' willingness to participate in health promotion activities and whole school approaches, as well as their knowledge and skills. Kidger et al. (2010) explored secondary school staff's views on supporting student emotional health and wellbeing in England. Kidger et al. (2010, p.930) indicate that some of the ways in which teachers are expected to support pupil emotional health, such as 'acting as a role model and responding appropriately to a pupil who asks for help', may be considered by teachers to be part of their day-to-day interactions with pupils, even if they feel that they need better training and support to do so effectively. They suggest that 'educating about good emotional health and identifying and referring on those who need specialist support' may be thought of as new developments to the traditional role of the secondary school teacher (Kidger et al., 2010, p.930). They report that teachers lack confidence in managing mental health-related problems in the classroom, often struggle to identify pupils with problems that may require intervention and are uncomfortable discussing mental or emotional health with pupils (Kidger et al., 2010). Drawing on Rothi et al. (2008), Kidger et al. (2010, p.922) note that teachers feel 'inadequately prepared and supported' to assume the responsibilities of their evolving role and suggest that careful consideration needs to be given to how teachers are to be equipped with the skills and knowledge needed to take on expected roles. Weare (2010) reports that evidence clearly shows that to support mental health promotion staff require 'extensive and in-depth

professional development opportunities' (Weare, 2010, p.13). Weare (2010) and Kidger et al. (2010) refer to studies which indicate that staff feel that pupils' mental health needs add an extra burden to their existing duties. Thorburn and Dey (2017, p.32) also report concerns amongst teachers about increased workload and the ability to engage with policies which seemed to be 'beyond the specifics of their individual remit'; they suggest this was reflected in the varying levels of involvement in working groups across the schools. To counteract concerns about additional workload, Weare (2010) suggests that staff development should be delivered through the systems of staff support, networking, and coaching and mentoring already in place, so that it is seen as part of the normal workload. Staff who do not see mental health promotion as having intrinsic merit should be persuaded of its benefits to the school's work in encouraging learning (Weare, 2010). Kelly et al. (2004, cited in Holt et al., 2022) note that the most successful programmes for social, emotional and mental wellbeing promotion included strategies to address teachers' perceived lack of confidence or skill, such as well-planned professional learning and quality time spent collaborating as a school community to come to a shared understanding of what is needed and why. One head teacher in Thorburn's (2017) study suggested that engaging all teachers in enacting their responsibility for health and wellbeing required moving beyond auditing practice in relation to the detail of policy to 'winning hearts and minds' (p.733). To achieve this, dialogue between head teachers, quality improvement staff and teachers was needed (Thorburn, 2017).

Education Scotland (2013) reports variable access to and effectiveness of professional learning and training opportunities in health and wellbeing provided by education authorities. Some staff felt very well supported by education authority colleagues who were able to provide high-quality, relevant information and training on aspects of health and wellbeing. Where education authorities deployed staff to focus on improving health targets, such as tackling drug and alcohol misuse or reducing rates of teenage pregnancies, staff in schools felt that they had a fuller understanding of the needs of young people and their families and were better able to deliver the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes (Education Scotland, 2013). Other staff, however, reported limited provision by their education authorities of professional learning and training relating to health and wellbeing due to reduced numbers of education authority officers with a health and wellbeing remit, a lack of funds to enable provision of professional learning and training, and a shortage of supply teachers to enable staff to attend courses (Education Scotland, 2013). Consequently, many secondary school staff felt anxious about tackling sensitive

issues with pupils, such as ‘bereavement, suicide prevention, inappropriate sexualised behaviours and the abuse of technology and social media’ (Education Scotland, 2013, p.10).

In the Education Scotland (2013) report, some newly qualified teachers reported feeling very well prepared by their ITE programme to teach health and wellbeing, while others felt less confident due to the exploration of aspects of health and wellbeing accounting for a very small proportion of their university or placement-based learning. Education Scotland (2013) states that it is necessary to ensure that all teachers have access to high-quality resources, professional learning and training opportunities in key areas of mental, emotional and social wellbeing, such as the sensitive aspects mentioned above, from the earliest phase of their teacher education and throughout their careers. Drawing on data from a questionnaire to 114 novice teachers and 14 follow-up interviews to explore factors that influence early career teachers to engage with personal, social, health and economics education (PSHEe) in England, Byrne et al. (2018) found that involvement in teaching PSHEe appears to be highly dependent on the subject's priority within the school. New teachers are unlikely to view health and wellbeing education as a crucial part of their job if schools and senior management do not support it, which will have a negative effect on their attitudes towards the subject (Byrne et al., 2018). Despite the learning they have undertaken in ITE, new teachers’ willingness to take up opportunities to teach health and wellbeing is likely to decline due to the significant influence of the school environment and its processes (Byrne et al., 2018). Byrne et al. (2018) found that learning in ITE seemed to have helped participants to understand the importance of health and wellbeing, but few had had opportunities to contribute to curriculum development or teach PSHEe post-qualification. They suggest that the impact of ITE provision could lessen as new teachers become entangled in the routine activities of the school and manage competing demands, such as further developing the pedagogical skills and knowledge needed for effective subject teaching (Byrne et al., 2018). Byrne et al. (2018) suggest that new teachers should be provided with opportunities to reflect on the broader purposes of their work in order to clarify the values which are needed to effectively promote health and wellbeing and take on wider pastoral responsibilities. Byrne et al. (2018) found that new teachers were able to thrive as health promotors where they had supportive mentors who modelled good practice and engaged them in constructive dialogue, they were included with more experienced colleagues in a community of practice that promoted health and

wellbeing, and the school culture and ethos was conducive to health and wellbeing and a whole school approach was adopted.

3.5 Whole school approaches

Thorburn and Dey (2017) found that all four schools in their study had an end-of-school-year health week where timetable arrangements were changed and learning focused on practical experiences linked to activity and lifestyle choices. In their wider impact review, Education Scotland (2013) also reports that pupils often experienced one-off health and wellbeing events or annual health weeks with little opportunity for follow-up, and states that, in some schools, health and wellbeing initiatives needed to be planned more systematically throughout the school year. In the case study schools, Education Scotland (2014) reports that much of the work taking place around health and wellbeing responsibility of all related to the wider ethos of the school and various initiatives which encouraged pupils to take responsibility for their own health and wellbeing (Education Scotland, 2014). Thorburn and Dey (2017) also found that three schools were promoting new tutor time initiatives as contexts for health and wellbeing although this approach was less successful where teachers felt pressured by the change in their remit. Pupils in their study did not endorse the new tutor time initiative as time well spent (Thorburn and Dey, 2017). This accords with the Education Scotland (2013) report which notes that the purpose of these tutor time sessions and their potential to enhance health and wellbeing are often unclear to staff and pupils and this lack of understanding and purpose leads to this valuable time for learning and support often being spent ineffectively. Thorburn (2017) provides examples of opportunities offered to pupils, including S2/S3 peer tutors visiting primary schools, S5/S6 health and wellbeing prefects leading assemblies and sitting on a school health and wellbeing committee, and pupils discussing issues, sometimes contentious, in tutor time. Spratt (2016, 2017) describes the work of one interviewee who led the school’s health and wellbeing committee and offered extra-curricular experiences for young people to explore their worlds and to better understand themselves, with the intention of enhancing their wellbeing.

Weare (2010, p.12) reports a ‘strong professional consensus’ across the evidence in her review that school staff should model what they want their pupils to learn, and ensure a whole school ethos which is warm, respectful, inclusive and creative, so that pupils and staff are able to develop positive characteristics that underline good mental health.

Thorburn (2017) notes that quality improvement officers stressed the benefits to pupils' health and wellbeing of a positive school culture which emphasises shared values and support for pupils' individual needs.

Holt et al. (2022) propose that the likelihood of successful school health promotion increases with the use of universal strategies that consider the unique context of each school. Noting that 'mental health is not caught by osmosis', Weare (2010, p.12) indicates that the more effective programmes include explicit work on the development of relevant mental health skills, and the most effective involve cognitive behaviour therapy and social skills training. The most effective programmes deliver designated work on emotional and social skills through dedicated lessons, school subjects or out-of-class activities (Weare, 2010). The evidence suggests that, when schools are proactive in helping pupils to develop social and emotional skills and reward behaviour which demonstrates emotional literacy, they are more likely to produce pupils with 'strong self-belief, a sense of belonging to the school and motivation to learn', which leads to better mental health, behaviour and achievement (Weare, 2010, p.12). Some pupils require more intensive, targeted interventions to address particular problems (Weare, 2010). These targeted approaches aim to increase the positive mental wellbeing of individuals or groups or to reduce specific risks and might focus, for example, on relationship-building skills, anger management, conflict resolution or coping with loss (Holt et al., 2022; Weare, 2010). For Weare (2010), the evidence is clear that a balance is needed between universal and targeted approaches, as the two approaches benefit each other. When targeted work is delivered within the context of a broad, universal approach, it helps to remove stigma and to ensure a range of people across the school are able to respond to those with difficulties in consistent, appropriate ways (Weare, 2010).

3.6 Relationships

Drawing from focus groups involving 606 primary and secondary pupils in Australia, seeking their views on the meaning of wellbeing and how it can best be facilitated in schools, Powell et al. (2018) found that social and emotional aspects of wellbeing emerged strongly, particularly in relation to happiness, love and trust, which were frequently contextualised as existing within relationships. Using creative approaches to gather data from 17 Year 13 students in New Zealand, Soutter (2011) also found that central to many young people's drawings were words or images referring to relationships with others and

their contribution to wellbeing. Powell et al. (2018) also found that pupils positioned relationships within broader, cultural aspects of social and emotional wellbeing, such as belonging and connectedness.

Holt et al. (2022) report that the social and emotional environment features most prominently in participants' discussion of their work to support social and emotional wellbeing at transition from primary to secondary school, with an inclusive and supportive environment being identified as helping everyone connected with the school to feel 'included, engaged, and valued'. Holt et al. (2022) relate this finding to previous studies which define school connectedness as a sense of belonging through feeling accepted, respected, and supported by the school community, which enhances wellbeing, lowers the likelihood of health-risk behaviour and promotes positive educational outcomes (Bizumic et al., 2009; McLaughlin and Clarke, 2010; Oldfield et al., 2016, cited in Holt et al., 2022).

In Powell et al.'s (2018) study, pupils highlighted the importance of having open lines of communication to and from their peers and adults in their school. Drawing on the same participant group, asked to conceptualise an ideal school for wellbeing, Simmons et al. (2015) found that Year 8 pupils (13-14 years old) were clear about their need for understanding and respect to characterise their relationships with teachers and other pupils.

Drawing on McLaughlin and Clarke (2010), Holt et al. (2022) note that the most crucial aspect of school connectedness is the attachment pupils have to their teachers, which is strengthened when those teachers are seen as being kind, fair, considerate, attentive and willing to involve their pupils in decision-making. A primary school participant in their study described herself and her school colleagues being invested in pupils' wellbeing, nurture and safety, and having high expectations of their futures. At all stages, supportive relationships with teachers can protect pupils' social and emotional wellbeing (Lester and Cross, 2015, cited in Holt et al., 2022) and predict ongoing positive emotional wellbeing, particularly when pupils are facing potential challenges such as transition from primary to secondary school (Moore et al., 2017, cited in Holt et al., 2022). Holt et al. (2022) report that the primary teachers in their study perceived that it must be far more difficult for their counterparts in secondary schools to build such trusting relationships, due to the workload involved in quickly getting to know large numbers of pupils in a new cohort.

In the studies by Simmons et al. (2015) and Powell et al. (2018), pupils underlined how important it was for teachers to communicate with them and demonstrate their concern by, for example, checking up on them in a friendly way or noticing when they were having a challenging time. Pupils in Simmons et al's (2015) study commented that teachers should show interest in pupils as people and take account of their efforts and issues in their home lives, rather than only focusing on their completion of work. Participants envisioned a school setting where the best conditions for wellbeing are those that rely heavily on communication, warmth and positivity in relationships, and greater respect and equality between teachers and pupils (Simmons et al., 2015).

Powell et al. (2018) note that, in focus groups with Year 11 pupils, concerns about equality and respect were brought up frequently. These pupils were more interested in how a school which promoted wellbeing might achieve a better balance in the power dynamics between teachers and pupils. They were more alert to concerns of power and authority, such as the school rules which they felt gave teachers too much power to discipline pupils (Powell et al., 2018). Powell et al. (2018) also report that pupils identified equality – a sense that there is no hierarchy and everyone is equal – as the foundation for wellbeing within a school. They considered equality to be important in relation to opportunities to succeed and noted that the respect that existed between pupils and teachers could be damaged by teachers' inconsistent treatment of pupils (Powell et al., 2018).

Pupils in Powell et al.'s (2018) study indicated that having the support of someone they felt comfortable approaching and asking for help or just to talk to was crucial to their wellbeing. They also described a variety of situations in which their wellbeing would benefit from adult encouragement and support, including help with creating, reading, addressing feelings of being 'stuck' and receiving help with what they need to learn (Powell et al., 2018). Holt et al. (2022) found that perceived support contributed significantly to pupil wellbeing. A secondary teacher in their study referred to a support for learning room which is open at break and lunch times for pupils to drop in and speak to someone, if they need to. Holt et al. (2022) suggest that the presence and availability of the room is what matters to pupils' wellbeing, whether or not pupils choose to access the support.

In terms of relationships between pupils, young people in Powell et al.'s (2018, p.525) study identified friends as a major source of support for their wellbeing as they provided

understanding, encouragement, protection, as well as 'someone to laugh and have fun with'. Decisions about choice of friends were considered important (Powell et al., 2018). Within relationships between pupils, other aspects were reported as contributing positively to wellbeing: having and giving respect; accepting others 'no matter what or who they are'; and expressing or receiving acts of generosity and kindness (Powell et al., 2018, p.524).

In talking about the importance of good relationships with peers, young people in Simmons et al.'s study (2015) expressed the need to feel included by not experiencing bullying, peer group pressure or racism. In Powell et al.'s (2018) study, young people reported the negative impact of bullying by pupils they did not identify as friends but also said that friends' actions could be detrimental to their wellbeing, if they were, for example, laughed at, put down, excluded or encouraged to misbehave. Thorburn and Dey (2017, p.29) found that most pupils had positive relationships with their peers but this was not the case for all, with one reporting being nervous about coming to school and facing pupils who are 'hard to get along with'. Drawing on a study conducted in Wales with focus groups of pupils who had completed a wellbeing index, Matthews et al. (2015) found that bullying has a clear and detrimental effect on wellbeing in a variety of ways which seem to reflect how young people's physical and virtual contexts change as they grow up; Year 7 pupils seem to think more about school settings, while older teenagers are more concerned with social networking sites. Pupils in Year 7 reported higher levels of anxiety about physical bullying, which could be related to their transition to secondary school, the strange surroundings that go along with it, and the realisation that they are the 'new kids on the block' (Matthews et al., 2015, p.673). School practitioners reluctantly acknowledge that the rise of cyber-bullying is a modern phenomenon that is beyond their control and, as such, difficult to handle and manage in the school setting. Nonetheless, Matthews et al. (2015) suggest that helping pupils develop their social skills, resilience, and self-control would increase their ability to handle these kinds of situations.

Simmons et al. (2015) suggest that the numerous ways in which the pupils connected better, caring and respectful relationships with wellbeing – both implicitly and explicitly – offer important guidance for ongoing school improvement activity. The results of this study highlight how crucial it is for schools that support wellbeing to prioritise respect and communication (Simmons et al., 2015).Powell et al. (2018) suggest that approaches to wellbeing that acknowledge the critical role that quality relationships play in students' daily lives have much potential. Their findings suggest that pupils believe that quality

relationships embedded in the school's daily routine are the most significant to their wellbeing (Powell et al., 2018).

3.7 Tensions between health and wellbeing and subjects

Priestley (2013) identifies a tension between the expectation on teachers to be agents of change in implementing CfE and the danger of adversely affecting attainment. Innovation can be seen as too risky in the culture of accountability within which Priestley (2013) suggests teachers are working and, consequently, many choose to play safe. Priestley (2013, p.37) also refers to the ‘socialisation of teachers into the discourses of accountability’ which leads to their framing of responses to the new curriculum in terms of the need to assess, record and report. This, Priestley (2013) suggests, can lead teachers to make decisions about their practice which are in tension with their educational values. While English teachers, for example, may value the contribution they can make to pupils’ wellbeing, the pressure they feel to raise attainment in the subject may cause them to overlook opportunities to promote wellbeing.

The studies by Thorburn (2017) and Spratt (2016, 2017) reveal tensions between subject learning and health and wellbeing. The first issue relates to potential impact on attainment and, in particular, exam results. Thorburn (2017) reports that head teachers spoke of nervousness about experimenting with integrated learning due to the focus of Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education on subjects, and concerns that integrated learning during the BGE stage would lead to insufficient subject knowledge being imparted, which would impact on results in National Qualifications. The introduction of the new National Qualifications had caused developments in health and wellbeing to be side-lined (Spratt, 2017). Thorburn (2017) elaborates on this issue by reporting interviewees’ concerns about increased workload caused by having to implement two sets of arrangements, the BGE in the junior school, and the narrow subject examination focus at senior phase, which were felt to be incompatible. Additional pressure had been caused by delays in providing support materials for the National Qualifications, which had resulted in a washback effect on being able to develop health and wellbeing across the whole school (Thorburn, 2017). Spratt (2017) reports the concerns of a secondary teacher that the examination system could be more directly detrimental to pupils through damage to their emotional wellbeing caused by examination pressure.

In Thorburn's (2017) study, he reports the concern expressed by some head teachers that a number of pupils start secondary school with underdeveloped literacy skills, which create barriers to accessing the curriculum. I would suggest that this puts additional pressure on English teachers, in particular, to raise literacy levels, and this creates tension with their responsibility for aspects of health and wellbeing. This tension between literacy and health and wellbeing is identified by local authority quality improvement officers in Spratt's (2017) study, who expressed concern that their attempts to promote good health and wellbeing practices in schools were negatively affected by the priority placed on pupils achieving high standards in literacy and numeracy (Spratt, 2017). Policy actors also held the view that having different funding streams for literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing led to less resourcing for health and wellbeing, as it was considered less important than the more academic aspects, literacy and numeracy (Spratt, 2017). This resonates with Thorburn's (2017) observation that most of the interviewees in his study, particularly quality improvement staff, considered literacy and numeracy to be better understood as central to effective learning and teaching.

According to Coppock (2010, p.56), in an analysis of mental health and wellbeing policy in the UK, a major issue preventing the cultivation of a positive attitude amongst teaching staff towards whole school approaches to emotional wellbeing is the capacity for schools to take on this additional role in light of the huge demands already placed on teaching staff by the 'targets, standards and crude measurements of attainment and success' which drive educational practice in the UK. Kidger et al. (2010, p.921) agree that one of the key debates within the field is 'how the mental and emotional health agenda fits with schools' more specific requirements to continue to drive up educational standards'. This is also recognised by Formby and Wolstenholme (2012) in a mapping study of Personal, Social, Health and Economic (PSHE) education in England, where its inclusion in the curriculum is not mandatory. Coppock (2010) notes that the push for attainment is reflected in the fact that school is often identified by young people as a source of their distress, while Norwich et al. (2022) point out that what is represented as a mental health crisis amongst young people is often set in the context of academic performance pressures within schools. Powell et al. (2018) found that older students in their study referred to the negative impact on their wellbeing of stress and anxiety caused by trying to manage substantial assessment workloads at school alongside commitments to sports, jobs, friends and family. In England, attention to pupils' mental health and wellbeing has had to compete with the demands of delivering the National Curriculum, resulting in it becoming marginalised in the work of

schools and teachers (Coppock, 2010). The focus of teachers on the curriculum was noticed by pupils in research by Spratt et al. (2006). Spratt et al. (2006, p.17) report that many pupils expressed reluctance to discuss personal issues with teachers, as they perceived that they were 'only interested in curriculum matters'. The Independent Advisor on Poverty and Inequality (2017) suggests that schools must do more to combat the feelings of worthlessness many young people have in relation to their sense of low academic ability, which is often exacerbated by teachers spending more time and effort with the pupils likely to go to university. Spratt et al. (2006) suggest that teachers should foster relationships with pupils which enable them to respond appropriately to indications of underlying difficulties, noting that such approaches should be looked on as complementary to curriculum delivery, attainment and achievement. This is highlighted by Weare:

> It is vital that those who seek to promote high academic standards and those who seek to promote mental, emotional and social health realise that they are on the same side, and that social and affective education can support academic learning, not simply take time away from it. (Weare, 2000, p.5)

Formby and Wolstenholme (2012) add that if children and young people are believed to be 'more than empty buckets to be filled with knowledge' (Best, 2008, cited in Formby and Wolstenholme, 2012, p.17), the implications of the tension between academic results and wellbeing are concerning for the pastoral care and wellbeing of pupils.

Greater emphasis on academic attainment within a structure organised around subject specialisms was only one of several challenges identified by Holt et al. (2022) for the implementation of health and wellbeing initiatives in secondary schools. They suggest that it can be difficult for secondary teachers to develop positive relationships with pupils or to communicate whole school initiatives due to working with pupils for only short periods of time across a week, during which time pupils will work with a number of different teachers (Holt et al., 2022). Holt et al. (2022) claim that a classroom culture with the collaborative relationships between pupils and teachers which are beneficial to health and wellbeing takes time to develop and can be difficult to achieve, particularly if more direct and less interactive teaching approaches have been the norm. In addition, the autonomy to develop teaching and learning approaches may be constrained by structural or cultural expectations to use those approaches which are thought to lead to the meeting of attainment goals (Holt et al., 2022). Focusing on the engagement of early career teachers in promoting health and wellbeing, Byrne et al. (2018) suggest that the culture of attainment that prevails in many

schools is likely to influence the way new secondary teachers see their role and to weaken the commitment to promoting health and wellbeing within their subject area encouraged during initial teacher education.

3.8 Implementing health and wellbeing in subjects

Education Scotland (2014) reports that all of the case study schools found that having a senior lead, such as a principal teacher, with time to co-ordinate the implementation of health and wellbeing responsibility of all was important in supporting staff to consider how to integrate health and wellbeing within their subject areas. Initially, some teachers were concerned about adding another responsibility to an already heavy workload, particularly where they felt that more formal approaches were becoming increasingly documented and evidenced (Education Scotland, 2014). Concerns were alleviated where training was provided, teachers were involved in developing approaches, and it was acknowledged that the responsibility of all built on what many teachers were already doing to promote pupils' health and wellbeing (Education Scotland, 2014). Two of the case study schools had undertaken formal, structured reviews of the links between subject areas and health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes (Education Scotland, 2014). In the other schools, where there was an existing focus on and recognised commitment to health and wellbeing, teachers took individual responsibility for building it into their subject teaching (Education Scotland, 2014). This report does not, however, provide specific examples of promoting health and wellbeing in subject areas. Similarly, Weare (2010) reports that effective mental health promotion programmes tend to be whole school and advises those developing programmes to ensure that work relating to mental health is integrated across the school and the curriculum, rather than being seen as a separate issue, but does not provide examples of how this work could be integrated in subject areas.

Spratt (2016, 2017) and Thorburn (2017) identify aspects of pedagogy which interviewees believe could contribute to wellbeing. Thorburn (2017) reports his interviewees' views that teachers should focus on generic aspects of health and wellbeing, such as promoting positive relationships with learners, showing mutual respect, and facilitating purposeful learning environments, where learners are able to learn from and support each other through co-operative and constructive approaches. A teacher in Spratt's (2016, 2017) study also describes agreeing activities, working together and sharing learning as contributing to wellbeing by promoting positive relationships and ethos in the classroom. In the study by

Simmons et al. (2015), pupils were able to articulate pedagogical improvements which they felt would improve their wellbeing. Year 8 students (13-14 years old) suggested 'teachers who know their subjects', who are able to plan practical, interactive lessons, sometimes using the outdoors and other spaces beyond the classroom (Simmons et al., 2015). Year 11 students (16-17 years old) suggested that their wellbeing would be improved by opportunities to build their range of knowledge by learning in different ways and by being given constructive feedback by teachers on their work (Simmons et al., 2015).

Drawing on interviews with six teachers from four secondary schools and focus group interviews with their pupils, Teraoka and Kirk (2022) report on how teachers and pupils talk about the contribution of physical education to pupils' health and wellbeing, with a particular focus on the affective domain, which includes motivation, confidence and self-esteem, determination and resilience, and respect and tolerance. The teachers emphasised that key to teaching for health and wellbeing, including confidence, was the development of a trusting relationship with pupils, rather than particular lesson content or teaching approaches (Teraoka and Kirk, 2022). To build positive relationships with pupils, the teachers said that they tried to have informal conversations with individuals in the corridor and the changing room, and felt that it was a strength of physical education teachers, compared to teachers of other school subjects, to be able to interact on a social level with young people and to find out about pupils' interests, family and friends. One participant commented that this 'is more difficult in the classroom' (Teraoka and Kirk, 2022, p.941). Pupils indicated that they felt their teachers understood what they were capable of in class (Teraoka and Kirk, 2022). Teraoka and Kirk (2022) suggest that conversations with pupils about their daily lives outside of the gym provide teachers with information which enables them to tailor their teaching approaches to meet pupils' needs.

In their study of the interpretation and implementation of social and emotional learning in physical education, Wright et al. (2021, p.80) found that teachers used 'a spectrum of strategies that ranged from implicit and reactive to explicit and empowering'. Wright et al. (2021) suggest that the different approaches are not mutually exclusive and a thorough approach to the implementation of social and emotional learning might involve a layering of all of them. A positive learning environment that enables pupils to feel safe, included and motivated, and modelling and giving consistent messages about values, expectations and behavioural norms, create a foundation for social and emotional learning (Wright et

al., 2021). Reacting to behaviours during a lesson adds another implicit layer and, although criticised for lacking intentionality and often reaching only some pupils, this approach can provide teachers with opportunities to 'clarify expectations, encourage reflection and reinforce positive examples of social and emotional learning in action' (Hellison, 2011, cited in Wright et al., 2021, p.80). Explicit approaches to social and emotional learning include involving pupils in increased social interaction, management tasks and decision-making; Wright et al. (2021) report that teachers in their study set learning intentions and planned lessons that treated social and emotional learning as content, and pupils demonstrated and understood skills such as communication, teamwork and goal setting. Wright et al. (2021) suggest that secondary PE pupils could be challenged further in their social and emotional learning by taking on roles in leadership and assessment, and to reflect on the transferability of these skills.

As noted previously, a secondary English teacher in Spratt's study (2016, 2017), articulated ways in which English can contribute to health and wellbeing, highlighting 'the value of literacy in facilitating self-expression and good communication' (Spratt, 2016, p.234). He describes reading literature as a way of understanding important issues in human lives, such as love, friendship and death, and suggests that being able to read about characters in texts dealing with these themes enables learners to examine reactions in a detached way (Spratt, 2016, 2017). The same teacher (Spratt, 2016, 2017) also identifies English as providing opportunities to show young people how to express themselves through writing, such as reflective essays or diary entries or poems. He suggests that at a difficult time in their lives writing provides an outlet for young people to express feelings about situations they are experiencing (Spratt, 2016, 2017).

3.9 Difficulties evaluating practice or assessing health and wellbeing

Education Scotland (2014) report that the case study schools were asked what difference they felt their approach to implementing health and wellbeing responsibility of all was having and what evidence they had to demonstrate this. All four schools felt that they were making strong progress in supporting young people to achieve the health and wellbeing responsibility of all experiences and outcomes, and young people, parents and partners agreed (Education Scotland, 2014). The schools felt that their approach was having a broader impact, including creating a calmer environment, encouraging better behaviour, improving attendance, attainment, achievement and positive destinations for young people,

and strengthening partnership working with other organisations (Education Scotland, 2014). The four schools, however, found it very difficult to separate the impact of the work they did around health and wellbeing responsibility of all from their wider work and, though they felt that health and wellbeing responsibility of all was likely to contribute to the improvements mentioned previously, they were unable to prove this (Education Scotland, 2014). Education Scotland (2013) suggests that schools needed to improve how they evaluated and measured success within health and wellbeing in order to reflect more on the impact of their approaches. While it could be seen in some secondary school course outlines, improvement plans and departmental self-evaluation that all staff were being held to account for developing aspects of health and wellbeing, greater clarity was needed about how to evaluate, record and communicate progress (Education Scotland, 2013). Thorburn and Dey (2017) report that teachers found that time for evaluating practice was limited.

Thorburn and Dey (2017) also report finding mixed approaches to the formal assessing of health and wellbeing: three schools did not formally assess health and wellbeing while, in the fourth school, a teacher explained that certain outcomes had been extracted from the curriculum for assessment, as it was not possible to cover them all (Thorburn and Dey, 2017). Most teachers thought that it was not easy to measure the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes (Thorburn and Dey, 2017).

3.10 Chapter conclusion

I have reviewed mainly primary research literature relating to the implementation of the aspects of health and wellbeing which are the responsibility of all within CfE in Scotland, as well as that relating to the implementation of programmes of mental health or wellbeing promotion in other parts of the UK, Australia and New Zealand. I have discussed this literature in relation to the following themes which I identified across the reports: enacting CfE, understandings of health and wellbeing, engaging staff in the promotion of health and wellbeing, whole school approaches, relationships, tensions between health ad wellbeing and subjects, implementing health and wellbeing in subjects, difficulties evaluating practice or assessing health and wellbeing. In the next chapter, I will set out Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach and consider some key issues relating to how it applies to education which are relevant to this study.

Chapter Four: Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach – a Framework for Analysis

4.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I will describe my understanding of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, referring closely to Nussbaum (2011). I will explore how accounts of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach have been used to examine issues in education and draw out some key points which are most relevant to consideration of English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing.

4.2 The capability approach: background

The capability approach to wellbeing and disadvantage was established by economist and philosopher, Amartya Sen, and introduced in his Tanner Lecture in 1979 (Sen, 1993). He describes picking the expression, capability, to represent the 'alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be – the various "functionings" he or she can achieve' (Sen, 1993, p.30). Introduced in the specific context of evaluating inequality, the capability approach was concerned with evaluating a person's life in terms of his or her ability to achieve various valuable functionings, and aggregated information about sets of individual capabilities would be considered central to evaluating disadvantage (Sen, 1993). Sen argues that using the capability approach to evaluate the quality of people's lives should lead to policies which remove obstacles 'so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life that, upon reflection, they have reason to value' (Robeyns, 2005, p.94). Sen (1993) describes exploring the possibility of using the capability approach to analyse other social justice issues, such as wellbeing and poverty, liberty and freedom, living standards and development, gender bias and sexual divisions, and justice and social ethics in more than economic terms.

Sen's capability approach provided the theoretical foundations of the human development paradigm (Robeyns, 2005), associated with the Human Development Report Office of the United Nations Development Programme and its annual Human Development Reports (Nussbaum, 2011), the first of which was published in 1990. These reports use the notion of capabilities to present comparative information about quality of life with the aim of reorienting the development and policy debate (Nussbaum, 2011). Focusing on people and

their opportunities and choices, the human development approach ‘is about expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live’ (Human Development Report Office, 2020).

The version of the capability approach developed by philosopher, Martha Nussbaum, derives from a period of collaboration with Sen at the World Institute for Development Economics Research beginning in 1986, when they recognised that ideas she had been pursuing independently, relating to Aristotle’s ideas of human functioning and Marx’s use of them, had similarities to ideas he had been pursuing in economics (Nussbaum, 2000). Nussbaum (2000, p.70) describes her approach as being different from Sen’s in both its ‘emphasis on the philosophical underpinnings of the approach’ and its ‘readiness to take a stand on what the central capabilities are’. While Sen used capabilities to make comparative assessments of quality of life, Nussbaum (2000, p.5) sought to use the idea in a more demanding way by providing the philosophical underpinning for an account of basic constitutional principles that should be respected and implemented by governments of all nations, as a bare minimum of what respect for human dignity requires.

In her Capabilities Approach, Nussbaum (2000, 2003, 2006, 2011) takes as a starting point that the availability of truly human functioning is fundamental to a life worthy of human dignity and justifies a list of ten central capabilities as necessary for such a life. The qualitatively distinct nature of the items on her list provides the reason why Nussbaum uses the plural, capabilities, to describe her version of the approach (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum develops her Capabilities Approach across three major works, in particular (2000, 2006, 2011). In Nussbaum (2000, p.5), she proposes that her approach is ‘a valuable basis from which to approach the problems of women in the developing world.’ In Nussbaum (2006, p.5), she applies her approach to gain ‘promising insights’ into three unsolved problems of social justice, namely extending justice to people with physical and mental impairments, to all world citizens, and to nonhuman animals. In Nussbaum (2011, p.xi), she aims to influence ‘the ability of policy to construct meaningful interventions that show respect for and empower real people’ by changing what policy-makers notice in people’s lives.

4.3 Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach

Nussbaum (2011) describes capabilities as what a person is able to do and to be. They comprise a set of opportunities to make choices and take action. They are, however, more than abilities residing within a person. They are the 'opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social and economic environment' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.20). Nussbaum (2011) refers to these opportunities as combined capabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) distinguishes from combined capabilities the characteristics of a person, such as personality traits, bodily health and fitness, and intellectual and emotional capacities. She calls these characteristics internal capabilities. These traits and abilities are often developed in interaction with the familial, social, economic and political environment. Nussbaum (2011) suggests that a society which seeks to promote capabilities should support the development of internal capabilities through education, resources to enhance physical and emotional health, and support for family care and love.

Nussbaum (2011, p.21) states that it is important to distinguish between internal and combined capabilities because the difference relates to 'two overlapping but distinct tasks of the decent society'. A society might support the development of people's internal capabilities but not provide opportunities to function in accordance with the capabilities. For example, a society might educate people to be able to speak about political issues but deny them free speech in practice. Nussbaum (2011) indicates that the reverse is also possible: a society may provide a political and social environment which allows a person to realise an internal capability, such as criticising the government, but fail to educate that person to think critically or speak in public. Nussbaum (2011) offers the example of the Indian state of Gujarat, where political capabilities are extended to all and many people choose to vote. Gujarat, however, does not do enough to promote the related internal capabilities of education, adequate information and confidence amongst the poor, women and religious minorities, so it cannot be said that these members of society have the combined capability of political participation (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) delineates a further category of capabilities: basic capabilities, which are 'the innate faculties of the person that make later development and training possible' (p.24). Nussbaum (2011) states that the term 'human development' in the alternative name

for the Capabilities Approach suggests that central to it is the unfolding and shaping of powers that human beings have when they are born. Nussbaum (2011) recognises that maternal nutrition and prenatal experience influence the development of basic capabilities, suggesting there is a fine line between basic capabilities and environmentally-conditioned internal capabilities. She argues, however, that it is a useful category. The political goal of a nation should be to raise all people to above a threshold level of combined capabilities. Nussbaum (2011) states that those less innately skilled will need more help to get above the threshold and should receive that help. She gives the example of special interventions in education being justified for children with innate cognitive disabilities (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011, p.25) describes functionings as ‘beings and doings that are the realisations of capabilities’. She explains that functionings are not necessarily particularly active, giving as examples enjoying good health and lying peacefully in the grass. In explaining the contrast between capabilities and functionings, Nussbaum (2011) emphasises the notion of freedom to choose which is built into the notion of capability. She draws on an example of Sen’s to illustrate that two people might have the same type of functioning, but not the same capability: someone who is starving has the same type of functioning in relation to food as someone who is fasting, but they do not have the same capability, because the person who is fasting can choose not to, whereas the person who is starving cannot.

Nussbaum (2011) states that capabilities are important because they have potential to lead to functionings. She suggests that people must function in some ways, at least, for capabilities to have a purpose. She notes that, in this limited way, a functioning is the end-point of a capability. She argues, though, that capabilities have their own value because they provide areas of freedom and choice, rather than making people function in a particular way. Instead of measuring the real value of a set of options by the best use that can be made of them, which is a more traditional approach in economics, Nussbaum (2011) explains that the Capabilities Approach views options as freedoms and freedom as having value in itself.

Nussbaum (2011) indicates that while some political views hold that governments should make people lead healthy lives, for example, advocates of the Capabilities Approach believe that capabilities, rather than functionings, are the appropriate political goals, as

these allow people to exercise freedom. She notes that a policy which promotes health capabilities, rather than health, honours people's lifestyle choices. She explains that the preference for capabilities is underpinned by respect for a plurality of different religious and secular perspectives, and is related to the idea of political liberalism.

Nussbaum (2011) states that children are considered differently. Certain types of functioning are required of children, such as compulsory schooling. She describes this functioning as 'a necessary prelude to adult capability' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.26). This is an important point in relation to my study, which explores the wellbeing of young people of secondary school age, and I will return to the discussion of the approach in relation to education later in this chapter.

The goal of the Capabilities Approach is to create capabilities for individual persons. The approach adopts the principle of each person as an end. Nussbaum (2011) argues that this focus on the individual has significant implications for policy, as policy is often designed to support the family as a single unit rather than to promote the capabilities of each member of the family. She states that group-based policies, such as affirmative action which is intended to support disadvantaged or underrepresented groups, can be justified only insofar as they may be effective tools for creating capabilities for individuals (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) states that selecting the capabilities on which to focus depends on the purpose. If the intention is to compare nations and regions, various types of capabilities suggest interesting comparisons and these might arise from particular issues being explored. In this sort of case, there is no need to prescribe capabilities in advance. If, however, the aim is to establish political principles on which to build constitutional law and public policy which would promote social justice, selection is vital.

Nussbaum (2011) suggests that the notion of dignity is intuitive but not entirely clear. Acknowledging that human dignity is related to the idea of respect, she cautions against using the term as though its meaning is self-evident. Instead, she explains that dignity is one of a number of interconnected aspects of her Capabilities Approach, and the different aspects are illuminated and made clearer when considered in relation to the others. Nussbaum (2011) suggests that the political principles set out in her approach help to bring clarity to what is to be understood by human dignity and its absence. She indicates that

some living conditions enable people to live a life that is worthy of their human dignity, but some do not.

Nussbaum (2011) explains the significance of a focus on dignity within her approach by contrasting it with a focus on satisfaction. She draws on the example of court cases in the USA which led to children with severe cognitive disabilities being able to attend public schools. While she acknowledges that it is possible for many people with severe cognitive disabilities to achieve satisfaction without educational development, she notes that the notion of dignity was evoked to open public schools to such children. It was argued, for example, that it was necessary, through appropriate education, to develop the powers of mind of a child with Down's syndrome in order to treat that child in a manner appropriate to his or her dignity. Nussbaum (2011) adds that focusing on dignity results in policy decisions that protect and support people's agency, rather than decisions that limit people to receiving benefit in a passive way.

Nussbaum (2011) proposes that the many ways in which the claims of human dignity can be denied can be reduced to two which correspond to the ideas of internal capability and combined capability. People may be prevented from choosing to function in accordance with a developed internal capability by social, political, familial and economic conditions. Nussbaum (2011) compares being thwarted in this way to being imprisoned. She notes, however, that bad conditions can have a deeper impact and stunt or warp the development of internal capabilities. In both situations, the person retains human dignity and is worthy of equal respect. Nussbaum (2011) suggests that dignity has been more deeply violated in the former situation. She illustrates this using the example of the difference between rape and robbery, suggesting that both would damage the person affected without removing that person's human dignity. She argues that a woman is more deeply affected by rape due to the lasting impact on her thoughts and emotions, and this results in violation of her dignity (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) describes dignity as something inherent in a person which exerts a claim that it should be developed and, in that way, as closely related to the notion of basic capability. She notes, however, that, while it can be argued that innate potential differs across people, human dignity is equal in all who have agency and, therefore, laws and institutions should show all people equal respect. She explains that, although equal dignity is assumed, it does not follow that the central capabilities are to be equalised. She returns

to the question of what treating people as equals requires when discussing the notion of a threshold level of each of the central capabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) explains that the focus of her Capabilities Approach is on protecting areas of freedom which are considered central to making a life worthy of human dignity. Ordinary political processes should apply to freedoms which are not considered central. Nussbaum (2011) notes that some capabilities are clearly central, giving the example of the global agreement of the importance of primary and secondary education, while others are more trivial and do not merit special protection. Nussbaum (2011) explains that it takes much time and debate to make some cases clear, such as the case that it is crucial to bodily integrity that a woman has the right to refuse her husband intercourse. In each case, arguments must be made to try to show the ways in which a particular freedom is necessary for a life worthy of human dignity. In doing so, the relationship of the freedom in question to other existing freedoms must be discussed, such as the relationship between bodily integrity within the home and women's equality as citizens and workers. Nussbaum (2011) indicates that when debating an unclear case, such as the right to home-schooling, the quality of the arguments for the particular right being central to a life worthy of human dignity is what matters, rather than the number of supporters for the case, because her Capabilities Approach does not place value on people's existing preferences as these may be distorted.

Nussbaum (2011) states that it is central to her Capabilities Approach to consider the valuational question of which capabilities are the most important, and to address the question with relevant normative arguments. She notes that Sen indicates his stance in relation to the valuation question through emphases and examples, but he does not try to answer it in a systematic way. Nussbaum (2011) considers this appropriate when using the idea of capabilities to frame comparisons, but stresses that where the idea of capabilities is used to establish normative law and public policy it is necessary to be clear about which capabilities are more important than others, and to acknowledge that some are good and others bad.

To elaborate on this point, Nussbaum (2011) refers to the idea that human beings are born with basic capabilities which might enable them to do and be many things, and we should consider which are worth developing into mature capabilities. She draws on the description by Adam Smith that children who have been deprived of education have had their human

powers ‘mutilated and deformed’ (Nussbaum, 2011, p.28). She points out that, in contrast, a child whose innate capacity to be cruel to others has been thwarted by family love and social development would not be described as ‘mutilated and deformed’ because this capability would be considered bad. Other capabilities are simply not very important. Nussbaum (2011) gives the example of a child who has never been taught to whistle *Yankee Doodle Dandy* while standing on her head. In this case, the child’s human powers would not be considered ‘mutilated and deformed’ because this particular capability is not very important.

Nussbaum (2011) describes her Capabilities Approach as evaluative and ethical because it acknowledges that human beings might develop the capacity to do many things, and asks which of those are really valuable and should be nurtured and supported by a society which is minimally just.

Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach asks, taking into consideration the many ways in which people move and act in their lives, ‘what does a life worthy of human dignity require?’ (Nussbaum, 2011, p.32). Her answer is that the very minimum is an ample threshold of ten central capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011). She suggests that while it is understood that governments have the task of ensuring people are able to pursue dignified and minimally flourishing lives, then they must provide to all citizens at least a threshold level of these ten central capabilities: *Life*; *Bodily health*; *Bodily integrity*; *Senses, imagination, and thought*; *Emotions*; *Practical reason*; *Affiliation*; *Other species*; *Play*; and *Control over one’s environment*. These capabilities are given in full detail in Appendix A.

Nussbaum (2011) acknowledges that the capabilities on her list are somewhat abstract and require to be specified further in relation to the system of constitutional law or basic principles of each nation. She notes that the approach allows nations with varied traditions and histories to further specify capabilities accordingly, to a certain extent, resulting in capabilities being elaborated in slightly different ways. She adds that this is necessary as the world community has no overarching government which could provide an elaboration for all people (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011, p.35) emphasises the importance of ‘irreducible heterogeneity’ of the central capabilities on her list, describing all as distinctive and requiring securing and protecting in distinctive ways. The need for a particular capability cannot be satisfied by

giving people more of another, or by giving them money to compensate. Nussbaum (2011) illustrates her point by giving the example of a nation which states within its constitution that it protects religious freedom, among other capabilities. If citizens' religious freedom is violated, they would have a claim against government, even if they are secure in all other capabilities that matter, such as being well-nourished and comfortably housed (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum (2011) argues that respect for human dignity requires people to be placed above a sufficient threshold in each of the ten central capabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) indicates that her list may be contested by arguing that a particular capability is not so central that it requires special protection. She suggests, for example, that people may question the inclusion of play and leisure time on her list. She argues that it is particularly important for women to have leisure time, as many are burdened with 'the double day' which involves working at a job and coming home to undertake all housework, including taking care of children and elders (Nussbaum, 2011, p.36). This can prevent access to other capabilities, such as political participation, physical and emotional health, and friendships. In addition, Nussbaum (2011) argues that opportunities for play and to freely expand imaginative capabilities contributes significantly to a worthwhile human life. For a capability to be included on Nussbaum's list, a case needs to be made which demonstrates its interconnectedness with other capabilities and its contribution to a life worthy of human dignity.

Two of the central capabilities – *Practical reason* and *Affiliation* – are described by Nussbaum (2011, p.39) as playing an 'architectonic role', by which she means that they organise and pervade the others. When the other capabilities are made available in a way that corresponds to human dignity, *Practical reason* and *Affiliation* are woven into them. It is not wholly commensurate with human dignity for people to be well-nourished without also being empowered to use *Practical reason* to make choices which relate to their health and nutrition. Nussbaum (2011) states that good policy in relation to each of the capabilities should respect people's *Practical reason*, as choice is central to the notion of capability as freedom. The capability of *Practical reason* organises the other capabilities as being able to plan one's own life means being able to choose and prioritise the corresponding functionings (Nussbaum, 2011).

Similarly, when the other capabilities are present in a way that corresponds to human dignity, *Affiliation* pervades them and the individual is respected as a social being

(Nussbaum, 2011). Workplace relationships must be considered when employment options are made available, and health care provision must respect people's personal privacy. Nussbaum (2011) explains that *Affiliation* organises the capabilities in the sense that different kinds of relationships, such as familial and group-based, play a structuring role in deliberation about public policy.

Nussbaum (2011) notes that sometimes two or more capabilities compete, resulting in it seeming impossible to ensure everyone has a threshold level of all ten capabilities. This is usually caused by particular social conditions. Nussbaum (2011) gives an example from the Indian state of Gujarat, where poor parents may need their children to work in order to earn wages which contribute to the family's survival. In these cases, the children are not able to attend school. Nussbaum (2011, p.37) describes this as a situation of 'tragic choice' as each of her ten capabilities has intrinsic value and pursuing one at the expense of another will do wrong to someone.

Nussbaum (2011) indicates that noticing a tragic choice should prompt policymakers to question how they might work towards ensuring a threshold level of each capability is available to everyone, so that people are provided with the opportunity of a life worthy of their human dignity. Returning to the example from Gujarat, Nussbaum (2011) explains that the Indian state of Kerala managed to resolve the dilemma faced by poor parents by offering flexible school hours and a nutritious midday meal which offset the loss of children's wages. By enabling parents to send their children to school, illiteracy has been almost eradicated across the state of Kerala. Recognising the ingenuity and effort of this relatively poor state in resolving this problem for families, the Supreme Court made it mandatory for all government schools in India to provide a midday meal (Nussbaum, 2011).

Situations of tragic choice are also common in richer countries, such as the United States (Nussbaum, 2011). For example, to qualify for welfare, a poor single mother may have to accept full-time work, even if she is not able to access high-quality childcare. This would put her into a situation of tragic choice between quality care for her child and a reasonable standard of living. Nussbaum (2011) points out that many women in the United States are unable to take up opportunities for employment because of caring responsibilities for children or elderly relatives. These kinds of dilemmas could be addressed by providing public care services, and by introducing policies which allow family and medical leave.

Another common example of tragic choice in the United States which Nussbaum (2011) describes is that between a decent standard of living with its associated health care benefits and leisure time. Americans work long hours compared with people in many other rich countries, and this is often detrimental to family relationships. While the extent of the impact of this particular tragic choice is not yet known, Nussbaum (2011) argues that the capabilities perspective helps draw attention to an issue which needs to be addressed.

Nussbaum (2011) indicates that noticing a tragic choice should prompt policymakers to establish a way to intervene to ensure people are not confronted with this type of choice in the future. She also suggests that effort should be made to move people nearer to the threshold level of a capability immediately, even if taking them above it may come later. She gives the example of providing access for all children to primary education, even if access to secondary education cannot yet be made available to all young people (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) draws on two further concepts introduced by Wolff and de-Shalit (2007): fertile functioning and corrosive disadvantage. A fertile functioning is one that can promote other related capabilities, while corrosive disadvantage describes a deprivation that has considerable impact on other aspects of life. Nussbaum (2011) is critical of Wolff and de-Shalit for using the term ‘fertile functioning’ without being sufficiently clear about the distinction between functioning and capability and, in her discussion of the concept, she also refers to ‘fertile capability’ (p.44). Nussbaum (2011) recognises that many types of functionings or capabilities are fertile, depending on the context. She refers to Vasanti, an Indian woman whose story she uses to contextualise her Capabilities Approach, to demonstrate the impact of access to credit as a fertile capability. Being able to take out a loan enabled Vasanti to protect her bodily integrity by no longer being dependent on her abusive husband, to have opportunities for employment, to participate in politics, to form enriching affiliations, and to enhance her emotional wellbeing and self-respect (Nussbaum, 2011). Similarly, in other contexts, education is a fertile capability, making a range of options available to people. In contrast, the domestic violence which Vasanti was subject to was a corrosive disadvantage. This violation of her bodily integrity had a detrimental effect on other capabilities including her physical health, emotional wellbeing, affiliations and practical reasoning (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) explains that, like tragic choice, recognising fertile capabilities or functionings and corrosive disadvantages helps policymakers to identify the most effective ways to intervene to improve people's lives. Although each capability has its own importance, and governments should work to raise all citizens above the threshold in relation to all ten capabilities, some capabilities may justifiably take priority due to the extent to which they are fertile or have potential to remove a corrosive disadvantage. Where resources are scarce, it could be helpful to devote them to promoting a particularly fertile functioning (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) argues that a life worthy of human dignity requires an ample threshold of her ten central capabilities. She describes her approach as 'a partial theory of justice' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.40) because it specifies a social minimum without claiming to solve all problems of distribution. Nussbaum (2011) states that social justice requires the delivery of an ample threshold of the ten central capabilities to all citizens. She contrasts this with other approaches to social justice which demand equality, giving the example of John Rawls who states that inequalities are only justified when the level of the worse off is raised. Nussbaum (2011) notes that her Capabilities Approach does not yet explain how inequalities above the threshold should be handled but it might address this question in the future.

Nussbaum (2011) states, however, that equality is sometimes required in relation to the threshold. In order to decide to what extent equality of capability is necessary in order to be adequate, Nussbaum (2011) suggests that careful consideration must be given to each capability and what is required in order to respect equal human dignity. She argues that equal voting rights and equal rights to religious freedom are required to respect human dignity rather than an ample minimum. In the case of education, Nussbaum (2011) suggests that all children in a nation should have equality of opportunity because it would be unfair for some to have better opportunities than others, even if all received more than a threshold level.

In contrast, Nussbaum (2011) does not consider the same to be true of material conditions. She gives the example of housing, suggesting that decent, ample housing may be sufficient for human dignity without there being a need for everyone to have the same kind of housing. She notes that this is an aspect of her Capabilities Approach which requires further investigation.

The precise setting of a threshold, Nussbaum (2011) states, is for individual nations to decide in ways that are appropriate to their history and traditions. She acknowledges that establishing some thresholds is difficult and indicates that, in these cases, the Capabilities Approach does not dictate a decision but tells people what is most important to consider. She gives the example of an abortion right, which is itself not specified by the approach, although the approach may guide decision-making by indicating what should be debated. She notes that democratic political processes have a significant role to play in setting thresholds.

Nussbaum (2011) states that setting a threshold at a level that is neither utopian nor lacking in ambition is necessary. Too high a threshold might be impossible for any nation to meet, resulting in tragic conflicts too difficult to resolve. Too low a threshold might be easy to meet but may not provide what is required for human dignity. Nussbaum (2011) suggests that a nation's lawmakers promote a threshold level that encourages the nation towards ingenuity and effort by being aspirational rather than utopian.

Nussbaum (2011) indicates that this raises further questions, such as whether or not the threshold level of a capability should be the same in every nation, even though economic resources vary across nations. She suggests that it would seem disrespectful to those who happen to be born in poorer nations to say that the same threshold need not be set, but the same threshold level would require redistribution of economic resources from richer to poorer nations to enable the latter to meet their obligations. She also argues that if nations were denied the right to set their own thresholds at levels appropriate to their histories and situations, this may be considered too dictatorial.

Nussbaum (2011) draws on Wolff and de-Shalit (2007) to add the concept of capability security to the discussion of her Capabilities Approach. Wolff and de-Shalit (2007) argue that it is not enough for public policy to give people a capability, but the capability must be given in a way that allows people to depend on it in the future. Nussbaum (2011) gives the example of Vasanti, a Gujarati woman whom she introduces in Nussbaum (2008). Vasanti had a loan from her brothers which gave her capabilities relating to health and employment, but threats to call in the loan or evict her from the house made these capabilities insecure. A loan from the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was more reliable as long as she worked regularly and made her payments, giving her security (Nussbaum, 2011).

Wolff and de-Shalit (2007) found, amongst new immigrants in Britain and Israel, that people were unable to use and enjoy the capabilities on Nussbaum's list when they felt insecure about the future. Nussbaum (2011) points out that, while feeling secure is an aspect of the capability of emotional health, capability security is an objective matter about which people should be able to have reasonable expectations. Nussbaum (2011) indicates that it is important to consider, for each capability, the extent to which it is protected from market fluctuations or power politics. While capability security can be promoted through a nation's written constitution, this will only contribute to capability security where it is supported by the courts and the actions of judges (Nussbaum, 2011).

4.4 Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach in education

Since its inception, the importance of education has been at the heart of the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011). Education, whether it takes place in schools, in the family, or in programmes run by nongovernmental organisations, facilitates the development of people's existing capacities into internal capabilities of many sorts. The formation of internal capabilities is valuable in itself but also a source of lifelong satisfaction. Nussbaum (2011, p.152) states that education is also crucial to the development and exercise of many other capabilities, calling it 'a "fertile functioning" of the highest importance in addressing disadvantage and inequality'. Even a basic education greatly improves people's employment options, opportunities for political participation, and abilities to interact with others in a productive way (Nussbaum, 2011).

Nussbaum (2011) notes that it is often the case that basic education interventions have emphasised literacy and numeracy but acknowledges that this is appropriate as many avenues of opportunity are closed to those who do not have these skills. She advises that it is important, though, to extend the analysis of education and capabilities beyond those skills, as a proper education for human development requires much more (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum (2011) expresses concern that most nations are anxious about their national profit and keen to keep a share in the global market and, as a result, have focused education on promoting a limited set of marketable skills. The skills which are essential for democratic citizenship, and many other capabilities that people might choose to exercise, however, are associated with the humanities and the arts: critical thinking, the ability to imagine and to understand another person's situation, and a good understanding of world history and the current global economic order (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum (2011)

advises that those using the Capabilities Approach to improve education practice should consider issues of content and pedagogy, asking how the aims of the approach, particularly in relation to citizenship, are fulfilled by the substance of studies and the nature of classroom interactions (for example, the extent to which learners are expected to think critically and to imagine).

Nussbaum (2011) advises that the functioning of children with regard to education is required, rather than capability. She explains that this is necessary because children in developing countries may face parental pressure to work rather than attend school. Education is so crucial to opening up a broad range of adult capabilities that making compulsory primary and secondary education, up to at least the age of sixteen, is justified by the dramatic expansion of capabilities in later life (Nussbaum, 2011).

Walker (2003), who develops a framework for conceptualising social justice in higher education, drawing on Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, explains why the approach is appealing for those seeking to improve education practice. Firstly, the approach emphasises the flourishing of each and every individual. In her context, Walker (2003) finds this preferable to university 'drop out' statistics which do not provide useful information about individuals' experiences. Secondly, the approach is interested in what people are able to do and to be. Walker (2003) considers this appropriate because, as a social practice, education is as much about what people learn to be as it is about knowledge acquisition. She adds that much of the thinking and judgement required of learners is intended to guide future action. Thirdly, Walker (2003) finds that most, if not all, of the ten central capabilities set out by Nussbaum are, to an extent, relevant to educational conditions and practices and considers that they provide a useful framework for evaluating how aspects of practice help or hinder the development of capabilities. Finally, Walker (2003, p.170) recognises in the approach Nussbaum's view that education should be for democratic citizenship and promoting 'understanding and solidarity under conditions of cultural difference and diversity', which is particularly important within the widening access context of her university setting.

For the same reasons, I consider Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to be a useful lens through which to explore English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing. From the literature on application of the approach in education contexts, I have identified three additional aspects to consider when applying

the concepts of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to the analysis of my data. These three aspects are: the capabilities which appear to be most relevant to the context; the importance of combined capabilities; and the need to distinguish between the capability to participate in education and the capabilities gained through education.

The first aspect I will consider is which capabilities appear to be most relevant to the context. Walker (2003) notes that Nussbaum's ten central capabilities all point in some way to education, but *Practical reason* and *Affiliation* are of special importance. She describes both capabilities as especially significant in relation to widening participation and enabling pedagogies which would support the participation and progression of non-traditional students once they enter higher education (Walker, 2003). According to Walker (2003, p.174), promoting the capabilities of *Practical reason* and *Affiliation* would encourage 'values of empathy and mutual recognition, compassion, respect, dignity and meaningful relationships with peers' within the context of groupwork or teamwork. She suggests that taking up Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach pedagogically should enable collective problem-solving through processes of critical dialogue, inclusion of diverse perspectives and the willingness to listen to others with different views, histories, and experiences (Walker, 2003). Democratic dialogue with others who differ from ourselves enables us to gain new ideas which prompts critical reflection on our own positions, prejudices or ignorance (Walker, 2003). It seems to Walker (2003) that these practices would also require students to exercise their capabilities of *Senses, imagination, and thought*, and *Emotions*. The capabilities of *Bodily health* and *Bodily integrity* would be taken for granted, as learning while ill or undernourished, or feeling under threat of harassment or gendered disrespect, is difficult. The exercise of capabilities of *Affiliation*, *Senses, imagination, and thought*, *Practical reason* and *Emotions* within a university widening access context would also require the recognition of diverse cultural modes of expression and ways of life (Walker, 2003).

Discussions between learners are also important to the fostering of *Affiliation* within a secondary school setting. Vaughan (2016) notes that *Affiliation* requires that diversity is managed with respect and an open, democratic and tolerant school environment is provided. Where pupils experience an open climate which encourages them to feel able to discuss controversial issues with their teachers and peers, they are more likely to report trust and tolerance, and to demonstrate critical thinking (Flanagan et al., 2007, cited in Vaughan, 2016). Vaughan (2016) describes teachers as role models and notes that the ways

in which they moderate pupil discussions during lessons convey messages about 'who belongs and whose opinions count, and how members of society should treat one another' (Flanagan, 2013, cited in Vaughan, 2016, p.218).

Unterhalter (2013) observes that *Affiliation* and *Practical reason* are particularly nurtured by education. She suggests that, as these capabilities pervade all others on Nussbaum's list, education has the potential to contribute to the realisation of them all. Due to the content and pedagogy associated with the subject of English, I anticipate that the capabilities which are most likely to be developed by English teachers in their work will be the four identified by Walker (2003): *Affiliation*; *Practical reason*; *Senses, imagination, and thought*; and *Emotions*.

The second aspect I will consider is the importance of combined capabilities. Glassman (2011, p.169) indicates that education should encourage the development of internal capabilities such as 'thinking problems through and making good decisions' as well as being able to 'conceive of the world beyond immediate experience'. He suggests that although humans must be healthy, they need more than that to live well in a complex society (Glassman, 2011). He gives examples of other needs, such as having safe places to play, activities that stimulate their imaginations, and problems that challenge them to reflect on their lives in a pragmatic way and take control of their environments (Glassman, 2011). Beyond nurturing basic capabilities, Glassman (2011) suggests that education needs to provide individuals with the opportunity and encouragement to 'combine' their internal capabilities with the materials and processes of the environment around them but adds that this is an opportunity often denied marginalised populations.

Hedge and MacKenzie (2012) provide an example involving two young people who could be considered marginalised because of a disability, impairment or a label that assigns them to a 'special' or 'additional support needs' category. In different ways, their emotional responses to the school environment prevent them from being fully included in mainstream classes: Aileen is often angry and demonstrates this in her loud and aggressive behaviour, while Alasdair can become very anxious and uncomfortable about being in classes with his peers. Hedge and MacKenzie (2012) note that emotions can have a significant impact on pupils' capacity to learn and function in a school environment and this can inhibit the development of their combined capabilities. They note that Alasdair and Aileen both have the capacity to learn to read and to develop their language skills but regularly being unable

to attend mainstream classes due to withdrawal or exclusion for the reasons outlined means they are inhibited from developing these capacities. Hedge and MacKenzie (2012) describe this as 'combined capability failure'. In order to rectify the situation, Alasdair and Aileen need an environment which is more sensitive to their needs. In terms of my study, I would identify the second part of *Affiliation*, which focuses on an individual not being subject to discrimination, as a combined capability, as it relies on other people in the social context not being discriminatory towards the individual.

The third aspect I will consider is the need to distinguish between the capability to participate in education and the capabilities gained through education. Wood and Deprez (2012) and Gale and Molla (2015) draw this concept from Vaughan (2007). Wood and Deprez (2012, p.476) describe their professional responsibility as 'two-pronged': they recognise the need to ensure that their students can participate fully in learning experiences but also have opportunities to 'discern what they need to instantiate beings and doings they value'. Gale and Molla (2015, p.817) note that capability for education highlights 'the importance of removing barriers to individuals' access to educational resources and opportunities' while the focus of capability through education is on 'the learning outcomes and associated benefits to the individual'.

A low level of literacy skills might be a barrier to pupils' access to educational opportunities across the curriculum. Maddox (2008, p.185) describes literacy as having 'intrinsic value … as a good' and also an 'instrumental role in enhancing wider capabilities'. Developing pupils' literacy skills should provide functionings in education in relation to *Senses, imagination, and thought*, while creating the capability through education of *Control over one's environment* by enabling young people to participate in the political choices that govern their lives. In a similar way, Spratt (2017) finds the distinction between capabilities to participate in and capabilities gained through education helpful in being able to understand social and emotional wellbeing as functionings that allow access to the capabilities that can be achieved through education. She describes it as 'imperative' that teachers support pupils' social and emotional wellbeing and value the dignity of each pupil within the classroom community, so that all are able to engage with learning (Spratt, 2017, p.126). Pupils are then better placed to benefit from the eudaimonic effects of education, which enable them to understand what a valuable life means to them (Spratt, 2017).

I expect to notice the distinction between these two types of capabilities or functionings in my data, in terms of emotional and social wellbeing and literacy, as described, but also in other ways. *Affiliation* is a necessary functioning in education to enable pupils to feel included in the classroom and wider school environment but is also a capability developed through education which will enable young people to act well towards others in society in the present and future. The curriculum framework in Scotland expects teachers to enact a dual role in relation to promoting health and wellbeing: through their contribution to the whole school ethos and processes and through their teaching of the subject. I expect to notice in my data that ideas concerning the whole school role are most commonly related to the development of capabilities and functionings in education, while ideas concerning the subject role will relate to the development of capabilities both in and through education.

4.5 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have described my understanding of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, referring closely to Nussbaum (2011). I have explored how accounts of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach have been used to examine issues in education and drawn out some key points which are most relevant to consideration of English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing, including the capabilities which appear to be most relevant to the context, the importance of combined capabilities, and the need to distinguish between the capability to participate in education and the capabilities gained through education. In the next chapter, I will explain the methodology I adopted for the research.

Chapter Five: Methodology

5.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I will explain the paradigm underpinning the research study and the process I used to identify appropriate research methods. I will justify my choice of semi-structured interviews and the size and nature of the participant group. I will outline ethical considerations and how I managed risk. I will explain how I gained access to and recruited participants, and will reflect on the impact of participant self-selection. A trial study enabled me to practise semi-structured interviewing and I will explain how reflecting on my interviewing technique prepared me for the interviews in this research study. I will reflect on my position within the asymmetrical power relationship inherent in the interview situation. Finally, I will describe the processes of transcription and thematic analysis.

5.2 Paradigm

Having an epistemological perspective can help to clarify the overarching structure of the research including the type of evidence to be gathered, from where and how it will be interpreted (Gray, 2009). Gray (2009) also suggests that a knowledge of research philosophy will help the researcher to recognise which designs will address research objectives and which will not. Muijs (2010) argues that while a researcher may have strong epistemological and philosophical beliefs that determine what kind of research he or she wants to do, it is also possible to start out wanting to address a particular issue and, in such a situation, the researcher should pragmatically choose the methods which are best suited.

An interpretivist approach, the term 'qualitative' being used interchangeably in many research texts, would be most appropriate for the proposed study of teachers' perspectives because it emerges from a constructivist epistemology which acknowledges that truth and meaning are created by a person's interactions with the world (Gray, 2009). Williams and May (1996) suggest that rather than there being direct relationships between people and the world, the world is interpreted through the mind. Pring (2015) agrees that every individual lives in a world of their own ideas, and through those ideas constructs the physical and social world. Because meaning is constructed not discovered (Gray, 2009), individuals construct their own meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon. There are, therefore, as many realities as there are individual conceptions of it – multiple

realities (Pring, 2015). Interpretive research is concerned with gaining insights into the meanings individuals attribute to experiences, events and objects, in order to understand perspectives (Bell, 2014; Flick, 2014).

The interpretive approach has a number of strengths that are relevant to this study. The acknowledging of the existence of multiple realities allows individual constructions and perceptions of reality to be recognised. The perspectives of individual English teachers on the role of the subject in promoting wellbeing will form the data to be gathered. Silverman (1997) agrees that qualitative research provides access to the meanings attributed by people to their experiences and social worlds and seeks to emphasise process, values, context, and interpretation in the construction of those meanings. The process of policy enactment, the values of the participating teachers, their particular school contexts and interpretations of all aspects of their work are important to this study.

Despite its overall suitability to the study, there are some weaknesses in this approach. Cohen et al. (2011, p.25) caution that where research relies heavily on participants' definitions of situations based on their own perceptions, there is the possibility that those participants might be 'falsely conscious' and the researcher may have an obligation to seek an objective perspective which is not necessarily that of any of the participants. This led me to consider the possibility of carrying out classroom observation in order to substantiate some statements made by teachers. I reflected, however, that observations might be of lessons that are atypical or influenced by my presence in the classroom and would provide little to compare with interview data.

Another weakness relates to generalisation. Flick (2014) indicates that, in qualitative research, statements are often made within a certain context and based on analyses of the relations, conditions and processes within it. While this attachment to context can allow qualitative research a specific expressiveness, when attempts are made at generalising the findings, this context link has to be given up in order to find out whether the findings are valid outside the specific context. Fraenkel and Wallen (2014) suggest that, in fact, generalising is more often done by interested practitioners who are in situations similar to those investigated by researchers than by researcher themselves, who are less certain about the conclusions they draw from their research and tend to view them as ideas to be shared, discussed, and investigated further. Similarly, Schwandt (2000) suggests that, in relation to the impact of research, while some qualitative researchers share the belief that critical

reflection can improve our circumstances, they see the impact of their research less in terms of political transformation and more in relation to dialogue, conversation, and education which transforms the individual, often the self.

5.3 Establishing appropriate methods

To establish appropriate methods for my research study, I searched for studies which have explored teachers' perspectives on a range of issues and identified several which have relevance to my study. The studies have a range of reasons for seeking teachers' perspectives but they can be grouped into three sets.

The studies in the first set explore teachers' perspectives in relation to the implementation of something new, asking teachers to comment on the process or the impact. Larsen and Samdal (2011) and Honess and Hunter (2014) sought teachers' perspectives on programmes designed to promote emotional literacy and social competence. In response to perceived difficulties in implementing new curriculum guidelines on fostering creativity, Chan and Yuen (2015) sought the perspectives of teachers working in contexts where this type of practice flourished. Dyment et al. (2014) sought teachers' perspectives on the impact on teachers and pupils of changing the status of an outdoor leadership qualification. Responding to changes in inclusion policy which resulted in increased numbers of pupils with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) in mainstream classrooms, Soto-Chodiman et al. (2012) explored perspectives on the experience of teachers currently including pupils with ASD in order to share insights. Focusing on a slightly different participant group, Ni Chroinin et al. (2013) sought teacher educators' views on how new beginning teacher standards might be used. Each of these studies suggests the importance of seeking the views of those who are involved in implementing policy or curriculum interventions in order to inform others in the profession.

The studies in the second set have a similar focus but, rather than a new policy or intervention, they seek teachers' perspectives on issues considered important by the researchers, in order to establish the extent to which teachers' understandings and beliefs influence their practice. Teachers' perspectives were explored in relation to managing students' emotions in the design process (Siu and Wong, 2014), teaching controversial issues in a divided society (Niens et al., 2013), using learner-centred instruction (Yilmaz, 2008) and improving social and emotional wellbeing through facilitating social

connectedness in schools (Bower et al., 2015). Each of these studies highlights the influence of teachers' understandings and beliefs on practice, which will be relevant to the ways in which English teachers promote wellbeing.

Each of the studies in the third set explores the perspectives of teachers who have to reconcile two seemingly competing demands. Lam et al. (2013) sought teachers' perspectives on the challenges of balancing the development of curriculum integration with expectation of high pupil attainment in high stakes testing of individual subjects. Bennett (2013) sought teachers' views on the challenges of using whole-class discourse as formative assessment within a culture of performance measures. Roberts (2013) sought the perspectives of rural school teachers caught between an official curriculum and pedagogies that value cosmopolitan ways of being and their own situated concerns for the interests of the students they teach and the communities in which they live. My study was prompted by the perceived challenge faced by English teachers in reconciling raising attainment in literacy with enacting their responsibility for health and wellbeing.

These studies provided a useful point of reference for considering aspects of my research design, including methods of data collection and analysis, and size and nature of participant group. I will draw on these studies in the discussion of my chosen methods.

Having created an initial research proposal in the first of two research methods modules in year three of the EdD programme, I undertook a trial study during the second research methods module. The focus for the trial study was English teachers' perspectives on the place of Scots language and Scottish literature in the teaching of English in secondary schools. The research opened up discussion of an underdeveloped aspect of the teaching of English within the Scottish curriculum, CfE. The trial study related to the dissertation proposal in the following ways: both studies proposed to explore the perspectives of English teachers on the ways in which they enact policy imperatives relating to aspects of the curriculum but, while the trial explored the place of Scots language and Scottish literature in the teaching of English, the dissertation study has explored the role of the subject, English, in promoting the wellbeing of pupils.

The trial study informed the design of this dissertation study, helping to ensure that the methods chosen for this study are appropriate. In carrying out the trial study, I aimed to develop skills in conducting semi-structured interviews and carrying out thematic analysis

with a view to helping to ensure that the dissertation study is a more rigorous contribution and, therefore, beneficial for professional practice in the field. I planned to interview three participants to enable me to experience and reflect on various aspects of the process of collecting data: the ease, or otherwise, with which I would be able to access suitable participants; the preparation of an interview schedule, with main questions, prompts and probes, which would elicit rich data; the size of dataset elicited by a certain number of questions and the amount of time taken; and the process of transcription. Thereafter, I planned to analyse the data using thematic analysis, which enables the identifying, analysing and reporting of patterns within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013), and reflect on the processes involved at each stage. I will refer to some of the lessons learned in the trial study in the discussion of the methods used in this dissertation study.

5.4 Semi-structured interviews

I consider semi-structured interviews to be the most appropriate method of data collection for exploring teachers' perspectives. It is the method of collection used by each of the studies identified in the previous section.

According to Drever (2003), in a semi-structured interview, main questions are set by the interviewer to create an overall structure, which is filled in during the interview with prompts to encourage broad coverage, probes to explore answers in depth and follow-up questions to ask the interviewee to clarify or expand on answers. The interviewee has a degree of freedom over what to talk about, how much to say and how to express it, but the interviewer can assert control when required. Drever's comments relate to Bell's (2014) description of guided or focused interviews. Bell (2014) adds that while the interviewer needs to be skilled in asking questions and probing as necessary, if the interviewee moves freely from one topic to another, the conversation can flow without interruption.

Semi-structured interviews have a number of strengths as a method of data collection for the proposed exploration of teachers' perspectives. Semi-structured interviewing is suitable for gathering information and opinions (Drever, 2003), investigating people's thinking, motives and feelings (Drever, 2003; Bell, 2014) and exploring their different perspectives in depth (Chan and Yuen, 2015; Roberts, 2013). Cohen et al. (2011) cite greater depth as an advantage of the interview over other methods of data collection. Drever (2003) commends the good coverage of questions and the resulting high-quality data which he

suggests can be expected from all interviews. Drever (2003) points out that an interview allows the researcher to explain ambiguities or correct misunderstandings of questions, and answers can be developed and clarified. Bell (2014) and Chan and Yuen (2015) agree that this is an advantage over questionnaire responses which have to be taken at face value.

There are, of course, weaknesses. Bell (2014) points out that, due to the time-consuming nature of semi-structured interviews, it is often possible to interview only a relatively small number of people. It is also argued that interviewing is a highly subjective technique which is prone to bias on the part of the interviewer (Bell, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011). Selltiz et al. (1962, cited in Bell, 2014, p.166) explain that bias is a danger because ‘interviewers are human beings and not machines, and their manner may have an effect on respondents’. They add that serious bias may be noticed in data analysis where a team of interviewers has been employed, whereas one researcher may be consistently biased and, therefore, it may not show up.

I chose to ask teachers to participate in a 30- to 40-minute interview. In the trial study interviews, I had a concern to keep moving through the questions so as not to run over the half hour I had said the interview would take. The number of questions on my schedule, four under each of three broader topics, though covered differently in the two interviews, resulted in recordings of similar length, coming in at 29 and 32 minutes. So that I could feel able to follow up on points made by interviewees, when drafting the interview schedule for the dissertation study interviews, I aimed for 30 minutes, but planned specific prompts and more general probes to follow up interesting points. Although I had conducted a trial study, I agreed with Gillham (2000) that it would be useful to pilot the interview schedule in order to evaluate the usefulness of questions in generating rich data in the time available. Drawing from researchers who use qualitative interviews in their work, Roulston (2010) also recommends rehearsing interview questions through practising the interview with people who will not be participants, and to make changes as required. She suggests that preparing in this way enables the interviewer to focus on the respondent. As I will explain, however, recruiting participants was more challenging than I had anticipated, so I was not able to identify an additional person who could participate in a pilot interview.

5.5 Size and nature of participant group

Across most of the studies identified as examples earlier, small groups of participants were interviewed. With the exception of a three (Yilmaz, 2008) and a 26 (Roberts, 2013), the numbers of participants fell within the seven to 17 range, averaging 12. Two of the studies state the use of convenience sampling (Patton, 2002, cited in Flick, 2014), with one set of participants formed by everyone involved in a particular project (Dyment et al., 2014) and the other by teachers working in the only school to be implementing a new programme (Honess and Hunter, 2014).

Other studies state the use of purposive sampling (Patton, 2002, cited in Flick, 2014). A basic criterion for many of the studies was teacher involvement in the particular aspect on which their perspectives were sought (Soto-Chodiman et al., 2012; Chan and Yuen, 2015; Yilmaz, 2008; Lam et al., 2013; Larsen and Samdal, 2011; Siu and Wong, 2014). Length of teaching experience, such as a minimum of five years, was considered important to some (Soto-Chodiman et al., 2012; Chan and Yuen, 2015; Yilmaz, 2008). Yilmaz (2008) justifies this criterion by referring to Cuban (1991) and Entwhistle et al. (2000) who argue that teachers with a reasonable length of teaching experience are in the best position to articulate and evaluate their practices. Larsen and Samdal (2011, p.634) set a criterion of at least four years using the programme at the centre of the investigation in order to 'maximise the reliability of the data by excluding "beginner-enthusiasts"'.

Chan and Yuen (2015) recognise the limits of their small sample size in relation to the generalisability of results and state that the study can only be regarded as an exploratory, small-scale investigation. Siu and Wong (2014) are more positive, however, stating that the process of in-depth interviews with eight teachers and qualitative analysis yielded adequate information for analysis and discussion and produced insights useful for further investigation.

Bearing these points in mind, I set out to employ purposive sampling to identify 14 participants. I intended to interview 12 participants but planned to identify extra to account for a small number dropping out. Drawing on Patton (2002), Flick (2014, p.175) suggests aiming for maximum variation in the sample 'to disclose the range of variation and differentiation in the field', but I chose to seek variation which best served the research objectives. I chose to select participants with lengths of experience which reflected

entering the profession before and after the introduction of CfE, who were working in different schools and local authorities. By doing so, I hoped to capture a range of perspectives on the role of English in promoting wellbeing.

Regarding the minimum length of teaching experience considered appropriate, of the two participants in the trial study, one had taught for two years in one school, while the other had seven years' experience teaching in a variety of schools and had recently taken up an acting principal teacher of English post. Although the latter participant had a wider range of experiences to draw on, both provided rich data in response to interview questions. On the basis of Yilmaz's (2008) argument that teachers with a reasonable length of teaching experience are in the best position to articulate and evaluate their practices I had planned to use purposive sampling to identify participants with at least four years' experience teaching English. The data collected in the trial study interviews suggested, however, that the perspectives of teachers with fewer years' experience would be just as relevant to the dissertation study and, therefore, I decided not to apply a minimum length of teaching experience when selecting participants.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Ethics, according to Simons, refers to the

> search for rules of conduct that enable us to operate defensibly in the political contexts in which we have to conduct educational research. (Simons, 1995, cited in Pring, 2015, p.142)

While such rules of conduct are particularly important when research involves children or may potentially harm participants, there were ethical considerations which had to be taken into account in planning this study. These considerations relate to access, informed consent and confidentiality.

The data collection for this study would be carried out in schools. Cohen et al. (2011) caution that researchers should not expect access to a school as a matter of right. It would be necessary to seek permission from a senior education manager in each relevant local authority before approaching the head teacher of each school to ask for permission to invite the teacher I wished to interview. In such requests, it would be necessary to make known

the nature of the study, the type of interview intended and the burden to the teachers, in terms of time and possible follow-up checking of transcripts or analysis.

Having gained permission for access to the schools, it would be necessary to gain the informed consent of all participating teachers (Bell, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011). Informed consent is the process by which individuals are given the facts that would be likely to influence their decisions before choosing to take part or not. Cohen et al. (2011) advise that potential participants should be instructed that they are free to withdraw consent and end participation at any point in the study without prejudice.
Finally, all participants should be assured confidentiality (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2000): that is, that any data collected from or about them will be held in confidence and names of individual subjects will not be used in any publications arising from the research. Larsen and Samdal (2011) offer approaches which help to protect the identity of the participants: not audio-recording their names during interviews and asking background questions which only provide the minimal contextual information, such as length of time teaching. These measures would help to protect the identity of participants if interview recordings were given to a third party for transcription.

Although I did not intend to interview people from groups considered vulnerable or ask questions on sensitive topics, there were still some risks associated with my study, which required to be acknowledged in the application for ethical approval, along with an indication of steps to be taken in mitigation. Firstly, because head teachers would have agreed that teachers could be approached to participate, teachers may have felt obliged to (Cohen et al., 2011). I indicated in the participant information sheet that the decision to participate was the individual teacher’s and, either way, would have no impact on his or her relationship with his or her employer. Secondly, the time taken to be interviewed may have been an inconvenience to participants. I stated that I would keep the interview time to a maximum of 40 minutes and would arrange to go to the school to meet participants in order to take up no more of their time than was needed to conduct the interview. Thirdly, regarding confidentiality (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2014), semi-structured interviews with a small sample of teachers might make it possible for participants to be identified in a report of findings and, as a result, participants might be concerned about damage to professional reputation. In the participant information sheet, participants were assured that their data would be de-identified at the point of transcription, with pseudonyms used from then on, and any details which could help to identify them, such as school names, would be masked

or omitted. Lastly, it was anticipated that participants might feel a degree of discomfort in giving professional opinions to a university lecturer. While I felt that it was important that participants felt reassured that there would be no impact on their relationship with their employer, I felt uncomfortable about suggesting that my post gave me elevated status. Instead, I made clear in the participant information sheet that I was collecting the data for the purposes of a university programme.

On this basis, I applied to the University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee for ethical approval and was subsequently granted this. The letter of approval is included in Appendix Two.

5.7 Risk management

In addition to considering ethical approaches, it was necessary to prepare for a number of contingencies. As participants might withdraw, I intended to recruit 14, hoping that at least 12 would participate. I anticipated that arranging mutually-convenient times for interviews might be challenging, so I offered teachers the flexibility of being interviewed during or after the school day and indicated that I would travel to their schools. The recording device might fail due to a fault or empty battery, so I ensured I had two devices at all interviews and checked power levels before setting out. Digital files can be corrupted, so I ensured that I kept back-up copies of notes, drafts, transcripts, etc, printing regularly and storing securely.

5.8 Access to and selection of participants

To gain access to potential participants, I phoned the education offices of three local authorities to ask who I should approach, and how, to request permission to contact head teachers. Following the advice I received, I contacted the relevant people to ask for permission to contact the head teachers of four schools to seek their permission to recruit one English teacher in each. Across three authorities, this should have enabled me to recruit 12 English teachers. Two local authority representatives gave me permission to contact head teachers but the third did not, on the basis that head teachers had recently been receiving many requests that teachers participate in research surveys and interviews. As the two authorities had given permission to recruit four teachers, I did not consider it appropriate to try to recruit additional teachers from those authorities, so my maximum

participant group would be reduced to eight, unless I sought permission from an alternative third local authority. I recalled Siu and Wong (2014), who stated that the process of in-depth interviews with eight teachers and qualitative analysis yielded adequate information for analysis and discussion and produced insights useful for further investigation, and decided to proceed without approaching an alternative third local authority.

I emailed the head teachers of each of the secondary schools in the two local authorities to ask their permission to recruit an English teacher. I asked that they provide me with the names and email addresses of two or three teachers who I could contact to invite, one at a time until I had a willing participant. I sent the email to the head teacher's direct email address, copied to the email address of the school office. These emails elicited a response from two head teachers in one local authority (subsequently labelled Local Authority B) giving permission and two English teachers from the same school in the other local authority (Local Authority A) who had responded to the information the head teacher had passed on to them. On the basis that the head teacher agreed to both teachers participating, I arranged interviews with them both, as well as one English teacher from each of the other two schools. When I arrived at one of those schools to carry out the interview, I was advised that the teacher was absent from school that day. I emailed later to rearrange but received no reply, so I discounted that teacher, and school, from my participant group.

I carried out the interviews with the two teachers in Local Authority A School A and the teacher in Local Authority B School A during June 2018. While in Local Authority B School A, the principal teacher expressed her willingness to be interviewed. Thus, a different pattern emerged for recruitment of participants: two teachers from each of two schools in each of two local authorities. Although this was not what I had originally been given permission for by the local authority representatives, I would recruit the same number of teachers from each authority overall.

Having not had any other responses from head teachers giving permission to approach teachers, I had to consider alternative ways of recruiting participants, whilst keeping within the bounds of the ethical approval I had been granted. In my professional role as subject tutor for secondary English, I have built up a network of secondary English colleagues, some of whom are former students and others the principal teachers and mentors who regularly support my students on school experience placements. I identified a school in

each of the two local authorities where I knew a principal teacher and another member of the English department and contacted them to ask, informally, if they would be willing to participate. When they agreed, I asked the principal teachers to mention to their head teachers that I would be in contact to seek permission. This more direct approach to the head teachers elicited positive responses in both cases and once I had their permission, I formally invited the teachers to participate. My experience was similar to that of Ausband (2006) who writes about having difficulty gaining access to participants and, in particular, making contact with the busy senior colleagues who require to give permission before she can proceed. She found the process of gaining access to participants lengthy but realised that following ethical procedures would increase the likelihood of a higher number of participants who were the most relevant for her study (Ausband, 2006).

I interviewed two teachers in LAB School B in November 2018 and had started to make arrangements with the second teacher in LAB School A and the two teachers in LAA School B when I experienced a bereavement and took a suspension of studies for a few months. I interviewed these three teachers in June 2019.

For various reasons, the recruitment of participants and arranging of interviews was a lengthier, more complex and, at times, more disheartening process than I had anticipated. I had set out to use purposive sampling but was forced by circumstances to use convenience sampling, which is described as drawing a sample from a relevant population who the researcher is able to access within pragmatic constraints (Patton, 2002, cited in Flick, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011).

As indicated previously, I obtained the informed consent of participants, providing them with a participant information sheet outlining the details of the study to enable them to decide whether or not to take part. Robinson (2014, p.36) highlights that while ‘voluntary participation is central to ethical good practice’, it can lead to self-selection bias, as those who consent to be interviewed may differ from those who do not, in ways unrelated to sampling criteria. This can result in less balance across the participant group than the researcher would wish (King, Horrocks and Brooks, 2019). To illustrate self-selection bias, Robinson (2014, p.36) draws on Abrams (2010, in Robinson, 2014) who describes a study of “vulnerable youth” which required individuals to respond to a flier and call the researcher to participate. It was likely that the resulting participant group was limited to young people who were confident enough to phone a stranger and volunteer and who,

therefore, were less psychologically vulnerable than those who did not have the confidence to call (Robinson, 2014).

In the case of my study, as the participants self-selected, the participant group may be skewed towards teachers who are particularly committed to meeting their responsibilities for health and wellbeing and confident in the ways in which they promote it in their practice. The benefit of this is that the participants were able to speak in detail about their perspectives on this area of the curriculum and provide varied examples from different aspects of their practice. This, however, may have led to an overrepresentation of positive views and underrepresentation of views relating to the frustrations or challenges teachers might face in this regard. If the self-selected participants in my study do not reflect the diversity and complexity of English teachers within Scottish secondary schools, it becomes difficult to generalise the findings to this broader population. As indicated previously, however, researchers undertaking qualitative research tend to view their findings as ideas to be shared, discussed, and investigated further rather than as generalisable conclusions (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2014).

5.9 Interviews

Due to the challenges involved in recruiting a suitable number of participants for my study, I was not able to spare a participant to enable me to pilot the interview schedule (which is included in Appendix Three). This was unfortunate, as it would have provided me with an opportunity to evaluate my questions and my own interviewing technique. Fortunately, I was able to reflect on the interviews I carried out during my trial study and identify issues to try to avoid.

Roulston (2010, p.136) argues that if the aim of using qualitative interviews is to generate ‘rich descriptions’, then researchers must learn skills in interviewing that generate those kinds of responses. She recommends that researchers develop reflective interview practice through which they study their own interview talk in order to consider their role in the generation of data. Holstein and Gubrium (1995, cited in Roulston et al., 2003, p.645) argue that interviews are ‘meaning-making occasions’, during which, as Roulston et al. (2003) suggest, interviewers and interviewees co-construct data for research projects. Describing interviews in this way highlights the important role the interviewer has. Roulston (2010, p.136) suggests that studying the formulation of questions and how

interviewees respond to different kinds of questions asked 'may provide insight into how the interviewer's questions generated particular types of interaction'. In the report of their investigation into the learning and teaching of interview skills in a university setting, Roulston et al. (2003) share a list of reflective questions they asked research students to apply to their interview experiences and I found these helpful in shaping my reflections on the two interviews I conducted during the trial study.

When studying my interview talk in the trial study interviews, I noticed that I had a tendency to use what Roulston (2010, p.131) refers to as 'think aloud' questions. She describes these as extended question sequences which can include repeated questions, reformulated questions and possible responses. Without pausing to allow the interviewee to respond, the interviewer may state the question again, but emphasising a different issue. Essentially, the interviewee is expected to consider several questions at once. Although Roulston (2010) argues that this type of question can lead to a full and detailed response from the interviewee, I found it to be problematic when reflecting on the data.

In the first interview, there is an instance of a think aloud question early on. Following a question about pupils' use of Scots language, to which the answer was that he notices pupils across all year groups using it on a daily basis, I asked:

> So, on that basis, what do you think of its inclusion in the curriculum, as being referred to in the *Principles and practice* document? Perhaps the reason for its inclusion there and any benefits and drawbacks it might have.

Without even considering the response of Participant 1, I noticed issues with this question. I drew his attention to the link between pupils' use of Scots language in their personal communication and the inclusion of Scots language in the curriculum, which suggests I had a certain answer in mind. I also pointed out that 'being in the curriculum' meant being referred to in the *Principles and practice* document, when I could have left that out to see how he responded to my suggestion of it being in the curriculum. I then proceeded to ask about four different things: what he thought of its inclusion in the curriculum, what he thought the reasons for its inclusion might be, the benefits and the drawbacks. Participant 1 responded that he was glad it was in the senior phase curriculum and that he would like it to be taught more in the BGE, without saying why. At the end of that answer he asked

what the second part of the question had been. I did not elicit a full response from my unnecessarily complex question.

To address this issue, I noted that care should be taken in writing the questions for the interview schedule. With a tendency in spoken language to repeat questions or reformulate them, thinking it is helpful to the listener, it might have been beneficial to consider in advance different ways of asking a question which are likely to generate the same type of answer. During interviews, I would try to avoid repeating questions unnecessarily.

Reflection on this particular question from the trial study interview indicated that I should ask one question at a time, listening actively to the answer and thinking about which question would best come next. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.165) suggest that decisions about which aspect of an interviewee's response to pursue

> … requires that the interviewer have an ear for the interview theme and a knowledge of the interview topic, a sensitivity towards the social relationship of an interview, and knowledge of what he or she wants to ask about. (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p.165)

This highlights the importance of thorough preparation for the interviews, including being very familiar with the topic, which in this case was the responsibility of all for health and wellbeing as set out in CfE.

During the analysis of the data, I have regularly come across instances where I should have asked for clarification of a point to ensure that I understood, rather than assumed, the participant's meaning. I had a concern to keep moving through the questions in the hope of eliciting data which helped to answer my research questions and so as not to run over the 40 minutes I had said the interview would take and, consequently, did not always follow up on the answer given by a participant.

Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) note that in a research interview knowledge is constructed through the way in which the interviewer and interviewee act in relation to each other and the reciprocal influence they have. Hennink et al. (2011, cited in Harding, 2013) suggest that it is important to try to establish and maintain rapport in the early stages of an interview, by taking some time to engage the interviewee in everyday conversation. In

several of the interviews, we were both at our ease because we already had a pre-existing relationship. The participants who had been my students on the PGDE (Secondary) programme seemed comfortable talking in detail about their practice, as they had done this regularly with me during the programme. With the participants I knew as principal teachers who supported students on placement, previous professional conversations about students' progress had created a mutual respect which again enabled the interviews to flow.

This is supported by Roulston's (2022, p.147) observation that 'when researchers are "insiders" to a setting and use personal connections to recruit participants', the generation of data during interviews is enhanced by 'relative intimacy and rapport'. She cautions, however, that knowing a participant well can hinder the conduct of research as the shared knowledge and understandings between interviewer and interviewee can make it difficult to discuss research topics and ask questions (Roulston, 2022). Although I was an "insider" to the broad context of teaching English in secondary schools, I was not sufficiently familiar with each teacher's practice and specific school context for shared knowledge and understanding to be a barrier to the generation of data in the way Roulston (2022) describes.

Establishing and maintaining rapport required greater effort when I was interviewing the two teachers I did not know well. These also happened to be the first two interviews I carried out, so I was less familiar with the interview schedule and less practised in responding to the participants' answers whilst moving through my own questions. As a result of the coincidence of these two factors, those interviews were shorter than others, although they still generated data of interest to the study.

Another issue which is likely to have affected my relationship with my participants and the way in which they responded to questions is the way they perceived the power relationship between us (Harding, 2013). Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.37) describe a research interview as involving 'a clear power asymmetry' between the researcher and participant, while Braun and Clarke (2013, p.88) refer to a 'hierarchical' relationship, with the researcher in control of the interview. Power does not require intentional exertion by the interviewer but is created by the structural positions in the interview: the interviewer initiates and defines the interview situation, determines the topic, poses questions and decides which answers to follow up on, and chooses when to terminate the conversation (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). In addition, in a research interview, the conversation is

instrumentalised, becoming a means for providing data to be interpreted and reported according to the interviewer's research interests (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). Within this hierarchical relationship, Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.38) suggest that participants 'may, more or less deliberately, express what they believe the interviewer authority wants to hear'.

In addition to the power asymmetry created by the interview structure, the participants who had been my students on the PGDE (Secondary) programme had quite recently known me as the subject tutor who led their learning and assessed their progress and this may have resulted in a residual desire to please me by answering my questions in a way they might think I would like to hear. They may also have been keen for me to recognise how their practice had developed since they graduated from the PGDE (Secondary) programme. The first two participants I interviewed, who I had not known previously, conveyed most strongly the sense of an asymmetric power relationship, with one participant in particular seeming less comfortable about sharing and how I might respond to what she said. Aware that I would be representing what they told me in what I wrote subsequently, all participants may have offered me particular versions of their experiences.

5.10 Transcription

Having conducted and recorded the eight interviews, the next step was to produce valid written records of those interviews through the process of transcription. Gillham (2005, p.122) describes transcription as 'a process of interpretation' and recommends that it is undertaken by the researcher due to the difficulties in hearing and interpreting an interview likely to be faced by an audio typist employed to transcribe. Brinkmann and Kvale suggest benefits beyond the practical:

> Researchers who transcribe their own interviews will learn much more about their own interviewing style; to some extent they will have the social and emotional aspects of the interview situation present or reawakened during transcription and will already have started analysing the meaning of what was said. (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p.207)

Gillham (2005) does warn, however, that the transcription of an hour-long tape can take up to ten hours initially, reducing to six with practice, and that the level of concentration

required can make the process stressful. Having transcribed the first of the interviews for my MEd dissertation, I had experienced this for myself and, consequently, had indicated in my application for ethical approval that I would have the interviews transcribed by a transcription service advertised online.

Each time I sent recordings, the transcripts were returned quickly, but with quite a few mistakes and 'unintelligible' markers. I listened carefully to the recordings in order to correct mistakes, fill in 'unintelligible' gaps and alter some punctuation and paragraphing to better support meaning. This did not take as long as fully transcribing would have done and provided a useful opportunity to listen very closely to the data whilst reading through the transcript, allowing me still to benefit in the ways suggested by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015).

5.11 Analysis

I have used a mainly inductive/partially deductive approach to the analysis and interpretation of the interview transcripts in order to attempt to provide a 'plausible account' (Silverman, 2000, cited in Dyment et al., 2014, p.87) of the experiences of the teachers in my study, emphasising participants' own perspectives as the primary focus.
I identified thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013), as a method of analysis which seems appropriate to this study. Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013) describe six phases. The first is to become familiar with the data set and to note initial comments and ideas. The second is to generate initial codes and systematically code the whole data set. Once the whole data set is coded, themes should be identified by collating similar codes into potential themes and gathering all the data for each potential theme. The fourth phase is to review themes by checking if themes work in relation to the data set and by checking for examples that do not fit. At this stage, a thematic map could be devised. Next, themes should be refined, in particular the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells.

Reading through the transcripts a few times, including listening to the audio recordings while correcting inaccuracies in the transcripts, enabled me to become familiar with the data set and to note the initial ideas which emerged. As part of this process, to help me make sense of the data, I wrote a 'summary' of each transcript, pulling points together under four headings which related broadly to the research questions: what health and

wellbeing means in professional context; local authority and school structures which support health and wellbeing; ways subject teachers support health and wellbeing which are not subject-specific; and health and wellbeing in English. I turned the first-person utterances of the participants recorded in the transcripts into third person narratives of their experiences, retaining as much of their language as possible. I have given an extract from a transcript and the equivalent extract from my 'summary' in Appendix Four. I then proceeded to code the data.

Harding (2013) identifies three elements relating to the application of codes: summarising, selecting and interpreting. He relates summarising to the idea of data reduction, which helps the researcher to see beyond the detail of the individual case in order to identify themes. Harding (2013) suggests that selection is necessary because using too many codes can make a list unmanageable. He argues, however, that selection should be limited in case coding a part of the transcript which might identify a significant theme is missed. Even so, he goes on to state that the researcher still has to make choices about what should be coded and that selection should be based on the research objectives. At the same time, it is important to remember that a significant theme which was not anticipated when research objectives were devised may emerge from the data (Harding, 2013). The third element of coding is interpreting. Moses and Knutsen (2007, cited in Harding, 2013) state that a key feature of qualitative research is interpreting phenomena in their context. Drawing on Hennink et al. (2011), Harding (2013) claims that interpreting the words of respondents correctly requires empathy from the researcher, who must consider how the world looks to other people. Where the meaning of a comment is not obvious, the researcher must consider the context of what has been said and use a code that reflects the meaning most likely intended by the speaker. Ni Chroinin et al. (2013) recommend re-reading transcripts regularly throughout the process to avoid fragmentation of the data and to ensure that the social context of the data is not lost.

Bearing these points in mind, I began a close analysis, considering units of meaning in what the interviewees said and generating codes. To enable me to do this, I entered the data from the transcripts into an Excel spreadsheet. Initially, I used a cell for each unit of speech, ie I entered my question into one cell and the participant's response into the next cell in that column. Sometimes the participants' responses were too big to be entered into one cell and I had to split them, which I did by considering meaning. As I coded all the data, I broke down the participants' responses into smaller units of meaning and coded

appropriately. In this way, I worked 'systematically through the entire data set, giving full and equal attention to each data item', identifying 'interesting aspects … that may form the basis of repeated patterns (themes) across the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.89).

Appendix Four also contains the same section of transcript as it appears in the Excel spreadsheet with the initial coding. The section of transcript is broken down into units of meaning, which Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013) refer to as 'data extracts', and the meaning summarised in a descriptive, inductive code. As I was completing this coding, I was becoming increasingly aware that I was fragmenting the data and to retain the overall meaning intended by the participant I would need to try to keep these smaller data extracts together. At this point, the codes remained descriptive and by looking at similar points it would be possible to engage in a process which Gibbs (2018, p.60) describes as moving 'from descriptive coding, close to the respondent's terms, to categorisation and to more analytic and theoretical codes'. Because my research questions focus on how teachers understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, however, I considered it appropriate to employ an inductive process and generate codes from the data. Gibbs (2018, p.61) refers to this as 'data-driven coding' which requires maintaining an open mind and teasing out what is happening without imposing an interpretation based on pre-existing theory.

The third phase of thematic analysis involves searching for themes by collating codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each potential theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013). To collate the codes into potential themes, I tried using the 'sort' function within the Excel spreadsheet, but this resulted in fragmentation of the small data extracts. Instead, I used a combination of a handwritten collation of codes around potential themes suggested during the coding process and the summaries of each transcript which I had created following transcription. I copied the text of each of the summaries into a single Word document and, with reference to the coded data extracts in the spreadsheet, moved equivalent sections of text into sections relating to the six potential themes suggested during the coding process: increased issues relating to young people's mental health; monitoring pupils' wellbeing; relationships; using literature; writing; discussion. Engaging with the summarised data in this way, whilst also referring to the coded data extracts in the spreadsheet, enabled me to think about the relationships between codes, between themes, and between themes and subthemes (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013).

During the fourth phase of the thematic analysis, I reviewed the themes to check that they worked in relation to the coded extracts and to the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013). Braun and Clarke (2006, p.91) advise that ‘data within themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes.’ They also suggest that, while reviewing themes, it may become apparent that there are insufficient data to support a theme or data thought to sit within a theme are too diverse, while two apparently separate themes might form one theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013). During this phase, the six themes I had initially identified became four: increased issues relating to young people’s mental health became the context for monitoring pupils’ wellbeing; and the data relating to discussion was considered relevant to building relationships or to using literature and was collated within those themes.

The fifth phase of thematic analysis involves defining and naming themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2013). The first part refers to ‘ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87) and is achieved by organising collated data extracts into ‘a coherent and internally consistent account, with accompanying narrative’ for each theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.92). As I organised the sections of summarised text in this way, I was able to identify and organise subthemes within each of the themes. The second part of this phase involves deciding on clear names for each theme. When deciding on names, I kept in mind the focus of the research questions on how teachers understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, and chose to name the themes using verbs which suggested actions taken by the participants. I added some detail to make the specifics of each theme clearer. The theme names I decided on were monitoring and responding to pupils’ wellbeing in the context of increasing issues in relation to young people’s mental health, building relationships in the classroom and wider school, using literature to explore and promote wellbeing, and giving pupils opportunities to express themselves in writing.

The final phase of thematic analysis is producing the report, which in the case of this study is the writing of the findings chapter of the dissertation. Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight the importance of providing ‘enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme’ (p.93) and selecting ‘vivid, compelling extract examples’ (p.89). During this final phase of the thematic analysis, I made decisions about which data extracts to quote within the analytic narrative, focusing on conveying how the data related to each theme showed

the ways in which the teachers understood and enacted their responsibility for health and wellbeing, in order to answer the research questions.

To help me to analyse my findings in relation to Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (2011), I made use of a table which draws on Bernstein's (2000) languages of description, as discussed by Moss (2001). Moss (2001) explains that Bernstein (2000) required research to have its particular language of description and this required two faces, one looking towards the theory and the other towards the empirical instances. He calls the first 'L1', the internal language of description or language of explanation, and the second 'L2', the external language of description or language of enactment (Bernstein, 2000). Taking this approach was helpful in enabling me to consider what each of Nussbaum's ten central capabilities might look like in the context of health and wellbeing in schools and, in particular, within the English classroom. I began completing the table before I gathered my data. In the first two columns, I identified the concept (one of the capabilities) and defined it according to Nussbaum (2011). In the third column, I drew on my knowledge and understanding of the curriculum frameworks in health and wellbeing and English (Scottish Government, 2009b, 2009c, 2009h, 2009i), and of the teaching of English, to identify what I thought the empirical language of description might look like in relation to the theoretical language of description set out in the first two columns. As I analysed my data in relation to Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, I was able to identify examples of practice described by the participants which illustrated the empirical ideas I had noted, thereby making connections between the theoretical framework and the data. Appendix Five shows an extract from the table using the data extract included in Appendix Four. The table shows the internal (theoretical) language of description as the concept of *Affiliation* and the definition set out by Nussbaum (2011). In the columns relating to the external (empirical) language of description, I have indicated what I think the concept of *Affiliation* might look like in my data and given the actual example. In this case, the relevant parts of the definition of *Affiliation* are 'to be able to imagine the situation of another' and 'to recognise and show concern for other human beings'. In the empirical language of description, this might look like 'imagine and show concern for the situations of characters in texts' and 'as a result, show concern for the experiences and situations of other pupils'. The example of pupils reading about the character with dyslexia is a highly pertinent illustration of this and makes the connection with the theoretical concept of *Affiliation.*

When presenting the findings of this study in answering the research questions, it will be important to keep the focus on the teachers' perspectives. Each layer of analysis changes what has been said and there is a danger of fragmenting the data too many times and losing the essence of what the participants had to say. Miller and Glassner (2021, p.54) suggest that qualitative interviews allow access to social worlds, as evidence both 'of "what happens" within them and of how individuals make sense of themselves, their experiences and their place'. They refer to Charmaz (1995, cited in Miller and Glassner, 2021) who explains that researchers try to share the subjective view of the interviewee and to describe it in depth and detail, representing his or her view fairly and portraying it as consistent with his or her meanings. This process is made complex by the use of language which Miller and Glassner (2021) describe as the window into an interviewee's world; they suggest that the ways in which language is intended and interpreted can differ.

Miller and Glassner (2021) indicate that the stories which are told by interviewees are partial and particular tellings. Coding and categorisation result in only telling parts of stories. Numerous levels of representation occur from the moment of the experience of the interviewee to the reading of the researcher's written representation of findings, including attending to the experience, telling it to the researcher, transcribing and analysing what is told, and the reading. My job as the researcher is to protect the fidelity of how my representations reflect the participants' views, removing as much as possible that creates distortions in order to provide the 'plausible account' (Silverman, 2000, cited in Dyment et al., 2014, p.87) of the teachers' perspectives and experiences.

5.12 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the paradigm underpinning the research study and the process I used to identify appropriate research methods. I have justified my choice of semi-structured interviews and the size and nature of the participant group. I have outlined ethical considerations and how I managed risk. I have explained how I gained access to and recruited participants, and have reflected on the impact of participant self-selection. I have explained how reflecting on my interviewing technique in trial study interviews prepared me for the interviews in this research study. I have reflected on my position within the asymmetrical power relationship inherent in the interview situation. I have described the processes of transcription and thematic analysis. In the next chapter, I will set out the findings of my research.

Chapter Six: Findings

6.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce the participants by giving details of their roles, locating them in their anonymised local authorities and schools, and indicating their length of teaching experience, including how long they have worked in their current schools. I will set out the findings in relation to four themes, each with a number of sub-themes. The first theme relates to monitoring and responding to pupils' wellbeing in the context of increasing issues in relation to young people's mental health and has seven sub-themes: responsibility to monitor pupils' wellbeing; increases in mental health issues amongst young people; wellbeing is necessary for learning; no formal requirement to assess and report on health and wellbeing; teachers are supported by the school's pastoral care system; first-line guidance role; and professional learning opportunities support teachers to monitor pupils' wellbeing. The second theme relates to building relationships in the classroom and wider school and has three sub-themes: building teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom; encouraging positive relationships between pupils; and building relationships in the wider school. The third theme relates to using literature to explore and promote wellbeing and has four sub-themes: general benefits of using literature to explore and promote wellbeing; choosing the right text for the class; examples of the ways in which literature texts help to develop pupils' understanding of themselves and others; and challenges arising from using literature to explore and promote wellbeing. The fourth theme relates to the opportunities provided to pupils to express themselves in writing and has two sub-themes: pupils benefiting from opportunities for self-expression in writing; and teachers responding to issues which arise in writing. I will conclude the chapter by discussing the findings in relation to key aspects of the application of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to education which I discussed in Chapter Four and some of the literature reviewed in Chapter Three.

6.2 An introduction to the participants

Audrey and Bridget are teachers of English at School A1 in Local Authority A. Audrey has been teaching English for 13 years and has worked at School A1 for most of that time. Bridget has been teaching English for three years and has completed one school year at School A1, having previously worked at other schools in Local Authority A.

Fiona is Acting Depute Head Teacher at School A2 in Local Authority A. When originally approached about participating in the study, Fiona was Faculty Head of Language and Literacy, a role she had had for the six years she had been teaching in School A2. She took up her Acting Depute Head Teacher post shortly after agreeing to participate. She has taught English for 19 years. Gill is a teacher of English at School A2. She is coming to the end of her probationary year, having completed her student placements in a different local authority. Prior to starting her PGDE, she worked for three years as a pupil support assistant, supporting behaviour and learning, in another local authority.

Charlie is a teacher of English at School B1 in Local Authority B. He is also coming to the end of a one-year post as Acting Principal Teacher of Assessment and Moderation. He completed his probationary year at School B1 and has had a permanent post there for the two years since. Heather is Principal Teacher of English at School B1. She has been teaching English for 13 years. She completed her probationary year at a different school in the same local authority before taking up a permanent post at School B1 where she has been a teacher of English for six years and principal teacher for six.

Daisy is Principal Teacher of English, Drama and Media at School B2 in Local Authority B. She has been teaching English for ten years. She has been principal teacher at School B2 for two years, having held an acting principal teacher of English post for three years at her previous school. Ed is a teacher of English at School B2. He has been teaching English for just over two years. He completed his probationary year in a different local authority and is now in the second year of his permanent post at School B2.

6.3 Theme One: Monitoring and responding to pupils' wellbeing in the context of increasing issues in relation to young people's mental health

The first theme I identified through analysis of the data relates to monitoring and responding to pupils' wellbeing in the context of increasing issues in relation to young people's mental health. I have grouped participants' responses into seven sub-themes: responsibility to monitor pupils' wellbeing; increases in mental health issues amongst young people; wellbeing is necessary for learning; no formal requirement to assess and report on health and wellbeing; teachers are supported by the school's pastoral care system; first-line guidance role; and professional learning opportunities support teachers to monitor pupils' wellbeing.

6.3.1 Responsibility to monitor pupils' wellbeing

When asked what health and wellbeing means in their professional context, Bridget and Audrey respond in ways which suggest a focus on each individual child. Bridget says *'it's just obviously keeping an eye on every child that I have in my class'* and Audrey says

> *... I'll know if they're well, I'll check if I think they're not ... it's just checking any of them to make sure and keeping an eye out constantly.* (Audrey)

Fiona, Gill and Daisy refer to being responsible for the whole child. Fiona responds that

> *... in the context of the child in the classroom, it's making sure that all their social and emotional needs are met. So, it's looking at the child holistically and seeing beyond the curriculum.* (Fiona)

Gill believes that health and wellbeing should be the responsibility of all teachers, as

> *… you're the teacher of the child as opposed to the subject. So, I think that's more important. You need to be taking care of the whole child that's in front of you.* (Gill)

Daisy says that it is English teachers' responsibility not just to teach literature or RUAE skills but also to try to make sure pupils are safe, comfortable and achieving. She adds

> *... I don't think you can get them to be as successful as they can be unless you take in the whole child, the picture of what they're going through and their own circumstances as well.* (Daisy)

Audrey, Daisy again, and Bridget also mention 'safe' but mean it in different ways. Audrey responds that

> *... obviously you've got SHANARRI with the whole "safe" sort of thing, but it's just making sure they do feel safe etc, feel that they can approach me.* (Audrey)

Daisy describes health and wellbeing as pupils *'feeling that they are in a safe space*', by which she means *'pupils feeling that it's okay to be themselves'.* Bridget adds that she is also responsible for

> *... making sure that it's a safe environment, that there's clear routines, they understand what's expected of them, they understand what will happen and what the consequences of not following instructions, meeting my expectations, are.* (Bridget)

6.3.2 Increases in mental health issues amongst young people

Seven of the eight participants comment that they perceive an increase in mental health issues amongst young people. Audrey first noticed it around five or six years ago. Four years ago, an opportunity arose to attend a mental health first aid course and she felt, at that point, there was *'a huge need'* to know how to deal with the increase in issues arising. Bridget wonders if she now perceives an increase because she was *'a little bit naïve'* when she started teaching and did not realise the extent of the issues then. She does remember being told to *'keep an eye on [pupils] and refer things on to guidance'*. As a pupil support assistant, Gill says she was aware that many pupils, particularly in the behaviour support department, had mental health problems, such as *'a lot of anxiety, a lot of self-harm'*. Heather reports that she has talked about the change in young people with one of her longer-serving colleagues and they recognise *'a climate of increased anxiety and increased neurosis'*. Daisy describes the mental health issues at her previous prosperous, high-attaining school as *'insane'*. The number of pupils with data sheets and additional support needs because of their mental health seemed to *'get more and more'* every year, and *'self-harming [was] on the increase'*. At her current school, Daisy recognises *'the general anxiety [she thinks] teenagers are facing just now'*. Ed finds it interesting that, across the different local authorities he has worked in, *'some of the issues are the same and some are different'*. Audrey acknowledges that anxiety is a huge issue amongst pupils. She feels that *'anxiety in parents [is] also behind anxiety in a pupil'*. She describes 50% of the catchment area being in deciles one and two (of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation) and there being *'lots of issues at home'*.

Bridget, Daisy and Heather illustrate the increase in mental health issues by giving the example of the increase in the number of pupils who sit their exams in a separate room because they are too anxious to be in the exam hall. For example, Heather states:

> *What was interesting this year during our prelim diet, we had – and this is aside from anybody needing alternative arrangements for dyslexia or anything like that – we needed 19 additional spaces just because young people were too anxious to be in the hall and that absolutely is significant. So, there's definitely – there's a huge job to be done around mental health.* (Heather)

Bridget, Gill and Ed reflect on the difference since they were at school themselves. Bridget left eight years ago and, looking back, she thinks she had anxiety:

> *… but back then it wasn't, so to speak, a thing. So, I think people just kind of got on with things a bit more and didn't really open up.* (Bridget)

Gill also believes that, when she was at school, people may have felt that way but *'were more reluctant to say anything about it'*. Ed has noticed that *'the pupils themselves are more aware'* than he was 15 years ago in school *'about the issues surrounding mental health'*.

Four of the participants suggest that the apparent increase in issues could be down to young people being encouraged to talk about mental health now. Bridget puts pupils having separate accommodation for exams due to anxiety down to pupils being *'a little bit more in touch with how they're feeling [and] ... not scared to talk about [it]'*. Fiona thinks it is positive that young people are encouraged to talk about issues and suggests '*perhaps it's just that there's roughly the same amount [of issues] but children are coming forward'*. Similarly, Gill thinks that *'the openness that's developing about it does help so we just feel that more are coming to our attention'*. Daisy suggests that this increased openness could be the reason more pupils are getting additional arrangements for exams:

> *... is it people are more informed and it's not hidden away, and it's not as stigmatised anymore? Perhaps, I'm not sure ...* (Daisy)

Fiona, Gill, Heather and Daisy state a belief that mobile phones and social media are to blame for increases in mental health issues amongst young people. Fiona considers social media to be to blame for an increase in issues such as self-harm:

> *So, self-harm – there's waves of that at the moment and that's encouraged and exacerbated by children sharing things on social media and it becomes a thing.* (Fiona)

Gill thinks young people today have a lot of extra pressures on them including *'all the social media and all the different ways in which they can be affected'*. Heather reports that lots of the young people put increased mental health issues down to the use of mobile phones and that they say that

> *... if they could remove all of it, they would, but because it's there, they have to engage in that because it's a fear of missing out and what it means for friendships.* (Heather)

Heather notes that the use of mobile phones seems to make friendships *'precarious'* if, for example, young people are *'not responding quickly to Snapchats'* and that seems to *'put real emotional pressure on them'*. She says, as a department, they are hugely aware of that and there is a lot of dialogue about it in classes. She describes these kinds of conversations arising from various contexts, such as watching TED educational talks as a context for solo talks, or simply in relation to their *'expectations of phones away [and] behaviour in class'*. She also sees such conversations arising in group talks, giving the example of her third-year class talking *'about anxiety a lot around mobile phones'*. Daisy also notes that pupils are on their phones constantly and *'trying to get their phones off them in class, it can be an absolute nightmare'*, as they see their phones as security, but there has been a push across the school to have phones away in class. Daisy also notes there is pressure from their use of social media and using apps like Snapchat and Facebook. She finds it frightening *'how much they are so horrible to each other'*. She describes *'a terrible kinda sexting scandal*' at her previous school which involved almost the entire year group of S2 pupils, and notes that *'it's just so young to see that kinda happening'*.

Daisy speaks about the pressure on young people to achieve. She feels that, since ten years ago, *'the world is so different for a teenager and there's just so much pressure on them'.* She gives the example of the pressure on young people that comes with *'the expectation everyone needs to go to university and everyone needs to get five As now to get in'*. Daisy feels that she has to be very wary when she is doing timed assessments and giving feedback because so many take it very seriously, and are very sensitive to any form of criticism, even if it is constructive. She says that she needs to be aware of what is going on in other subjects as well. She notes that

> *… you see the fifth years burn out by about this time [November] when they start to flake and they start to kind of burst into tears in class or they start to have these, kinda act out, but you know it's really nothing to do with what's going on in class, it's more about the general pressures they're under.* (Daisy)

She thinks schools need to be far more ready for that because it is having an impact on pupils.

Heather speaks about noticing a different reason for anxiety amongst young people:

> *I hadn't realised young people were quite as worried about those things like going to concerts and gigs and sporting events. They've got such a heightened sense of danger.* (Heather)

She notes that one of her pupils was at the arena in Manchester when it was bombed in 2017 and recognises that the resultant anxiety *'then ripples through friendship groups and so on within that year group'.* She sees that they are also anxious about flying. She thinks it relates to pupils being *'brought up through a period of unsettlement'*. She says that she passed on to guidance that she feels *'our young people are much more anxious about their place in the world than I think we even realise at times'*.

Gill and Heather refer to their perception that young people lack resilience. Although she says that she does not know why it is the case, Gill notices that young people *'really struggle with challenges that we all face and that can really knock them down'.* Heather explains that the current senior pupils in her school were the first cohort to have *Bounce Back!* resilience training, yet she feels that *'the job hasn't been done there in terms of them being resilient young people'.*

The eight participants in the study work at four different schools in two authorities. Participants from one of the schools in each of the two authorities have recently experienced the aftermath of pupil suicide. Audrey explains that not long into the school year two pupils committed suicide. She says *'that's been difficult and I think we've all pulled together, to be honest, as a school'.* The local authority provided guidance on how to respond and counsellors were brought in. Audrey describes the entire process, including the counselling, as being really difficult, as everyone was grieving, whether they knew the children or not; for two weeks teaching was put to the side and they focused on everyone's wellbeing: *'it was just like going into this area where you've just had to make sure everybody was okay'.* Although Bridget, who works in the same school as Audrey, feels that mental health has become more of a priority in the past year to eighteen months, she thinks *'there may be an increased focus'* after the two pupils committed suicide earlier in the session, which has resulted in the school *'making sure that the policies that were already in place are actually being followed and everybody's aware of what's expected'*. Since then, school staff have had nurture training, counsellors have been in, and senior management have encouraged staff to approach them if they feel they need help. Daisy explains that one of the sixth-year boys from her school committed suicide during the summer and says *'I know it happens in every school, but it's always very difficult'.* This has resulted in *'a real big push to kind of deal with the mental health issues'*. Ed, who works in the same school, also reports that the school has made mental health one of its main priorities this term as a result. He says that he has spoken to pupils who *'initially*

were a little bit annoyed about it, saying this is only happening because that happened'. He has tried to say to them that they need to value that the school is supporting mental health and *'take that as one positive moving forward'.* Other participants refer to worries about talking with pupils about serious topics such as suicide. Heather describes using Panorama programmes which have become TED talks for listening activities on the subject of suicide and the fact that rates in universities and schools have risen. She says that she does not want to avoid talking about such serious issues and yet she worries about *'contributing to a register of the constancy of this'*. Gill says that she has heard people say that talking about self-harm and suicide could convince a young person to act but she does not believe this is true. She explains that

> *... years ago [she] did the mental health first aid training and things like that, and there's lots of evidence to suggest that's not the case at all and it just allows for more of an open conversation.* (Gill)

Ed and Bridget express concerns that language relating to mental health issues is not always used appropriately. Ed says young people are more aware of the language that is used but they are not particularly literate with it. He gives the example of pupils saying *'I had this test and it gave me a pure panic attack'*. He refers to being involved recently in LIAM training, which is *Let's Introduce Anxiety Management*, and they talked about the importance of being able to identify what anxiety is because sometimes pupils are aware of the terminology and have a vague idea of what it means, but *'they tie it up to what they've experienced and that's not helpful'*. Ed thinks that, while it is important that people talk about their mental health more openly and with less stigma attached to it, it is equally important to try to make people more literate in the subject, so that

> *... when they're tempted to say like "I'm having a panic attack", they really just mean a little bit stressed, and a little bit stressed isn't bad, a little bit of stress isn't bad, but it's very different from having like a panic attack episode, which can be, you know, debilitating for a few hours for someone.* (Ed)

It made him more aware of people using *'panic attack'* or *'depressed'* and he thinks not only that they should know they are using it incorrectly but also that there could be someone in the room who is diagnosed as having panic attacks or depression, and *'they might not feel particularly good about that, some people sort of waving it around'*. He observes that there tends to be a jokiness around the tone, but there could be someone in the room thinking *'actually I had one last night and I've barely recovered from it yet'*. Bridget has noticed that some pupils will say *'I can't do this because I suffer from anxiety'*.

She thinks that they do not really understand what they are saying but, like Ed, she feels it takes away from those who are struggling. Ed adds that he might not cover this use of language in English but thinks it should be *'someone's responsibility'*, suggesting it should be tackled in Personal and Social Education (PSE).

6.3.3 Wellbeing is necessary for learning

Five of the eight participants speak about wellbeing being necessary for learning. Heather agrees with her head teacher's view that *'if you don't get the health and wellbeing right nothing else works'*. Fiona thinks that health and wellbeing is the top priority at her school. She reports that there is a lot of deprivation in the school catchment area. She says that without a focus on health and wellbeing *'nothing else happens [and] everything could fall apart'*, suggesting such a focus is necessary for a positive learning environment.

Daisy is more explicit in expressing connections between wellbeing and learning. She describes her responsibility for health and wellbeing in terms of how pupils feel about their learning. She tries to ensure that

> *… what I'm asking of them is something that they can understand, feel successful in doing, but also at the same time not feeling bad if they don't understand it or if they're finding something difficult.* (Daisy)

She agrees that there is a place for health and wellbeing across learning because, if teachers are expecting pupils to work for them, they should consider *'what has happened the night before'* or should have read about any mental health issues pupils are experiencing. She does not think teachers can help pupils to be as successful as they can be unless they *'take in the whole child'* and acquire *'understanding of their environment, their circumstances'*. She adds that teachers might use this understanding to *'explain some of the more challenging behaviours'*. She thinks that teachers need to see beyond their subjects:

> *If you're wanting them to do well and meet their potential, you've got to treat them as a person, and not just as a statistic, as a person in your class who's doing an exam. … I'm not dead touchy-feely – I'm not like, they get away with murder, but I think you do have to bear in mind what they're going through.* (Daisy)

Daisy goes on to say, however, that *'everything comes down to exam results at the end of the day'*, but she feels it is useful for teachers to consider the health and wellbeing

indicators when they are dealing with pupils because they want them to be successful. She adds: *'I just think that it's much easier to do that if you've got a better picture of the pupil.'* She thinks that if teachers are aware of the health and wellbeing requirements, it might make the teaching of the subject easier for them.

Ed, who works in the same school as Daisy, also indicates that when pupils are in fourth year and beyond, there is a lot more interest in how they are achieving because of exams and attainment. He describes there being

> *... more opportunities for you to come and say someone isn't coping with the course, which I think counts, that's, you know, their wellbeing, if they're struggling to achieve, whether that's because of their own attitude towards school or whether it's just that they've been maybe placed in a class that has a pace that is too much for them.* (Ed)

He notes that this process is quite informal and he would raise concerns about pupils' progress at a forward planning meeting with the principal teacher, where they might colour-code the register to indicate who is flying ahead or struggling.

Fiona and Daisy refer to the promotion of nurture principles by their local authority and/or school. Fiona states that the drive to promote nurture principles within her local authority puts health and wellbeing *'right up there at the top of the agenda'.* Daisy reports that her head teacher is very focused on being a nurturing school and making that part of the ethos, believing that *'the way for pupils to meet their potential is that they're nurtured'*. Daisy thinks that some people believe that nurture is to *'give them a hug and wipe their nose'* but she describes it as much more connected to learning:

> *It's very much looking at them as a pupil, as a whole person, and seeing, well, where are their barriers to learning? And, you know, are these barriers, the same across different subjects? Are they being put into the right courses? Have they got the right differentiation? Are we supporting them in as many ways as we possibly can?* (Daisy)

Daisy thinks it is part of the vision statement for the school to be *'a nurturing environment where all pupils meet their potential'* and she does not consider it possible to have attainment without nurture because pupils will *'fall away'* if teachers are not supportive of them for a variety of reasons. She recognises that pupils have different issues but believes teachers have to try to make all pupils feel supported in some way.

Fiona, Gill and Heather speak more specifically about the relationship between literacy learning and wellbeing. Fiona notes that the sense of achievement which comes from being able to use literacy skills is good for pupils' wellbeing. She also recognises *'a correlation'* between low literacy levels and behaviour problems amongst the second-year pupils she is responsible for as a depute head teacher. She describes one pupil's situation, in particular:

> *It's very hard for him to find himself in a positive situation in the school because he can't access much of the curriculum.* (Fiona)

In her substantive role as faculty head, Fiona was keen to make sure that those children *'who border on literacy levels that cause them difficulty'* had support. She describes creating a nurture classroom in the English department, with fewer desks and more plants, and a very nurturing teacher *'because these kids often came with behaviour issues and she's just very, very calm'*. The smaller class would enable the teacher to work more closely with pupils and support to be put in, *'to boost their confidence and get them somewhere where there's access to them to get a job or a career'*. Gill states that poor literacy skills can have a huge impact on a young person's *'self-esteem ... and any choices or options that they might have in their future'*. She elaborates that *'in reality it can hold you back but it can hold you back in the way you feel about yourself'*. She explains that she has been asked to lead an initiative called Boosting Reading which aims to support new first-year pupils who are struggling readers. Heather reports that she delivered a talk to parents in the two cluster primary schools about the importance of reading and part of that being *'emotional wellbeing'*, *'feelings of self-esteem'* and *'empathy'*. She notes that the Scottish Book Trust has created

> *... a great resource about the impact of reading, and health and wellbeing were the key markers there in terms of its influence*. (Heather)

She says that reading is the main focus for her department next session and they hope it will help with the mental health agenda as well. Heather indicates that pupils' written work has also been a focus in terms of promoting wellbeing. She explains that in relation to the school's overarching improvement priority of health and wellbeing the department had to look at how they are *'contributing to young people's independence and confidence and resilience'*. She reports that they looked at *'encouraging young people's ability to self-edit because it's such an important literacy benchmark'*. She says that they see their young people being anxious because

> *... they don't always know how to improve their work on their own and even when they get teacher feedback they can find that difficult.* (Heather)

They wanted to make sure that young people are able to cope with the work they are given, be increasingly reflective on how they have done and then be able to edit and improve. They hoped to encourage young people *'to become increasingly independent and be able to have pride in their work'*.

6.3.4 No formal requirement to assess and report on health and wellbeing

Five of the participants, including Bridget and Ed, report that there is no formal requirement that they assess health and wellbeing outcomes and experiences or report on progress. In terms of the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes, Fiona indicates that they *'cover them in a natural and nurturing way, the ones that apply, but [they're] not tracking that'*. Daisy states that they have never been asked to report on health and wellbeing, adding *'I don't even know how we would assess it, to be honest'*. Charlie mentions that health and wellbeing is not referred to on the profile sheets they use for BGE classes. At senior phase, they use the National 5 or Higher criteria grids the SQA provides, and it does not feature on those. Charlie suggests that, *'if we're seeing it as a trajectory'*, if there is no requirement for a pupil to evidence aspects of health and wellbeing at the senior phase, then *'it's perhaps not going to work its way as naturally down to the BGE phase'*.

Daisy explains that, as part of pupil reports, guidance teachers write a statement about each pupil, where they refer to PSE and how pupils are managing day to day. She notes that, as English teachers, they are quite restricted in their reporting and, with not much space or many characters, it is *'pared down to strengths and next steps'* in English and Literacy. Ed, however, suggests that there are ways in which he does report on health and wellbeing. He mentions that, when he is writing pupil reports,

> *... there's usually always a line in there about sort of how they are in the class, you know, whether they're sort of, you know, bright and bubbly or those kinds of things or how they interact with other people. There's maybe that.* (Ed)

Heather describes being involved in discussions relating to a new system of reporting within the local authority. She says that they discussed whether or not they could comment on resilience and considered how measurable resilience is and how valuable reporting on it would be. She gives the example of feeling it could be unfair to report that a young person

lacks resilience if they have lost a parent. Heather suggests that the fact they were discussing it highlighted the need to develop pupils' resilience:

> *It's certainly a concern that we're saying we need to report on this, how do we best do that and how can we as educationalists make judgments on resilience and how can we teach it better and prepare our young people to go off into the world because there's work to be done on it, definitely.* (Heather)

She indicates that one consideration was to replace the behaviour-effort-homework criteria with resilience-commitment-engagement, but they felt that they could not give a rating, one to four, in the same way. It was decided that, in secondary schools, health and wellbeing would be reported on by guidance teachers making a comment, only if necessary.

6.3.5 Teachers are supported by the school's pastoral care system

Six of the eight participants speak about being supported to monitor and respond to pupils' wellbeing by their school's pastoral care system, which is sometimes referred to as pupil support or guidance. Gill describes strong relationships with pastoral staff in her school:

> *We all have quite strong relationships with the pastoral staff, passing on any concerns that we might have or any little things that might be niggling at us, or the other way around. So, there's lots of conversations go on between all the departments in that sense.* (Gill)

Similarly, Charlie indicates that pupil support will flag up if a child has a mental health issue. In her role as depute, if Fiona has information about a pupil, she will send an email to alert teachers, so that they know that *'there's a reason for certain behaviours'*. Gill thinks being aware of any social or emotional problems that young people coming into class have is hugely important, and taking those into consideration with the way that she is conducting herself around them. She suggests that it is teachers' responsibility to be informed about their pupils in order to monitor their wellbeing:

> *Absolutely making sure that you read those emails from pastoral, to make sure that you have looked at all those notes on the pupils, and that you can tell if there's anything slightly untoward as well is really important.* (Gill)

Participants also speak about their responsibility for sharing information and concerns about pupils with pastoral care. Bridget says that passing on specific concerns is expected of subject teachers and notes that *'sometimes you'll pick up on things before you receive an*

email about a certain pupil'. Charlie also indicates that he is expected to flag up his own concerns, though he cannot think of an occasion where he has felt this to be necessary:

> *I can't say I've been in the situation where there hasn't already been a known issue in relation to any specific learner.* (Charlie)

Gill gives examples of instances when she has referred pupils on to learning support or pastoral support due to observations she has made in English lessons, saying *'there have been quite a few'.* She refers pupils to learning support if she feels that they are having difficulty with reading and writing, such as a pupil who was *'highlighting a whole page of text with a blue highlighter ... because he found it easier to see the writing'.* She also reported to pastoral support her concerns about a first-year pupil who seemed to be *'very isolated and not really taking part in lessons'.* Bridget says she feels better prepared to deal with issues which arise through *'just knowing that you can go and speak to guidance'.* Since starting at the school at the beginning of the session, she has found that *'it's very clear ... who to speak to, to refer things onto'.* Daisy and Heather both mention recently updated referral systems in their schools. Daisy explains that when contacting guidance in the past, it meant speaking to a guidance colleague in the corridor or sending an email, but now teachers complete a *'cause for concern linked to the SHANARRI indicators'* through the school's information management system, SEEMiS. She feels that this means *'everything's kind of tied together now'.* Heather notes that a health and wellbeing referral system has been in place within her school for two years. Class teachers are expected to use it to refer concerns about particular pupils' health and wellbeing to guidance. Guidance colleagues will share concerns, as considered necessary, with the year head, and then the child protection officer. Heather thinks it is *'a good system because there has been a need for it'* and says there is a spectrum of concerns that they report, such as *'young people [talking] about their sadness much more and their stress'* and *'a boy [who] had fallen asleep in class a few times'.* She says that the latter was not a major concern because she knows he is playing on his Xbox and his guidance teacher already has connections with home. Gill explains that teachers are also asked *'to fill out Team Around the Child reports for highlighted pupils'*, recording their progress in the subject, sometimes in relation to *'targets we have to work through'* and observations about their health and wellbeing.

Fiona and Heather state that, where there are serious concerns, teachers should refer the pupil through the school's child protection procedures. They both point out that all staff have mandatory training on child protection procedures on the first day of term each

session. Fiona indicates that this puts child protection *'really high on our agenda'.* Heather describes a serious concern which was referred directly to the child protection officer for a transgender pupil who, in the third-year exam, *'had written, "Save me, help me. I need help, please, please …" and this was all through the body of their essay'.* She says that

> *… when somebody is reaching out to that extent, you know, because … this particular person has been suicidal before, it just absolutely has to go to the child protection officer.* (Heather)

Heather states that she thinks *'it's a responsibility that's so important'.*

Bridget speaks about different responses to referrals by guidance teachers in the schools she has worked in. In her current school, she finds that on most occasions the guidance teacher will come back to her to *'discuss strategies'* to support the pupil. Where pupils have issues across subjects, teachers are called to a meeting to *'discuss and share best practice on how to support them'*. She notes that, in other schools, there were *'round robins'* asking teachers to complete the SHANARRI wheel for a pupil in their subject but there was no opportunity for discussion with other teachers. She says it was a feeding in of information so the guidance teacher could meet with parents or carers and *'we didn't really hear anything back*'. Fiona also recalls finding it hard as an English teacher to

> *… refer on what you suspect from having a discussion with a child but then sometimes [be] out the loop of what happens next to them.* (Fiona)

She also speaks about teachers telling pupils that they can come back to them at any point to discuss their issues further. She acknowledges that it can be difficult *'if you've got another 29 children and that person wants your attention'*, particularly if *'they might rightly want to spend their lunchtime with their friends'.* She adds that the school has a counsellor, nurture colleagues and pastoral teachers, suggesting that teachers should refer the pupil on in order to avoid the issues she mentions.

Bridget does express concerns, though, that she and her colleagues want to help pupils but find it difficult always to do that effectively due to *'very, very packed'* timetables. She says that she has to spend *'an extra two, three hours'* on top of her timetable writing referrals and following them up, and she is uncertain if this is sustainable, particularly if she finds herself with family responsibilities. Bridget worries about teachers having the responsibility for pupils' health and wellbeing:

> *I don't know that we always have the tools to be able to do that, which does worry me sometimes. Obviously, I would do everything that I could, but you do run the risk that you will miss something. There's maybe not somebody there that you can fall back on all the time to support you with that.* (Bridget)

Despite the support from guidance teachers which Bridget and other participants referred to positively earlier, it seems that workload pressures on both subject teachers and guidance teachers create concerns for Bridget about being able to enact her responsibility for pupils' health and wellbeing.

6.3.6 First-line guidance role

Fiona mentions that many subject teachers are required to be morning registration teachers, who are seen to have a *'first-line guidance'* role as they see their pupils every day. She says that the pastoral support teachers provide registration teachers with basic training on *'what to watch out for'*. Charlie indicates that morning registration is being re-introduced at his school from the start of next session. He explains that it is hoped that teachers will build a rapport with learners and make them *'feel more welcomed into the school'*, rather than chasing up uniform not being worn or managing late-coming. He adds that it is intended to '*be a safe space where pupils settle into the day'* and to have *'a slight nurturing aspect'.*

Fiona highlights that English teachers see pupils '*sometimes five times a week'* which *'is maybe the most contact they'll have with someone'.* Because of this, she thinks that English *'lends itself'* to promoting health and wellbeing. Heather also appreciates this regular contact:

> *I always think, as an English teacher, you're in a privileged position that we get to know our kids I think more quickly because we see our first-years five periods a week and we have that all the way through school.* (Heather)

Bridget also recognises that English teachers are *'the teachers [pupils] see the most'* and feels that pupils tend to come to speak to her more and *'open up simply because [she is] able to build stronger relationships with them'*. I will consider relationships in more detail in the next theme.

The same three participants also think that the nature of the subject of English contributes to creating a first-line guidance role for English teachers. Fiona states that English is an

environment where discussions can lead to chats about health and wellbeing. She considers it a benefit of health and wellbeing being responsibility of all that *'bringing it into lessons in a kind of innate, natural way'* normalises talking about issues relating to health and wellbeing. She thinks that in English there are lots of opportunities, with the texts teachers choose, the themes covered, group discussions, *'all the different things that you've got there that you should be doing anyway as part of the curriculum'*, to *'elicit information from children, to make them feel free to talk about it'*. Heather considers the fact that English teachers are setting up contexts for group talk or solo talk or opportunities for pupils to express themselves in personal writing and so on, means that they are, *'along with the guidance team, that sort of frontline team who are aware of these health and wellbeing concerns'*. Bridget also notes that the texts they study *'bring to light a lot of different issues, and pupils are very curious and ask questions'*. She says that sometimes she feels she has to be very knowledgeable about everything, particularly when pupils are writing their persuasive and discursive essays. She feels she has to *'become an expert'* on all the different topics, and finds herself reading up, *'in order to give appropriate advice'*. She considers that their remit means that English teachers *'become more responsible than, perhaps, the teachers in other faculties'*.

6.3.7 Professional learning opportunities support teachers to monitor pupils' wellbeing

Four of the participants refer to professional learning opportunities which have supported them to monitor pupils' wellbeing. Bridget has had *'quite a lot of nurture training'* and plans to undertake *'mental health first aid CPD'*. She says that, as she gains more experience, she is also gaining confidence to push for professional learning opportunities and is *'asking the questions that perhaps you might not want to ask when you're just in the door'*.

Daisy mentions planning to go to *'anxiety awareness training'* which has been arranged one day after school, with people from the NHS. She also says that they have been *'looking at being trauma-informed'* and the police have talked to them about that on an in-service day. Daisy describes going to a professional learning session about adverse childhood experiences and finding it *'really eye-opening'*. She is aware of a small minority of pupils having *'experienced so many terrible things'* and believes it is important to take it into consideration

> *… when you're working with pupils for behaviour issues, for the texts you are doing in class, but also just general day-to-day health and their wellbeing, that they're ready to learn.* (Daisy)

Gill speaks about an in-service day when staff could choose to participate in a course offered by LGBT Scotland. She notes it was *'voluntary, but a lot of staff took part'*. The course focused on *'whole school ethos and also making sure your position is inclusive, being open and obvious'.* She says that they discussed *'how young people identify themselves and how we should respect that, and how we would deal with situations'.* Gill adds that it was *'really, really good'*, suggesting she found it helpful.

Ed's involvement in *Let's Introduce Anxiety Management* training was referred to earlier in relation to people's use of language when talking about mental health. In addition, he indicates that a focus of discussions was thinking about the relationship between parent, pupil and school and whose responsibility it is when managing these kinds of issues. He reports being in a team with some guidance teachers who shared that there are pupils in the school who have been identified as having *'issues that are preventing them from achieving or attending'* which are *'being made worse by the way that the parents are handling it'*. He notes that this made him feel the need to be more aware that if pupils are acting in a particular way in his class, it could be they are being affected by something happening elsewhere.

6.4 Theme Two: Building relationships in the classroom and wider school

The second theme I identified through analysis of the data relates to building relationships in the classroom and wider school. Audrey suggests that relationships are key to health and wellbeing within CfE.

> *You can read the outcomes, but it's not quite as simple as literacy and numeracy, and yet it is, because as human beings we all interact and it's about that interaction.* (Audrey)

I have grouped participants' responses relating to building relationships into three sub-themes: building teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom; encouraging positive relationships between pupils; and building relationships in the wider school.

6.4.1 Building teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom

Daisy says that she does not separate her responsibility for health and wellbeing from what she teaches in class: *'it's much more to do with the relationships I think I build with pupils on a day-to-day basis'.* She hopes that pupils will feel confident and comfortable to be able to interact individually with her. Gill has a similar view of her responsibility for health and wellbeing:

> *… just trying to make sure that I have a good relationship, and I know the children in my classroom well so that I can notice if there is anything wrong.* (Gill)

She describes treating young people with respect and expecting that to be returned. She thinks that kind of nurturing environment promotes health and wellbeing and allows a young person to feel comfortable to tell a teacher if they have a problem.

Some of the ways in which the teachers build relationships with pupils include what Gill calls *'little things':*

> *We're all expected to meet our pupils at the door and call them by name, and we do a lot of check-ins, so making sure that you speak to every pupil in your class at least once a day and asking them how they feel and things like that.* (Gill)

Ed also mentions that he is expected, as part of a whole school approach, to be at his door to greet pupils and believes this will have a positive effect:

> *I've read things recently about individual greetings having a huge impact on behaviour. So not just being at the door in a token way as they walk past you but, if possible, if they're not all arriving in groups of six or seven, trying to sort of actually say, you know, "Hi Josh. Hi Pauline."* (Ed)

Ed also considers it important to talk to pupils at the end of lessons:

> *I think it's good to, just in your kind of pack-up time, ask them what they have next. Are they, what are they doing in that subject? Just try to know them a little bit better.* (Ed)

From her position as a depute head teacher, Fiona observes that nurturing relationships are very important to the teachers in her school's English department:

> *I think a lot of English teachers do check-ins as well and ask how the class is and they can just see the dynamic because it is a really nurturing department along there and I think the first and foremost is the relationship you have with kids. In fact, we're doing a lesson observation just now which I'm a part of and we asked departments to pick their two things that they want us to focus on and they put nurturing, the English department put the nurturing relationship with pupils. So, they really see that as a positive thing.* (Fiona)

Daisy reports that there has been a big push on *'calm and consistent adult'* because for some pupils their teachers might be the only ones who are like that in their lives. She acknowledges that this can be difficult:

> *So it's hard – sometimes they can push your buttons – but I think it's about knowing, or the kids knowing, that you're there for them and, even if they've had a bad period, the next day you obviously have the conversation but it's not a grudge, you're not holding on to it, you are gonna be that supportive person for them.* (Daisy)

The points made in relation to the previous theme about the regular contact English teachers have with pupils are also relevant here. Fiona states that English lends itself to promoting health and wellbeing as English teachers see pupils *'sometimes five times a week'* which *'is maybe the most contact they'll have with someone'*. Heather also describes this *'privileged position'* of getting to know their pupils more quickly because they see their first years five periods a week and they have that contact all the way through school. Bridget adds that this regular contact gives English teachers greater responsibility for pupils' health and wellbeing because they see pupils more often:

> *Probably we're the teachers they see the most. So, they do, I feel that pupils do tend to come and speak to me more. They do tend to come and open up simply because I'm able to build stronger relationships with them.* (Bridget)

Bridget's comment suggests that building relationships in the classroom is important to the monitoring and responding to pupils' mental wellbeing discussed in the previous section.

6.4.2 Encouraging positive relationships between pupils

All but one of the participants speaks about the importance of encouraging positive relationships between pupils. Ed indicates that these relationships are central to teaching and learning:

> *As soon as you have a pupil in your class regardless of your subject, you are affecting their health and wellbeing in some way, even if you don't necessarily think that your subject ties into it, because it's to do with, you know, social skills or how to work with other people.* (Ed)

Daisy also identifies *'pupils feeling confident and comfortable to be able to interact in groups'* as one of the key outcomes of promoting health and wellbeing in the classroom. She adds that as an English teacher she has quite a lot of capacity to encourage pupils to interact with each other, and to model social skills within the classroom environment, especially when running group discussion or creating rules for the classroom. Daisy describes these as *'quite informal kind of soft indicators of health and wellbeing'*, but states that in English, *'… it all adds up because you're relying on them to be responsible to each other, you're relying on them to be respectful …'*. Daisy's use of *'relying on them'* suggests that respectful relationships and interactions are necessary for effective teaching and learning in English and this idea is mentioned by several other participants.

Charlie states that he thinks *'interacting with others and encouraging positive relationships between peers is probably the key thing'* he does to promote health and wellbeing. He provides opportunities through debates and class discussions and expects pupils to respect each other by being quiet during class discussion. He adds that he emphasises the importance of note making and the value of peer opinions:

> *A big point I make from day one is class discussion is not just about being quiet, it's about listening to others and maybe even noting down what they say. I try to make a big deal out of note making and the value of peer opinions.* (Charlie)

Heather also describes a key aspect of health and wellbeing being groupwork and *'instilling the importance of respect, valuing others' opinions and being able to respond appropriately'*. She suggests that, in the English department, they address a lot of health and wellbeing outcomes with the criteria that they use for working with others and refers to the introduction of a 'working with others' framework across the school years ago:

> *So – it's not isolated within the English department – but what does respect mean? What does it look like? What does it sound like? How does it feel to be respected?* (Heather)

Through relationship building, and the criteria that they look at, Heather hopes that young people are becoming increasingly familiar with respect in responding to others and being

able to challenge each other's views, if appropriate, but equally adapt their own in line with what others are saying, if that is something they are being influenced by.

Gill also states that building positive relationships *'is a huge thing in the classroom'* and gives an example which demonstrates her pupils' understanding about respectful interactions in group discussion. S1 pupils were engaged in group discussion about animal testing based on the novel, *Mrs Frisby and the Rats of NIMH*.

> *And there's a young boy who is 50% school attender ... he'd missed all of the lessons that we'd done so far on conducting successful group discussions. We've had a lot of discussions going on in the class. And at one point, a young girl said something and he went, "No," and all the other kids started laughing, and then telling him like, "No, you can't say that. You have say, I hear what you're saying, but this is what I think." And he was like, "All right, all right."* (Gill)

Gill gives this example to illustrate the importance of helping pupils build respectful relationships with each other and to know how to disagree without arguing.

Gill states that good relationships are particularly important in English because *'the subject itself can lead to quite a lot of controversial or possibly upsetting subjects being discussed in class'.* Gill describes feeling that she has

> *… a big responsibility to make sure that the class has a relationship with each other, that you can have respectful conversations about things that could be quite triggering.* (Gill)

Ed also considers it important that he encourages pupils to build positive relationships with each other through meaningful engagement in groupwork. How he does this changed after a staff development input on co-operative learning. He explains that the person leading it started with learning intentions and success criteria and also had a social objective. They were using a co-operative learning technique to talk about what they had been doing in their holidays to warm up, and the facilitator put in a social objective, or social learning intention, too. Ed explains that he tries to include them now in his own lessons:

> *So I try to include them now when I can because even though people think, oh, it's an English classroom, it's all about spelling, reading books or whatever, you know, I think that it's important, for me anyway, to give them the opportunities to interact with other people, work together in groups, in a meaningful way, not just groupwork for the sake of it.* (Ed)

He tries to achieve meaningful groupwork by using some of the co-operative learning and Making Thinking Visible strategies and ensuring everyone has a role and is responsible for something in the group. Ed notes that they have been trying, as a school and as a department, *'to think about ways to link what they are doing in class to outside skills'*. He says he does that verbally, or will ask the pupils to note a specific skill under the date in their margin.

> *So, if we're doing a groupwork task, I might say put communication skills. Write that down in your margin so that you remember that that's something that you're actually doing. You're in English and it's all about these poems, or whatever, but you're also trying to hone that skill.* (Ed)

Although I would argue that communication skills in groupwork are included in the Literacy and English experiences and outcomes under listening and talking, I interpret Ed's comments to mean that he sees developing pupils' communication skills through positive interactions in group discussion as contributing to their health and wellbeing, and an aspect of learning which is additional to the focus on the English-specific study of literature, such as poetry.

Bridget describes two pupils in her S1 class who are very resistant to working with others. She says that she needs to be *'… encouraging them and showing them the value of that.'* Ed also mixes groups sometimes so that pupils are outside of their social circle. He recalls his own school experiences:

> *Sometimes at school you'd be horrified by who you'd be paired up with. But I don't ever remember a teacher saying to me, you don't get to choose who you work with when you leave school and you go for a job.* (Ed)

He believes it is an important skill to be able to work with anyone and he makes this *'really explicit'* to pupils.

Although they promote positive relationships amongst pupils, Gill, Bridget and Fiona refer to having to deal with pupils falling out with each other. Gill notices this with pupils in S1 to S3, in particular:

> *There's a lot of drama ... people falling out at lunch time and upsetting each other. They obviously bring that into the classroom, so you have to try to deal with these relationships, relationship fallout, and then the next time you see them they're like best friends again.* (Gill)

Gill refers to the expectation that all teachers in her school use restorative practices with their classes, as does Bridget, who explains how this applies in dealing with relationships between pupils:

> *They're always having arguments and falling out with each other, and maybe saying things that aren't nice. So, just getting them to understand the impact that these actions are having.* (Bridget)

Fiona acknowledges that relationships are important for teachers to address, *'with kids falling in and out on social media',* and suggests that English teachers could do this by using texts:

> *I don't think the texts have quite caught up with – or the books – we've not got the texts with Snapchat in them yet – but there's variations of what we deal with and a lot of poetry can cover stuff too.* (Fiona)

6.4.3 Building relationships in the wider school

Ed and Charlie recognise that they have a role to play in building relationships in the wider school. Ed describes reading a Tweet which said that *'you cannot necessarily understand the true value of a teacher just by being in their classroom, you should see them when they are walking around the school'*. He says he has always tried to make time for people when he is moving around the school:

> *When I'm walking around, I'll say hi to everybody. ... If it's pupils that I know when I see them in the corridor, in the atrium, I'll ask them how they are. I'll stop to talk to them. In the lunch queue, I'll chat to them then. I let pupils come and use my classroom at lunch for like homework or just somewhere to hang out and things like that. And if I'm in and out, I'll chat to them then and I think that that's probably a good thing ... in terms of like the sort of, the health and wellbeing ethos, like for them to know that there's someone that notices them or will say hello to them.* (Ed)

He has found, now he is into his second year at this school, that he is known by pupils he does not teach or has never taught, and he thinks that is probably because when he is walking around he will say hello to everybody. He thinks that could pay off later when he has them in a class and they feel instantly a little bit more comfortable with him being there. He describes turning up to take cover classes and knowing three or four of the pupils from saying hello in passing or chatting to them and it makes a big difference. He thinks

that the more positive relationships teachers have, the more positive impact they can have on health and wellbeing.

Charlie reports that there are often events going on in the school that he will become involved in, whether by attending or encouraging pupils to take part. He gives the examples of a barista class which sells coffee to staff, a lunch event where pupils provided lunch and some entertainment, and a coffee morning run by pupil support.

> *And I think it's just important that I actually attend those things because not all staff do and I think it's just important to be seen to be encouraging it by paying to go to that sort of thing. ... It was all just about providing a service for staff and empowering the pupils through that.* (Charlie)

Charlie sees his participation in these events as a way of contributing to the whole school promotion of health and wellbeing.

6.5 Theme Three: Using literature to explore and promote wellbeing

The third theme I identified through analysis of the data relates to using literature to explore and promote wellbeing. I have grouped participants' responses into four sub-themes: general benefits of using literature to explore and promote wellbeing; choosing the right text for the class; examples of the ways in which literature texts help to develop pupils' understanding of themselves and others; and challenges arising from using literature to explore and promote wellbeing.

6.5.1 General benefits of using literature to explore and promote wellbeing

Three of the participants, Daisy, Ed and Audrey, speak about the general benefits of using literature to explore and promote wellbeing. Daisy states that there are *'so many opportunities'* to bring in themes from the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes through literature work that as an English teacher

> *... you've got quite a lot of capacity to encourage people to discuss their feelings ... and you're also trying to get them to empathise with character situations.* (Daisy)

Ed thinks that *'texts unlock a lot of opportunities to talk about mental and emotional wellbeing'*. He adds *'spiritual wellbeing'* because he thinks it is important to get pupils *'to*

think a little bit about who they are as a person'. Ed adds that it is at the forefront of his planning to ensure there is opportunity to discuss issues which arise in texts. He explains that if he is exploring an issue through a text in English he hopes that

> *… maybe it will feed into their understanding of other texts or it will improve their response to texts, and their kind of literacy responses, also their emotional responses.* (Ed)

Audrey also recalls that, when she started teaching, feelings were not acknowledged, but now she thinks that people are recognising the importance of emotional intelligence and the value in feelings and imagination. She states *'we're in a prime position in English to let kids go with their imaginations and just open up'* and believes it is an integral part of what she does every day.

In comparison to PSE classes, where similar health and wellbeing themes are likely to be discussed, Daisy suggests she can be *'a bit more objective'* in teaching particular themes within a literature text because she is removed from the characters and she thinks

> *... it's maybe easier for kids to discuss their feelings about these themes when they're talking about it as another character rather than them themselves describing their own experiences*. (Daisy)

She thinks she finds it easier, and pupils find it easier too, to discuss these themes from a character's perspective and, if some of the pupils' own experience comes in, then all the better. She adds that she tries to discuss her own experiences when she was younger, if they are talking about a particular character, to show pupils that *'all these things happen to everyone'* and, although it was not that recently, she does remember being a sixteen-year-old girl and some of the problems that arise with that. She suggests that this can be beneficial for the building of relationships within the classroom:

> *I think that makes a difference when pupils feel they know you a little bit more or they have a better picture of who you are and you're like a person and not just, you know, a teacher at the front of the room.* (Daisy)

6.5.2 Choosing the right text for the class

Six of the participants speak about different considerations they make when choosing a literature text for a class. Charlie states that he considers *'the ability of the class first and foremost'* and, similarly, Heather thinks about *'what will be accessible'* in relation to the

ability level of a particular cohort of pupils. In addition to pupils' ability levels, Fiona considers *'what they have studied before'*.

For Gill, choosing a text or topic when planning for classes is influenced by knowing the class and what will *'spark their interest'* and *'challenge them'*. Heather considers *'what will speak to [the] young people'*. She gives the example of her National 4 class for whom she bought a dyslexia-friendly version of *Of Mice and Men* by John Steinbeck. She reports that pupils are *'finding it really interesting in terms of [the] idea of friendship and loneliness'*. She says that she and her department colleagues talked recently about poetry quite often being inaccessible for some young people and looking at song lyrics instead. They are planning to see someone at the Edinburgh Book Festival who had been involved in gang culture and then got into rap and spoken word poetry. Heather explains: *'we're trying to experiment with new things that we think that young people will enjoy'.* Charlie states that the choice of text is important for *'engagement in a positive environment'*. He sees a connection between that engagement and health and wellbeing:

> *I think health and wellbeing is important because it's that initial positive relationship to the learning in a way that will get a pupil on board and attainment will flow out of that.* (Charlie)

Charlie says that he would think about whether or not pupils could relate to the themes. He describes choosing texts by trying to pick themes that are *'positive, life-affirming and that can be applied to real life'* and that *'pupils won't be working too hard to see the relevancy of to them'.* He says this often makes him rethink what texts he will use going forward. He gives the example of *The Great Gatsby,* saying that *'as great a text as it is'*, he finds it *'very hard to draw real-life parallels to'* and he felt it left his previous year's Higher class *'a little bit cold and a little bit like they weren't finding the characters particularly likable or relatable'*. He felt this was affecting the quality of their analysis and how well they were achieving in timed essays, in practice for the exam. He suggests that he was not thinking directly about the health and wellbeing outcomes at the time but he thinks it does tie back to those:

> *It ties back to the fact that they weren't really getting something positive out of it … I think health and wellbeing is important because it's that initial positive relationship to the learning in a way that will get a pupil on board and attainment will flow out of that.* (Charlie)

Daisy indicates that the flexibility English teachers have to choose which texts they teach is good for them and for pupils because *'you can choose the text that your class are going to like and that's going to make them more engaged'.*

Fiona takes into consideration *'the overall gender balance in a class'*, as does Charlie. He describes his National 5 class last year as having a majority of boys and a handful of girls, and he picked *The Godfather* as the media text. His Higher class this year is *'mostly girls, being the top set, perhaps that's often the case'* and he has picked *The Handmaid's Tale,* and *Men Should Weep* which he feels has *'aspects of feminism in it as well'* and will *'engage the majority of learners for that reason'*.

Bridget, Gill and Charlie consider the needs and circumstances of pupils when choosing texts. Bridget refers to *'getting to know who's in front of you, getting to know their needs, getting to know some of their backgrounds when it's appropriate'.* She feels quite fortunate to have had her timetable for the new session at an early stage, to enable her to know who she has and who to plan for: *'I've thought about the kids rather than what I want to teach'.* Gill would also be mindful of the circumstance of pupils in the class, for example considering more carefully the issues to discuss if there is a young person who is looked after. She notes, though, that if she is aware of young people's particular circumstances sometimes she *'will choose a text that does discuss that, so that it does become an open discussion in the classroom'.* Charlie indicates a different way in which he considers the circumstances of pupils in his planning. He notes that *Men Should Weep 'hasn't gone over as well with the top set because, perhaps, they're not as used to the Scots language'*. He thinks that the nature of the lifestyles of those pupils means that they are not immersed in that kind of dialect as much in their personal lives as other pupils he has taught it with. He observes that *'they're finding it a little bit disorientating to read and they need to actually look up the Scots dialect more'.* He says that he may rethink the choice and acknowledges that 's*ometimes you just need to try something to know if it's going to work'.*

Bridget and Fiona express different opinions on teachers choosing texts because they like them. When Bridget first started teaching she was told *'pick something that you like, that you enjoy, that you're confident in teaching'* but she feels *'that just doesn't work'.* On the other hand, Fiona states that her choices are influences by *'what I find interesting because if I can't enthuse myself about it, I'm not going to enthuse anybody else'.* She adds that she does not like to teach the same text for too long either.

Fiona and Charlie refer to considering the expectations of the curriculum for pupils at different stages when choosing texts. Fiona states that she considers the subject benchmarks for junior classes and gives the example of

> *... making sure if it's a character-themed critical essay we're doing this time, that there's enough meat in the character to suit everyone to do it.* (Fiona)

Charlie also considers *'the complexity of the text versus the ability of the class'* and, if it is a senior phase class, he is *'thinking results'* and *'what is going to allow them to attain to the best of their ability'*. He does not want to pick a text that is too simplistic for the stage the learners are at and also for the qualification, as it needs to be *'a text of suitable complexity for Higher'*, but nor does he wish to *'go above their heads with something that they're not going to engage with'*. Gill indicates that she tends not to consult the experiences and outcomes for health and wellbeing when planning but plans to cover an aspect of the English curriculum and *'the links [to health and wellbeing] naturally emerge in relation to texts'*.

6.5.3 Examples of the ways in which literature texts help to develop pupils' understanding of themselves and others

Daisy describes studying *To Kill a Mockingbird* with her third-year class. She says they are talking about prejudice and have expanded upon race to consider *'people who are prejudiced because of their class, because of their intelligence, because of their gender'*, which she thinks has worked effectively to show pupils the connections between their own lives and the text that they are looking at. She links this to learning group discussion skills and talking to pupils about the role they play in a group and how they can be supportive and encourage people who are less confident in talking and responding to each other. She thinks it is important to make those subtle connections to the social skills that she is trying to teach them at the same time. Daisy says that *'they don't even realise that you're trying to teach them to be better human beings'* because she is *'trying to do it subliminally'* and pupils think *'because they're in English, then we're reading a book'*. She thinks it has been useful to be able to make connections to current issues.

Heather also describes promoting empathy through studying *To Kill a Mockingbird.* She says that young people are increasingly *'right on'* and *'appalled by injustices or when things become gendered'*. She feels that young people's ears are *'sharp to anything that*

might be unjust', so they are fascinated by the idea that *'even the worst of white men in the 30s were still a rung higher than the best of black people'*. To encourage them to empathise, Heather asks if that intolerance has gone and pupils think it has. She gives the specific example of mentioning their fear of flying and a pupil saying that if they see *'people of certain ethnicities'*, they think *'I hope they are not going to …'* which she found quite shocking. She describes this as an instance where they are bringing judgements in their own lives. She highlights this novel as an example of a text that *'makes us understand our own position in the world and other people.'*

Daisy talks about teaching *The Hunger Games* to her second-year class. Although it is set in a dystopian world, she says that it led her to explore aspects such as *'inequality and the idea of living in poverty and have and have-nots'* and she thinks that enabled the pupils *'to appreciate why the characters in District Twelve for instance feel so isolated and feel so hard done by'*. She tried to link it into the current climate and situation of some of the population. She asked pupils to create their own dystopian worlds by *'taking the idea that it's like a mirror image and distorting something slightly and that's what makes it so scary'*. She says that pupils enjoyed trying to come up with a world crisis and thinking how they could turn that into a dystopian event. She thinks it allowed pupils to *'look at these kind of wider themes in a more societal context rather than just in this made-up world'*. Gill also mentions studying *The Hunger Games*. She says that although the focus was on dystopian futures, they were able to discuss the main character losing her father, relationships between characters, and the choices the characters have to make.

Heather describes studying Robert Swindell's *Stone Cold* as part of a longer homelessness unit with a second-year class. She says that they talked about seeing homeless people on the street, donated money to Shelter at Christmas and contributed to food banks and so on. She explains that for the young people

> *… it was something that they really could buy into and they became increasingly sort of horrified about the circumstances some people were in.* (Heather)

Heather adds that the unit ran on for much longer than she had expected it to but *'it was an all-boy class and just particularly gripped them'*.

Gill speaks about a unit of work around prejudice and racism based on *Face* by Benjamin Zephaniah. There is also a novel, but they studied the play version. Gill explains that they *'did a lot of work around the ways that we can unintentionally judge as well'* which she found *'quite tricky at first'.* She showed images of people and asked pupils what prejudices others might have towards them. She describes having to *'drag it out of them'* because they *'felt uncomfortable saying things even though it wasn't their point of view'* in case it made them look bad. Gill says they gradually understood they were sharing other people's points of view and it opened up discussions. She asked them to examine their own feelings about *'whether it's what's inside that counts'* by asking whether it would be more important if their girlfriend or boyfriend was good-looking or nice and had good discussions around that too. Gill explains that, in the play, a young man who had been racist earlier in the play has an accident that disfigures him and, so, he has to deal with the effect on his mental health and his relationships, and he changes his opinions. She notes that the play provided lots of opportunities to discuss *'mental health and self-awareness and self-esteem, and how we see other people and judge other people as well'.* Gill adds that, following *Face,* they studied the film, *Wonder*, because the boy who is the central character is born with facial disfigurements. In response to the film, she says they talked about how young people can *'sometimes be judgmental because they do not know better but then there comes a point where that can become cruel'*.

The examples given so far show how the participants use literature texts to develop pupils' empathy for others in wider society. Gill and Ed also speak about how they use literature to develop pupils' empathy for others in their class or in the wider school.

Gill describes a poetry unit she is working on with one class, based around a poem called *The End of Our Journey* by Sala Fadelallah about Eid at the end of Ramadan. She explains that there are four or five Muslim pupils in the school, including two Syrian refugees, and *'they heard some of the young people sort of saying some random things … just through not understanding and not knowing'* and this prompted the unit of work. She says that *'it's helped them understand, it's helped me just even doing the research myself'*. She notes that the poet uses *'lots of good metaphors'*, so it was useful for learning poetic techniques too. Pupils will go on to write their own creative response on something they celebrate in their own life, whether it is a religious celebration or a personal achievement. Gill adds that this unit of work is an example of *'thinking about things that I think that they could perhaps benefit from'.*

Ed describes teaching *Whispers in the Graveyard* by Theresa Breslin. He says that it was written in 1992, so it is dated in some ways, but he has taught it twice now with second-years and they still love it, even though the main character does not have a mobile phone or Facebook. He says they really enjoy the supernatural element of the story. Ed explains that the main character struggles with school because he has dyslexia, though *'that's not revealed immediately, unless they've Googled it'*, which some of them had. He says this aspect led to a lot of interesting conversations because he thinks that, *'unfortunately, dyslexia is still something misunderstood by, well, everybody'*. He has found, both times he has taught it, that *'there are pupils in the class who have dyslexia who talk about it and open up a little bit more about it'* by relating themselves to the character in some way. He thinks that, although it might seem like it only helps them, it is beneficial to everyone:

> *I think hearing them speak about it and tell a story of their own and everybody else is hearing it, it kind of changes everybody in the room a little bit. They kinda think about that a little bit more. So, the next time they think to make like a smart comment about someone using an overlay or using the coloured specs, whatever it might be …* (Ed)

Ed describes pulling up a pupil for making a comment like that and their friend saying, *'It's okay, we were just joking with each other'.* He pointed out that, if it caught them on a bad day, they might not feel okay about it.

Charlie describes watching the *Blackfish* documentary, about keeping killer whales in captivity, with a class. Although this film is not a literature text in the sense of the other examples given, I have included it because Charlie uses it to develop pupils' empathy for other species. He indicates finding it interesting because

> *… over half the class have been to Sea World or an equivalent of it but then put their hands up that they disagree with captivity.* (Charlie)

He says that he pointed out to them that they went to Sea World and loved it. He explains that he was getting them to consider what wellbeing means *'and making sure that we actually embrace that through the choices that we make in life'*. Gill and Ed also give examples of using literature texts to prompt discussions about appropriate behaviour in different contexts.

Gill describes using *A Streetcar Named Desire* with her Higher class this year, noting *'an awful lot of delicate things to talk about'* in the text. She feels that the pupils, who were resitting the Higher, rose to the challenge. She says they had *'big discussions'* about Blanche's mental illness, the way Stanley treats her, and the eventual rape, and *'it was apparent that the boys were not necessarily fully on board with the idea of consent'.* She feels the discussions were of benefit to all pupils. In particular, she thinks it gave the girls a chance to *'voice in the room for their male peers how they saw these issues and how they felt about it'*, which *'was good for all of them to hear'*.

Ed talks about teaching *Gangsta Rap* by Benjamin Zephaniah for the first time this year with a third-year class who had said they did not want to read books or write about books. He chose it because he liked some of Zephaniah's other books and he thought the pupils would like that it related to rap music (which, he adds, they did). He says that a lot of things came out of it unexpectedly because he was only reading it a few chapters ahead of the pupils to plan lessons. One aspect he mentions is that *'the kids in the book speak like real kids who swear a lot and use quite sort of crazy language'*. He says there are parts they read where the characters swear in front of adults and the pupils said, *'Oh, you can't do that!'* and they talked about that. He describes that the boys in the story get involved in gang culture and violence and, although Zephaniah was thinking about the American rap scene, and relating it to people in Central London, the pupils were able to make comparisons to the young teens that they know about. Ed says that pupils would

> *... talk about things that maybe they had done that they felt, you know, looking back on it in a sort of reflective way that they didn't feel particularly proud of* ... (Ed)

and *'it changed the way that they think a little bit'*. Ed explains that, later in the book, a character, who is 16, gets his girlfriend pregnant, and *'the book doesn't deal with it like a kind of scare story'.* He says that the pupils were shocked when reading it because

> *... everybody in the book – the friends, the family – were actually trying to be really supportive, which is maybe not how those kinds of issues are presented in other media.* (Ed)

He says that led to lots of interesting conversations where pupils were able to talk about issues and ideas that were not directly related to English but were about their life and wellbeing. Ed adds that novels or films are perfect for doing some *'English work'* but you can also pull something out and *'have a little class debate or just an impromptu discussion*

where everybody chips in', and someone may be vocalizing their thoughts about a topic for the first time, *'whether it is gang violence, gun control, teen pregnancy or drug use'*. Ed says that the common issue for *Whispers in the Graveyard* and *Gangsta Rap* was teenage boys not getting on with their parents. He elaborates that, when Ray from *Gangsta Rap* falls out with his mum and dad, he would ask pupils what would happen if they did the same thing and they would say, *'Oh, jeez, I'd get in so much trouble,'* or *'I've done worse!'* Then they would tell their story and admit that they probably should not have done whatever it was because the character in the book is quite remorseful for his behaviour. Ed thinks that for that group of pupils to be able to relate to a character because he is quite cool and he likes the things that they like, and to *'see him take responsibility for his behaviour'*, was quite different. Ed adds that a pupil support colleague was in the class recently and said the pupils are totally different to how they were when she saw them with him in August, and they are very different with him than in other subjects. Ed puts this down to using literature to discuss issues which are relevant to the pupils:

> *I just think that picking the right text and exploring the right issues can really change a culture. And I think that's where health and wellbeing is important when you talk about positive relationships and a positive classroom culture.* (Ed)

Heather, Fiona, Audrey and Charlie talk about the opportunities offered by literature texts to develop pupils' emotional literacy. Heather describes emotional literacy as *'the most centrally important thing'* to her responsibility for health and wellbeing as an English teacher and adds *'we have a literature-based course here in the BGE to deliver on that entitlement'.* Heather explains that they have a standardised assessment where all second-year pupils read a couple of chapters of *Goodnight Mister Tom* and talk about

> *… health and wellbeing, about lack of self-esteem and we talk about abuse, and how very quickly bringing in the right support and the right people into your life can improve your self-efficacy, your self-esteem and so on.* (Heather)

Heather says that they talk about what happens to the character, William, and the peaks and troughs of his self-confidence as different things happen. They talk with pupils about resilience, how to build self-esteem, promote feelings of self-worth and have confidence, and that *'we can't in a linear way measure our health and wellbeing progressively because various things come along'*. Heather adds that pupils then write about these ideas in a mini-essay. Heather explains that the task relates to the *Bounce Back!* mental wellbeing programme that they use within the school, particularly within the pupil support

department. A member of staff in the pupil support department was becoming a trained counsellor because there was increasing need due to rising issues with self-esteem, anxiety and so on. The person undertaking *Bounce Back!* training had contacted departments to ask how they could contribute. Heather explains that the English department started the *Goodnight Mister Tom* task as a way of joining in with the *Bounce Back!* programme and providing *'a linked piece in the curriculum'.* She adds that *'there are various other pieces of literature and poetry'* which they use in a similar way. This is the only example within the participants' responses of an explicit connection between a health and wellbeing programme and teaching and learning in other subject areas.

Fiona describes emotional wellbeing as *'the sort of big one'* for English teachers within the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes, *'especially if you're looking at texts'* because *'you're looking at characters and predicting what's going to happen and how people feel'.* She explains that pupils are asked to predict endings, to think about how they might react and what would be the right or wrong way, and sometimes to rewrite part of a story the way it should have been. Fiona gives the example of a text they teach called *Lucy's Blue Day*, which is about *'a wee girl who goes through a child abuse situation'*. She says that although a child is not going to talk to the teacher in front of the class if it relates to them, they are thinking about how it applies to them inside and *'teachers will always say at that point if you want to come talk to me about anything'*.

Audrey offers a health and wellbeing elective to first- and second-year pupils as part of a suite of electives across the school. It was something she had wanted to do for some time:

> *I wanted to do this way back, but my concern was, I don't have training so where does it go when things come up? So, this year it's a bit more, I feel a bit more confident, because I know that there are counsellors in the school should anything arise immediately.* (Audrey)

She bases the elective on the film, *Inside Out*. She tries to make the elective fun, while providing opportunities for pupils to talk about feelings in a smaller group of around 12 rather than the usual big English class of 30. She gives an example of a pupil describing how he felt angry about getting into trouble in another class and not knowing what to do, and the subsequent discussion about ways to deal with these feelings:

> *We just then started talking about ways you could feel something but how you deal with it is when it becomes right or wrong. You can't just shout at*

> *somebody or hit somebody or lash out or whatever. So, everybody, we're just kind of discussing it.* (Audrey)

Audrey describes needing to *'watch the dynamic in the room'* during such a discussion and being alert to pupils potentially sharing things she feels they would be better not to, such as *'a wee girl [who] was going to say her mum was angry'*. Audrey says that managing pupils' responses is easier with the small numbers.
Charlie thinks there is much to be gained from making sure that *'the themes you hit in texts are enriching and that you do not look at something that is too bleak'*. He gives the example of the film, *The Shawshank Redemption*, which he often teaches with third-year classes:

> *It's a film of light and shade and it's a film where a harrowing scene will often be immediately followed by a life-affirming one and, if anything, it just highlights the need to be positive and to embrace friendships and to value the good interactions in life.* (Charlie)

He says they will often study themes of redemption, emancipation, freedom from conformity, power of friendship and hope – themes that are positive. He thinks that pupils relate well to these themes and *'they're naturally engaged'*. Charlie feels that pupils need support to consider how themes might apply to their own lives to enable them to write better evaluative conclusions to their essays, but he does not want to force a response onto pupils or lead them too much to their line of thought because he would rather they spot the parallels. In relation to the film, he says that they talk about other ways that people might be institutionalised besides prison, or other ways people might be deprived of their liberty, for example *'due to mental health reasons and being put into an institute for that'*. He describes talking about how being institutionalised can *'dehumanise'* people by causing them to *'lose touch with humanity'* because the character in the film struggles when he is freed from the prison to create a meaningful life for himself and to feel like he is worth something to society. He says *'that's always a big teaching point for me, that character'*.

Gill speaks about giving her fourth-year class the opportunity to base their National 5 group discussion on whether controversial literature should be taught in schools. The pupils researched the topic and fed those ideas into the discussion, and came to the conclusion that

> *... they think that it's a positive for mental health to have these discussions within a safe environment like the English classroom, where you can discuss these things and ask questions, consider other people's points of view*. (Gill)

She reports that, for example, pupils talked about LGBT issues in texts and felt that discussing them in this context could *'help somebody understand the way they were feeling'* but *'can help pupils that maybe before haven't really been the most understanding to see somebody else's point of view'*. Pupils felt that *'there is a level of anonymity in English that they felt they didn't have in PSE'*, which could sometimes be awkward, as there was a more explicit focus on topics: *'they were saying that, you know, "Today we're gonna be talking about sex in PSE"'.* They recognised that, in English, topics come up more naturally in the text or film being studied. The pupils enjoyed the anonymity of *'talking about fictional people'*, while *'you could be relating it to your own life'*. They felt that some texts should not be taught in school, such as Melvin Burgess's *Junk*, which describes heroin use, and *13 Reasons Why*, which is about self-harming and a girl committing suicide, and they thought the way the subject was handled was not particularly responsible. Gill adds:

> *The subject of English in itself has huge scope for thinking very carefully about how you approach these things, but also of benefit to health and wellbeing, mental health.* (Gill)

This suggests that Gill believes that sensitive discussion of topics which might impact young people's lives is a key aspect of teaching and learning in the subject of English but, at the same time, it helps to promote pupils' health and wellbeing, in particular their mental health.

6.5.4 Challenges arising from using literature to explore and promote wellbeing

Four of the participants speak about challenges that arise from using literature to explore and promote wellbeing. Daisy says that it can be difficult if she is dealing with a text that has, for example, a parent dying, and she has *'someone in the class inevitably who's experienced something similar'*, or she is looking at a text that deals with bullying and she knows from guidance that *'some of the pupils are being bullied'*. She mentions having bought *A Monster Calls* for the department but says *'we're all a bit scared to teach it in case, like, someone starts to cry'*; she says it happens quite often that pupils will come to

their teachers if they are upset by a text. Audrey notes that after two pupil suicides earlier in the session there was some concern in the English department about issues relating to death and grief coming up in texts. She believes it is difficult to avoid this:

> *A lot of texts are going to come up with grief, death, some sort of – unfortunately, things you can write about well are the things that involve – like, there's no – there's very few happy texts for English that you'll find in the exam will – you'll be able to answer a question on it.* (Audrey)

She reports that they are continuing to teach the texts they have but are being *'more and more sensitive'.* Gill understands that she has *'a big responsibility'* to consider the backgrounds of the pupils before having particular discussions. She notes that, in the past year, her first year as a qualified teacher, she has had discussions with pupils, arising from texts, *'around mental health, sexual abuse, and racism, and, you know, the list goes on'*. She acknowledges that these topics can be *'quite delicate'*, but she thinks *'it's really good'* to be able to do so.

Bridget mentions that *Romeo and Juliet* can raise the issue of suicide as an easy option. She says that some pupils make comments which suggest that they think that:

> *Sometimes they're like, you know, "If this was happening to me, I would just kill myself." And they don't actually realise what they're saying.* (Bridget)

She adds that she has to manage these responses and that, when she was in her first year of teaching, she was not sure how she was supposed to respond and panicked a little bit. She also refers to teaching *Marrakech* by George Orwell which talks about how life for the natives is worth nothing and *'sometimes kids say, "I know how that feels," and that's quite alarming'.* She adds that she would respond by explaining the context of the characters in their setting within the text. Audrey says that she is wary of pupils speaking out in response to issues raised in texts and them not appreciating how that will be received by other pupils. She expresses having been concerned in the past about how to deal with pupils who are affected by issues raised in texts, particularly as individual English lessons are relatively short: *'I'm an English teacher, I can do so much. Then another class will come in.'* She knows now to refer pupils to guidance, but believes that, nationally, there are limited resources to provide further support for pupils with mental health issues.

Bridget notes that pupils' willingness to open up in discussion of issues that arise from texts depends on the personalities within the class and she contrasts her experiences with

two particular classes. The pupils in her third-year class are very open but the pupils in her fourth-year National 5 class are much less so:

> *Some of them will come and speak to me on a one-to-one if maybe something's resonated with them and they want to speak about it a bit more but in terms of getting a sort of a class discussion and sharing with each other that can be quite difficult.* (Bridget)

She had this class from third year into fourth year and has *'seen them start to open up a little bit more'.* This further illustrates the importance of building relationships which was discussed under Theme 2.

A different type of challenge is identified by Charlie who feels that, although discussion is beneficial, he has to limit the amount of time spent on it in lessons. He says that he probably enjoys class discussion more than any other aspect of teaching but he *'can't assess at that point that everyone is gaining something out of it'* and, so, he has to move on to other activities and forms of assessment. He says that, perhaps because he was still learning his craft as a teacher, class discussion used to take longer chunks of his lessons, whereas now

> *… I'll get five minutes into a lesson and we'll have talked about something but, then, I might start to get restless and want to actually get some work out of the class …* (Charlie)

such as to link to a potential point for analysis or a body paragraph that they need to write. He acknowledges that there could be more opportunities for positive interaction, *'talking about the real world, thinking about the pupils' own lives'*. He wonders if pupils find evaluative conclusions so challenging because they could be having richer discussions about life, regardless of the text they are studying. He says, however, that he feels that, as a subject practitioner, he wants to bring the focus back to the text more quickly.

6.6 Theme Four: Giving pupils opportunities to express themselves in writing

The fourth theme I identified through analysis of the data relates to the opportunities provided to pupils to express themselves in writing. I have grouped participants' responses into two sub-themes: pupils benefiting from opportunities for self-expression in writing; and teachers responding to issues which arise in writing.

6.6.1 Pupils benefiting from opportunities for self-expression in writing

Five of the eight participants speak about pupils benefiting from opportunities for self-expression in writing. In particular, four of them refer to opportunities afforded by personal writing for pupils to write about issues that relate to their wellbeing. Audrey reports that aspects relating to pupils' wellbeing are expressed in their writing because it is more private: *'... it does come through a lot more in the writing than in discussion'.* She acknowledges that this has long been the case in English but now *'there seems to be more, or more kinda things you would read that you haven't seen before'.* Daisy notes that at her previous school, a *'prosperous, high-attaining school'*, teachers would find

> *... personal essays divulging the most horrible things. And then you would find out that they hadn't actually shared that with anyone else, but it's sometimes they find it easier to write it down.* (Daisy)

Audrey thinks that writing about their issues is often *'cathartic'* for pupils, giving the example of a pupil writing about coming out as gay. She believes that *'just writing something down is, reading it back even, can be beneficial, without going any further than that'.* Audrey notes that sometimes pupils will ask *'Who else is reading this?'* before writing about particular situations. Charlie says he can tell that some pupils do not want to write about themselves, perhaps because of personal reasons, but he has witnessed that when they do start to they

> *... actually enjoy the process or it's almost like they're venting or they're, it's allowing them a way to express themselves or address things in their life that maybe they make them unhappy, but it's still a form of self-expression, and there can be some kind of psychological release from that, in a way, even if they're not aware of it themselves.* (Charlie)

He thinks that is what is happening with a certain minority of pupils that might have gone through some troubling events in their life. He thinks that personal writing is very important and a key way that English teachers encourage self-expression. Charlie explains that he always gives pupils free choice as to what they write for their personal pieces, shying away from trying to direct pupils towards a specific moment or theme or motif. He thinks it is important that they write about what they want, and he will suggest the structure. He adds:

> *If there's anything that I do in terms of steering them towards a topic it's that I say that sometimes the harder things to write about are the more rewarding to*

> *write about and will often create a better piece of writing anyway in terms of language, rather than just 'here's a bus trip I once went on'.*

Bridget also finds that personal reflective writing gives pupils an opportunity to be more open. At the start of the school year, her third-year class studied *Flowers for Algernon* by Daniel Keyes, which has a character who wants to change. She had pupils write about a time they wanted to change and, if they were able to make the change, how they felt about it. The writing piece enabled her to learn about a pupil who is transgender:

> *And there's a boy in the class who is transgender who is just like, I've only ever known him as John [pseudonym], I didn't know him before, and he just comes in every day and works really hard. You would think he didn't have a care in the world. And through that I've learned quite a lot. He was talking about how he felt when he was Jane [pseudonym] and what he had to go through and how he thinks that's the best – it was difficult but it was the best – decision that he's ever made.* (Bridget)

She thinks the pupil found it useful to be able to write it down, so she would know without him having to discuss it with her. She gave him the opportunity to but he said he did not want to. She also refers to a couple of the pupils in the class who were affected by the death of one of their friends, who committed suicide earlier in the year, and who were *'channelling their feelings'* into their writing. Other pupils opened up about having been bullied in the past and getting over that. They would name certain other pupils in the class that they did not get on with in their writing, so Bridget knows now to keep them apart. Bridget found the personal writing task very worthwhile:

> *I thought that was a very useful task to do, especially so early and with a class that were quite reserved. I was actually quite surprised at how much they gave back to me.* (Bridget)

She thinks the writing task was beneficial because, although she knew some of the information through guidance, it helped pupils to know that she knew:

> *I think they felt a little bit, certainly John felt a little bit more comfortable that – because I don't even know that John would have known that I knew any of this, and I don't know that the pupils that were friends with the young boy that died would necessarily have known that I knew. I'd known through guidance etc, but it wasn't something that I had ever discussed with them, so I think that probably made me feel a bit better.* (Bridget)

By sharing her reflections on this example, Bridget suggests that the opportunity for pupils to write about issues relating to their wellbeing is not only beneficial for pupils but also for their teachers, who will read and be informed by what pupils have shared.

Three of the participants recognise that persuasive and discursive writing provide opportunities for pupils to explore topics relating to their health and wellbeing. Daisy suggests that there are

> *... so many opportunities to bring in kind of bigger themes from the health and wellbeing [experiences and outcomes] through* **...** *stimulus for our discursive writing.* (Daisy)

Fiona states that researching discursive pieces and considering what is morally right or wrong to do in the wider context enables English teachers to take the issue out of the person and make it more general, but *'if it relates to someone, they can come and talk to you about that as well'.* Bridget says that when pupils choose topics they are interested in for persuasive and discursive essays, *'you've got to become an expert on all these different topics'.* She finds herself reading up, in order to be able to give appropriate advice.

Charlie says that he has started to encourage pupils to *'make a point'* through their imaginative writing. He gives the example of a pupil writing as the suffragette, Emily Davidson, who threw herself in front of the king's horse, and *'exploring her own political views through that piece even though it's the imaginative internal monologue of that historical figure'.*

6.6.2 Teachers responding to issues which arise in writing

Although Bridget found that her transgender pupil preferred not to discuss with her what he had written, other participants refer to personal writing leading to conversations with pupils. Ed notes that wellbeing *'tends to come up a lot through personal reflective writing so there's opportunities there to talk about it'.* Audrey mentions having conversations with pupils about the content of their writing but also indicates that she will refer pupils to guidance, should an issue raised require it: *'I will read it and then if I need to speak to the pupil or if I need to refer anything I will'.* She says that she tells pupils at the outset that she will have to pass onto guidance any concerns she has, adding that *'it's keeping everybody safe that way as well because we obviously have that input from management*

about child protection'. Audrey indicates that she feels it is *'becoming more normal'* to have to refer pupils to guidance for the content of their writing and gives an example:

> *A wee girl was talking about how her old gran had died and she just thought what's the point of going on and she went to her papa's and it just wasn't the same. There's that kind of thing, so we get the guidance teacher involved to see if he could speak to her about it.* (Audrey)

Three other participants speak about referring pupils to Guidance in response to their writing. Heather states that they have noticed in the two years since the introduction of a health and wellbeing referral system that she and her English colleagues have to write *'quite a significant number in every single class'* because of what young people are expressing in their personal, and also discursive, writing around mental health and the feeling that more needs to be done to recognise it. She considers it to be a *'hot issue'* amongst their young people. Gill describes a pupil's response to a 500-word story writing task which was *'very much about self-harming'*. Gill was concerned and asked the girl if she could show it to her guidance teacher. She passed that on and the guidance teacher *'did meet with her and discuss things'*. Charlie also speaks about having to flag up to guidance colleagues a pupil who was writing about a particular subject. Charlie gives the example of a pupil who was in trouble with the police and *'wanted to write about it and was actually finding it quite enjoyable to write about it'*. Nevertheless, Charlie felt *'that obligation'* to email the pupil's guidance teacher with a copy of the essay to make them aware. Having passed on the information, Charlie says that he still wanted the pupil to write about it because, as long as it was not offensive content, and it was not in breach of any of the guidelines, that is what the pupil wanted to write about and he thinks pupils have a *'basic right to express themselves'*. Audrey gives an example of a pupil who changed the topic of her writing when Audrey reminded her that she might have to refer her to guidance:

> *She decided she was gonna write about something because they were brainstorming and then I'd said, remember should this come up, whatever, and she said 'I know that. No-no, I'll write about my dog dying.' She changed from whatever it was. And that is how she's feeling safe, that's good, that's fine.* (Audrey)

Although Audrey describes the pupil as *'feeling safe'* by not sharing the other details in her writing, the pupil may have missed an opportunity to receive support which may have been of benefit to her.

A serious concern would be referred to the Child Protection Officer, rather than guidance. An example of a concern which required this response is given by Heather, who describes an incident involving a transgender pupil who wrote *'Save me, help me. I need help, please, please'* through the body of a critical essay in their third-year exam. Although this happened in the context of the critical essay on a literature text in the exam, the point illustrates the importance of English teachers responding appropriately to issues raised in pupils' writing.

Three of the participants, Charlie, Audrey and Heather, refer to the process of sending National 5 and Higher folio submissions to the SQA and the requirement that teachers tick a box on the folio submission to say that issues mentioned in the writing have been discussed with relevant members of staff. Audrey notes that they are *'pretty much ticking that box for every pupil'.* As indicated earlier, Heather reports that, as a department, they have noticed in senior phase portfolio submissions a huge increase in young people talking about anxiety and their mental health. She thinks it would be interesting to look at course reports at SQA level to see if the increase is *'a national picture'*.

Charlie describes a situation in which a certain topic for a National 5 folio essay was flagged by the SQA. He mentions the expectation that teachers will *'flag up an inappropriate topic and say choose another one'* because *'there's a no offensive content kind of rule'*. The essay he refers to was about the Rothschild family, which is very powerful and has links to the Trump administration. Charlie says he was intrigued and thought it was a good topic, particularly as *'it was a kind of class where there weren't many original topics'.* Charlie notes that

> *... this was quite a politically motivated student, who I didn't think meant any harm by the essay, but it got flagged up by the SQA for potentially having what could be construed as certain views in it that weren't particularly positive.* (Charlie)

He says that his principal teacher did not really pick up on these either when she then read the essay. Charlie indicates that it ties back to SQA markers being told to *'watch out for radicalisation and other ideas coming through in essays'* now because of the current political climate and what is going on around the world and in our own country. Charlie explains that the pupil was interviewed about it and seemed to be oblivious to any malicious intent and it was deemed to not be an issue. Charlie says that although he did not feel that there was a negative reason motivating that student to write, he recognises it as an

example of a change in school, and in education generally, where teachers *'have to be a bit more vigilant about the topics that are coming into the classroom'* and that there is not the risk of someone becoming too influenced *'by politics out there and certain radical views'*. He suggests this incident has made them more careful about that.

6.7 Discussion

In Chapter Four, I set out Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. The importance of education has been at the heart of the Capabilities Approach since its inception (Nussbaum, 2011). Education facilitates the development of people's existing capacities into internal capabilities of many sorts. Nussbaum (2011, p.152) states that education is also crucial to the development and exercise of many other capabilities, calling it 'a "fertile functioning" of the highest importance in addressing disadvantage and inequality'. In Chapter Four, I explored how accounts of the approach have been used to examine issues in education and drew out three key aspects which I thought most relevant to consideration of English teachers' understanding and enactment of their responsibility for health and wellbeing. The first aspect concerned which capabilities were most likely to be developed in an education context, in particular within a Scottish secondary school and through teaching and learning in the subject of English. The second aspect related to the concept of combined capabilities and the importance of the social environment in developing capabilities. The third aspect concerned the need to distinguish between the capability to participate in education and the capabilities gained through education. This framework for analysis provides a useful lens through which to examine the findings presented in this chapter.

The first aspect I will examine is which of Nussbaum's ten central capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011), given in full in Appendix A, are suggested by the participants' responses to be developed in the context of a Scottish secondary school by English teachers enacting the dual role expected of them by the curriculum framework. This dual role expects English teachers to promote pupils' health and wellbeing by contributing to the whole school ethos and processes and through the teaching of their subject. I will consider the whole school role first before considering the subject-specific role of the English teacher.

As suggested by the first of the themes which I identified through analysis of the data, the whole school role requires teachers to monitor and respond to pupils' wellbeing. In the context of increasing issues in relation to young people's mental health, there is a focus on

pupils' emotional wellbeing, which relates to the capability of *Emotions*. Within her description of the capability, Nussbaum (2011, pp.33-34) indicates that *Emotions* means 'not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety'. The participants describe anxiety as an increasing issue amongst young people, citing mobile phones and social media, pressures to achieve in exams, and concern about a rise in terrorist attacks as reasons. Participants support young people to manage their anxiety by being available for them to speak to. It is noted that the regular timetabling of the subject means that English teachers are able to build relationships which encourage pupils to approach them when they have concerns. Participants describe being supported by the school's pastoral care system and being able to refer pupils when required; this might also lead to support from a counsellor based in the school. Participants acknowledge the need to be aware of the anxiety caused by the pressure of exams at particular times of year and several note that the number of pupils requiring separate accommodation for exams due to anxiety has increased.

In two of the schools, participants describe increased support for pupils' mental health in response to the suicide of pupils. While one school offered grief counselling, participants at both schools feel that there was an increased focus on addressing pupils' mental health issues in order to contribute to suicide prevention. In doing so, these schools could be said to be contributing to the capability of *Life*, which Nussbaum (2011, p.33) defines as 'being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely…'.

Monitoring and responding to pupils' wellbeing should also include physical wellbeing, which is one of the areas within the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes for which all teachers have some responsibility. This relates to the capability of *Bodily health*, which Nussbaum (2011, p.33) defines as 'being able to have good health …; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter'. With a much stronger focus on mental wellbeing, few participants refer to physical wellbeing. Audrey speaks about knowing if her pupils are well and checking with them if they appear not to be, while Heather mentions referring a pupil to guidance for falling asleep in lessons.

Within her description of the capability of *Emotions*, Nussbaum highlights the importance of attachment and love:

> Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us … in general, to love … (Nussbaum, 2011, p.33)

'Love' could be interpreted in this context to mean affection or liking for teachers and fellow pupils, which should develop through the building of relationships, the focus of the second theme. Building relationships also relates to the capability of *Affiliation*, which is defined in part by Nussbaum as:

> *(A)* … to engage in various forms of social interaction … *(B)* Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34)

Other aspects of *Affiliation* will be referred to in relation to the subject-specific role of the English teacher. In relation to the aspects given here, participants describe building teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom and in the wider school through regular interaction with individual pupils as they enter the classroom, as they pack up at the end of lessons, and around the school, such as in lunch queues. The attention given to individual pupils during these interactions helps to convey that pupils have equal worth within the school community. In addition to encouraging positive relationships between pupils through the teaching of English, to be discussed later, participants also refer to having a role in helping to restore friendships when pupils have fallen out. Building relationships in the classroom and wider school promotes what Nussbaum (2011, p.44), drawing on Wolff and de-Shalit (2007), refers to as the 'fertile functioning' of *Emotions* and *Affiliation* which support the development of those and other capabilities through the subject-specific role of the English teacher.

The subject of English lends itself to the development of the capability of *Senses, imagination, and thought*, which is defined, in part, by Nussbaum (2011, p.33) as:

> Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy … Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing [literary] works … of one's own choice… (Nussbaum, 2011, p.33)

In English, pupils have many opportunities to experience literature texts and to produce different types of writing, and, in doing so, to think, reason, imagine and use the senses. Daisy explains that, through the study of literature, English teachers are *'trying to teach*

[pupils] to be better human beings'. The ways in which the reading and discussion of texts encourages empathy will be discussed further in relation to the capability of *Affiliation*. Nussbaum's definition of *Senses, imagination, and thought* also includes:

> Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech … (Nussbaum, 2011, p.33)

It could be said that the pupil described by Charlie as being flagged by the SQA for writing about the Rothschild family did not have a guarantee of freedom of expression, though the writing was flagged because it had the potential to express discriminatory views which would not have been compatible with the capability of *Affiliation*. *Senses, imagination, and thought* also includes 'being able to have pleasurable experiences' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.33), which could be linked to the capability of *Play*, defined as 'being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities' (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34). Taken together, these two definitions suggest enjoyment of subject-related activities, such as reading. Participants speak about the importance of choosing texts which will engage pupils and Heather, in particular, reports delivering a talk to parents about the wellbeing benefits of reading for enjoyment. The enjoyment of reading and engagement with texts chosen for study also provide opportunities for pupils to experience and reflect on positive emotional responses in the school environment.

When considering how the capability can be developed within the subject of English, it is appropriate to consider more of Nussbaum's definition of *Emotions* than was shared earlier. She defines *Emotions* as:

> Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us …; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Nussbaum, 2011, pp.33-34)

Participants speak about the opportunities offered by literature texts to develop pupils' emotional literacy by consider the emotions of characters in a range of positive and challenges circumstances. They describe exploring the emotional impact of experiences on characters and how pupils might react in similar circumstances. They also refer to discussing appropriate emotional responses in different contexts. Pupils are also offered opportunities to express their emotions in personal writing and Audrey describes this as often *'cathartic'* for pupils.

The capability of *Affiliation* can also be developed more fully in the context of subject learning in English. Nussbaum defines *Affiliation* as:

> *(A)* Being able to live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. *(B)* Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin. (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34)

Participants describe using texts to develop pupils' empathy for characters dealing with a range of issues, including racism, poverty, homelessness and facial disfigurement. They also refer to exploring the experiences of characters which relate to those of pupils in the class, such as coping with dyslexia or celebrating Eid as a Muslim, in order to help those pupils feel better understood and more included. Participants speak of the importance of building respectful relationships between pupils through group discussion as a foundation for being able to discuss the sensitive issues that arise from literature texts. Gill describes teaching a play which features a rape scene and using that opportunity to discuss consent. As well as contributing to developing *Affiliation* by encouraging pupils to imagine the situation of another, this type of discussion contributes to creating the capability of *Bodily integrity*, which Nussbaum (2011, p.33) defines as 'to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence …'. Related to having concern for other human beings is the capability of *Other species*, which is defined by Nussbaum (2011, p.34) as 'being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature'. Charlie refers to using a documentary to enable pupils to consider the welfare of orcas in captivity. Opportunities for group discussion which promote the capability of *Affiliation* also contribute towards developing the capability of *Control over one's environment*, which includes:

> *(B)* ... In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers. (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34)

In addition to developing social interaction and relationships which support learning, Ed views groupwork as preparation for the workplace. In particular, he considers it important that pupils work effectively in groups with peers who are not part of their friendship groups.

Nussbaum defines the capability of *Practical reason* as:

> Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34)

While consideration of issues arising from many of the texts referred to by participants would enable pupils to develop the capability of *Practical reason*, Ed speaks explicitly about ways in which a novel he taught encouraged pupils to reflect on their own previous behaviours and consider how they might have acted instead. The discussion of consent which was noted as contributing to the development of the capabilities of *Affiliation* and *Bodily integrity* could also be given as an example of developing *Practical reason*, as Gill notes that it encouraged the boys in the class to think about the appropriate way to behave. In addition, in relation to the capability of *Other species*, Charlie refers to encouraging pupils to see that making good choices, such as to not visit the orcas at Sea World, contributes to their own wellbeing.

This section has shown that English teachers contribute to the development of the capabilities of *Emotions* and *Affiliation* in the whole school aspect of their responsibility for wellbeing. In the subject-specific role of the English teacher, the capabilities of *Senses, imagination, and thought*, *Emotions*, *Affiliation* and *Practical reason* are the main focus of development, but these relate to other capabilities which are also developed, albeit to a lesser extent. To varying degrees, all ten of Nussbaum's central capabilities are developed by English teachers across their whole school and subject-specific roles.

The second aspect I will consider is the importance of combined capabilities. Nussbaum (2011, p.20) describes combined capabilities as 'opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social and economic environment'. Schools are significant social environments for young people. Glassman (2011) suggests that the opportunity to combine their internal capabilities with the materials and processes of the environment around them is often denied marginalised populations. Hedge and MacKenzie (2012) provide an example involving two young people whose emotional responses to the school environment prevent them from being fully included in mainstream classes. These young people need an environment which is more sensitive to their needs in order to develop their combined capabilities.

Young people who experience mental health issues, such as anxiety, are at risk of being unable to engage fully with learning and the wider experience of schooling. Teachers have an important role to play in enabling pupils to manage their anxiety. Participants in my study refer to being open to pupils approaching them with their concerns and working within pastoral care systems to refer pupils for further support, where needed. Daisy speaks about being sensitive to the pressures many senior pupils are under to achieve highly in exams and taking this into account when setting timed assessments and providing feedback. In terms of creating an environment which cultivates positive emotions in pupils, such as enjoyment of the subject, English teachers have a role to play in choosing texts and topics that will engage pupils. Several participants highlight pupils' interest as one of the main reasons for choosing a particular text. Charlie believes that creating a positive relationship to learning leads to attainment. In these ways, teachers contribute to creating the combined capability of *Emotions*.

I also consider *Affiliation* to be a combined capability as the social environment is key to individuals having opportunities for social interaction. The second part of Nussbaum's (2011) definition of *Affiliation*, which focuses on an individual not being subject to discrimination, relies on the empathetic attitudes and behaviour of other people in the social context. Ed and Gill emphasise the value in using characters' experiences in texts to educate pupils about the experiences of others in their classes, giving examples of discussions about a character with dyslexia in a novel and a poem about celebrating Eid. Similarly, Gill speaks about a scene in a play leading to discussion in which the girls shared their feelings about issues relating to consent and, in doing so, enabled the boys in the class to imagine the situation of the girls and to contribute to creating for them the capability of *Bodily integrity*.

The third aspect I will consider is the distinction between capabilities which enable participation in education and capabilities gained through education. Wood and Deprez (2012), Gale and Molla (2015) and Spratt (2017) propose that teachers have a dual responsibility to ensure that learners are able to participate fully in learning experiences and have opportunities within those experiences to discern what they need to live a life that has value to them. Maddox (2008, p.185) describes the 'intrinsic value' of literacy but also its 'instrumental role in enhancing wider capabilities'. Fiona and Gill refer to the need to remove barriers created by underdeveloped literacy skills to enable pupils to access the wider school curriculum. Spratt (2017, p.126) describes it as 'imperative' that teachers also

support pupils' social and emotional wellbeing, so that they are able to engage with learning and benefit from the eudaimonic effects of education. Five of the eight participants in my study speak about emotional wellbeing being necessary for learning with several indicating that this view is promoted by senior leadership in their schools. Participants also refer to the importance of relationships in making pupils feel included in the classroom and school community, suggesting that exercising the capability of *Affiliation* is necessary for participation in education. Several participants describe the importance of the capability of *Affiliation* to the subject of English in terms of the way it encourages pupils to listen and respond responsibly to each other in group or class discussion of sensitive topics arising from texts. The study of literature contributes to the development of the capability of *Affiliation* in ways which support participation in education and also provide capabilities for the future. Gill describes deliberately choosing a poem about Eid in order to improve pupils' understanding of their Muslim peers; in this case, there is an immediate focus on enabling pupils to exercise the capability of *Affiliation* by demonstrating empathy towards their fellow pupils. Often the focus of the study of literature is to imagine characters in situations that pupils themselves might experience in the future. Discussing the issues arising from these situations, and the ways in which characters respond, contributes towards creating capabilities through education, such as *Emotions*, *Affiliation* and *Practical reason*, which young people can choose to exercise as functionings if they find themselves or others around them in a similar situation in the future.

Having examined the findings in this chapter through the lens of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, I am able to respond to some of the issues raised in Chapters Two and Three and add to those discussions. I will do this in relation to three aspects: tensions between health and wellbeing and English; relationships; and exemplification of how to promote wellbeing as flourishing.

In Chapter Two, I discussed the critique articulated by Ecclestone (2007) and Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) of, what they see as, the dangerous rise in therapeutic education, which positions children as emotionally vulnerable and in need of the support of professionals to fully develop emotionally and socially. Ecclestone (2007, p.464) suggests that the resulting 'rise of the diminished self' is damaging for two main reasons: firstly, if children accept the version presented of themselves as weak, vulnerable and in need of external emotional support, it will act as self-fulfilling prophecy (Ecclestone and Hayes,

2008); and, secondly, changes to the curriculum to enable timetabled lessons to be devoted to 'therapeutic' subjects, and the adapting of teaching approaches to be more relevant to pupils, cause the subject content of traditional academic disciplines to be diluted, resulting in failure to educate children properly. I presented some counter-arguments of Downes (2018), who challenges the Cartesian split between reason and emotion set out by Ecclestone and Hayes (2009) and argues that a concern with emotions in teaching and learning complements and facilitates intellectual engagement. In Chapter Three, I discussed concerns about the negative impact on health and wellbeing promotion of the prioritising of attainment expressed by Thorburn (2017), Spratt (2016, 2017), Coppock (2010), Kidger et al. (2010), Formby and Wolstenholme (2012), Holt et al. (2022) and Byrne et al. (2018). The findings of my study suggest that English teachers perceive not only that they should attend to pupils' wellbeing to improve their capacity for learning but also that health and wellbeing is bound up with the teaching of their subject and can contribute to higher attainment. The findings show that English teachers believe that developing *Affiliation* through discussion of issues in human lives which are represented in texts helps pupils to better understand the themes of texts and develop the subject-related skills of analysis and evaluation of literary techniques in relation to the themes. The findings also show that English teachers believe that exploring *Emotions* through writing about challenging situations and experiences in their lives enables pupils to produce stronger folio pieces for assessment at National 5 and Higher. These types of activities suggest the very good English teaching encouraged by Marshall et al. (2019). My findings suggest that promoting wellbeing through teaching and learning does not diminish the subject of English but enables pupils to engage more deeply and, as a result, enhances attainment and achievement in the subject. The consideration of the distinction between capabilities in education and through education suggests that promoting the capabilities of *Emotions* and *Affiliation*, which relate to emotional and social wellbeing, does not diminish young people by making them feel vulnerable and dependent on support but rather helps them to be in a better position to learn and to develop a wider range of capabilities which facilitates the leading of flourishing lives that young people have reason to value.

In Chapter Three, I drew on the work of Soutter (2011), Simmons et al. (2015), Powell et al. (2018) and Holt et al. (2022) to show the importance to pupils and teachers of social and emotional wellbeing and the building of relationships, which relates to the capability of *Affiliation*. I noted the concern of Holt et al. (2022) that secondary teachers might find it difficult to develop positive relationships with pupils due to working with them for only

short periods of time each week. I also presented the view of Teraoka and Kirk (2023) that it was a strength of physical education teachers, more than other teachers, to be able to have informal conversations with individuals in the corridor and the changing room, which might be more difficult in the classroom. Analysis in relation to *Affiliation* shows that this is not the case for the English teachers in my study who describe building teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom and in the wider school through regular interaction with individual pupils as they enter the classroom, as they pack up at the end of lessons, and around the school, such as in lunch queues. The attention given to individual pupils during these interactions helps to convey that pupils have equal worth within the school community, which the young people in Powell's (2018) study desired. I also reported Holt et al.'s (2022) claim that a classroom culture with the collaborative relationships between pupils and teachers which are beneficial to health and wellbeing takes time to develop and can be difficult to achieve, particularly if more direct and less interactive teaching approaches have been the norm. My findings showed, however, that participants speak of the importance of building respectful relationships between pupils through group discussion as a foundation for being able to discuss the sensitive issues that arise from literature texts.

In Chapter Three, I drew on studies by Simmons et al. (2015), Powell et al. (2018), Thorburn and Dey (2017) and Matthews et al. (2015) to highlight young people's concerns about bullying in the school setting and online. Powell et al. (2018) also reported the detrimental impact on young people of unsupportive friends. My findings suggest that developing the capability of *Affiliation* in the context of subject learning in English has potential to support positive relationships between pupils. Texts provide opportunities for teachers to develop pupils' empathy for characters dealing with a range of issues, including racism, poverty, homelessness and facial disfigurement. This can extend to exploring the experiences of characters which relate to those of pupils in the class, such as coping with dyslexia or celebrating Eid as a Muslim, in order to help those pupils feel better understood by their peers and more included. The idea that *Affiliation* is a combined capability is relevant to consideration of the ways in which English teachers can encourage positive relationships between pupils and try to prevent bullying. The reliance on the empathetic attitudes and behaviour of other people in the social context for an individual to not be subject to discrimination highlights the responsibility of pupils to be respectful to each other. My findings show that English teachers can promote empathetic attitudes and

behaviour by educating pupils about the experiences of others in their classes, using the experiences of characters in texts.

In Chapter Three, I drew from studies of the implementation of health and wellbeing within CfE in Scotland (Gray et al., 2023; Hardley et al., 2021; Holt et al., 2022; Spratt, 2016, 2017; Wright et al., 2021) to identify the range of discourses apparent in practice. As identified in Chapter Two, and confirmed by the studies examined in Chapter Three, health and wellbeing in CfE policy is dominated by discourses of care and social and emotional learning. These discourses were then reflected in the ways in which teachers spoke about implementing health and wellbeing. Hardley et al. (2021) and Spratt (2016, 2017) did identify, however, some ways in which teachers described practice which was underpinned by a discourse of flourishing.

In Chapter Two, I offered a conceptualisation of wellbeing as flourishing, which focuses on living well rather than simply feeling well. I indicated that Suissa (2008), Cigman (2012) and Dixon (2012) refer to the study of literature as a source of learning about how to live a flourishing life, and Humes (2011), Gordon and O'Toole (2015) and Wright and Pascoe (2015) consider opportunities for creative expression to be important in education for flourishing. I included in my literature review the articulation by an English teacher in Spratt's (2016, 2017) study of ways in which literature could promote understanding of important issues in human lives and writing could provide an outlet for young people to express feelings about their experiences. The findings of my research provide further, more detailed exemplification of the ways in which literature and creative writing are used by English teachers to promote pupils' wellbeing through the subject. The findings also explore how this subject-specific role is complemented by English teachers' whole school role, which includes monitoring and responding to pupils' wellbeing and building relationships and is made more significant due to the nature of the subject of English.

Applying Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach as a theoretical lens through which to analyse the findings has enabled examination of the ways in which English teachers can promote wellbeing as flourishing. The findings show that English can make a meaningful contribution to the development of four capabilities – *Senses, imagination, and thought, Affiliation, Emotions* and *Practical reason* – but has potential to contribute to others, such as *Control over one's environment* and *Other species.* Given the absence of a discourse of flourishing from CfE policy (Spratt, 2016, 2017), it would be helpful for this analysis to be

shared with teachers, including student teachers, of English with a view to shaping their thinking about the significant contribution English can make to pupils' health and wellbeing and how they might take this forward in their practice.

6.8 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the participants by giving details of their roles, locating them in their anonymised local authorities and schools, and indicating their length of teaching experience, including how long they have worked in their current schools. I have set out the findings in relation to four themes, each with a number of sub-themes. I have concluded the chapter by discussing the findings in relation to key aspects of the application of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to education which I discussed in Chapter Four and some of the literature reviewed in Chapter Three. In the next chapter, I will set out the conclusions of my research study.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I will reiterate the aims of the research and explain how the findings answer the research questions. I will identify the implications of the findings for ITE programmes, for teachers, and for policy makers. I will evaluate the quality and trustworthiness of the research, indicate ways of extending it and will describe the impact on my professional practice.

7.2 The aims of the research

In this research, I set out to explore the ways in which teachers of English in Scottish secondary schools understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing, and to identify factors which enable or constrain that enactment. Since proposals were first introduced in 2004, CfE has placed at its centre the health and wellbeing of children and young people. Aspects of health and wellbeing, including mental, emotional and social wellbeing, are considered to be the responsibility of all teachers. Despite the inclusion of mental wellbeing in the curriculum, reports published before and since the COVID-19 pandemic have noted increasing mental health issues amongst young people of secondary school age.

The overarching policy for education in Scotland, the National Improvement Framework, first published by Scottish Government in 2016, sets out key priorities which include improving the health and wellbeing of children and young people, alongside the raising of attainment in literacy and numeracy. Within the context of the secondary school curriculum, there is a possible tension for English teachers created by the dual expectation to raise pupils' attainment in literacy and to contribute to improving their health and wellbeing through teaching and learning of the subject of English. My interest in exploring this tension arose from my role as subject tutor for secondary English within a Scottish university offering programmes of ITE and my desire to support student teachers of English to meet the requirements of the Standard for Provisional Registration (GTC Scotland, 2021), which include effective teaching and learning of the subject and the promoting of pupils' wellbeing.

In addition to exploring definitions and curricular expectations in relation to health and wellbeing and English, I examined the concerns raised by Ecclestone and Hayes (2008, 2009, 2019) about a rise in therapeutic education and what they see as the consequent diminishing of the subject, in the sense of the young person and of the curriculum area. I explored the concept of wellbeing as flourishing and the role of the arts, including literature, in promoting flourishing, and this led to the identification of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach as a suitable framework for analysis of interview data. A review of recent primary research literature examining the implementation of health and wellbeing promotion in the UK, Australia and New Zealand revealed influences on understandings of wellbeing, the importance of relationships within school settings and tensions between attainment in secondary subjects and the enactment of health and wellbeing policy.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with eight teachers of English and analysed the data gathered through the lens of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. Findings were presented in relation to four themes. The ways in which the findings answer my research questions are set out in the next section.

7.3 Answering the research questions

The research questions I set out to answer were as follows:

> How do English teachers understand their responsibility for health and wellbeing?
>
> How do English teachers enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing in the classroom and what factors enable or constrain enactment?

To explain how the findings of the research answer these questions, I will take each of the four parts of the questions in turn.

7.3.1 How do English teachers understand their responsibility for health and wellbeing?

The English teachers who participated in the study understand that, when it comes to their responsibility for health and wellbeing, they have a dual role. The dual role involves contributing to the whole school approach to health and wellbeing, which includes aspects of teaching and learning which apply across subjects, and promoting health and wellbeing

in ways that are specific to teaching and learning in the subject of English. In answering each of the four questions, I will consider the two roles in turn.

In relation to their whole school role, the English teachers in the study understand that they have a responsibility to monitor and respond to the wellbeing of every young person in each of their classes. They understand that they need to consider the whole child and not simply think about them academically. The English teachers in the study understand that they have an important part to play in the pastoral care system within the school, providing 'first-line guidance', which means that they will often be the first teacher to notice an issue or have a young person approach them. They understand their responsibility to refer concerns about a pupil to the appropriate pastoral care colleague or to the child protection officer, where concerns are serious. The participants recognise that supporting pupils' wellbeing is necessary due to increases in mental health issues amongst young people, which they believe arise from mobile phones and social media, the pressures of being expected to attain, and world issues, such as terrorist attacks. Teachers from two of the schools recognise the importance of a whole school effort to support pupils' wellbeing in the aftermath of pupil suicides. The participants demonstrate understanding that all teachers must build positive relationships with pupils to enable them to feel that they are part of a supportive school community. They understand that they should create a nurturing environment which allows young people to feel comfortable about sharing issues. They recognise that they should use their knowledge of pupils' circumstances to understand the reasons for particular behaviours. The English teachers in the study understand that they have a responsibility to promote pupils' wellbeing so that they can be successful in learning. They recognise that this involves ensuring that pitch and pace are appropriate and support needs of any type are identified and met. They understand that they should enable pupils to experience positive emotions relating to engagement in and enjoyment of learning.

The English teachers in the study understand that they have a responsibility to use the opportunities their subject provides, in reading, writing, listening and talking, to promote pupils' wellbeing and make them, in Daisy's words, *'better human beings'*. Participants describe their subject-specific responsibility for health and wellbeing in terms of helping pupils to understand the world around them and the issues that people face in order to promote their empathy for others; enabling pupils to think about how they might act in similar situations; and helping pupils to recognise a range of emotions in themselves and

others. They recognise a responsibility to know about pupils' circumstances before introducing texts and topics in order to be aware of potential triggers and to know how to respond should an issue arise. Participants also understand that they have a responsibility to encourage respectful relationships between pupils so that issues arising from texts and topics can be discussed sensitively. They recognise a responsibility to support pupils to work well with others to prepare them for the world of work.

7.3.2 How do English teachers enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing?

The English teachers in the study monitor all pupils in their classes to make sure they are well. They try to speak to all pupils individually on a regular basis, asking how they are. They read information about pupils which is shared by pastoral care staff and take this into account when interacting with pupils. If they have concerns about pupils, they refer these to pastoral care colleagues or to the child protection officer, depending on the nature of the concerns. Participants build relationships by taking time to talk to pupils at the start and end of lessons and around the school. They take into account information shared by pastoral care staff when planning lessons and try to act sensitively when sharing feedback with senior pupils who are anxious about their exam performance.

The English teachers in the study build whole-class and group discussion of issues arising from texts and topics into the pedagogy of lessons. In providing opportunities for pupils to work in groups, they set expectations for respectful behaviour, teaching pupils how to share ideas and opinions and to disagree in respectful ways. They use their knowledge of classes to choose texts which engage pupils and allow them to experience enjoyment, believing that pupils will learn better as a result. They try to ensure that pupils can relate the themes and situations within texts to their own lives. The English teachers in the study explore a range of emotions in texts, from uplifting to more challenging to manage, and use this to develop pupils' understanding of emotions and their appropriate expression in different contexts. Through the study of literature, they help pupils to understand the experiences of others, both within wider society and within the more immediate environment of the class or school. By using the experiences of characters in texts to explore issues which pupils might face presently or in the future, English teachers help pupils to consider how they might respond emotionally or through the actions they might take. Through exploring characters' stories, they enable pupils to understand what is good

and encourage them to reflect on previous actions to inform future choices. To a lesser extent, participants encourage care about other species and the environment. English teachers give pupils opportunities to express themselves in different types of writing and respond to any issues which arise. They make clear to pupils that they must refer any issues to pastoral care staff. They follow up with pupils any issues expressed in folio writing at senior phase and indicate to the SQA, as required, that the issue has been discussed. When opportunities arise, teachers promote the development of literacy skills, and the associated benefits to self-esteem, by delivering targeted reading programmes, and encourage reading for enjoyment by sharing its benefits to wellbeing with parents.

7.3.3 What factors enable enactment?

The higher profile of mental health within schools and the removal of some of the stigma previously associated with mental health issues mean that young people are more likely to come forward to talk to teachers about their mental health. English is timetabled every day for most year groups, so teachers build relationships quickly and know pupils well enough to be able to spot issues. Pupils are also more inclined to speak to teachers of English rather than other subjects because they know them better. Teachers are supported to monitor and respond to pupils' wellbeing by the school's pastoral care system and knowing who to refer pupils onto gives them reassurance. A streamlined system for referral, such as one that is linked to the SEEMiS information management system, is helpful, as is being reminded of child protection procedures of the first day of term each year, so that process is clear. Professional learning opportunities enable teachers to better understand the circumstances of some young people and how these impact their behaviour. Professional learning can help to identify strategies to be used in teaching and learning.

The subject of English offers many opportunities for teachers to enact their responsibility for pupils' health and wellbeing through the different elements of the curriculum. The nature of the subject facilitates the discussion of issues which often prompts a pupil to come forward about a concern. Talking about issues in relation to characters in texts is less direct than discussing the issues in Personal and Social Education would be and this enables teachers and pupils to be more open. Teachers are able to choose texts which suit particular classes and their needs at any given time, as there is no prescribed syllabus. Department plans also give teachers the flexibility to choose different ways of meeting the same learning outcomes. Writing a critical essay about a text which explores challenging

issues and themes can lead to higher attainment at senior phase, so this encourages teachers to choose these types of texts for pupils to study. Similarly, writing a personal reflective essay about a difficult experience can result in a more effective piece of writing for the folio at senior phase and this can lead to teachers encouraging pupils to express their feelings about difficult experiences in their writing. Pupils can find writing about issues cathartic and are often happy to write if they know the teacher is the only audience.

7.3.4 What factors constrain enactment?

Although teachers in the study consider it positive that young people are more willing to talk about mental health, some feel that inappropriate use of language relating to mental health, such as using ‘anxiety’ and ‘panic attack’ to describe much more minor, manageable stress, takes away from those who are genuinely struggling, and the jokey tone which sometimes accompanies this language can discourage pupils from sharing how they feel. Teachers express concern that referring pupils through the pastoral care system can be time-consuming on top of a busy subject timetable and require considerable additional time from teachers. They report not always hearing back after referring a pupil and would value some discussion with pastoral care staff about strategies to use with the young person. It is recognised that, at a national level, resources are limited to provide additional staff in schools to give support for mental health, such as counsellors or nurture staff.

Although the English teachers in the study appreciate the opportunities offered by the subject to promote pupils’ wellbeing, they do highlight some potential constraints. They note they can find it challenging if pupils are upset by the subject of a text and this can make them nervous about teaching certain texts. They acknowledge not always knowing how best to respond to comments made by pupils or questions asked, particularly as new teachers. Only having a class for 50 minutes can make teachers feel unable to support pupils adequately as the class has to leave when the period ends and another class comes in. Concerns are expressed about recognising the value of discussion but feeling pressure to have pupils produce written responses which are more tangibly assessed. It is noted that knowing the teacher will have to pass on concerns to pastoral care staff can stop pupils writing about certain issues. This could prevent a pupil sharing something that could have been helped by support being made available. Although health and wellbeing is the responsibility of all staff, English teachers state that they are not expected to assess and

report on health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes and this has the potential to make health and wellbeing less of a priority in English teachers' practice.

7.4 The implications of the research findings

The findings of the research have implications for three groups: providers of programmes of ITE; teachers; and policy makers.

For those providing ITE programmes, there are implications relating to the preparation of student teachers of English, in particular. Student teachers of English should be helped to understand the ways in which they can promote pupils' wellbeing through effective teaching and learning of the subject of English. They need to be encouraged to become familiar with a wide range of literature suitable for different age groups and stages of learning and the opportunities these texts offer to explore issues and themes, so they are able to choose appropriately for their classes. Student teachers of English need to be prepared to talk about sensitive topics with pupils and to know how to respond to issues which arise. They need to be prepared in the sense of knowing which topics are dealt with in particular texts and having considered how to talk about these topics with young people, but also in the sense of being willing to discuss sensitive topics. I have observed that some student teachers shy away from having difficult discussions in the classroom but this is an important element of teaching and learning in the subject, in terms of helping pupils to better understand the texts which stimulate such discussions and promoting their wellbeing. All student teachers need to understand that they will work within a whole school approach to supporting pupils and will have to be familiar with pastoral care structures and child protection procedures. Student teachers of English also need to understand that their regular contact with pupils and the nature of discussions which take place during lessons will place on them a greater responsibility to monitor and respond to pupils' wellbeing. Providers of ITE programmes should ensure that student teachers of English learn about these responsibilities in their subject-specific classes.

In schools, there are implications for teachers with different roles. English teachers, like student teachers, need to be familiar with a wide range of suitable literature and the opportunities these texts offer to explore issues and themes. Principal teachers of English, who create course plans which all teachers in the department are expected to follow need to allow teachers flexibility to choose the specific texts they teach in order to meet the

learning outcomes of a section of the plan, so that teachers are able to choose appropriately for their classes. The findings suggest that, while there tends to be good two-way communication between English and pastoral care teachers to share information about pupils' wellbeing, pastoral care teachers need to consider how to return to subject teachers, once a concern has been passed on, to discuss strategies to support pupils, if appropriate.

The findings also suggest implications for policy makers. In his recent report, *Putting Learners at the Centre*, Muir (2022) proposes a new assessment body to replace the SQA, and an independent review of qualifications and assessment (Scottish Government, 2021c) has been launched. If these developments lead to changes in national qualification courses and assessment, my findings suggest it will be important to retain the current focus on literature in the national qualifications for English. Curriculum and assessment developers should continue to avoid setting a syllabus for English courses to allow teachers to choose the most relevant texts for their pupils. In addition, courses should require pupils to produce creative writing, including personal reflective writing, to enable them to express themselves in ways that support their wellbeing.

7.5 The quality and trustworthiness of the research

In this section, I will draw on Morrow (2005) to consider the quality and trustworthiness of my research. Morrow (2005) identifies four criteria which are applicable to qualitative research: social validity; subjectivity and reflexivity in qualitative research; adequacy of data; and adequacy of interpretation.

Social validity (Morrow, 2005) relates to the social value of the focus around which the research questions are built. Promoting young people's health and wellbeing is very important due to the increased mental health issues which are reported, as is ensuring, more broadly, that young people have the capabilities to live lives they have reason to value. The rich literacy skills developed through teaching and learning in the subject of English are also significant to the life chances of young people. Understanding ways in which English teachers are able to teach the subject effectively whilst promoting pupils' wellbeing, without undue tension between the two, has particular value for student teachers of English and the young people they will teach in the future.

In terms of subjectivity and reflexivity, Morrow (2005, p.254) states that the nature of the data collected and the processes of analysis used by qualitative researchers are 'grounded in subjectivity'. She notes that several factors might interfere with fair data collection and interpretation, including 'the researcher's emotional involvement with the topic of interest [and] presuppositions formed from reading the literature' (Morrow, 2005, p.254). She indicates that researchers bring their own beliefs about the phenomenon being investigated and having 'a greater grounding in the literature' can help to reduce bias by giving the researcher a range of ways of viewing the phenomenon (Morrow, 2005, p.254). I consider it to be a limitation of my study that I interviewed participants before I had engaged fully with the literature I would go on to review or Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. The questions I asked were based on policy and guidance and my own assumptions about how these might be put into practice. Although I was keen to represent the perspectives of the participants, the data and presentation of findings are likely to have been enriched if I had explored some of the concepts from the literature in the interviews. Exploring the concepts in the interviews would have enabled co-construction of meaning between myself and the participants in making connections between theory and practice. Morrow (2005, p.254) suggests that a reflexive strategy is to consult 'with a research team or peer debriefers'. Although this is not possible in the solitary pursuit of doctoral study, I discussed each transcript and the summary I made of it with my supervisor, reflecting on my role in eliciting the data during the interview and my interpretation afterwards. Fair representation of participants' realities can be aided using strategies such as

> asking for clarification during the data gathering process, delving more deeply into the meanings of participants, taking the stance of naïve enquirer. (Morrow, 2005, p.254)

Although I asked follow-up questions to probe participants' responses further, it became apparent to me when interpreting the data that I could have asked for clarification more often. Morrow (2005, p.254) also suggests carrying out participant checks to ensure 'the researcher's interpretations reflect the interviewee's meanings'. Due to the time which elapsed between data collection and interpretation, I did not feel able to approach participants to check my interpretations. In the presentation of findings, I have tried to ensure fairness by 'representing participant viewpoints equitably' (Morrow, 2005, p.255), as far as possible. Some participants are represented more than others, so the presentation of findings is not entirely equitable, but this reflects the reality that some participants had more to say in relation to the questions.

In relation to the criterion of adequacy of data, Morrow (2005, p.255) states while sufficient numbers of participants are important, ‘adequate amounts of evidence are not achieved by mere numbers’. She refers to Patton (1990, cited in Morrow, 2005, p.255) who states that the validity and meaningfulness of qualitative inquiry and the insights generated are more dependent on ‘the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher’ than on the size of the participant group. I had originally planned to conduct twelve interviews but was not granted access to one local authority. Having carried out the eight interviews, I felt that the data was sufficiently rich for the purposes of the research, although I did not consider the point of redundancy ‘which means that no new information is forthcoming from new data’ in a formal way (Morrow, 2005, p.255). Morrow refers to Kvale (1996, in Morrow, 2005, p.255) who identifies as a quality criterion for interviewing ‘using short interview questions that glean correspondingly long answers’. Morrow (2005, p.255) adds that ‘the fewer questions one asks, the more likely one is to elicit stories and deeper meanings from participants’. The richest data I collected came from participants who were happy to speak at length about their experiences. One participant, the first I interviewed, apologised often for ‘going on’ in response to my questions, which made the interview quite stilted and resulted in less rich data. She is the participant whose responses are included least in the presentation of findings. Morrow (2005) recommends drawing on multiple data sources in order to ensure adequate variety in kinds of evidence. In the early stages of planning the research, I did consider whether observations would add to the interview data in a useful way. I decided that they would not as a lesson observed at a time convenient to researcher and teacher might not provide evidence relevant to the study. Observing the participants teaching, however, might have benefitted the interpretive status of the evidence by enabling me to understand more of the ‘culture and context of the participants’ and help me to build ‘trust and rapport’ with the participants I did not already know, assuring me of the truth of their responses (Morrow, 2005, p.256).

The final criteria for trustworthiness which Morrow (2005) set out is adequacy of interpretation. She states that ‘immersion in the data is essential’ (Morrow, 2005, p.256). Although I chose not to transcribe the data myself, I listened carefully to each recording whilst reading the transcript in order to correct mistakes and adjust punctuation to support meaning, and then created a summary of the transcript. As mentioned previously, I discussed each transcript and summary with my supervisor. These parts of the process enabled me to be immersed in the data and to gain ‘a deep understanding of all that

comprises the data corpus (body of data) and how its parts interrelate' (Morrow, 2005, p.256). Morrow (2005, p.256) states that adequacy of interpretation requires that an analytic framework is articulated which 'will enable the investigator to systematically make meaning of or interpret the data'. I adopted a thematic analysis approach to the data analysis and, having completed data-driven coding, identified four themes. I then analysed the findings within these themes in relation to key aspects of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach. If I had interviewed after I had developed my theoretical framework of concepts drawn from the literature including Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, the connections between the theory and practice-related data would have been stronger and, to an extent, co-constructed with the participants. Finally, Morrow (2005, p.256) states that 'the writing … of the findings should exemplify a balance between the investigator's interpretations and supporting quotations from participants'. I have tried to present the findings in such a way as to show my interpretations through the organisation of themes and sub-themes, but also the participants' realities by retaining their words as much as possible in 'thick description' of their experiences in context (Morrow, 2005, p.256). I hope that I have done this sufficiently 'to persuade the reader that the interpretations of the researcher are in fact grounded in the lived experiences of the participants' (Morrow, 2005, p.256).

7.6 Extending the research

This research explored English teachers' perspectives on the ways in which they understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing. One of the participants, Daisy, said that pupils do not realise that English teachers are trying to make them *'better human beings'* through study of the subject. The research could be extended by exploring how young people view the responsibility of all teachers to promote their wellbeing and, in particular, how they perceive this happens within the subject of English.

The findings of the research suggest that particular capabilities, namely *Senses, imagination and thought*, *Affiliation*, *Emotions* and *Practical reason*, can be developed through the teaching of the subject of English. Nussbaum (2011) states that the ten central capabilities which she proposed are non-fungible. In order to enable young people to flourish, schools should ensure that young people achieve a threshold level of all ten central capabilities. The research undertaken in this study could be extended to explore how other subject areas might contribute to developing the capabilities.

In both cases, a more in-depth consideration of the ways in which Nussbaum's ten central capabilities could be developed might be achieved by engaging participants in discussion of the capabilities as part of the data collection process, in a similar approach to that adopted by Howley (2019) in her investigation of the role of education support professionals. As part of a focus group interview, Howley (2019) provided cards featuring a statement and definition of each of the ten central capabilities and asked participants, individually, to identify those which they felt schools could or should be involved in promoting.

7.7 The impact of the research on my professional practice

In Chapter One, I explained that my interest in exploring English teachers' perspectives on their responsibility for health and wellbeing emerged from my professional context as subject tutor for secondary English at a Scottish university. As well as supporting these student teachers to learn how to teach the subject of English effectively, I needed to help them to understand and enact their responsibility for health and wellbeing as set out in CfE. I was not able to draw on my own teaching experience, as I took up my post at the university in 2006, when CfE had been introduced but before the details of the curriculum framework were published. When I was choosing a focus for my dissertation research in the autumn of 2016, I saw an opportunity for my student teachers of English to learn from more experienced practitioners through the findings of my study. From the very beginning of my research, I have been aware of an impact on my professional practice.

At an early stage of my dissertation research, I introduced a question about how English teachers can promote pupils' health and wellbeing in the day-to-day teaching of English into interviews for applicants to the PGDE (Secondary) English programme. By asking the question, I aimed to plant a seed in the mind of the applicant that promoting pupils' health and wellbeing is a significant responsibility of all teachers but one that English teachers should be able to enact as a regular part of subject teaching. Most interviewees are able to recognise that texts and writing provide opportunities, though some assume health and wellbeing to refer to physical health only. A brief conversation once the interviewee has answered the question allows me to the explain a broader definition of health and wellbeing and to highlight some of the opportunities within the subject, prompting applicants to consider this aspect of their responsibility before they have begun the PGDE (Secondary) programme.

Since the introduction of the CfE experiences and outcomes for health and wellbeing across learning in 2010, we have asked PGDE (Secondary) student teachers to record on sequence planners ways in which their lessons enable pupils to achieve these. Since undertaking the interviews for my research, I have felt more assured in discussing these links with students, as my thinking has been informed by the process of gathering data from the teachers I interviewed.

Over time, the way I have been engaging student teachers in thinking about how to promote health and wellbeing in English has changed. Previously, in addition to drawing attention to connections with health and wellbeing when discussing aspects of the English curriculum throughout the session, I had devoted one class in the final teaching block to a task which required students to plan a lesson combining health and wellbeing and English, with reference to experiences and outcomes from both curricular areas. Other topics covered during this block included language and identity with a focus on Scots, extending sites for learning to include museums as a stimulus for writing, walking and responding to place in writing and, along with the Art and Design student teachers, visualising concepts in young people's poetry. Having developed a wider conceptualisation, in more recent years I have started to see how these topics relate to health and wellbeing and have emphasised that much more in the delivery.

We now consider how individuals' language relates to their relationships and communities and how to provide pupils with opportunities to create written and spoken texts in their own voices, thinking about language variety beyond Scots. When considering the potential of museums as sites for learning, students bring their own 'treasures' to class and talk about how these represent emotional connections to people and experiences. We also consider the everyday treasures to be found in museums which show how people live alongside each other, and how the creation of a 'class museum' might stimulate talking and writing activities. Walking and responding to place in writing encourages reflection on the natural environment and the impact different environments can have on people's emotions. The Art and English concept visualisation session explores how the images to be found in their own poems convey young people's feelings about 'home'.

During the last two academic sessions, I have set the English student teachers a microteaching task, which requires them, in pairs or trios, to plan and deliver an English lesson to the rest of the group which contributes to the meeting of health and wellbeing

experiences or outcomes. Last session's lessons centred around a poem which focuses on issues of self-worth and comparing self negatively to others, a poem which prompted discussion about making better choices in life, writing about hobbies or recreational activities and what these bring to our lives, and exploring key events for a selection of young characters in the first *Harry Potter* film, advising on strategies to help with some of the issues which arise for characters, and writing a letter to one of the characters giving advice about starting at a new school. The responses suggest that these student teachers were developing understanding of different ways to promote pupils' health and wellbeing.

Reflecting on my findings has made me realise the highly significant role English teachers have in developing functionings within the school environment, and capabilities for the future, in several areas. The central position of English in the secondary school curriculum, with often daily timetabling of classes for each year group, and the discursive nature of the subject enable English teachers to contribute significantly to the whole school approach to health and wellbeing, particularly in the areas of *Emotions* and *Affiliation*. The teaching of literature, in particular, and creative writing offers rich contexts for the development of capabilities and functionings in the areas of *Senses, imagination, and thought*, *Affiliation*, *Practical reason*, and *Emotions*. My reflection has highlighted the importance of Affiliation, both in terms of feeling affiliated and acting in a way that makes others feel so. *Affiliation* is central to an inclusive learning environment and its promotion is particularly pertinent at present with the ongoing work of the Anti-Racism in Education Programme a national priority (Scottish Government, n.d.). It is important that student teachers of English are thoroughly prepared for the level and types of responsibility for health and wellbeing, which is only part of their role alongside their subject specialism. This means that I have a very important role as subject tutor for secondary English. Preparing my dissertation has enabled me to develop in ways that will better support my student teachers: I have a wider knowledge of conceptual and primary research literature in this field; I understand the potential of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach to provide a framework for the development of wellbeing as flourishing; and I have gained insights about the practice of some very committed and capable teachers of English. As I continue to develop my expertise in this area, I hope that, together with my student teachers, we can take best advantage of the prime position teachers of English are in to promote health and wellbeing in ways that enable young people to flourish.

Appendix One: Nussbaum’s ten central capabilities

1. *Life*. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one’s life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
2. *Bodily health*. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. *Bodily integrity*. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Senses, imagination, and thought*. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a ‘truly human’ way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid nonbeneficial pain.
5. *Emotions*. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one’s emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
6. *Practical reason*. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
7. *Affiliation*. *(A)* Being able to live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.) *(B)* Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.

8. *Other species*. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
9. *Play*. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. *Control over one's environment*. *(A) Political.* Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's own life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. *(B) Material.* Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

(Nussbaum, 2011, pp.33-34)

Appendix Two: Ethical approval

Appendix Three: Interview schedule

How do you understand your responsibility for health and wellbeing across learning?

- What does health and wellbeing mean to you in your professional context?
    - Has this changed during your time as a teacher?
- Recent reports suggest increasing mental health issues amongst adolescents. Is this something you have noticed?
- What do you think of the positioning of health and wellbeing as a cross-curricular priority?
    - What are the reasons/benefits/drawbacks of making it the responsibility of all teachers?
- As a teacher of English, what is your responsibility for health and wellbeing across learning?
    - To what extent are these responsibilities related to the teaching of English or to your contribution to the whole school ethos?
- How do the different aspects set out in Curriculum for Excellence – mental, emotional, social and physical wellbeing; planning for choices and changes; relationships – relate to the day-to-day teaching of English?

How do you enact your responsibility for health and wellbeing across learning?

- What influences your choice of texts or topics when planning units of work?
- Do you refer to the health and wellbeing experiences and outcomes when planning English lessons?
- Which aspects of health and wellbeing do you address in English lessons? How do you do this?
- Do you teach or have you taught lessons as part of the Personal and Social Education curriculum? If you have addressed similar issues, how is dealing with these issues in the context of English lessons different?
- How do you assess pupils' learning and development in aspects of health and wellbeing?
    - Are you expected to report on your assessment of pupils' learning and development in aspects of health and wellbeing?

In what ways do the structures within which you are working support you to enact your responsibility?

- Is there a local authority policy on health and wellbeing? If so, what impact does that have on your work?
- Is there a school policy on health and wellbeing? If so, what impact does that have on your work?
- Is there someone in a promoted position who leads the whole school approach to health and wellbeing? If so, in what ways has that person supported your work in this area?
- Is there a departmental approach to addressing health and wellbeing in English?
- Have you had opportunities for continuing professional learning related to health and wellbeing?
- To what extent do you feel the health and wellbeing of young people is a priority within your local authority/school/department?

Some general prompts:

You said …, could you tell me more?

What did you mean by …?

Do you have a story on that point?

Appendix Four: Examples of data analysis

Extract from interview transcript

Ed: So some of the things, I was just thinking about things I've done recently, so *Whispers in the Graveyard* is sort of a classic English teacher text. I think it was written in '92. So it's dated in some ways, but I've taught it twice now with second years and they still love it, even though he doesn't have a mobile phone or Facebook or anything. They really enjoy the sort of supernatural element of the story. But I found that the fact the main character struggles with school because he suffers from dyslexia. And that's not revealed immediately, unless they've Googled it, which some of them did. They Googled a bit right away to check what was gonna happen in the end. It's kind of annoying. It led to a lot of interesting conversations because I think that, unfortunately, dyslexia is still something misunderstood by, well, everybody. But pupils, and sometimes they're really mean to each other, and it's interesting to have a character that has that, because I found both times I've taught it what has happened is there are pupils in the class who have dyslexia who talk about it and open up a little bit more about it and I'm not really-- I've tried not to prompt it because I don't think it would be very fair to be like, 'Oh, well, you have that problem, like how does it feel for you?' It would be horrible, but both times I've had multiple people in the class who put their hand up and related themselves to the character in some way. And I think that although that might seem like, well, it only helps them, I think hearing them speak about it and tell a story of their own and everybody else is hearing it, it kind of changes everybody in the room a little bit. They kinda think about that a little bit more. So, the next time they think to make like a smart comment about someone using an overlay or using the coloured specs, whatever it might be. I've even seen people that I've kind of pulled someone up for saying something about it and their friends like, 'Oh, it's okay, like it's just-- we were just joking with each other,' and I was like, "Um, okay." So that might be the case, but, you know, if it catches you on a bad day you might not feel so okay about it. You should know that.

Extract from interview summary

Ed describes teaching *Whispers in the Graveyard* recently. He says that it was written in 1992, so it is dated in some ways, but he has taught it twice now with second years and they still love it, even though the main character does not have a mobile phone or Facebook. He says they really enjoy the supernatural element of the story. Ed explains that the main character struggles with school because he has dyslexia, though this is not revealed immediately, unless pupils have Googled it, which some of them had. He says this aspect led to a lot of interesting conversations because he thinks that dyslexia is still misunderstood by most people. He has found, both times he has taught it, that pupils in the class who have dyslexia talk about it and open up a little bit more. He says he has tried not to prompt them directly because he does not think it would be very fair, but both times he has had pupils who have put their hands up and related themselves to the character in some way. He thinks that, although it might seem like it only helps them, hearing them tell a story of their own changes everybody in the room a little bit, and they think about it more and are less likely to make a smart comment about someone using an overlay or coloured specs. He describes pulling someone up for saying something like that and their friend saying, 'It's okay, we were just joking with each other.' He pointed out that if it caught them on a bad day they might not feel okay about it.

Extract from Excel spreadsheet showing data-driven coding

Participant	Page	Data	Code
Ed	7	**Ed:** So, do you want me to go into some texts? So some of the things, I was just thinking about things I've done recently, so *Whispers in the Graveyard* is sort of a classic English teacher text. I think it was written in '92. So it's dated in some ways, but I've taught it twice now with second years and they still love it, even though he doesn't have a mobile phone or Facebook or anything. They really enjoy the sort of supernatural element of the story. But I found that the fact the main character struggles with school because he suffers from dyslexia. And that's not revealed immediately, unless they've Googled it, which some of them did. They Googled a bit right away to check what was gonna happen in the end. It's kind of annoying.	Example of a text in which the main character struggles with school due to dyslexia
Ed	7	**Ed:** It led to a lot of interesting conversations because I think that, unfortunately, dyslexia is still something misunderstood by, well, everybody.	Text leads to conversations about dyslexia
Ed	7/8	**Ed:** But pupils, and sometimes they're really mean to each other, and it's interesting to have a character that has that, because I found both times I've taught it what has happened is there are pupils in the class who have dyslexia who talk about it and open up a little bit more about it and I'm not really-- I've tried not to prompt it because I don't think it would be very fair to be like, 'Oh, well, you have that problem, like how does it feel for you?' It would be horrible, but both times I've had multiple people in the class who put their hand up and/ related themselves to the character in some way.	Pupils offer to relate themselves to the character
Ed	8	**Ed:** And I think that although that might seem like, well, it only helps them, I think hearing them speak about it and tell a story of their own and everybody else is hearing it, it kind of changes everybody in the room a little bit. They kinda think about that a little bit more.	If a pupil shares their perspective with the class, it helps everyone understand
Ed	8	**Ed:** So, the next time they think to make like a smart comment about someone using an overlay or using the coloured specs, whatever it might be. I've even seen people that I've kind of pulled someone up for saying something about it and their friend's like, 'Oh, it's okay, like it's just-- we were just joking with each other,' and I was like, 'Um, okay. So that might be the case, but, you know, if it catches you on a bad day you might not feel so okay about it. You should know that.'	Pupils might think before making a smart comment about another pupil's support need

Appendix Five: Bernstein's languages of description

Extract from table showing use of Bernstein's (2000) languages of description, as discussed by Moss (2001)

L1 – internal (theoretical) language of description		**L2 – external (empirical) language of description**	
Concept	**Definition**	**What might this look like in my data (hypothetical)**	**Actual example of data**
7. Affiliation	*(A)* Being able to live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.) *(B)* Having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.	Imagine and show concern for the situations of characters in texts As a result, show concern for the experiences and situations of other pupils Imagine and show concern for the situations of other people in the real world, particularly those in difficult circumstances, through reading and listening to news reports Promoting a classroom ethos which enables open discussion of issues and sharing of ideas Paired and group discussion with a range of classmates Teacher-pupil interaction in class and around the school	I think that, unfortunately, dyslexia is still something misunderstood by, well, everybody. But pupils, and sometimes they're really mean to each other, and it's interesting to have a character that has that, because I found both times I've taught it what has happened is there are pupils in the class who have dyslexia who talk about it and open up a little bit more about it and I'm not really-- I've tried not to prompt it because I don't think it would be very fair to be like, 'Oh, well, you have that problem, like how does it feel for you?' It would be horrible, but both times I've had multiple people in the class who put their hand up and related themselves to the character in some way. And I think that although that might seem like, well, it only helps them, I think hearing them speak about it and tell a story of their own and everybody else is hearing it, it kind of changes everybody in the room a little bit. They kinda think about that a little bit more. So, the next time they

			think to make like a smart comment about someone using an overlay or using the coloured specs, whatever it might be. I've even seen people that I've kind of pulled someone up for saying something about it and their friends like, 'Oh, it's okay, like it's just-- we were just joking with each other,' and I was like, 'Um, okay. So that might be the case, but, you know, if it catches you on a bad day you might not feel so okay about it. You should know that.' Ed So, a lot of quite big discussions came from that play and the idea of with Blanche's mental illness and the way Stanley treats her, and the eventual rape. And a lot of very delicate conversations were had, but I think it definitely benefited the-- and it gave the girls a chance, as well, to voice in the room for their male peers, how they saw these issues. … and how they felt about it, which I think was good for all of them to hear. Gill

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