A counter-narrative of curriculum enrichment in performative times.

Kay Livingston and Catherine Doherty

University of Glasgow

Abstract: Political pressures to improve schooling outcomes have typically narrowed the curriculum to that which can be measured. We explore the counter-narrative of efforts to enrich curriculum with learning which is difficult to measure but nevertheless valued, through a study of British Council programmes offered in Scottish schools to support curricular internationalisation. These programmes exemplify a growing number of programmes provided by external organisations to enrich official school curriculum. However, the contemporary focus on performative targets means that such hosted programmes need to argue their relevance in terms of measurable curricular outcomes. We draw on an empirical project involving semi-structured interviews with leaders and focus groups with teachers in Scottish schools. The research is conceptualised through Bernstein's theory of the classification and framing of knowledge, and distinction between visible and invisible pedagogies. Analysis of two schools' enactment of such curricular enrichment explores how programmes ostensibly cultivating international education and global citizenship are ultimately assessed and defended through their contribution to other curricular outcomes. This counter-narrative of curricular enrichment in performative times asks whether such efforts to measure the ineffable defeat the object of the exercise, to highlight how overly simplistic measures of curricular learning can distort what matters.

Key words: curriculum, assessment, enrichment, internationalisation, British Council.

Introduction

The policy narrative for contemporary times typically suggests that educational policy across the globe is converging around a language of targets and comparative tools that seek to manage 'quality' by measuring and managing the 'performance' of educational programmes (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Numeric tests, targets and benchmarks have reduced the complexity of education systems to conjure a calculative world, and this version of the world comes to matter. In this sense managerial regimes are 'performative' in terms of 'world-making'

(Gorur, 2015, p. 1) and 'catalytic' in terms of producing 'perverse' systemic effects (Lingard & Sellar, 2013, p. 634). Such performativity regimes create pressures that distort educational processes with the risk that 'we end up valuing what is measured, rather than that we engage in measurement of what we value' (Biesta, 2009, p. 43). A common response to such regimes, whether local, national or international, is to narrow the school curriculum to focus on just those elements that are tested (Berliner, 2011) with 'shrinking space for curricular and pedagogical innovation, creativity, or autonomy' (Crocco & Costigan, 2007, p. 516). This is particularly the case in schools serving disadvantaged communities (for example, Thompson & Harbaugh, 2013). These schools may have to spend disproportionally more time on targeted subjects in an effort to close poverty-related attainment gaps, thereby reducing the possibility to offer a wider and more diverse curriculum

As a counter-narrative, we are interested in efforts to enrich the school curriculum, and how such enrichment might make itself relevant in the logic of performative times. We do this through an empirical exploration of the impact of British Council programmes in Scottish schools. The British Council is the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities, working nationally and internationally. To this end British Council Scotland offers all schools in Scotland opportunities to engage in programmes which support international education, global citizenship education, modern language learning, and sustainability education through networks, online platforms, language assistants, professional development, curricular materials, and funding for staff and student mobility. The goals identified by British Council in supporting international education are to support learning, teaching and school improvement in Scottish schools, in addition to broadening learners' horizons; opening their eyes to global thinking and helping support the development of core skills relevant in today's global economy.

The British Council programmes are one example of a growing number of initiatives that offer schools value-adding experiences and resources. For example, in Scotland, many schools proudly highlight their involvement with programmes such as the Keep Britain Tidy's Eco-Schools[i], Duke of Edinburgh Awards[ii] and UNICEF's Rights Respecting Schools[iii]. We suggest that these involvements constitute a new stratum of curricular activities sourced from non-government organisations[iv], or other government authorities. These supplementary programmes share moral premises and good intentions, shaping the child into a responsible and caring citizen of the planet, the globe or the community. Perhaps

for this reason such curricular enrichment is emerging when formal school curricula are becoming more instrumental and achievement-focussed (Spielman, 2017). While enrichment programmes pursue laudable aims, they also share the attribute that their learning outcomes are hard to 'evidence', or measure.

Measurement has become a dominant narrative in the 'global education reform movement' (Sahlberg, 2016) whereby more and more nations' education policies are converging around the 'new normal' (p. 180) of international benchmark testing fuelling 'narrowed curriculum and over-reliance on test scores as the only criteria for quality of education' (p.184). In this performative context, the current Scottish Nationalist Party government in Scotland has placed great emphasis on improving student attainment. Their flagship education policy, 'the Scottish Attainment Challenge'[v], is focused on improving the schooling outcomes of students living in deprived communities, in order to close the poverty-related equity gap. This includes 'gathering data on children's progress at key points in their education, including data on differences between those from the least and most deprived areas' (ACER, 2018, p.6). Measurement distinguishes their concept of attainment from the more nebulous concept of achievement: 'Attainment is the measurable progress which children and young people make as they advance through and beyond school, and the development of the range of skills, knowledge and attributes needed to succeed in learning, life and work' (Education Scotland, 2019). In these conditions, more diffuse learning across the curriculum has to account for itself in measurable terms of attainment as the current mechanism for monitoring.

We understand curriculum to mean more than the collection of school subjects on offer. Rather, it is the totality of planned learning experiences and 'overall rationale for any educational programme' with a purposeful view to 'the effects that exposure to such knowledge and subjects is likely to have, or is intended to have, on its recipients' (Kelly, 2009, p. 9). The concept of curriculum is further refracted in terms of formal/informal, hidden, null, planned/received aspects to capture the multiple parties and contingent unfolding of curricular processes. Under this definition, enrichment programmes are not 'extra-curricular', 'hidden' or 'informal' adjuncts. They are engaged with purposefully in a planned way and hosted within the formal school curriculum to be woven into the time and space of the school day. For this reason, we understand **curriculum enrichment** as the practice of intentionally adding more elements to the formal curriculum, above and beyond

policy guidelines or mandated curriculum, to augment the learning made available to all students.

Using the example of the British Council (henceforth BC) programmes[vi] in Scottish schools, we investigate how teachers accounted for such curricular enrichment and its impact. The paper proceeds in six sections. As context, the first section offers a brief consideration of the growing attention given to cultivating global citizenship in the curriculum and a history of Scotland's waves of effort to internationalise the curriculum, with attention to how the BC has maintained its presence and relevance. The second section offers a brief literature review of other studies of curricular enrichment models. The third section builds a theoretical framework from Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device, in particular his distinction between visible and invisible pedagogies. The fourth section outlines the genesis of the empirical study and its choice of interviews with teachers and leaders in case study schools. The fifth section analyses episodes in the interview data from two contrasting schools. The final discussion reflects on the value of weakly classified curriculum and invisible pedagogy and considers such 'infused' curricular enrichment as a counter-narrative in performative times.

Context

Increased attention on global citizenship education (GCE) is reflected in a growing body of scholarly literature (Davies et al. 2005). Yates and Grumet (2011), in their introduction to the *World Yearbook of Education 2011*, highlight the widespread work underway in 'the configuring and reconfiguring of curriculum today, and the issues of nation and global context, of political change, of new identity and cognitive demands this world has now generated' (p.7). Though there is agreement that GCE is a good idea, the concept attracts a variety of different, sometimes contradictory or conflicting meanings (Mannion et al. 2011; Oxley & Morris 2013). Despite the variety of different meanings versions of GCE often invoke an ideal (and deeply normative) global citizen. Pashby articulates this as:

> a strong vision that a 'global' citizen is one who 'responsibly' interacts with and 'understands' others while being self-critical of his/her position and who keeps open a dialogical and complex understanding rather than a closed and static notion of identities. (Pashby, 2011, p. 428)

Such understandings of GCE as concerned with finding solutions to global problems stand in opposition to more neoliberal conceptualisations of GCE as preparation for economic competitiveness in a global market of opportunities. Mannion et al. (2011) describe GCE in terms of a 'curricular global turn'

> The official turn towards the global is founded on a rationale that requires pupils to make an *economic* and a *cultural* response to perceived current circumstances in ways that mask possible political concerns. The call is generally phrased as 'the challenge of preparing pupils for life in a global society and work in a global economy'.
> (Mannion et al. 2011, p. 449)

Since the emergence of the prototypical International Baccalaureate Diploma in schools for expatriate populations and then the spread of its Diploma Programme as a curriculum of choice for the academically advantaged and middle class (Doherty, Luke, Shield & Hincksman, 2012), internationalisation of the school curriculum has typically been regarded as the privilege of elites (Maxwell, 2018). By providing cosmopolitan capitals (Weenink, 2008) such curricula have sought to distinguish their graduates in terms of their preparation and aspiration for more mobile futures and global competition (Doherty, Mu & Shield, 2009). However, in Scottish education, developing an international outlook for all students has been a longstanding ambition, but never conceptualised as a dedicated curricular subject. Rather, over the last two decades there have been waves of initiatives at policy and practice levels aiming to embed international education in the school curriculum with varying levels of success. Initiatives to raise the profile of international education have stemmed from shifting agendas of Scottish Government, government agencies, local councils, BC and other third sector organisations. At the turn of the century there was a national debate on the purpose, aims and enactment of education to prepare young people for 21st century opportunities and demands within increasingly globalised societies. This national debate provided opportunities for dialogue about a future Scotland and 'the story that is being constructed of national/global identities' (Yates & Grumet, 2011, p. 10). A guidance document, *International Outlook: Educating Young Scots about the World,* published by the Scottish Executive[vii] (2001) encouraged schools and teacher education institutions to develop opportunities within their curriculum to think locally and globally. The document emphasised the inclusion of international education as cross-curricular learning:

It is not about introducing a new subject to the curriculum of our schools. It aims instead to raise among curriculum developers, teacher trainers and school managers a greater awareness of the need to co-ordinate the contributions of the existing curriculum – formal, informal and hidden – gradually over the next few years towards producing more internationally educated school leavers. (Scottish Executive, 2001, p. 3)

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) has long had a prominent role in setting the agenda for educational priorities in schools in Scotland explicitly and implicitly. Therefore, the publication of guidance on international education by HMIE in 2003, as part of a series of guides to self-evaluation of schools, highlighted international education in Scottish schools by setting out Quality Indicators for schools to self-evaluate their progress on including international education in curriculum and school processes. This encouraged rather than enforced schools to have an international focus. These arrangements have informed awards for excellence at the school level from key Scottish agencies and BC. However, there was no parallel effort to develop modes of assessment to evaluate students' progression in this domain.

The emphasis on international education at the policy level coincided with major curriculum reform which led to the development of Curriculum for Excellence (Scottish Executive, 2004). Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) takes a 'broad general education' approach to the curriculum. Subject or discipline areas are understood as evidentially and epistemologically related, with the potential for inter-disciplinary learning activities. The changes to curriculum impacted in terms of the content taught and the learning and teaching processes, including an emphasis on all teachers sharing responsibility for literacy, numeracy and well-being. The development of CfE included an international focus from its inception with the aim of embedding international education across the curriculum (LTS, 2010).

The election of the Scottish Nationalist Party to government (as a minority government in 2007 and majority government in 2011) increased the political ambition for Scotland to be recognised as an independent country and to be more internationally focused. It is noteworthy that the language of the policy guidance changed over this period from 'international education' to 'global citizenship'. The change in discourse signalled a convergence of international education, citizenship and sustainability education with an emphasis on

exploring the underlying values and shared concepts in interdisciplinary ways. Policy terminology changed again to development of 'A Scottish World View' to focus on Scotland looking outwards and thus avoid criticism of being inward-looking, focused only on achieving independence. In this wave, the emphasis was on schools supporting pupils 'to develop a greater understanding of Scotland and its place in the world and … working to improve their own communities and partner communities in the developing world' (LTS, 2011, p.3). Teachers were encouraged to develop partnerships with schools in Europe and beyond. This included teacher exchanges and professional development in international contexts, some funded through programmes administered by the BC in Scotland.

The political agenda continued to shift. In 2006 the Scottish Government invited the OECD to undertake a review of Scottish education. The review report (OECD, 2007) was a catalyst for prioritising both quality and equity of schooling. A further review by the OECD (2015) highlighted the impact of the global trend of performativity on Scottish education while maintaining the emphasis on the equity gap, whereby pupils from affluent areas tended to be associated with high levels of academic attainment, and pupils from economically deprived areas tended to be associated with low levels in academic attainment. The Scottish Government set itself the challenge to break these associations. The recent policy objectives set out in a National Improvement Framework (Scottish Government, 2017) focus on raising attainment and closing the poverty-related attainment gap. Central to this framework is the Scottish Attainment Challenge (SAC) with its strong emphasis on targeted improvement activity in literacy, numeracy and health and well-being with a renewed vision of achieving both equity and excellence. Nine out of Scotland's thirty-two local councils participate in the SAC. The nine local councils have the greatest concentration of school-aged children living in the most deprived areas of Scotland (Scottish Government, 2018).

In this policy context the BC has continued to offer their programmes but with an eye to contributing to broader school improvement and contributing to the Scottish Attainment Challenge by supporting interventions aimed at closing the poverty related attainment gap. Accordingly, the research reported in this paper was commissioned by BC Scotland to determine the impact of their programmes, particularly their contribution to the Scottish Government's policy focus on achieving excellence and equity in pupils' academic attainment in literacy, numeracy and health and well-being.

Literature review

There is an emergent literature concerned with partnerships between schools and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as a global trend. Sleegers (2019) argues that new forms of 'tight and loose couplings' between 'system and non-system actors' (p. 326) create new institutional conditions that demand more research, particularly 'the impact of school–NGO interactions on teaching and learning' (p. 327).

Our approach to curricular enrichment through hosted 'non-system' programmes responds to this call but sits uncomfortably with other literature which uses the term 'enrichment' to refer to enhanced curricular offerings for gifted and talented students. For example, Renzulli and Reis (2014) offer a model for 'schoolwide enrichment' including an 'infusion-based approach' (p. 14) to increase engagement, identify giftedness and develop talent. This more individualised sense of enrichment differs from ours, but the idea of 'infusion' is helpful to understand how enrichment is incorporated purposefully into the school day in more diffuse ways than through dedicated timetabled slots.

This strategy of infusion aligns with the growing appetite for 'cross-curricular' elements. For example, the Australian Curriculum released in 2011 (Atweh & Singh, 2011) outlined both the usual subject areas, and three cross-curricular priorities. The infused status of these cross-curriculum priorities, without dedicated time or explicit assessment, has rendered them marginal and disputed (Doherty, 2018). Similarly, the English and Welsh National Curriculum instituted in the 1990s proposed a set of cross-curricular themes:

> … elements that enrich the educational experience of pupils. They are more structured and pervasive than any other cross-curricular provision and include a strong component of knowledge and understanding in addition to skills. Most can be taught through other subjects as well as through themes and topics. (National Curriculum Council quoted in Savage, 2011, p. 10)

In their research into how these cross-curricular themes were subsequently enacted, Whitty, Rowe and Aggleton (1994) used the metaphor of 'permeation' to capture the degree to which 'the teaching of the themes was distributed across a variety of separate subjects' (p. 28). Their research investigated whether the recommended design of cross-curricular permeation could work given the disciplinary nature of the broader curriculum, and which themes gained

their own 'discrete curriculum slots' (p. 29) and 'quasi-subjects' status (p.30). Their analysis of survey responses from headteachers suggested that a permeated design risked becoming invisible:

> Those themes that are heavily reliant on a permeation model are likely to become invisible to teachers and pupils in the context of the strong classification and strong framing associated with conventional academic subjects. Even those themes that have established a distinctive presence may lose their visibility as schools become constrained by the pressures of the National Curriculum to try to deliver all the themes via the core and other foundation subjects. (pp. 31-32)

Their article explored the visibility of themes through interviews with teachers and pupils in whose opinion the absence of examinations undermined the intended learning. Further, they argued that when cross-curricular themes were permeated through subjects, their assessment was overlooked or distorted:

> the components are usually assessed in relation to the attainment targets for particular subjects rather than in terms of their relationships to other subjects or to pupils' life outside schools. If subject discourses are aimed at transmitting the abstract principles of discrete subjects, then the forms of assessment appropriate to subjects are unlikely to be appropriate to themes. (pp. 38-39)

As an alternative curricular design to encourage links across curricular subjects, the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) specified 'interdisciplinary learning … for learning beyond subject boundaries, so that children and young people can make connections between different areas of learning' (Education Scotland, 2012, p. 1). This policy guidance carved out curricular space and time for more flexible, integrated learning, with the aspiration that it would foster innovative pedagogy. Humes (2013) reviewed the logic invoked in CfE documents and concluded that the plan for interdisciplinary learning was 'well-intentioned but rather ill-defined' (p.92).

This literature has brought to the surface other studies that have explored curricular enrichment designs that seek to overwrite the conventional order of discrete subjects. As a set, they highlight the contingent status of such learning if there is no identifiable assessment

to anchor the particular curricular goals. We see strong resonances between these curricular designs and curricular enrichment sourced from 'non-system' organisations that therefore have no formal claim to operative modes of assessment. To conceptualise the nature of infused programmes and the problem of assessing their impact, our work has been informed by Bernstein's sociology of knowledge, as outlined in the next section.

Theoretical frame

For Bernstein the pedagogic device is realized through the three 'message systems' of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation: 'Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 47). According to Bernstein while these message systems are analytically distinct, they interact in any empirical realisation. He argues that evaluation ultimately 'condenses the meaning' of the whole pedagogic device (Bernstein, 2000, p. 36). We acknowledge that the terms 'evaluation' and 'assessment' are debated in different fora. However, for the purposes of this paper we take the Bernsteinian concept of evaluation as referring to assessment practices. The BC programmes offer support and enrichment for curriculum and pedagogy, but do not require any assessment of student outcomes, which makes them a curiosity in formal curriculum terms. Their contribution to learning is assumed to contribute to other curricular goals and must find its expression through their associated assessment. In this way, BC programmes rely on the formal curriculum for an account of their impact on learning. These programmes will need to account for themselves in the formal curriculum's terms and will be subject to the policies that frame the curriculum.

Bernstein's concept of recontextualisation refers to the process of selecting and moving knowledge from its site of origin into the Official Recontextualising Field (for example, curriculum authorities), then the Pedagogic Recontextualisation Field (the classroom). In each move, 'a transformation takes place' because 'there is a space in which ideology can play' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 46), meaning each actor in the recontextualisation chain retains some discretion in how the knowledge is re-presented. This concept helps us account for how curricular resources offered by the BC are interpreted and enacted afresh in each site. Further, the absence of any formal or uniform assessment in the BC programmes allows considerable flexibility in how the resources are interpreted and integrated, and thus in how their impact might be understood and evaluated. We will refer to the official curriculum and

its accountability demands as the Official Recontextualising Field, while the classroom's enacted curriculum into which the BC programmes are infused as the Pedagogic Recontextualisation Field.

Further, Bernstein gives us the concepts of classification and framing of curricular knowledge. Classification refers to the degree of knowledge specialisation, and 'the nature of the differentiation between contents' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 49) evident, for example, in the timetable's separation of one curricular subject from another. Framing refers to the degree of control over pedagogic relations in terms of who controls aspects such as the sequence, pacing and nature of interactions. In the case of the BC programmes, if they are incorporated and infused across other classroom activities, their knowledge would be considered weakly classified. If, however, they are given dedicated time and attention in the school day, with separate activities and assessment tasks, then they would be considered strongly classified. Further, if BC were to inspect schools enacting their programmes to ensure fidelity to some required design, then these programmes would be considered strongly framed. In fact, schools are granted considerable latitude (weak framing) in how they enact and embed the programmes in their own school, in line with the flexibility built into Curriculum for Excellence.

Using these concepts, Bernstein (2000) then distinguishes between visible and invisible pedagogies. Visible pedagogies are strongly framed and strongly classified, with explicit criteria for what is to be learned. Invisible or 'progressive' pedagogies are weakly framed experiences in which what is to be learned and how is weakly classified and not made explicit for the learner. The Bernsteinian suite of concepts help dignify the different forms of consciousness and practice that different pedagogies can cultivate. While visible pedagogy and versions thereof have been championed recently in the effort to reclaim disciplinary knowledge in the school curriculum (for example, Rata 2017), Bernstein was agnostic and more interested in how different times produced different pedagogic codes (Moore, 2013). Similarly, here we are interested in how infused curricular enrichment is faring in performative times. In the case of the BC programmes, we consider the lack of explicit forms of assessment to facilitate more invisible pedagogies offering immersive experiences (such as trips or virtual student exchanges) in which students participate and implicitly acquire new dispositions, understandings or knowledge. Such new knowledge will typically be weakly classified knowledge, expressed in everyday language.

A visible pedagogy involves strongly classified knowledge with specialised language, strongly framed pedagogy governing a clear hierarchy in student/teacher interactions, and explicit criteria which facilitate more conservative modes of measurable assessment. In contrast, the nature of invisible pedagogy and the kind of learning it enables create the accountability problem of how to evidence the impact or assess outcomes of such programmes. In this way, more invisible pedagogy encounters a problem in the contemporary moment with its appetite for measurable assessment. Our counter-narrative of efforts to enrich curriculum could thus result in learning which is valued but difficult to measure, thus vulnerable under performative pressures.

Methodology

Using Bernstein's concepts, we have parsed the status of BC enrichment programmes, and how their relatively invisible pedagogies infused across the regular curriculum implicate the problem of how to evidence outcomes. This understanding illuminates both why we were commissioned by BC Scotland to undertake research to identify the impact of their programmes in Scottish primary and secondary schools in terms of improved literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing outcomes, and our subsequent findings. The BC was particularly interested in finding out the impact of their programmes in schools in Attainment Challenge and non-Attainment Challenge local councils.

To answer the question 'What impact do these programmes have?', the larger project (Livingston et al., 2018) adopted a mixed methods approach involving a) a quantitative analysis using existing data on BC programme engagement and open data on school attainment, and b) a qualitative analysis of interviews with school leaders and focus groups with teachers and students in seven case study schools. The arrangements for the interviews and focus groups were necessarily pragmatic to enable teachers and students to be released to participate in the research. The schools were purposefully selected to ensure the sample included rural and urban settings, primary and secondary schools, different degrees of engagement with BC, and different socio-economic conditions in Attainment Challenge and non-Attainment Challenge local councils.

Another important aspect of the qualitative design characterised schools as 'recent' engagers (with one BC programmes for less than 3 years) or 'mature' engagers (with one or more BC

programmes for 3+ years) to understand what created and sustained their interest in BC programmes. From the outset we appreciated that the complexity of schools and multiple factors that ultimately contribute to student outcomes would make it difficult to isolate the effects of BC programmes from other contextual qualities such as school culture, community and leadership. However, we took the view that staff in schools that had sought out, continued or grown their involvement with BC programmes over time would be able to articulate reasons for doing so. These reflexive rationalisations (Giddens, 1993) give us empirical access to professional judgements, observations and monitoring accrued over time. In this way, the interview and focus group dataset restores and recaptures the kind of insight that has been displaced by the appetite for numbers (Gorur, 2015). For the purposes of this paper, we have focussed on interview data from two schools gathered from school leaders (headteacher and deputy headteacher), and on focus group data involving teachers (4 primary school teachers from across the primary stages and 6 secondary teachers from different curriculum areas). The two schools were purposefully selected for three reasons. First, they offered a contrast in their involvement in the BC programmes – a 'recent' primary school and a 'mature' secondary school. Second, they are both within the same Attainment Challenge educational authority serving disadvantaged communities yet both offer counter-narrative cases where efforts are being made to promote global citizenship/international education to widen the curriculum in contexts which are usually associated with narrowing the curriculum under performative pressures. Third, they provided contrasting examples of curriculum enrichment at primary and secondary school stages. This enabled us to consider the impact of assessment processes in relation to enrichment programmes at the different stages of schooling.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups provided a consistent framework of themes[viii] and flexibility to explore the nuances of the different sites with interviewees. The discussions with school leaders and teachers in these sites helped us to understand and document any added value reportedly gained from participation in BC programmes, and how these programmes were understood to contribute in the policy context of the National Improvement Framework and its imperatives. A total of 5 interviews and 4 focus groups were carried out in the 2 schools with school leaders, teachers and students as part of the main study.
The headteachers and deputy headteachers took part together in one interview and the teachers in one focus group in each school in June 2018 which lasted approximately one hour in each case. For greater depth, we interviewed the school leaders a second time

approximately three months later. This allowed time between interviews to analyse first responses then probe for more detail and updates. On the second visit in one school the headteacher and deputy head were interviewed together and in the other only the deputy head was available for interview. All interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed, using pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. Two sub-questions framed our analysis of the interview data:

1. How are the curriculum enrichment programmes enacted?
   This allowed us to characterise each school's recontextualisation of the programmes in terms of classification and framing.
2. How do the school leaders/teachers account for the impact of the enrichment programmes? This allowed us to focus on what claims were made of outcomes or impact, what evidence was offered, and what criteria were invoked.

Our analytical pathway is summarised in Table 1 to show how we moved between an 'internal' conceptual language of description to an 'external' or operationalised language (Bernstein, 2000) to interrogate the data.

<< insert Table 1 >>

Discussion of the analysis

Case Study 1 (CS1) is an urban secondary school with a diverse multi-ethnic and multi-cultural student population: '… you can't come here and not recognise what it is to be a member of the world' (Headteacher). The school has been involved in multiple BC programmes (Connecting Classroooms, e-Twinning and Language Assistants) for many years, thus considered a mature case. Case Study 2 (CS2) is an urban primary school located in an area of social and economic disadvantage. The school has engaged with one BC programme (eTwinning) for two years and is considered a recent case. This school's engagement was driven by the headteacher and deputy headteacher with teachers only starting to engage.

How are curriculum enrichment programmes enacted?

The strong message from the school leaders in CS1 was that international education is embedded across the work of the school and this is recognised by teachers, pupils and parents:

> … [when] I'm talking about what's been happening in the school – and one of the things which obviously I speak about is the fact of international education and … no one gasps or anything anymore. It's really just that it is part of who [case study school] is. (headteacher)

The headteacher commented that embedded curriculum can become less visible: '…it's quite an interesting one because when something is embedded, then it becomes … less obvious, but it actually isn't.' While international education was implicit in the school's improvement plan, the headteacher did not want it to become a separate task. In her view, 'that would be foolish because why would you do that when it's actually kind of, like, what we live and breathe?' The deputy headteacher was new to the school and also commented on the degree of embeddedness, 'I thought there would be an international education strand in the school, but it is everywhere … it's embedded across the curriculum.' This embeddedness within the work of the school aligned with Scottish Government's policy ambitions but made explanations of programme enactment challenging for the school leaders. The headteacher recognised that the BC programmes had played a key role in establishing international education across the school:

> … international education has been allowed to be promoted through the British Council initially, and it's become embedded, so it then grows and develops, which I think is healthy … I think it's great because it means that it's actually organic in its growth rather than instructed.

This account describes the weak classification and framing of the enactment of BC programmes achieved in this mature case, where teachers had significant freedom to decide on which curriculum areas would be involved and how. Six teachers from the many involved in international activities were interviewed. They provided more concrete examples of how they enacted the programmes within the curriculum. They outlined the opportunities provided

by the BC programmes for pupils to learn in and from international contexts in areas of Curriculum for Excellence, giving examples pertaining to literacy, digital literacy, media, numeracy, health and well-being, biology, art, modern languages, and curriculum links in school trips (e.g. to Africa, Germany) or virtual links with schools abroad. In each of their examples the links teachers made between BC programmes and curriculum areas were made more visible than the 'embedded' description provided by the school leaders. However, the range of curricular areas and the number of teachers involved in international activities in CS1 highlighted how international education was weakly classified. It was not seen as an area of the curriculum that was vertically organised for progression, or as a separate task for a particular group of teachers.

Despite fewer years of BC involvement, the school leaders of CS2 also claimed the BC work was embedded across the formal curriculum rather than one particular subject. However, at this early stage, the school's engagement was led by the leadership team as a carefully planned strategic means to an end. Embedding engagement with the BC programme was explicitly part of the school's plan for improvement and the headteacher emphasised, 'Every part of it is embedded now. This isn't something that we're just kind of saying, "Oh, we'll do a wee bit here and we'll see how that goes."' The work of the programme was knitted into the curriculum goals that were highlighted in their school improvement plan and linked to the priorities of the Official Recontextualisation Field: literacy, numeracy, health and well-being, second language and digital literacy. At the same time, the school leaders stressed how they actively introduced the programme to enrich the official curriculum by offering a different approach specifically designed to better meet the needs of their students. Given the school's context of high disadvantage, the headteacher's pursuit of curricular enrichment was deliberate and purposeful:

> … trying to do things that are different, and I think one of obviously the kind of main reasons for that is where we are in [local area]. The opportunities are fairly limited for children, for families, so we're always seeking to do something which is different, something new … quite often we are the people trying to pick up the tab on developing their aspirations, you know?

The enrichment programme in the curriculum was thus an explicit strategy to do things above and beyond the regular curriculum to raise aspirations and broaden students' horizons. These

opportunities could be justified using the language of the Official Recontextualisation Field and at the same time offer a counterpoint to narrow attainment criteria. The school leaders made explicit links to the policy agenda and the measurable learning priorities identified in the school's improvement plan, but in doing so they also expected their recontextualisation to address the bigger picture of their students' lack of opportunities.

The policy discourse on closing the poverty-related attainment gap was evident in both case study schools. Both schools were purposefully using BC programmes as a pedagogical tool to promote students' learning and enrich curricular outcomes while at the same time they aimed to provide different opportunities and new experiences for their students. The leaders in both schools emphasised how, for them, such opportunities afforded by curriculum enrichment offered the greatest potential to close the poverty-related attainment gap:

> I think one of the biggest things closing this equity gap is these kind of projects, it's all about creating opportunities, you know, for kids. Opportunities that they'll never experience, particularly again where we are … (deputy headteacher, CS2)

> So what we're trying to do is really focus on all of those international education aspects, but for the lowest performing 20% because I actually think it would have a bigger impact on them to see their place in the world and for them to have those opportunities of going on trips … because that's going to be life-changing for them. (deputy headteacher, CS1)

The discourse of addressing the attainment gap was also evident in teacher responses. For example, a teacher involved in supporting the annual students' overseas trip in CS1 explained: 'We are targeting young people from SIMD 1 and 2[ix] to try and get them involved … we're actually looking at where they're attaining and what and where they're struggling, and trying to get them involved in the school as a whole community.' This suggests that the performativity agenda is never far from the teachers' minds.

To summarise this section, the two recontextualisations of BC programmes could be considered weakly classified in how they were embedded across multiple subject areas. However, the purposes of these programmes were expressed at times in terms of explicit links to particular subjects and more visible pedagogies, as well meeting broader goals above

and beyond formal curricular terms with a more invisible pedagogy. This brings the discussion to our second analytic question of how the impact of curricular enrichment was expressed.

How do the school leaders/teachers account for the impact of the enrichment programmes?

Similar to their accounts of programme enactment, interviewees at CS1 could talk about the impact of the programmes in relation to pupil learning in specific areas of the official curriculum, but at the same time they also emphasized learning above and beyond the assessed curriculum. For example, in terms of digital literacy, the headteacher's view was:

> …there's kind of double benefits ... the kids are using computers, and they're not using them just to game and they're not using them for social media, they're using computers to connect with others in the world. … they're doing it within their computing classes, so it's got that kind of double value.

The headteacher and Modern Languages teacher in CS1 were also in agreement about the impact of the Language Assistant programme specifically on pupils' language skills and in broader terms:

> the difference you know, [language] assistants can make is considerable … I don't think it can be underestimated. … it's to do with young people seeing, not just hearing the language, and teachers feeling comfortable that they're getting the grammar right and being up to date in their vocabulary. But it's also that young people see other people from another world, from another part of the world, speaking and talking about their cultures. So, it's also that, the whole understanding of another culture that comes with someone who's working with them. (headteacher, CS1)

The following passage offers perhaps the most diffused account of BC programme impact, suggesting that the most disadvantaged pupils were benefitting from the enriched ethos of teacher/student interactions cultivated by BC programmes:

…our bottom twenty per cent are the ones where we need to work, and these young people are often new arrivals into the country or they're EL (English language) learners who have been in the country but still come from the most deprived areas … To be frank, I don't know if they've actually been involved in the British Council. …the atmosphere, the ethos that's generated by having that support from the British Council means that those young people are welcomed into the school … I can't say it's direct … But… it's to do with the expectations and the aspirations that teachers have that's created by the fact that we are engaged in so much international work that people see children as individuals rather than as coming from particular countries or whatever, and therefore we see them and want to develop that talent and whatever that skill is … the impact of the programmes have made a difference in terms of our psyche, in terms of, you know, our understanding of each other. (headteacher CS1)

However, such broad accounts of programme impact emerged alongside accounts referencing impact as subject grades:

[Language Assistant] was wonderful with the Highers this year. They all ended up getting full marks on the speaking test. She worked really intensively with them, and they all got the full 30 marks. (Modern Languages Teacher, CS1)

I know it's not data, but you can work that one out – the impact in terms of their [Pupils'] speaking grades and their listening grades, and also their writing and reading ... (headteacher CS1)

In this way, the analysis could trace two parallel narratives about the BC programmes' impact. The first was the challenge of invisibility ('It's so embedded its difficult [to evidence]' (headteacher, CS1)), while the second returned to conventional language of improved attainment in curricular subjects. While interviewees recognised that some form of monitoring would help evidence impact, there was no such practice reported: 'We monitor literacy levels, we monitor numeracy numbers, and yet they're embedded across the curriculum. So, I suppose maybe we should [monitor international education]. I don't think we do.' (headteacher, CS1)

In lieu of such programme-specific assessment, teachers looked elsewhere for measurable evidence. For example, a teacher involved in a student trip abroad (CS1) mentioned planning generic pre/post psychometric testing to capture the impact of the trip on pupils' learning:

> they also do CAT tests, or Cognitive Ability Tests … the idea was I was going to link it into the trip, so they're going to get a CAT test in December this year, and then get another CAT test when they come back. … so a pre- and post-test how they've moved on …. (teacher, CS1)

However, the deputy headteacher in CS1 recognised the dangers and distortion of using conventional assessment approaches to measure infused international education:

> It's everywhere… how would you pull that out? Because it's difficult to pick a subject where they're not involved in some way or another … I can see why, but would we want to? Because then is that identifying it as something different and then people start thinking… "Well, I have to do that because I have to fill in a tick box."

The coordinator of the eTwinning programme (CS1) similarly said she had not been 'measuring the impact formally, but I see them … they are seeing a purpose of learning a modern language.' In her view her observations and professional judgment could provide a richer picture than any formal mode of assessment: 'So what I've found with the pupils in terms of their literacy is that because they have, uh, an audience – you know, they're posting work onto the twinning space – they're checking each other's work.'

For a group of disengaged learners, the deputy headteacher in CS1 was working with, she evidenced impact through attendance and behaviour reports:

> I think attendance when you see that the young people are coming to school more. … they're more engaged. … Massive attendance increase … We're monitoring attendance. We're monitoring, um, the sort of buy-in and the behaviour as well as attainment. … and how many referrals they get. … And for a lot of these young people, that's decreased significantly.

In CS2 greater student engagement in learning was also identified as the goal: 'I think it's from the minute a child walks into the school, it's engagement, right? … So, you have to use all these things for engagement' (headteacher, CS2). However, like CS1, when the school leaders and teachers in CS2 were asked about how they would account for the impact of the programme their immediate response was to reference measurable attainment in curricular subjects. For example, the deputy headteacher first emphasised the official policy imperatives then reverted to the less measurable criterion of affective engagement:

> Our major focus is, it's kind of almost like the holy trinity of the, you know, literacy, numeracy, health and wellbeing. … And projects like this, first of all it's getting kids excited. It's getting kids interested. They're engaged. Um, they do want to be part of these things. (deputy headteacher, CS2)

This response demonstrated the strong emphasis on equity behind the school's offer of opportunities for the children, and the effort to reconcile the impact of bigger curricular goals with the vocabulary of the policy criteria.

The responses regarding impact focused on learning outcomes with very little articulation of processes of identifying/assessing the impact except for post-hoc observation. The programmes were enthusiastically defended as curricular enrichment. However, criteria to evidence and assess the impact of these programmes on their own terms were absent. Rather, any such efforts to formally measure the ineffable were considered to distort the object of the enrichment, or defeat the purpose of their more flexible, engaging invisible pedagogies. However, the contemporary policy focus on closing the Attainment Gap in Scotland means that such enrichment programmes increasingly need to argue their relevance and worth in the vocabulary of measurable curricular outcomes.

Without bespoke assessment the risk is that enrichment programmes will remain optional extras, despite years of policy encouragement. Their typical enactment in weakly classified, weakly framed, more invisible pedagogies may be marginalised without some form of identifiable assessment message system to demonstrate the value of their learning experiences and outcomes that legitimate the role they play in the totality of the curriculum offer and their contribution to equity and excellence.

The analysis suggests these teachers are necessarily engaging in a double game. They comply with Official Recontextualising Field priorities in their focus on student attainment, particularly in literacy, numeracy and health and wellbeing. At the same time, they do what they believe is important for their students in terms of enriching learning experiences. They recognise the power of such experiences for their students and appreciate the complex interplay between learning experiences, outcomes, engagement, pedagogy and curriculum. They are proactive in designing experiences that seek to be transformative by extending the students' capacity to do and be something, not just to know something, offering relatively disadvantaged students opportunities to extend their horizons and imagine a new future beyond their locale.

Conclusion

This paper has explored how curricular enrichment programmes fare in performative times in schools serving disadvantaged communities, showing how they work both within and beyond the performative rhetoric of measurable outcomes to account for their impact. Drawing on an empirical project that explored the impact of British Council programmes in Scottish schools, the paper offers a timely counter-narrative to reports of curriculum narrowing and 'machine-like' pedagogies (Biesta, 2013, p.1) in response to performative pressures. It also offers a case study of an emerging layer of curricular programmes sourced from 'non-system' organisations which warrant more attention from curriculum scholars. These hosted programmes can make no claims on official modes of assessment but need to make themselves relevant and defensible in systemic terms as institutions choose to focus more on measurable attainment, while claiming to support the development of students as global citizens. The irony in this particular case is that these programmes fostering global citizenship address the kind of cross-curricular and interdisciplinary learning that has been actively and repeatedly promoted by the Official Recontextualising Field

The interviewees described infused, 'embedded' treatments that were not distinguished by specialist language, or allocated time. They emphasised that engagement with the BC programmes was an explicit strategy to enrich the curriculum to raise aspirations and broaden students' horizons. While this made it hard to evidence their impact, all interviewees were in no doubt about the value of these programmes, and their particular relevance and power in disadvantaged communities to address their students lack of opportunities. This is learning that is valued while not measurable using performative measures. This counter-narrative of

curricular enrichment in performative times is worth documenting as an empirical phenomenon that raises questions about how curriculum, pedagogy and assessment interact to shape forms of consciousness. The interviewees expressed their professional judgement regarding the impact of access to experiences that otherwise would not be available to their students by drawing on their observations of student transformation through their engagement in BC programmes. We argue there is a need to listen to and record primary and secondary school teachers' professional judgements about learning experiences and outcomes of curriculum enrichment at different stages of schooling, particularly in schools in disadvantaged communities, such as those collected during this research. Listening to school leaders and teachers has heightened importance as they suggested that opportunities afforded by curriculum enrichment programmes offer the greatest potential to close the poverty-related attainment gap.

Scotland provides generative conditions that dignify enrichment experiences and teacher judgements, where other systems may not. Firstly, the Guidelines for Curriculum for Excellence indicate recognition of the importance of the quality and nature of the learning *experience* itself 'in developing attributes and capabilities and in achieving active engagement, motivation and depth of learning' (Education Scotland, n.d., p.3). Yet how experiences gained during curriculum enrichment programmes or the learning outcomes are to be recorded and assessed is not sufficiently considered. As a first step a systematic collection and study of these professional judgement accounts and observations of student transformation through learning experiences as well as outcomes achieved could offer opportunities to develop alternative examples of evidence and forms of assessment literacy that would be more suited to dignify weakly classified and weakly framed curriculum and more invisible pedagogies. Secondly, education policy in Scotland recognises the role of teachers' professional judgement in assessment processes. However, without identification of criteria for alternative forms of assessing curriculum enrichment programmes, expressing student progression in global citizenship education across school phases remains challenging.

Our analysis has suggested that on one hand, developing the capacity and criteria to assess these enrichment programmes on their own terms would help to evidence their contribution to learning, while on the other, doing so through current performative measures is liable to obscure or distort their purpose and undermine the power of their more invisible pedagogies. Without their own vocabulary, progression plan and bespoke assessment approaches,

enrichment programmes will be expected to further other curricular goals using other assessment criteria.

Acknowledgements

References

Australian Council for Education Research (ACER) (2018). *Scottish national standardised assessments: National report for academic year 2017 to 2018,* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Atweh, B., and Singh, P. (2011). The Australian curriculum: Continuing the national conversation. *Australian Journal of Education, 55*(3): 189-196.

Berliner, D. (2011). Rational responses to high stakes testing: The case of curriculum narrowing and the harm that follows. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 41*(3): 287-302.

Bernstein, B. (1971). On the classification and framing of educational knowledge. In M. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education* (pp. 47-69). London: Collier Macmillan.

Bernstein, B. (1996). *Pedagogy, symbolic control, and identity: Theory, research, critique.* Washington, D.C: Taylor & Francis.

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (revised ed.). Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Biesta, G. (2009). Good education in an age of measurement: On the need to reconnect with the question of purpose in education. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability, 21*(1): 33-46.

Biesta, G. (2013). *The beautiful risk of education*. Boulder & London: Paradigm.

Crocco, M., and Costigan, A. (2007). The narrowing of curriculum and pedagogy in the Age of Accountability. *Urban Education, 42*(6): 512-535.

Davies, I., Evans, M., and Reid, A. (2005). Globalising citizenship education? A critique of 'global education' and 'citizenship education'. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 53*(1): 66-89.

Doherty, C. (2018). How can Asia literacy in the curriculum contribute to dialogues around 'Australian nation-ness'? In H. Soong & N. Cominos (Eds.), *Asia literacy in a global world: Securing Australia's future'* (pp. 73-86). Singapore: Springer.

Doherty, C., Luke, A., Shield, P., and Hincksman, C. (2012). Choosing your niche: The social ecology of the International Baccalaureate Diploma in Australia. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 22*(4): 311-332.

Doherty, C., Mu, L., and Shield, P. (2009). Planning mobile futures: The border artistry of IB Diploma choosers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 30*(6): 757-771.

Education Scotland. (2012). CfE Briefing: Interdisciplinary Learning. A guide for practitioners. [Internet document] URL https://education.gov.scot/Documents/cfe-briefing-4.pdf. Accessed 26 /11/2019.

Education Scotland. (2019). Scottish Attainment Challenge. [Internet document] URL https://education.gov.scot/improvement/learning-resources/Scottish%20Attainment%20Challenge. Accessed 26 /11/2019.

Education Scotland. (n.d.) Curriculum for Excellence. [Internet document] URL https://education.gov.scot/Documents/All-experiencesoutcomes18.pdf. Accessed 26 /11/2019.Giddens, A. (1993). *New rules of sociological method* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gorur, R. (2015). Assembling a sociology of numbers. In M. Hamilton, B. Maddox and C. Addey (Eds.), *Literacy as numbers: Researching the politics and practices of international literacy assessment* (pp. 1-16). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Humes, W. (2013). Curriculum for Excellence and interdisciplinary learning. *Scottish Educational Review, 45*(1): 89-93.

Kelly, A. (2009). *The curriculum: Theory and practice*. London: SAGE.

Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), (2010). *Developing global citizenship within Curriculum for Excellence.* [Internet document] URL https://issuu.com/ltscotland/docs/dgc_resource. Accessed 26 /11/2019.

Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), (2011). *A Scottish world view,* Dundee*:* Learning and Teaching Scotland.

Lingard, B., and Sellar, S. (2013). 'Catalyst data': perverse systemic effects of audit and accountability in Australian schooling. *Journal of Education Policy, 28*(5): 634-656.

Livingston, K., Doherty, C., Lido, C., Cassar, R., Dunkley, R., Gale, T., and Parker, S. (2018). *British Council school programmes in Scotland: An impact study. Final Report*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Mannion, G., Biesta, G., Priestley, M., and Ross, H. (2011). The global dimension in education and education for global citizenship: genealogy and critique. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9*(3-4): 443-456.

Maxwell, C. (2018). Changing Spaces—The Reshaping of (Elite) Education Through Internationalisation. In U. Deppe, C. Maxwell, H.-H. Krüger and W. Helsper (Eds.), *Elite education and internationalisation: From the early years into higher education* (pp. 347-368). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moore, R. (2013). *Basil Bernstein: The thinker and the field*. London & New York: Routledge.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (OECD) (2007) *Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland*, Paris: OECD.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (OECD) (2015). *Improving schools in Scotland: An OECD Perspective*. Paris: OECD.

Oxley, L., and Morris, P. (2013). Global Citizenship: A Typology for Distinguishing its Multiple Conceptions. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 61*(3): 301-325. doi:10.1080/00071005.2013.798393

Pashby, K. (2011). Cultivating global citizens: Planting new seeds or pruning the perennials? Looking for the citizen-subject in global citizenship education theory. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 9*(3-4): 427-442. doi:10.1080/14767724.2011.605326

Rata, E. (2017). Knowledge and teaching. *British Educational Research Journal, 43*(5): 1003–1017.

Renzulli, J., and Reis, S. (2014). *The schoolwide enrichment model* (3rd ed.). Waco, Texas: Prufrock Press.

Rizvi, F., and Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Sahlberg, P. (2016). The Global Educational Reform Movement and its impact on schooling. In K. Mundy, A. Green, B. Lingard & A. Verger (Eds.), *Handbook of global education policy* (pp. 180-196). Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Savage, J. (2011). *Cross-curricular teaching and learning in the secondary school*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Scottish Executive, (2001). *An international outlook*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive, (2004). *A Curriculum for Excellence: The Curriculum Review Group*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Government (2017). 2018 *National Improvement Framework and Improvement Plan for Scottish Education: Achieving excellence and equity*. [Internet document] URL https://beta.gov.scot/publications/2018-national-improvement-framework-improvement-plan/. Accessed 26 /11/2019.

Scottish Government, (2018). *Equality assessment impact results – The Scottish Attainment Challenge.* [Internet document] URL https://www.gov.scot/publications/equality-impact-assessement-eqia-results-scottish-attainment-challenge/pages/2/. Assessed 10/1/20.

Sleegers, P. (2019). Understanding school-NGO partnerships. *Journal of Educational Administration, 57*(4): 322-328.

Spielman, A. (2017). HMCI's commentary: Recent primary and secondary curriculum research. [Internet document] URL https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/hmcis-commentary-october-2017. Accessed 26 /11/2019.

Thompson, G., and Harbaugh, A. (2013). A preliminary analysis of teacher perceptions of the effects of NAPLAN on pedagogy and curriculum. *Australian Educational Researcher, 40*(3): 299-314.

Weenink, D. (2008). Cosmopolitanism as a form of capital: Parents preparing their children for a globalizing world. *Sociology, 42*(6): 1089-1106.

Whitty, G., Rowe, G., and Aggleton, P. (1994). Discourse in cross-curricular contexts: Limts to empowerment. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 4*(1): 25-42.

Yates, L., and Grumet, M. (2011). Curriculum in today's world: configuring knowledge, identities, work and politics. In L. Yates & M. Grumet (Eds.), *World Yearbook of Education 2011: Configuring knowledge, identities, work and politics* (pp. 3-14). London: Routledge.

---

[i] https://www.keepscotlandbeautiful.org/sustainable-development-education/eco-schools/

[ii] https://www.dofe.org/

[iii] https://www.unicef.org.uk/rights-respecting-schools/

[iv] British Council is a non-departmental public body which has a role in the processes of national government but is neither a government department nor part of one, and which accordingly operates to a greater or lesser extent at arm's length from ministers. British Council's sponsor is the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

[v] https://education.gov.scot/improvement/learning-resources/Scottish%20Attainment%20Challenge

[vi] The British Council Programmes included in the Impact Study are: Connecting Classrooms; eTwinning; Erasmus+ and the Language Assistant Programme.

[vii] Then Scottish Executive, now Scottish Government following devolution and the opening of the new Scottish Parliament in 1999.

[viii] Interview themes for teachers and leaders included:

- Initial interest re participation in BC programmes - What impact hoped for?

- Narrative re school's participation over time – which programmes, why, experience, difficulties, challenges?
- Evidence of impact (positive or negative) on: teacher practice, curriculum/ pedagogy/ assessment, pupil achievement, equity?

Table 1
Overview of analytic pathway

Research question	Sub-questions	Theoretical frame	Analytic questions	Return to research question
How is the impact of curriculum enrichment programmes assessed/evidenced?	How are curriculum enrichment programmes enacted?	Recontextualisation	What concerns, or considerations drive engagement?	How is the impact of curriculum enrichment programmes assessed/evidenced?
			How separate were the BC programmes?	
		Classification/framing +/-	How were they linked to the regular curriculum?	
			Who controls the activities?	
	How do teachers/leaders account for the impact of curriculum enrichment programmes (outcome)	curriculum pedagogy assessment	What claims are made?	
			On what evidence/grounds?	
		visible/invisible pedagogy	What criteria are invoked?	