Good education is whole child education

Point of View

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Management summary

This report attempts to explore what makes 'whole child education' possible. Because interviews with experts showed that almost everyone agrees with the importance of this, the question could actually be reformulated. What hinders whole child education? This report specifically focuses on the Dutch situation. And the emphasis is on the (pedagogical) role of the teacher. We look at the role of educational research and teacher training. It is observed that there are mechanisms that deny the complexity of education in research, in practice and in the way schools are "judged". Based on this critical analysis, partly based on expert interviews and partly on a literature study, recommendations have been made. It is important to break through mechanistic, reductionistic or technical-instrumental thinking and the divisions that have grown between teacher training, educational research and educational practice itself.

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Introduction

This report is a point of view, written by NIVOZ on special request of the Porticus Foundation.

Befitting Porticus' global strategy to actively contribute to fundamental changes in society, education is a vital and vibrant domain, worthy of exploration.

NIVOZ was established to initiate and advance a fundamental shift in education based on pedagogical approaches that enhance adaptive education, diversity and inclusiveness and that foster social relationships through which young people feel connected, engaged and responsible.

Both Porticus and NIVOZ find their legitimacy in Human Rights, the Earth Charter and the (urgent) pursuit of a human, democratic, equitable and sustainable society. Moreover, Porticus and NIVOZ share the conviction that education should guide children towards an active life and participation in their world in a connected and responsible manner. This requires education to be both broad in its scope and holistic in its approach – an education that not merely focusses on the child's cognitive development, but rather on whole child development.

It is Porticus' intent to set up a programme in the Netherlands within and/or around the field of education. In this programme, Porticus would like to cooperate with several partners to realize the ambition of whole child development. To initiate and guide this educational programme, Porticus requires a cornerstone document based on scientific insights as well as a good understanding of the current situation in the Netherlands. It will serve as a reference document for Porticus Netherlands both internally as well as in their conversations with Dutch NGO's in the field of education, schools, teacher training institutions and research institutions.

Porticus has requested NIVOZ to contribute to the development of this guiding document. The study undertaken by NIVOZ, and reported on in this point of view concept document, addresses the following questions/propositions:

1. Good education equals whole child development education.
2. Why is the teacher the most important starting point for a system change?
3. Which elements must be mastered by a teacher, in addition to cognitive elements, in order to offer whole child development education?
4. What are the implications of these teacher essentials for the training and development of teachers?
5. In what way does whole child development education help children who grow up in adversity?

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Methodology

This position paper is based on a variety of sources, both empirical and theoretical, as well as philosophical and practical. It is not, however, written as a scientific paper, in the sense that it aims to offer a comprehensive and objective review of the evidence for whole child education. The purpose of this paper is to take a point of view, grounded in the 'non-negotiable' proposition that whole child education has an intrinsic value for the development of children. This report will explore how we can substantiate that claim, and what changes are needed in the (Dutch) educational system to arrive at whole child education.

In addition to the scientific sources that were studied, we have interviewed several experts (see the appendix for an overview) about their views on the current state of education in the Netherlands, and how they assess the opportunities and threats for whole child education in the Netherlands. Since their daily work brings them close to the heart of the matter – the urges and challenges faced in the everyday educational practice – their contributions are of great value to this point of view. We held semi-structured interviews, following the five main questions of this study. A list of the interviewees' names and functions is provided with this document, but the interviews themselves have been rendered anonymous, in order for the interviewees to be able to speak freely as no direct refences to their quotations would be made.

Unfortunately, their conclusions were not always optimistic. Although all interviewed experts underpin the importance of whole child education, there are many institutional and political factors that seem to undermine it. Several interviewees also pointed at factors related to educational research and teacher training that might stand in the way of whole child education.

This paper is structured thus: in the first section, we draw from the expert interviews, literature and a preceding international comparison study, conducted by American Institutes for Research (AIR), in order to address two ground work questions: firstly, to what extent is (the importance of) whole child education recognized in the Netherlands? , and secondly, what are the main opportunities and obstacles for the further development and strengthening of whole child education? We define whole child education, in line with the AIR study, as follows:

"A whole child development (WCD) framework values and promotes all dimensions of human development from early childhood to young adulthood, including physical, social, emotional, cognitive, spiritual, and values-based learning. WCD embodies relational, bio-ecological principles of child development, highlighting the importance of relationships and contextual support, and the interconnectedness of social, emotional, cognitive, and health factors."[1].

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In the second section, we will seek to answer the five questions from the project proposal, to get more detailed insights into the strengths within the Dutch education system that could be promoted, as well as into how the perceived obstacles can be overcome. We will conclude with summarising the most important insights resulting from our exploration, and recommendations for Porticus.

Section 1
Whole child education in the Netherlands: opinions and experts' views

In the current public debate on education in the Netherlands, several contradictions come to the fore.

A first contradiction stems from an ongoing and oftentimes heated public debate on what good education actually comprises. On the one hand, Dutch pupils rank consistently high in international comparative studies[2], and Dutch children are by some measures 'the happiest in the world'[3]. On the other hand, there is growing concern that these glowing figures are under strain due to a strong emphasis on aspects of educational and developmental quality that can be measured[4]. This emphasis has, amongst other factors, eroded the status of the teaching profession[5,6] and has narrowed the assessment of the quality of education down to that which can be measured[7]. Even though many are aware of this tendency, the discussion seems to stay focussed on efficiency and effectiveness.

Yet, whilst educational effectiveness is being highlighted as the scientifically corroborated way forwards by various by influential parties, the data on which these conclusions are based are questioned by others: these critics point towards the tendency to draw conclusions about the quality of a national educational system, based on a narrow definition of what the outcomes of education should be. This has led to a strong emphasis on measurable aspects of quality[8].Others point at validity and reliability issues when it comes to questionnaires used for measuring, for instance, happiness. The impact of non-response bias due to sampling in public health studies might be severe[9] Rates of burn-out and depression amongst student seem to contrast the image of a very happy youth in the Netherlands, hence available data seem to be in conflict with each other. Not only in this case but all too often the validity, reliability and usability of educational research is being put into question.

A second contradiction, related to the first, has to do with whole child education. Almost all of the experts we interviewed for this report stressed the importance of adopting a broad(er) view on the functions and purposes of education. Some of them explicitly referred to the three domains, as distinguished and introduced by Gert Biesta[10]: qualification, socialization and subjectification. Yet, in the same breath, almost all expressed their concern that dominant discourse in educational policy, educational research, teacher training and quality systems in schools lacks attention for such a broad view on the purpose(s) of education. The contradiction here is that, although many experts believe a broad view on children's education is important, we seem to move away from it rather than to come closer to it.

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A third serious contradiction is the pursuit of *adaptive education* to meet individual differences between pupils, strongly underscored year after year by the government, while simultaneously persistently maintaining a standardized organization of education in which all pupils are supposed to reach the same level of performance within the same time and along the same route. Interviewees 1 and 8, for instance, pointed at such structural problems. By and large, these two tendencies – the aspiration for individual learning processes as well as educational standardisation – are mutually exclusive. One of the most undesirable results is the likelihood of students' underachievement as a general characteristic of the current educational system[11]. Related to this, early selection and difficulties in switching between types of education are a source of concern in The Netherlands (Onderwijsraad, 2019)[12]. There are also concerns about relatively high drop out rates (e.g., Martens, 2017)[13].

A fourth contradiction involves the vested interest we – as a nation – have in our teachers: across the board, there are high hopes and expectations concerning the vital role of teachers in raising the educational quality bar, yet many teachers feel constrained in the execution of this task. In policy reports issued by government and educational research institutes, the causal correlation between the role of the teacher and the quality of education is stressed time and again. This is in line with the viewpoints of the experts that we have interviewed. Hardly anybody seems to doubt this. However, at the same time, teachers feel constrained in achieving precisely those aspects of quality that they deem important[14], as for instance stressed by interviewee 6. This makes clear that there is a wide discrepancy between on the one hand what is aimed for in policy and what is pointed out as crucial in research literature, and, on the other hand, what teachers experience as their daily experience[15].. This remarkable contrast is found on every level of education (interviewee 8).

The strong emphasis on measurable effects leading to a test-based curriculum, the emphasis on accountability and control, the great diversity of pupils together with the standardisation of teaching and learning, and the small achievement-oriented definition of education have all contributed to the erosion of the status of the teaching profession[16][17] and have narrowed down the discussion on good education[18]. As a result, the discourse on the purpose of education, on what constitutes *good* education (to be discerned from *effective* education), has all but disappeared, with detrimental consequences for the quality of educational practice, research and policy[19].

The contradictions that emerged from the interviews are cause for serious concern. Firstly, the lack of a fundamental discussion on what good education is, makes it very difficult to assess the worth of policy proposals and research outcomes. The crucial matter is, as Biesta points out, that we should ask ourselves what education is good *for*[20]. To do so, we

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need to acknowledge the moral dimension of education (including the intention to do justice to the individuality of children), and to find ways to have a proper debate (or rather, dialogue) about that dimension.

Shifting value systems in society, partly due to processes of secularization, have intensified this discussion, as traditional norms that were once taken for granted, do not give guidance anymore[21][22]. Where once there was a general consensus on a religiously-inspired basis of education, the vacuum left after its demise seems to have been colonised by a 'mechanistic', 'economic' or 'neoliberal' discourse[23]. Students seem to be regarded as 'clients', 'consumers' or 'products' that are involved in a competitive race towards 'excellence' via 'cost effective (fast) educational tracks'[24]. This profound shift in values deeply affects education, since it calls for a re-establishment of our shared understanding of why education is important, and in what way.

A second reason for concern is that the quality of the teaching profession is under threat. Due to a political-economical focus on only a fraction of the goals of education, teachers are unable to show in what other ways they are achieving 'results' with children – results that may be less tangible than cognitive, measurable results, but that are crucial in terms of whole child development, e.g. the impact of education on children's well-being and development, and the ways in which education relates to society at large. For many teachers, this is cause for concern, strain and/or frustration, as they experience that those aspects of their jobs that they find elemental, are not being acknowledged. In all educational sectors, teachers not only feel overburdened, but studies also show that more and more teachers experience that they are forced into a system in which they simply cannot be the teachers they want to be[25].

Thirdly, as was pointed out by some of the experts we interviewed (e.g. interviewee 7), the absence of a discourse through which fundamental questions about what constitutes 'good education' may be addressed, is an important obstacle for further improvement (or even: renewal) of initial teacher training and continuous professional development (CPD). As long as there is no viable manner through which to substantiate the importance of whole child education, it is difficult to determine what constitutes meaningful professional development, as well as to give guidance to researchers in order for their research to be a meaningful accompaniment to professional development.

Following from the above-mentioned issues, we conclude that the long-term concern is that important problems in society that are often linked to education (such as growing inequality, declining knowledge, a lack of appreciation of basic democratic values and a civil society, a failure to adequately anticipate and accommodate technological and economic developments) are not being addressed sufficiently. In this point of view report,

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we will argue that only by fundamentally reconsidering what good education is, will we be able to have a meaningful dialogue on the point at issue of how education can help to create a sustainable, democratic and equal society.

One important insight that emerged from the interviews is the pervasiveness of the political dimension in the public discourse on education. There is a strong tendency to assess policy proposals, test and exam results and even research reports in terms of who benefits by their publication and what the underlying message is. This is reinforced by a tendency towards short-term thinking that unfortunately is often politically usance. For instance, cutbacks on educational research will only become visible after many years, making such retrenchments relatively 'easy'. Political decisions are oftentimes too much based on incidents (interviewee 1) – these are all contributing factors that hinder a culture of open debate.

It should be stated that these insights reveal the ever-present moral dimension of education: education is never morally neutral. It is however a troubling observation to note that we increasingly appear to be losing the ability to discuss differences in our beliefs about the moral aspects of education.
When we look at the expert interviews that were held to underpin this report, the general consensus is remarkable: experts indicate that there is a narrow-minded fixation on short-term as well as on cognitive results. Many, such as interviewee 1, indicated that there is a strong need for change. He/she referred to a steep growth in the number of schools that try to avoid a too narrow focus on short-term cognitive results. Interviewee 4 stated that in the past the Netherlands used to be a frontrunner in whole child education and educational reforms. Nowadays, however, teachers often feel forced in a straightjacket (interviewee 3, 8) and thus are unable to do what they feel they really need to do. Time constraints also play a part in this (interviewees 6, 8). Interviewees 5 and 8 described a '*toetscultuur*' (i.e. a 'test culture', a one-sided emphasis on summative testing and measuring)[26]. All interviewees seemed to agree that the aforementioned lack of whole child development may have serious repercussions for our youngest generations, as well as for society at large.
The insights the interviewees gave us refer to the political character of the discussions about education in the Netherlands. This seems to be a consequence of article 23 of the Dutch constitution that guarantees *Freedom of Education.* A downside of this freedom is the existence of different groups of interest, connected for instance with different religious orientations. That has generated a culture of negotiation about the distribution of available (financial) means and vested interests. So, the government seems restricted in its educational policy making for the longer term. Moreover, Dutch governments seem to be easily influenced by the general trends in the Anglo Saxon educational world and its corresponding research.

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Remainder of the report
This report builds on a previous report commissioned by Porticus, which was prepared by the American Institutes for Research27. This report carried out an international study, comparing approaches to whole child education in various countries. It was concluded that the level of integration of whole child development varies over countries. Specifically, a lack of awareness of the interrelatedness of the elements of whole child development was stipulated. It was recommended to develop ecologically valid empirical evidence of successful examples of whole child development, that stimulates collaboration across the educational system, and increases the capacity for teachers to develop integrated approaches to whole child development.
This report aims to further explore what whole child education entails, and what is needed to stimulate development of whole child education approaches, taking teachers, their educational and societal roles as well as their professional development as our starting point. Rather than quantitative, this report is qualitative in its nature and scope, and seeks to describe and gauges the situation in the Netherlands.

We will conclude by giving some recommendations for initiatives that could promote whole child development in our education itself and help to refocus the societal discourse on good education in general.

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Section 2
Whole child education: Perspectives and consequences for teacher training, research and policy

In this section, we look at the concept of whole child education as a means to resolve the contradictions within the discourse on good education that we discussed in the first section. Whole child education offers important perspectives: firstly, it helps to broaden the focus of education beyond children's cognitive abilities, and towards multiple dimensions of their development and well-being[28,29]. Secondly, it helps to place their development within the perspective of what education is for: the world that we are aiming to create by raising and educating our children[30]. Thirdly, it aids to unveil that talent comes in many shapes and forms, all of which are of vital importance to our society.

We will first explore perspectives on education that are related to the concept of whole child education. Subsequently, we will discuss what the consequences of this whole child education perspective are for teacher education and for professional development, following the five main questions from the project document. In conclusion, we will address the question in what way a whole child education perspective is specifically helpful with regard to children in disadvantaged situations.

2.1 Good education equals whole child education

As discussed above, over the past decades, it has become widely recognised and acknowledged that good education entails the development of children as 'whole human beings'[31]. Although educational research, policy and practice have moved towards a rather narrow conceptualising of education[32], alternative perspectives frequently emerge that stress the importance of taking in a broader range of aspects of human development[33]. At the same time, we seem to struggle to find a coherent framework that offers a fundamental perspective on what 'whole child education' entails. In this section, we explore several perspectives to gain more insight in whole child education as a concept for shifting the scope of the discourse on good education.

Connectedness and relatedness
An important starting point for our explorations lies in the fact that living systems do not develop in isolation, but rather in a continuous mutually-interdependent process, forming wholes with their environment. This principle of connectedness can be discerned in life forms ranging from the tiniest bacteria to the largest ecosystems on a planetary scale. This

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too is true for human development.[34] Within the context of education, this means for example that teachers form an inextricable part of the development of their pupils. Relatedness refers to the subjectivity of connectedness, to our experience of being connected, most strongly felt in interaction with other people.

The highly influential self-determination theory on motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) puts forward relatedness as one of three basic psychological needs[35], thereby taking an evolutionary psychological point of view[36]. Hence, a feeling of being related (safely) is an indispensable prerequisite for learning and development. Children grow, learn and develop in interaction[37]. Good relationships have a positive impact on our social and physical well-being, as well as on our cognitive abilities. This starts at the earliest stages of life.

Research has shown that experiencing secure relationships, in early ages, positively influences people's well-being later in life[38]. Bowlby's seminal attachment theory has inspired numerous lines of research into the importance of the quality of relationships in schools for students' social and psychological well-being and academic success[39]. Currently, the relation between pupils/students and teachers is seen as probably the most important prerequisite of the quality of education[40].

The centrality of connectedness and relatedness has important consequences for our perspective on good education, in the sense that it requires the acknowledgement of the organic character subjectivity of education[41]. Education is not a linear, logical process, in which a teacher causes students to learn – the proverbial 'filling of a pail'. Rather, in the words of Biesta, education is an *event*, a vivid interaction between human beings, embedded in an educational context, vibrating with the interactions. We as human beings are unique in our ability to be addressed, to be taught; but what happens when we are taught, what the result of it is, is not predictable, as we are also unique in our ability to be creative, to be a 'new beginning'[42]. That means that what education results in, is to a certain extent always unsure, a 'beautiful risk'.

A second consequence of the principle of connectedness has to do with the content and form of the curriculum. Connectedness entails that the curriculum opens itself to the environment, to science and to society (Doll, 1993; Gill & Thomson, 2012). "… the concepts of self-organization, dissipative structures, ecological balance, punctuated evolution, and complexity theory will prove heuristic in designing post-modern curricula" (Doll, 1993, 12). In other words: the connectedness principle and whole child development ask for a comprehensive curriculum perspective (see for example Gill & Thompson, 2012).

Acknowledging connectedness and relatedness as important perspectives for whole child education entails that the regular view of education as an instrument that leads to certain outcomes falls short to describe what is actually happening in the interaction between teachers and students.

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According to Biesta, education has three functions: qualification, socialization and subjectification[43]. Teaching is about continuously striking a balance between these three domains. By viewing education as an event,[44]Biesta places an essential emphasis on the notion that learning and developing *happen in practice*, as we engage actively with the world[45]. This means that 'whole child education' can be understood as education that starts from a relationship between two (or more) human beings, aimed at developing confidence and ability 'to be in the world'[46]. It is the role of teachers to be aware of the moments, in which they can help students to engage with that world. To do so, teachers need to be aware of the quality and content of their relationship with students. We will return to this notion later. Although stemming from a quite different theoretical perspective, the aforementioned self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2010) arrives at the same conclusions.

To sum it up: in practice, education is sometimes primarily perceived as the individual achievement of a student. Usually in separate subjects. This denies however, the psychological basic need of every person to do things above all with and for trusted others. Education that is individualized and too compartmented ignores the fact that 'in the real world' everything is connected with everything.

Children's well-being and development
A second perspective on whole child education, is that of children's well-being. Well-being and development are intrinsically related[47]. Well-being is defined by the WHO as follows:

Student wellbeing is present when students realise their abilities, take care of their physical wellbeing, can cope with the normal stresses of life, and have a sense of purpose and belonging to a wider community.[48]

In this definition, several dimensions of well-being can be discerned. They may well be referred to as the cognitive, physical, emotional and spiritual dimensions[49]. There are some strands of theory and research that claim that successful development of children is dependent on striking a balance between these dimensions.[50] Surely, this is not an easy task, as in education we are generally inclined to emphasize the cognitive abilities of children.
'Learning' is often predominantly considered an intellectual process, and the other dimensions of development are considered as support functions. This also has to do with the fact that 'intelligence' almost always refers to cognitive intelligence. The aforementioned self-determination theory states that there is a strong link between basic psychological need satisfaction and intrinsic motivation. That is important here because intrinsic motivation not only fosters learning but also perceived well-being. But although

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there have been various proposals to adopt a broader view on intelligence[51], it has proven difficult to systematically link this multi-perspective view to school development programmes[52].

'Whole child education' in this sense can be understood as education that engages all dimensions of human 'intelligence' and development. This way of looking at whole child education helps shifting the scope of the discourse on 'good education' away from the current emphasis on cognitive results. In fact, there are many practice examples of schools offering a broad curriculum, that are not covered by regular research and policy publications.[53] As a result, opportunities to further substantiate the necessity and value of whole child education are missed.

The moral dimension of education

A further consequence of the notion that education is relational[54], is that education has an inherent moral dimension[55] that cannot be ignored. The question what constitutes 'good education' is always connected to the question what education is good *for*[56].

Education is never a neutral process. The day-to-day choices teachers make, seldomly are mere technical-instrumental choices about what would be 'effective' in a certain situation, but in most cases also entail questions about what is 'good' or 'just'[57]. These questions do not have a predefined, objective 'best' answer, as they are inherently tied to the subjective and normative considerations of teachers. The moral dimension of education therefore is an important reason for the complexity of education that teachers and school leaders experience in their daily work[58].

This means that, if teachers and school leaders are reflecting on what it means to 'teach the whole child', they need to be aware of their 'portrayal of man' or worldview, and the way these influence their decisions[59]. What teachers and school leaders consider to be good education for whole child development, is inseparably connected to their idea of a civil society they hope the child will participate in, and will contribute to, and in what way education is an instrument in creating a better world.

Conclusions and problem definition

We have discussed several perspectives on whole child education and their consequences for the discourse on good education. We have tried to shed light on the importance of connectedness and relatedness as indispensable conditions for the understanding of human existence and human development, and the subjectivity, complexity and moral considerations that follow from this notion.

At the same time, we can now see what the essence of the current problematic situation in education is. 'Good education' has become synonymous with achieving results in the cognitive domain, as we discussed in the introduction of this paper. This has led to the creation of systems that focus on how students can be motivated (or even forced) to comply to programs and accompanying rules, instead of focusing on forging relationships

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and appropriate and challenging learning environments that nurture students' development in all dimensions[60]. This pressure on students is also in sharp contrast with what Ryan and Deci (2000) have described as the basic psychological need for autonomy and also seems to contradict the weight that Biesta gives the domain/function of subjectification.

Broader views on good education, that employ a curriculum that engages with students in all those dimensions, have been neglected in mainstream educational policy and research, as has the importance of relationship and connectedness in education. A technical-instrumental view that does not do justice to the complexity of education seems to be pertinaciously dominant. This has negatively affected the position and status of the teaching profession. If the centrality of relationship is neglected, we risk losing sight of the essential moral and ethical core of the teaching profession[61], which in turn will have grave consequences for the focus of teacher education and eventually the quality of teaching. In the next section, we will further explore the role of the teacher in whole child education.

2.2 Why is the teacher the most important starting point for systemic change?

We have attempted to demonstrate how thinking too simply about education often not only denies its inherent complexities, but also leads to a negation of or a withdrawal from the necessity to act in and on education. By and large, teachers are the most crucial (f)actor in education and educational change. It is they who represent the system, the curriculum and the answer to the question 'Education for what?' It is they who have to solve the daily tension between societal demands and expectations from outside the classroom, on one side, and the meaning their work has for them and for their students on the other (Kunneman, 2005). It is they who breathe life into a curriculum and have a decisive influence on the achievements of their students (Hattie, 2012). Their professional self-understanding and their task-perception will determine for their students and for themselves how they really experience 'school' [62].

In the previous section, we introduced the notion that teaching is above all a relational profession[63]. Teachers have the responsibility for the quality of relationships in the school. Relationships based on mutual trust are a necessary precondition for teachers to 'know' and see what their students need in their development, in light of the purposes of education that they strive for. Moreover, trusting relationships are a necessary prerequisite for students to be able to offer their full potential (Stevens e.a., 2004). In this subsection, we explore more in detail what this responsibility, in particular the relational one, entails.

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The educational task and the teacher as a role model
Reiterating on Biesta's three functions of education (2017) – i.e. qualification, socialization and subjectification – schools across the board have articulated their work in terms of qualification and socialization, thereby leaving the function of subjectification to the parental domain. However, it is a misrepresentation of child-rearing as well as of the teaching profession to presume that processes of subjectification ('becoming a person') stop at the school's threshold: whenever a teacher enters the classroom, his/her presence has an influence on the children's self-esteem and well-being (Rogers & Raider Roth, 2006, Ryan & Deci, 2010). How should we consider the educational task of the teacher? Biesta appears to be one of the few authors in the Anglosaxon context to offer a well-founded orientation:

"The answer I will suggest … is that the educational task consists in making a grown-up existence of another human being in and with the world possible. Or, with an even more precise formulation: the educational task consists in arousing the desire in another human being for wanting to exist in and with the world in a grown-up way, that is *as subject (2017, 7).*

Biesta's proposition is that it is less interesting to know *who* someone is, than *how* that person is: "… it is the question of human *subject-ness* or of the human "condition" of *being-subject"* (Ib., 8). Seen thus, teachers play a more than crucial part as role models, and should embrace the inherent responsibilities in that. Put differently, teachers are not only teaching their subject matter – whether it is maths, chemistry or English, but are also 'teaching themselves', i.e. they are living role models for their students/pupils[64] [65].
In all of their conduct, from the smallest gesture to their social stance, teachers provide students with examples of how to behave; how to solve conflicts; how to deal with emotions; what is or isn't allowed, etc. Additionally, the manner in which teachers work together and communicate with each other also feeds into the moral culture within the school, which in turn has notable, albeit indirect effects on students' social and moral conduct.[66] This means that a 'whole child education' perspective should also include a 'whole teacher' perspective.

Whole teacher perspective: accountability and responsibility
In the context given here, teachers have to be aware of their personal beliefs, values and considerations, while engaging in professional development[67]. Considering that realizing 'whole child education' involves a certain change of perspectieve, this also affects teachers' personal frames of reference, which can be an emotional experience to teachers[68]. It is from deeply held convictions that 'resistance' to change stems[69]. While teachers' criticism on educational reform could suggest that they do not want to be held accountable, it is more complicated than that. As Hargreaves and Shirley put it:

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"Accountability is the remainder that is left when responsibility has been subtracted" [70]. It is for exactly these reasons that recently Dutch teachers successfully revolted against the 'teacher register' in the Netherlands.

Teachers are wary of forms of accountability that leave them little choice to decide what they want to be responsible for. It disengages them, away from their professional development [71][72] At the same time, through their engagement teachers show that they feel very responsible for the quality of their work[73]. The point is that quality is connected to a broader conception of good education, and, as Kelchtermans suggests, is not easy to talk about. In a discourse dominated by a reductionistic, technical-instrumental view on education, such difficult conversations are usually avoided or even deemed 'unscientific'. But Hargreaves and Shirley argue, that educational change can only succeed, if it is rooted in a common moral purpose[74]. In a school context this moral purpose should emerge primarily from a dialogue between the most implicated and most engaged: teachers, parents and students.

The vulnerability of the profession

Surely, a teacher has a set of skills, competences and professional knowledge that allows him or her to teach. Yet, teaching as an activity, as an event, demands much more than *having* skills and knowledge, it requires a person to *be* a teacher – with his or her heart, mind, body, sense of humour, improvisational flexibility, pedagogical tact, character. It is your whole self that you put on the line as a teacher. Hence, we may say that 'a teacher *is* his/her own instrument. Teaching is a profoundly personal profession, in which emotional and cognitive dimensions of one's professional identity are continuously challenged[75]. Because teachers are engaging in situations in which they are continuously asked to make decisions, of which the outcome is uncertain, it is also an inherently vulnerable profession[76].

To a certain extent, teachers can rely on their 'instrumental' knowledge about what works in the classroom. However, there still remain questions to which this instrumental knowledge has no answers. This complexity is not something that should or could be solved[77]. Acknowledging and embracing this complexity is a central aspect of the craftsmanship of education[78].

It is not customary to talk about teaching as a vulnerable profession in research and policy. Usually, the emphasis is on minimizing uncertainty. To that end, standardised teaching procedures have been developed, that are scaled for their 'effectiveness' and that maximize the 'success' of the students. This is a threat to the heart of the teaching profession, not just because it constrains the autonomy of the teacher, but especially because it ignores that good education exactly is about that which is uncertain and un predictable.[79]

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2.3 Which elements must be mastered by a teacher, in addition to cognitive elements, in order to offer whole child development?

In this section, we further explore the assumption that whole child education is dependent on 'whole teacher development', i.e. professional development in terms of becoming a pedagogue, mediating the processes of growing-up of one's students. This is a demanding, challenging matter for teachers, particularly when consciously and conscientiously engaging in the educational domain of subjectification – in other words: helping, guiding, supporting your students to grow up as a person in the world, acknowledging and embracing all the uncertainty that comes with this.

Educational Task

Before discussing the professional prerequisites asked for at school and classroom level attention should be given to the pedagogical task of teaching in the context of our society. Students should already in their teacher training curriculum become aware of the responsibility of their profession in this respect. That is preparing children to be able to discern between what is 'desired' and what is 'desirable' in a certain context, to respect the subjectness and the integrity of the other, to be engaged, to exercise dialogical conversation, to bear responsibility, to cooperate: all virtues and competencies to keep up a civil society. The school as a community seems to be an outstanding context to experience the other as a source of support and, recipically, to be a source of support to the other. In short, as Biesta (2014, p.7) defines: "… the educational task consists in arousing the desire in another human being for wanting to exist in and with the world in a grown-up way, that is *as a subject.*"

The first prerequisites for good rapport with students in the pedagogical context is to accept them as they are, to be compassionate with them and to understand the underlying meaning of their behaviour. Simultaneously, a teacher, when acting, is always conscious of the question 'what for?" – his/her moral or pedagogical orientation. A teacher who is attentive to his/her students in an acceptancing and understanding manner, and who knows when and how to act pedagogically adequately, is said to be displaying his/her pedagogical tact and thoughtfulness.

Tact

The inner thoughtfulness that is asked of teachers, together with an active orientation on the purpose of education, are the two sides of the concept of 'pedagogical tact'. The term 'pedagogical tact' was first employed in the 19th century by the German pedagogue Herbart and has been critically and constructively reassessed by the Dutch-Canadian researcher Max van Manen[80]. Van Manen describes tact as follows:

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"To exercise tact means to *see* a situation calling for sensitivity, to *understand* the meaning of what is seen, to *sense the significance* of this situation, to *know how and what to do,* and to actually *do* something right."[81]

In this description, the two aspects of both an *attitude* and *practice* are apparent, as well as the orientation on what is the right thing to do. This makes tact a concept that is more than just a skill or a competence that teachers have. It is an existential approach that teachers can develop with respect to their work, a way of being in their work that implies constant reflection. A recent concept that may be seen as related to tact, is that of 'presence'[82]. Presence can be described as

"A state of alert awareness, receptivity and connectedness to the mental, emotional and physical workings of both the individual and the group in the context of their learning environments and the ability to respond with a considered and compassionate best next step"[83].

To be able to practice tact and a sense of presence, teachers should develop openness or awareness of the here and now – an awareness that they are part of the learning and development of their students (connectedness), self-knowledge (including the ethics of oneself) and the courage and competence to interrupt ongoing processes or behaviours of the students. In other words: being able to teach the whole child, requires teachers to develop as whole persons themselves.

Character education
Currently, in trying to define what distinguishes a good teacher, one notices a trend to discuss the question in terms of character education[84]. In this context we are talking about a teacher's moral *personality* or *character* as decisive determinants of the teacher as a role model. According to character educationalists, character can be seen as an integrated set of virtues, which are essentially dispositional emotions, such as fairness, patience, kindness and courage. In order to contribute to a child's whole development, modelling should be more than instrumental *conditioning*, which will be followed by mere *imitation*. A teacher must *educate,* i.e. discuss with children why he/she acts the way he/she does and discuss the motives of their behaviour. This makes it possible for children to make the distinction between 'becoming like the teacher' and 'becoming like what the teacher exemplifies', so they can go their own way. This is called '*emulation*'.

From a character educational approach, besides role modelling, the use of the arts and Socratic dialogue are additional ways for the teacher to improve whole child development. Socratic dialogue, in particular, can contribute to the development of

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practical wisdom. This helps the teacher to find out what specific virtues mean in the concrete circumstances of everyday life.

The importance of 'teachers with character' has been acknowledged in the *Beroepsstandaard voor Lerarenopleiders* in which virtues such as trustworthiness, practical wisdom and responsibility are described[85].

Life orientation of teachers

As has been discussed earlier, whole child development is about striking the right balance between the domains of socialization, qualification and subjectification. However, the question how that balance may be achieved does not have a straightforward answer. Subjectification requires that teachers are aware of their presence in the classroom, in their interaction with students or pupils. In this awareness, teachers can look for opportunities to interrupt the learning process of the students, in such a way that the student is challenged or invited to reflect on his/her situation[86]. The central question from which the teacher engages in this interruption, is between what is desirable for the student himself, and what is desirable for the common good.[87] But it is not certain that this interruption will have 'the right effect'. Moreover, it isn't certain the interruption is recognised by the student as such, nor that it will have any effect at all.

In order to develop teachers' 'repertoire' to know how and when interruptions are required or helpful and being able to give adequate moral direction while doing so, teachers need to be aware of their personal life orientation, and how this influences them in their work.[88]

Conclusions

What is required of teachers, in order to educate the 'whole child' is not just a set of skills or a body of knowledge – a book or a method that can be taken from the shelf. It is about developing tact, presence and character, which require constant reflection on teachers' practice in relation to their personal beliefs and backgrounds. The job of teachers is a very personal job, and this requires not only continuous professional development but also personal development.[89] What is required of teachers' training and development is discussed in the next section.

2.4 What are the implications for the training and development of teachers?

The primacy of practice

The aforementioned responsibilities teachers have within the setting of 'whole child education' form a good point of departure for an assessment of the implications for teacher training. However, firstly, we would like to draw attention to the issue of how theory relates to practice – put differently, which type of knowledge – theoretical or

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practical knowledge – should have primacy, when addressing the question of the nature of teacher training and development in relation to whole child education.

It has become clear that for whole child development to take root in education, it is the teachers, and their ability and willingness to take on a pioneering, mediating, guiding role, that makes all the difference. Hence, it is not solely academic knowledge that will be helpful here, but rather what is called phronesis or practical wisdom (Korthagen, 2001; Schwartz & Sharpe, 2010), the knowledge in the acting, the knowledge of the hands[90]. When we ask teachers to reflect on their practice, it is this (tacit) knowledge that chiefly comes to the fore. This practical 'knowing' can be supported by conceptual knowledge, but the latter can never be a substitute for practical knowledge. In this short explanation, theory and practice go hand in hand. Yet, one thing is clear: learning to get along with children, to understand them and to guide them to the next step of their development means practicing precisely those activities. Therefore, we give primacy to acting, and maintain that the practice of acting in real-life situations should be the starting point for every training or development of teachers.

The personal and the professional in teachers' training and development
In the sections above, we discussed the important personal dimension of the teaching profession. Acknowledging this personal dimension has implications for training and professional development of teachers, in the sense that this development should also include personal development. Unfortunately, it is not easy to discern the *personal* from the *professional* dimension of teachers' training and development.

Kelchtermans (2009), known for his research on the biographical perspective of teachers, introduces the concept of 'the personal interpretative framework', consisting of two dimensions: self-understanding and subjective educational theory. Akin to this distinction, he discerns *expertise* and *engagement* as two pillars of teachers' professionality.

Engagement is something that needs to be developed by processes of (self)reflection. In this manner, teachers develop their identity[91], which is viewed as a multifaceted, dynamic phenomenon, that takes shape in dialogue with their contexts[92]. Stories are an important starting point for dialogue and Kelchtermans therefore stresses the importance of stories in teachers' professional reflections. These stories often relate to important events in teachers' personal or professional lives.

There is a tendency to treat such important life events as exceptions. It is however very fruitful to view them as instances of Meirieuian 'interruption', in the same way that teachers 'interrupt' the development of their students. In order to help students cope with the uncertainty that is related to these interruptions, teachers need to become aware of how they themselves cope with the uncertainties that they have experienced themselves, and how those experiences have influenced their personal and professional convictions about what good education entails[93].

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Teams and professional learning groups

A second important aspect of teacher training for the purpose of whole child education is teacher collaboration and collaborative learning by teachers. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, whole child education, as we explained above, is a highly complex endeavour. Schools and teachers that aim to strike a dynamic balance between the several functions of education, and try to offer a variety of pathways for students to develop themselves, quickly discover that this is virtually impossible in a regular 'one teacher-one class'-setting.

Secondly, as the development of personal and professional dimensions of teaching requires reflection, working together as co-creating colleagues increases the opportunities to engage in these reflections – not just in a safe manner, but also in a way that remains closely knit with one's day-to-day practical experiences.[94]

It should be emphasized that 'whole child development' calls for great cohesion within a teacher team regarding its pedagogical definitions and assumptions, in short: its pedagogical ethos. This does not only connote the matter of 'for what do we educate our children and youngsters', but this ethos also impinges on the school curriculum, the 'what' and 'how' questions, i.e. the educational content and didactic approaches.

Several policy and research reports stress the importance of team-oriented professional development[95]. The Dutch initiative 'Stichting Leerkracht' has taken up the challenge to help teachers collaborate and engage in 'scrum'-like improvements of their work, which the organisation reports to be increasingly successful[96]. The first research reports and anecdotal evidence suggest that this way of working positively effects the skills and knowledge of teachers and increases teacher collaboration. More importantly, students seem to benefit and show more commitment and motivation as a result of the approach.[97] An important condition for successful teacher collaboration, it should be noted, lies in the quality of school leadership. School leaders are crucial as role-models and facilitators of a learning culture, promoting collaboration and feedback.[98]

Distributed leadership

For teachers to fulfil their role in whole child education, and to continuously develop their abilities in a broad sense, a reconsideration of our perspectives on school leadership is also required. In this section we argue that whole child education calls for distributed leadership in schools, as this notion nourishes relationships between teachers and their school leader, and helps teachers to professionally develop in areas that are personally and professionally appealing and fulfilling to them. Consequently, the chances of successfully taken on the intricacies and challenges of transitioning to whole child education will increase.

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If we define leadership as a process of influencing others in order to realise goals for a school or organization[99], the question arises: what should that influence be based on? In most schools, leadership is attributed to the individual school leader. Jim Spillane refers to this individual and positional approach to school leadership as an 'heroic leadership genre'[100]. It is based on the premise that the quality of school leadership can be found in the acts, traits and treats of the one who holds the leadership position. In other words, holding that position is the main basis for influencing others.

In current-day practice, most Dutch primary schools are indeed led by a single principal, backed by teachers who hold a specific position as 'internal counsellor'. Secondary schools often have a more complex organisational structure, with a principal, vice principal, team leaders or department leaders, and coordinators. The 'average' teacher without a formal leadership position ends up at the bottom of this hierarchy. And even though in Dutch culture equality is held in high esteem – and school leaders try to adjust their leadership style accordingly – there is a quite clear distinction between those who lead and those who (merely) teach. Teachers have some influence within their classrooms, although even this classroom-based leadership is more and more affected by prescribed teaching methods. Outside of the classroom, most leadership tasks are taken on by formal leaders.

In his book *The Power Paradox*[101], social psychologist Dacher Keltner shares his insights after researching the phenomenon of (leaderschip) influence for two decades. One of his many interesting lessons is that the ability and opportunity to influence others adds to people's well-being. It is associated with self-confidence, learning, and even good health. If people consistently feel powerless, Keltner warns, this may lead to social conflicts. Exactly the same has been described from a motivational science perspective by Ryan & Deci (2010)[102].

Consequently, with a too strong emphasis on positional leadership, teachers' autonomy and motivation for their work are being put at peril[103]. Influential Dutch publications such as *Het Alternatief* and *Het Alternatief II*[104] voice the frustration of a considerable number of teachers over a lack of autonomy and leadership. In the last few years, these concerns have raised interest among Dutch school leaders, teachers, policy makers and researchers for the perspective of distributed leadership.

Distributed leadership posits that members of the school community can claim (and grant) influence, based on their interest for a specific topic, and the expertise, qualities, and talents they possess to solve questions concerning that topic. Not one's position in the organisational hierarchy, but an invitation or grant from colleagues, is the basis for influencing others and taking on leadership roles. Firstly, this requires a strong sense of relatedness among teachers and school leaders; they must know and respect each other's

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ambitions, motivations, personalities, qualities and expertise well in order to create a distributed leadership practice. Additionally, it requires the self-efficacy of teachers to be able to lead[105], which might be specifically difficult for many teachers as they were originally 'taught' to be followers[106].

Nevertheless, if we are able to overcome these barriers and create fruitful conditions for distributed leadership to flourish, it will add to teachers' autonomy, relatedness and motivation, in order for them to be the best role models for their students.

Educational Leadership
We consider Educational leadership as the main facet of leadership in schools that distinguishes it from leadership in other organisations because of its special, i.e. educational, task. Educational leadership can be recognized by three elements: first, a clear idea about the desired schoolethos, second, a challenging climate for the teachers concerned, to develop themselves professionally and to build a learning community with their colleagues and third, full awareness of being responsible for the well being of children and teachers and the results of their efforts. Typically this kind of responsibility is connected to headmastership. With his or her presence the sense and meaning of being at work in school and belonging to the school community are represented. There seems to be a strong need of this kind of leadership amidst many other kinds, as distinguished in the literature and by training courses.

Effective teacher training and professional development (PD)
The importance of teacher collaboration that we discussed earlier concurs with recent insights into effective professional development of teachers[107]. There is a broad consensus that effective teacher training has a positive impact on the quality of education, if it is sustained, collaborative, subject-specific, practice based, substantiated by research or external experts, and if teachers are involved in the process of planning and carrying out the PD. For the Dutch situation, a review study that was carried out by Van Veen and colleagues and that arrived at the same conclusions, has been very influential[108].
Recent research pinpoints the working mechanisms that substantiate this consensus to two underlying mechanisms. The first is paying attention to the need to repeated activity in order to change people's behaviour, which especially for experienced teachers includes deeply ingrained habits. The second is making a distinction between the needs of novice and expert learners in PD. Novices are quickly overwhelmed by complex new tasks, and need careful step-by-step support. Experts interpret patterns in situations and can apply complex processes from their memory. They can become confused by overly detailed instructions.
Coaching seems an appropriate approach to combine both mechanisms. Coaching usually is offered over a sustained period of time, which helps supporting the behavioural changes

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that are necessary, but very difficult to achieve. And the coach can adapt his or her coaching to the level of expertise of the coachee to offer the right level of complexity.

Connection between teacher education and research
In the problem arena that has been depicted in this paper, the role of research is not to be overlooked: why is the connection between teachers' professional development and educational research, that could and should support his, so troubled? [109] Firstly, we shortly describe educational research and its possible contribution to whole child education. Then we will address issues and problems related to educational research, and finally we will use this critical analysis as a point of departure for suggesting improvements and actions that can be taken.

What is it?
Educational research refers to the systematic collection and analysis of data related to the field of education. Research may involve a variety of methods, and as described for instance on Wikipedia[110], a commonly used distinction in educational research is that between practice-oriented research and fundamental research. Sometimes these are also called applied research 'versus' scientific research. It is not without reason that we placed the word 'versus' between brackets, since more and more researchers believe this distinction between these approaches is false and should no longer be made. Indeed, Wikipedia states: 'There also exists a new school of thought that these derivatives of the scientific method are far too reductionistic in nature. Since educational research includes other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, science, and philosophy and refers to work done in a wide variety of contexts it is proposed that researchers should use "multiple research approaches and theoretical constructs." This could mean using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods as well as common methodology from the fields mentioned above. In social research this phenomenon is referred to as triangulation.'

This may seem academic hair-splitting, but unfortunately the relation between whole child education and educational research is problematic, due to the aforementioned chasm between research and practice. This problematic relation with research takes multiple forms or is multi-facetted: teachers tend not to use insights from educational research, and results of education research are too often unusable, irrelevant or even wrong. When the problematic relation between educational research and whole child education has been clarified, possible solutions may become apparent.

Teachers don't use results from educational research
There is a worldwide problem that teachers do not bother with the results of educational research, or at least do not know how to apply them in their personal contexts (Reeves,

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2010). In this section, we do not look at the role of the teacher but more generally at characteristics of educational research that play a part in this. Unfortunately, also in the Netherlands and to date, this problem is still quite manifest[111] . The Stuurgroep Praktijkgericht Onderwijsonderzoek of NRO and the Nationaal Regieorgaan Praktijkgericht Onderzoek SIA recently concluded: 'The gap between research and practice is still there.' (2018, p. 8). Hence, the connection between teacher education and research is too weak.

Results from educational research are unusable
Reasons mentioned by teachers for not using results from educational research is that they are inaccessible, unreadable or not relevant. The first two categories could relatively easily be solved, and it would be hard to imagine that this problem of lack of transfer from research to practice would persist all over the world. We therefore believe the problem is more profound. In for instance Martens (2010; 2018), it is discussed that results of research are not relevant, because the initial research questions did not originate from practice. Moreover, teachers perceive research outcomes as irrelevant because they often stem from isolated experiments, very often aimed at short-term results. Worse still is that teachers sometimes do not trust results from educational science. This is further discussed in the next section.

Results are false
When researchers put too much emphasis on controlled experiments measuring the impact of small-scale interventions, the complexity of classroom reality is often not only underestimated, but effectively removed from view (Biesta, 2018). It leads to a reductionistic, over-simplified 'technical-instrumental' way of thinking about education, in which students are objects that must go 'efficiently' through their school subject, curriculum and education career[112]. The 'whole child' along with education's long-term impact are easily forgotten. When researchers deny this complexity or are even intolerant to it, because it introduces uncertainty ('that's not real science' or 'non-academic'), we end up with incoherent, incompatible information of false security that does not lead to relevant insights. Kuhl (2001) describes this as '*Inseln der Gewissheit*' (Islands of certainty). The problems of these Inseln der Gewissheit are greater than simply producing knowledge that is not useful. It is even false in many cases, as can be divined from the so-called 'replication crisis' – a term coined in the early 2010s. This not only got hold of educational science but of the social sciences in general. The figures of this problem are disturbing: up to 40% of the results published in social scientific journals cannot be replicated.

Conservatism
When research is limited to only a small part of a complex educational reality, it may readily reinforce an academic culture of conservatism: educational innovation is often required to be evidence-based, which at first sight is a reasonable and justified claim. Yet,

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a problem emerges, as the most important characteristics of our current education system have arisen at a time when educational research did not exist at all (e.g. the standardisation of the system, including the year classes or distribution of the curriculum across subjects, supported by tests and assessments). For example, those who check the type of instruction within the existing system might find that direct instruction works best: 'I tell you exactly what you have to do and measure it with a test'. Short, fast research with results that are quickly and easily published. But in such research, the motivational side is usually left out of consideration. In the short term, direct instruction may work well, but by looking at what is broader and longer, you will see that repeated direct instruction negatively affects the intrinsic motivation of students. Or that personalization of education is actually better than 'one-size-fits-all-education'. Too isolated research therefore not only leads to invalid conclusions (it does not do justice to reality at school), but it can also be regarded as hampering innovation. After all, by starting from the existing educational frameworks (to which this requirement of provability was never asked) and which are not challenged in their entirety because the scientific research would not be about this, it actually strengthens this educational system. And that conservatism is problematic when, for example, the disruptive change that ICT entails is precisely the demand for structurally other forms of education, boundary crossing or radically innovative experiments in which, for example, more attention is paid to the personalization of education or issues of motivation.

The causes summarized to come to solutions
To summarize, when we take whole child education as a starting point, we see that educational research has not always contributed to deepen our understanding. What is needed is a research context in which educational researchers are not under an immediate pressure to publish their (positive) results (Martens, 2010). They need to operate as a team, operating from multiple perspectives. This is often compared with an academic hospital, in which teaching, research and curing real patients are combined. So the educational research that we recommend is curiosity driven, does justice to the complexity of what happens in a school, and is always aimed at the whole child (learning processes, biological processes, motivation, anthropology, and pedagogy). It also means that we need to look for research methods that are not too restricted to short-term quantitative results. Think of complexity research[113], narratives, naturalistic inquiry, and phenomenological research [114].

Conclusions
Teachers' development and training for whole child education should be aimed at connecting the personal and professional dimensions of their work. What is needed, is development of a teacher identity that includes their personal beliefs.

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To achieve this, an approach to teacher training and development is needed, that is as closely connected to practice as possible. Not only to make reflection and feedback more valuable, but also because the complexity of education (the different educational aims, the varying contexts in which it takes place) can only be experienced in daily practice. Thirdly, it is important to give teachers the tools to improve their own practice, rather than having researchers and policy makers telling them what improvements to implement. Teachers themselves should get space and time and the relevant instruments to be able to generate knowledge about their classroom processes and to design content and materials that are attuned to their situation.

Coping with the complexity of education and the moral and ethical issues that come with it, is an important common thread that can be woven through all different teacher training institutions. The question is how this common pedagogical core can become more central.[115]

2.5 In what way does a whole child education approach help children who grow up in adversity?

We will now turn to the issue of how whole child education can contribute to alleviate problems of inequality in education and what can be done to help children who grow up in adversity. In general, it is our conviction that the whole child education approach, as discussed above, is of great value to teaching disadvantaged children.

Summarizing what we have discussed above, we conceive of whole child education as:

- a way of educating the whole child, i.e. in all dimensions of its being;
- aimed at continuously balancing qualification, socialization and subjectification as functions of education; or the pedagogical task with a clear purpose as point of reference for this balance;
- leaving the standardized system, opening it for the individuality of the student, opening the curriculum to the world;
- leaving normative comparison of children and their school results;
- teaching with tact, presence and character, in awareness of the context in which the child grows up and expresses its needs;
- while recognizing the complexity of education and its moral dimensions, accepting that no best solution exists;
- and while working and developing professionally in a collaborative way, taking responsibility as a team for the outcome of education.

How can these elements help to address the needs of children who grow up in socially and economically challenging circumstances? When focussing precisely on these children and the questions they pose to the current state of affairs in education, it becomes especifically striking how whole child education can help to illuminate where the current

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debate on what constitutes good education is flawed. It can be argued that exactly because we have been emphasizing cognitive results as a marker of educational quality and effectiveness (over other outcomes of education), and because of the focus on early selection and tracking, inequality in education has increased rather than that we have been able to find a solution for it[116].

The emphasis on cognitive results and the public announcement of school in media have led to a culture of competition and selection that has had negative impact on equality. Children in disadvantaged circumstances have fewer financial, cultural and social resources to be able to keep up with other children[117]. On a school level, schools are inclined to avoid taking in too many students that may need extra support, because that may negatively effect their results. The nation-wide publication of school results has led to teachers focussing on short-term achievements with their students ('teaching to the test'), which has hindered their attention to long-term developments.

The problems addressed in this report are by no means unique to the Netherlands. Darling-Hammond, Cook-Harvey, Flook, Gardner & Melnick[118] point at disturbing problems in the U.S. with narrowly-defined measurement in high-pressure environments, in which there is little room for pedagogy and which only helps students at risk to get into more rather than less troubles:

"This whole child approach has been difficult for many schools to engage in during the era of test-based accountability ushered in by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), when U.S. education policies focused intently on raising student test scores, often to the exclusion of other goals, such as student health and welfare; physical, social, emotional, and psychological development; critical and creative thinking; and communication and collaboration abilities. Under the threat of public shaming, staff firings, or school closures if scores did not climb each year, schools often adopted a 'drill and kill', 'test and punish', 'no excuses' agenda that caused many of the nation's most vulnerable children to experience a narrowly-defined, scripted curriculum and a hostile, compliance-oriented climate that pushed many of them out of school."

In other words: it has become more important to comply to system requirements and teachers are increasingly unable to focus on the quality of the pedagogical relation – both tendencies being detrimental if you strive to enable teachers to have a view of the whole child.[119]

The good news is, that if we are able to create better circumstances in education for the children who need it most, all children will benefit. As Andy Hargreaves has put it: "What is essential to some, is good for everyone." After discussing issues concerning inequality in Dutch education, we will give some examples of projects that are hopeful and can be learned from for the Dutch situation.

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Inequality in Dutch education

Although the Netherlands has relatively little inequality in primary education, inequality increases dramatically as soon as children enter secondary education[120]. This is largely due to a nation-wide instituted mechanism of early selection between vocational and academic tracks that takes place at the age of 12[121]. In addition, our current regular education system is essentially a system of competition in year classes. Because of constant comparisons within age groups, not only the 'younger' children in one year group suffer demonstrably negative consequences[122], but certainly also the children who are already at risk because of their home situation.

As a result of this selection and competition, and because it has become harder for students to move on from vocational to academic tracks, the influence of social-economic factors on school success is relatively high. This means that a lot of talent of children that grow up in adverse conditions is lost, because a statistically large proportion of children in that group lag behind in what they could achieve, if compared with children of middle class and affluent parents.[123] Recently the *Onderwijsraad* also advised to install a less severe degree of (early) selection for students in the Dutch educational system[124].

There are a number of reasons why inequality is a persisting problem. First of all, so called 'high-stakes testing' has led to an emphasis on test scores as a measure for quality[125], with counterproductive effects[126]. Parents feel the pressure to have their children achieve high test scores and they therefore let them participate in extra test training and homework guidance after school hours, against considerable extra costs. Children who cannot afford 'homework class' miss that extra training and guidance.

Secondly, efforts to tailor to the needs of struggling children (so-called differentiation) run the risk of having adverse effects, if not carried out properly[127]. This is due to the well-known Pygmalion-effect. Children who are treated as 'slow learners', will come to see themselves as slow learners and will act accordingly, which reinforces the perception of teachers of them as slow learners. To avoid this, teachers should constantly be aware of how they see and approach children, have high expectations of all children and give the right tailormade feedback to let them learn[128].

A third factor has to do with a cultural mismatch. Most teachers belong to a social group that is generally well-educated. They have positive experiences with and opinions of a diverse society; they encourage children to think for themselves and make their own decisions. Parents of children growing up in social-economic adverse conditions more often have negative experiences with diversity; they oftentimes value discipline and expect teachers to give direct instruction to pupils. This cultural mismatch causes children to feel they do not belong to the group that is successful in education.[129] It furthermore is cause for miscommunication between parents and teachers, that negatively affects the support parents can give at home to their children.[130]

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There is a significant saying that illuminates the meaning of Whole Child Development. It reads *The child goes before the pupil*, referring to the attitude to concieve students first as children (with the needs typical for children) and after that as students. In other words, be aware that only in school children are students. Starting from this point of view teachers can understand the primary needs of relationship of their students, referring to principles as trust and confidence and high expectations, in need of belonging to the community and harmony, in need of time and space to experience oneself as an actor, able to regulate him/herself and to be effective. These conditions will support a healthy social and emotional development of children, prerequisite for successful learning.

A whole child perspective: promising examples
Developing whole child education could help in broadening the focus of good education, helping teachers and school leaders to move away from the narrow indicators and making results less important in assessing school quality, which decreases the emphasis on high-stakes testing.

A whole child education-perspective helps in being aware of all other domains in which children can show development and that may eventually positively influence their academic results too. Interesting examples here are 'Rotterdam Vakmanstad' in The Netherlands[131], the long-running Comer School Development Project in the United States, the Coalition of Essential Schools[132] and The London Challenge in the UK[133]. A whole child education perspective can help teachers to look for links between the contexts of school, home and street. This is the main focus of the Dutch 'Transformative school project'[134][135]. These are only a few examples of long-running and integrated projects. Other projects could be named here, but viewing the shared elements that are crucial for their success in improving education for children in disadvantaged circumstances, already yields these results:

- Put teams of teachers at the heart of the initiative to improve education;
- Start from a broad, integrated and coherent vision on children's development within their context;
- Capitalize on the development of a shared moral purpose;
- Build the professionality of teachers by consistently reviewing outcomes and refining the approach[136].

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Section 3
Conclusions and recommendations

The purpose of this report is to explore how the concept of 'whole child education' could benefit in finding new approaches to improve education in the Netherlands, especially for children who grow up in disadvantaged circumstances. We have started this exploration by focussing on a number of fundamental questions with regards to what good education is, how this is rooted in the concepts of connectedness and relatedness, and what this subsequently means for the role of the teacher.
We will now turn to the question of what is needed in Dutch education to come closer to realising the vision of whole child education that we have developed in this report. We conclude by providing a number of concrete recommendations to Porticus.

We started the report with contradictions.
- Although there are growing concerns that education has developed into a system that overemphases efficiency and cognitive outcomes, the discussion on good education seems to stay focused on *effectiveness,* thereby reinforcing the importance of restrictive and quantifiable aspects of education.
- The resistance of the standardized system to changes and the continuing normative comparison of pupils on one hand (including early selection at the age of 12) and the nation-wide agreement that educational practice should be attuned to the individual needs of students, emphasizing the interest and continuity of learning processes instead of mere output[137].
- Although most practitioners and experts seem to agree that a broader vision on what constitutes good education is needed, only few bring this broader vision into practice; for that reason it proves very difficult to actually explore a whole child approach in educational research and policy.
- Although there is growing attention for the professional autonomy of teachers, they experience little possibilities to make their own professional choices with regards to what is right for individual students.

These contradictions or paradoxes do not seem very strange from the viewpoint of a meritocracy, a characteristic that has become a dominant feature of our society. Nevertheless, we should defend and practise in our schools the democratic principle of equity. Every child ought to get the opportunity it is entitled to.

3.1 Summary of obstacles to whole child education
This assessment of the problems discussed above is endorsed both in the literature and by the interviewees. These are problems that have persisted for a long time. The Dutch educational system has characteristics that make it particularly resistant to change, a

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feature it has in common with most OESO countries. One of the most threatening consequences of this is growing inequality. Despite all good intentions, Dutch education reinforces social differences. An important part of the exploration that we have carried out in this paper is the search for mechanisms that impede a solution of these structural problems. The aim of our search has therefore been to find leads for structural improvement. We started this report by pointing at paradoxes and we end with paradoxes. The two biggest paradoxes are firstly, that everyone supports the idea of whole child education but at the same time almost everyone we interviewed thinks that we are not realising this and, secondly, that we have an education system that is based on mutual comparison, which confirms or even increases differences between students.

This may sound more complicated than it is. It simply means that those in our current education who begin with a backlog, for example with a language deficiency because no Dutch is spoken at home, are at a disadvantage. The system of year classes and early selection (the first can be seen in many countries, the second is rather specific to the Netherlands) basically leads to a situation in which it is very difficult to catch up and reverse early predicaments. In other words, despite all good intentions, education reinforces social differences.

The more pressure is put on children, teachers and schools (for instance 'opbrengstgericht werken' or cognitive high stakes testing), the more the differences between children will arise and the more this pressure will be at the disadvantage of those who grow up in adversity.

These problems are not new. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a shared effort by many to establish the so called 'Middenschool' ('middle school), which was an attempt to compensate for this effect. But to date the problems have not become smaller, they even seem to grow, with the increase of students with a migrant background (also second and even third generation). It is therefore that we conclude, that mere cosmetic procedures will not help to solve this problem. Good and independent research is required, as we will further explain below.

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3.2 Recommendations to advance whole child education approaches

Practice

It is of utmost importance to re-establish trust and confidence in our teachers' professionality, with all who are engaged within and around the educational practice. Instead of hoping for such a reappraisal from political or governmental levels, it should be generated bottom-up. One of the most promising preconditions for this comprises of actively connecting the educational practice with research and training.

Good research makes it possible to distinguish 'random' or strictly local effects from more generic issues. It helps to come to a better understanding of 'what works' in a local context. But it is also precisely by carrying out careful (action) research in local contexts that conclusions can be drawn that are to the benefit of others. So that the impact of the research has a much larger impact than just in the local context. Compare it to an academic hospital where real patients are the focal point, but where also conclusions are reached that can be generalized.

A school should be able to know what it is worth, on the basis of an informed understanding of its concepts, processes and results. This local yet in-depth knowledge can be generated by the school itself, by its teachers and students, hence yielding a thorough basis for the legitimisation of its practice, which can be communicated to all stakeholders and other interested parties. Choosing consciously and informedly for certain educational concepts and practices, will strengthen a school's vision and course and will bind people like parents and colleagues. The pedagogical meaning of this proposition is that pupils get involved in the knowledge-generating process about their class and school and hence gain a certain level of understanding and a sense of shared responsibility for the quality of ongoing school processes.

Local initiatives appear to be more successful than national ones, provided that there is a strong conceptual basis and general consensus about the initiative with the stakeholders (there should be no micro-political problems (Kelchtermans, 2009), yet essential are: monitoring and feedback mechanisms, sufficient professional capital and shared responsibility (Hargreaves, 2012); and teacher training team-based professional development and longitudinal research are integrated.) Given the level of complexity of school organisations, strong, engaged pedagogical leadership is imperative.

Whole child development is a comprehensive concept based on assumptions about children's development and learning, and on what is needed to bring them up. By and large, these basic conjectures are not common in current practices and thinking on education. Thus, before taking an initiative in this direction, the people involved (practitioners) must have understood and internalised the concept. Feeling inspired will not be sufficient, it is a conviction, a way of perceiving the world, from which the school ethos and practices ensue.

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Apart from local in-depth knowledge it is important for teachers' professionability to legitimise their practice by becoming knowledgeable about pedagogical concepts through visiting lectures or reading articles and books. By visiting other schools or reading about other good practices the perspective of teachers is widened and therefore more open to let go of the standardization in education. Meeting other teachers who practice whole child education can strengthen teachers in the development of their own practice.

Practice-based research
The connections between (scientific) educational research and educational practice have been cut loose. We recommend to create and support local projects that integrate education, research and teacher training, based not only on a holistic approach of children's development and a broad notion of 'good education', but which also put teachers' initiatives central. Restoring the links between education, research and teacher training can be done by literally reuniting them: what is needed are 'educational playgrounds' in which there is time and space to experiment with innovative educational concepts.
An educational playground is a place where research, development and education come together in a sustainable and genuine way. There are examples such as academic workplaces in education, but too often we see that researchers and practitioners involved are too locked up in their own domain and do not share a common goal. A very recent attempt to do such research is currently being set up by the Dutch research funding organisation NRO ('expedition Aristoteles').

It is recommended that school teams engage in longitudinal research. Effects of whole child education approaches are expected to be most valuable in 10 or 20 years' time – a time horizon that is too long for most current research projects. Research must not neglect the long term, yet neither oversimplify the educational reality by being too reductionist[138]. Research with a multi-disciplinary angle is needed, in which researchers collaborate and co-design and remain close to the everyday educational reality.

Teacher training and school development
First and foremost, there should be clarity and agreement on how to approach and bridge the gap between theory and practice. One strain within current-day scientific literature that is gaining traction, is preoccupied with rethinking the duality of theory and practice, not conceiving of it as two separate realities (which still is the current perception of (student) teachers), but rather converging research and (the complexities of) practice. This so-called 'primacy of practice'-stance starts and ends inside the concrete, everyday world of practice, reflecting on practical questions and dilemma's in a circular movement of practicing, theorizing and (re)designing. Within such a conception of practice, theory and teacher training as a unified whole, student teachers will start their professional life in

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practice, trying to get along with children and youngsters in a satisfying way, to understand them, and trying to get an idea about the pedagogical task and its consequences. This point of view seems particularly interesting in the context of a whole child approach in education, as in this approach, student teachers get the initial opportunity to see children as children, before donning their role as 'teachers' who 'teach lessons' to 'pupils'.

On more advanced levels, teacher training will subsequently give preference to team-based professional development with particular attentiveness towards the pedagogical or relational dimension of the educational work, as this contributes substantially to the quality of teaching, and to the teacher's and pupil's well-being. Initial and advanced teacher training should both be characterized by a high awareness of both the student's and the teacher's ethics as a primary motive of acting (Kansanen, 2000).

At several places in the text, the importance t of (school)team-based training and working, along with the sharing of responsibilities has been made an explicit topic in educational thinking. Hargreaves has articulated this interest in terms of professional capital (Hargreaves, 2012). During teacher training, this interest should become a common notion: the notion that the complexity of educational work does not allow it to be private work. Teachers student must be trained to be able to do the work themselves, but not alone (which, by and large, is the current-day practice). In a whole child development context, the teacher's perspective is broadened. That makes an open (professional) mind and open professional relationships even the more necessary.

Politics and accountability
One of our first recommendations must be: let go of the ambition of a nation-wide innovation, certainly in the Netherlands. Most of the innovations initiated and directed by the Dutch government have failed, because in practice they were all too easily contaminated by (micro)political and financial motives and external attributions. A more viable way forwards should be sought in local initiatives, stemming from the educational practice itself. Try to combine these initiatives with sound educational research that is both non-reductionistic and non-technical-instrumental. A few examples are the primary school 'De Wittering.nl', the 'Academische Werkplaats' at Iselinge Hogeschool, 'iXperium' at Hogeschool Arnhem Nijmegen, and Agora in Roermond.

Remain vigilant as a teacher team about the state of your ongoing processes, its results and implications, as well as about the well-being of students and teachers. This will not only inform you to intervene or (re)direct processes in time, but it will also underscore and feed your sense of shared accountability. Particularly when adopting a new educational concept, such as whole child development, the different stakeholders (firstly pupils and

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parents, but also follow on schools and society at large) will keep a close watch on the course of events. Yet, as a school team/ school leadership, you must steer clear of letting all of them become part of the processes. Hence, schools always should be able to give well-informed answers to questions and concerns from stakeholders – which makes school-based research even more needed, involving teachers and students.

Wrapping up

We have to come to realize that our education system is in need of fundamental adjustments. Too much talent is wasted, not in the least of children already growing up in adversity. We have argued that we need to move away from a too reductionistic and technical-instrumental view on education, a view that has no eye for both the daily complexity as well as the long-term consequences of education on personal lives and on our society. Realising that this shift is not the easiest of endeavours, we should be heartened by current-day educational innovations that do dare to explore new grounds. Often these initiatives are facing biased criticism or even active opposition, which hinders a constructive dialogue. There are many teachers who want to take their responsibility. But simple cosmetic surgery will not help. As long as we prolong a system of intense competition and easy comparisons on superficial criteria, the greater values underpinning education and child-rearing will remain out of sight[139].

In the end, this also involves political choices. For our political leaders, these choices are more readily made, when they can find support valid and reliable data from adequate educational research. Thus, a final recommendation would be to support sound, educational research that is strongly connected to practical daily classroom work and to teacher training, thus fuelling a positive dialogue on the innovation of education and of teacher training.

An important challenge is to remove the divides between educational research and educational practice. Teacher training should also be involved. Think of the possibility to combine all these things in 'experimental schools' or play grounds at a certain location. It is precisely here that funds could be of great added value to make it possible to carry out long-term, careful and practice-based research. Research, in which the complexity of education is not denied but embraced.

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Overview of experts that cooperated to this study

Here below the names and functions of the persons we interviewed are displayed. In the appendix the interviews can be found.

- Hein van Asseldonk, vice-president VO-raad
- Rinda den Besten, president PO-raad
- Jelmer Evers, teacher in history, UniC
- Jannie Mosk, teacher in economics, Hermann Wesselink College
- Marco Snoek, lector Leren & Innoveren Hogeschool van Amsterdam
- Renske Valk, chief editor *Van Twaalf tot Achttien*
- Jaap Versfelt, initiator Stichting leerKRACHT
- Sietske Waslander, professor of sociology, TIAS and member of the Onderwijsraad

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Endnotes

1 Spier, E., Osher, D., Pulizzi, S., Wayne, A., Garcia-Piriz, D., Carson, K., … Kendziora, K. (2017). *Mapping of Whole Child Development Pedagogies and Models Western Europe and North America*. Washington, DC.

2 See OECD PISA rankings at https://data.oecd.org/netherlands.htm

3 See UNICEF Report Card on well-being of children in 29 countries, published in 2013
https://www.unicef.org/policyanalysis/index_68637.html

4 Dutch council on Education (Onderwijsraad) *Een smalle kijk op onderwijskwaliteit,* (2013)

5 Their experience of being marginalized as professionals led René Kneyber and Jelmer Evers to edit the seminal 'Het Alternatief', of which the sequel 'Flipping the system' (Routledge) was followed by local versions in various countries all over the world. See Kneyber, R., & Evers, J. (2013). *Het Alternatief. Weg met de afrekencultuur in het onderwijs*. Amsterdam: Boom/Lemma.

6 Whether teaching could be considered to be a real profession has been topic of debate among scholars for decades. It is not our intention to solve that discussion here. Important is, that teachers have the experience that their work (as a profession) is under pressure, and their autonomy is declining. See for the story of a particular teacher Haperen, T. van. (n.d.). *Het bezwaar van de leraar. Hoe slecht beleid de Nederlandse school vernielt.* Amsterdam: AUP

7 As has been noted in the comprehensive review study Cambridge Primary Review, edited by R. Alexander (2010): "…'effectiveness' meant only what school effectiveness research allowed it to mean: measured gains in tests of a narrow range of educational outcomes correlated with such classroom process factors as themselves are measurable, which is not many." (p. 295)
Alexander, R. (2010). *Children, their world, their education: final report and recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review*. Oxon.

8 Martens (2018) discusses into detail how a too narrow view on educational research has harmed this research, making it unreliable and too restricted.

9 See Cheung et al, 2017. The impact of non-response bias due to sampling in public health studies.

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14 See for instance how Geert Kelchtermans describes how teacher feel pressured by a culture of performativity (Kelchtermans, 2012)

15 Glastra & Middelkoop (2018).

16 Onderwijsraad (2013).

17 Onderwijsraad (2018).

18 Biesta 2010, Good education in an age of measurement.

19 Martens (2018).

20 Biesta 2010, Good education in an age of measurement

21 Boutellier, H. (2015). *Het seculiere experiment. Hoe we van God los gingen samenleven*. Amsterdam: Boom.

22 See also Martens (2014).

23 Tjeenk Willink (2018).

24 (Martens, 2014)

25 See Ballafkih & Middelkoop (2018) for a study on how overemphasis on efficiency in higher education has alienated teachers who strive for quality.

26 C.f. Sluijsmans & Kneyber (2016).

27 Spier, E., Osher, D., Pulizzi, S., Wayne, A., Garcia-Piriz, D., Carson, K., … Kendziora, K. (2017). *Mapping of Whole Child Development Pedagogies and Models Western Europe and North America*. Washington, DC.

28 See also the Learning for Well-being framework developed by the Learning for Well-being Foundation, at https://www.learningforwellbeing.org

29 Darling-Hammond, L., Cook-Harvey, C. M., Flook, L., Gardner, M., & Melnick, H. (2018). *With the Whole Child in Mind: Insights from the Comer School Development Program*. Alexandria, VA: ASCD.

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[30] See for examples how of how education and sustainability are linked Wals (2007) and the Earth Charter http://earthcharter.org

[31] An important starting point for the discussion on the broader aims of education is the UNESCO-report 'The treasure within', see Delors, J. (1996). *Learning, the Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*.

[32] See Biesta 2010, *Good education in an age of measurement*

[33] Onderwijsraad 2013 Onderwijsraad. (2013). *Een smalle kijk op onderwijskwaliteit. Stand van educatief Nederland 2013* (Vol. 20130206/1). Den Haag: Onderwijsraad

Onderwijsraad (2013). *Leraar zijn. Meer oog voor persoonlijke professionaliteit*, Den Haag: Onderwijsraad; Onderwijsraad (2011). *Onderwijs vormt*, Den Haag: Onderwijsraad

[34] Hüther, G., & Spannbauer, C. (2012). *Connectedness*. Bern: Huber Verlag

[35] De Brabander & Martens (2014).

[36] Gray, 2013.

[37] See for a comprehensive review of research on relationship and learning and development Osher, D., Cantor, P., Berg, J., Steyer, L., & Rose, T. (2018). Drivers of human development: How relationships and context shape learning and development. *Applied Developmental Science*. http://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2017.1398650

[38] Mental Health Foundation. (2016). *Relationships in the 21st Century*. London.

[39] Bergin, C., & Bergin, D. (2009). Attachment in the Classroom. *Educational Psychology Review*, *21* (2), 141-170. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-009-9104-0

[40] Alexander (2010) Cambridge Primary Review, p. 287: ""At the heart of both classroom learning and behaviour, as both teachers and children understand - and as the children in our community soundings emphasised - are the nature and quality of the relationships which the teacher is able to foster with and among the pupils."

[41] Biesta, G. (2013). *The beautiful risk of education*. Boulder: Paradigm.

[42] Biesta, G. (2017). *The rediscovery of teaching*. London: Routledge.

[43] Biesta, G. (2010) Good education in an age of measurement

[44] Biesta, G. (2013) The beautiful risk of education

[45] Varela, F. (1999). *Ethical Know-How.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

[46] 'Learning to be' is one of the 'four pillars of education' as described by Jacques Delors in his seminal report on education, Delors, J. (1996). *Learning, the Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*.

[47] "Good learning outcomes and a clear focus on pupils' emotional wellbeing and mental health are two sides of the same coin." – O'Neill (2017) CIDREE Yearbook 2017, p. 2

[48] Adapted from CIDREE Yearbook 2017, p. 2

[49] See also the Learning for Well-being framework : https://www.learningforwellbeing.org/our-approach/knowledge/

[50] Crowell, S., & Reid-Marr, D. (2013). *Emergent teaching: A path of creativity, significance, and transformation*. R&L Education.

[51] Of which Howard Gardners' theory of Multiple Intelligence is the most influential: Gardner, H. (1999). *Intelligence reframed : multiple intelligences for the 21st century*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

[52] An exception might be the 'Comer Program', which has been running for over 50 years in the United States and offers teachers and school leaders a framework to adjust the focus of the education they offer to their students by using six 'pathways' for development: cognitive, physical, language, ethical, social and psychological. See Darling-Hammond, L., Cook-Harvey, C. M., Flook, L., Gardner, M., & Melnick, H. (2018). *With the Whole Child in Mind: Insights from the Comer School Development Program*. Alexandria, VA: ASCD.

[53] See for instance the International Baccalaureate (IB) programs that are offered around the world

[54] Biesta (2013) The beautiful risk

[55] Goodlad, J. I., Sirotnik, K. A., & Soder, R. (1990). *The Moral dimensions of teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

[56] (Biesta, 2010) Good education in an age of measurement

[57] Bakker, C., & Wassink, H. (2015). *Leraren en het goede leren. Normatieve professionalisering in het onderwijs*. Utrecht: Hogeschool Utrecht.

[58] Cok Bakker, & Montesano Montessori, N. (2017). *Complexity in education: From horror to passion.* Springer.

[59] Zande, E. van der. (2018). *Life orientation for professionals*. Almere: Parthenon.

[60] Alexander (2010) Cambridge Primary Review

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[61] Soder has argued that if teachers fail to recognize how important the ethical dimension of teaching is, and therefore the importance of it for their professionality, they run the risk of becoming mere lackeys who are carrying out programs. Soder, R. (1991). The ethics of the rhetoric of teacher professionalization. *Teaching and Teacher Education*. http://doi.org/10.1016/0742-051X(91)90036-O

[62] Kelchtermans (2009)

[63] Biesta (2014)

[64] Kelchtermans (2009)

[65] Also self-determination theory clearly indicates the direct link between (deep level) learning and the social aspect, such as the basic psychological need for relatedness.

[66] "I am convinced that the nature of the relationships among the adults who inhabit a school has more to do with the school's quality and character, and with the accomplishment of its pupils, than any other factor." Barth (1984)

[67] This is what is called 'normatieve professionalisering' in Dutch, see also Bakker and Wassink, 2015

[68] Kelchtermans, G. (2016). The Emotional Dimension in Teachers' Work Lives: A Narrative-Biographical Perspective. In M. Zembylas & P. A. Schutz (Eds.), *Methodological Advances in Research on Emotion and Education* (pp. 31–42). Switzerland: Springer.

[69] Van Veen, K., & Sleegers, P. (2006). How does it feel? Teachers' emotions in a context of change. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *38*(1), 85–111. http://doi.org/10.1080/00220270500109304

[70] Hargreaves & Shirley (2009) p.102

[71] Jansen in de Wal, J., van den Beemt, A., Martens, R., & den Brok, P. (accepted). The relationship between job demands, job resources and teachers' professional learning: Is it explained by self-determination theory?

[72] Klaeijsen, A., Vermeulen, M., & Martens, R. (2017). Teachers' innovative behaviour: the importance of basic psychological need satisfaction, intrinsic motivation and occupational self-efficacy.

[73] Kelchtermans, G. (2009). *Gekoesterde kwetsbaarheid als professionele deugd. Verhalende reflecties over goed leraarschap*. Driebergen: NIVOZ.

[74] Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) "A compelling and inclusive moral purpose steers a system, binds it together, and draws the best people to work in it." P. 76

[75] Day et al, (2006) Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). The personal and professional selves of teachers: stable and unstable identities. *British Educational Research Journal*, *32*(04), 601–616.

[76] Kelchtermans (2009) Who I am in how I teach is the message: self-understanding, vulnerability and reflection. *Teachers and Teaching Education*, *15*(2), 257–272.

[77] As Kunneman states: "Every development entails a complication" which can be understood in the sense that every time some aspect is 'solved' a new complication surfaces – hence the aptness of the word 'complexity'. See Kunneman, H. (2017). *Amor complexitatis. Bouwstenen voor een kritisch humanisme*. Amsterdam: SWP. p. 353 ev

[78] This is in some way related to what Richard Sennett describe as an important element of craftsmanship. A craftsman does not evade complexity, but acknowledges it as a central aspect of their work

[79] See Biesta, 2014, p. 140 "…without the risk, education itself dissappears and social reproduction, insertion into existing orders of being, doing, and thinking, takes over."

[80] "…Tact is the expression of a thoughtfulness that involves the total being of the person, an active sensitivity toward the subjectivity of the other, for what is unique and special about the other person" Max van Manen - The tact of teaching (1991)

[81] Ibid

[82] Rodgers, C., & Raider-Roth, M. (2006). Presence in teaching. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *12*(3), 265–287. http://doi.org/10.1080/13450600500467548

[83] Ibid p.265-266

[84] This paragraph is based on: Sanderse, W. (2012). *Character education. A neo-Aristotelian approach to the philosophy, psychology and education of virtue*. Delft: Eburon.

[85] Sanderse, W. (2018). Wanneer ben je gevormd? Een overzicht van drie actuele benaderingen. In G. Geerdink & F. De Beer (Eds.), *Velon kennisbasis over vorming* (pp. 35–46). Velon.

[86] Bruin-Raven et al. (2016)

[87] Meirieu Pedagogiek: De plicht om weerstand te bieden

[88] Zande, E. van der. (2018). *Life orientation for professionals*. Almere: Parthenon.

[89] "The task perception encompasses deeply held beliefs about what constitutes good education, about one's moral duties and responsibilities in order to do justice to students. When these deeply held belief are questioned – and the risk that this happens is always present … teachers feel that they themselves as a person are called into question" (Kelchtermans, 2009, p. 262).

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[90] Martens (2018)

[91] Akkerman & Meijer (2011)

[92] Day et al (006)

[93] Meijer (2014); Mesker (2018)

[94] Fluijt (2018)

[95] Rapport LeerKRACHT (2007)

[96] Stichting Leerkracht, see https://stichting-leerkracht.nl

[97] https://stichting-leerkracht.nl/achtergrond-en-onderzoek/

[98] Geijsel (2015)

[99] The aspects of influence and reaching goals are at the core of many definitions of leadership. See for example Northouse (2012); Spillane (2006); Hulsbos, van Langevelde, & Kessels (2017).

[100] Spillane, J. P. (2006). *Distributed Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

[101] Keltner, D. (2013). *The Power Paradox*: *How We Gain and Lose Influence.* London: Penguin Press.

[102] De Brabander & Martens (2014).

[103] Kessels (2012). *Leiderschapspraktijken in een professionele ruimte*. Heerlen: Open Universiteit – LOOK – Ruud de Moor Centrum.

[104] *Het Alternatief* and *Het Alternatief II* are both edited by teachers Jelmer Evers and René Kneyber. Several co-authors provide their opinion on the state of the teaching profession in the Netherlands an argue for more autonomy for teachers.

[105] Kessels (2018). De ecologie van de professionele ruimte. *Pedagogische Studiën*, (95) 220-226.

[106] For a comprehensive overview of conditions for teachers to lead see York-Barr & Duke (2004). What Do We Know About Teacher Leadership? Findings From Two Decades of Scholarship. *Review of Educational Research, 74*(3), 255-316. At the time of writing this report an overview article written by Snoek, Hulsbos and Andersen on teacher leadership in the Dutch educational setting is in press.

[107] Sims and Fletcher-Wood (2018)

[108] Van Veen et al. (2010)

[109] Martens (2018).

[110] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educational_research

[111] PO raad, 2009; Stijnen, Martens, & Dieleman, 2009

[112] Glastra & van Middelkoop (2018).

[113] Zijlstra & van den Boogaard (2018).

[114] Willems, Noynes, Coertjens, van Petegem & Donche, 2018.

[115] A recent report by the Dutch Education Council (Onderwijsraad) is an important contribution to this discussion https://www.onderwijsraad.nl/publicaties/2018/ruim-baan-voor-leraren/item7699

[116] See also Diane Ravich (2010) for an analoguous report of how high-stakes testing in the US has actually made the problems with quality and inequality worse, in stead of being a solution for them

[117] Onderwijsraad (2018)

[118] Darling-Hammond, Cook-Harvey, Flook, Gardner & Melnick (2018, p.3).

[119] This has also been an important conclusion of the Cambridge Primary Review in the UK, Alexander (2010)

[120] Recent UNESCO-rapport https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/995-an-unfair-start-education-inequality-children.html, "The Netherlands goes from being the most equal country in primary school reading scores to ranking 26th (of 38 countries) when children are 15 years old." P. 3

[121] Van de Werfhorst et al. Van de Werfhorst, H., Elffers, L., & Karsten, S. (2015). Onderwijsstelsels vergeleken: leren, werken en burgerschap.

[122] Martens (2017)

[123] Jungbluth, P. (2014). *De prijs van zwak onderwijs*. Utrecht.

[124] Onderwijsraad (2018).

[125] Van Middelkoop & Glastra (2018)

[126] In the Netherlands, the results on the final test for primary education are used as a proxy for school quality; as are the results on the final exams for secondary education. This leads to 'teaching to test' as teachers feel pressure to achieve high test scores. For a thorough analysis of how high-stakes testing has been counter-effective for increasing educational quality read Ravitch (2010)

[127] Denessen, E. (2017). *Verantwoord omgaan met verschillen: sociale-culturele achtergronden en differentiatie in het onderwijs*. Leiden: Leiden University.

[128] Mueller, C. M., & Dweck, C. S. (1998). Praise for intelligence can undermine children's motivation and performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(1), 33–52. http://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.75.1.33

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[129] Jungbluth, 2014

[130] Denessen (2017), see also https://www.socialevraagstukken.nl/differentiatie-in-het-onderwijs-vergroot-kansenongelijkheid/

[131] https//www.vakmanstad.nl

[132] This project has been deployed over decades in more than 1,000 schools in the US and abroad, mostly in at-risk areas. The basis of the project is a model of six pathways of development, that seems to be a good example of a 'whole child' approach. See Darling-Hammond et al. (2018)

[133] http://londonleadershipstrategy.com/content/language-london-challenge

[134] The Transformative School project is aimed at helping teachers to create safe environments for learning in schools, based on insights on the mismatch between the culture of street, school and home that children experience who grow up in cities with superdiversity. See: Hadioui, I. El. (2011). *Hoe de straat de school binnendringt. Denken vanuit de pedagogische driehoek van de thuiscultuur, de schoolcultuur en de straatcultuur*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep.

[135] Bruin, A., Wassink, H., & Bakker, C. (2016). *Kiezen voor persoonsvorming. Identiteitsontwikkeling van leerling en school*. Culemborg: Phronese.

[136] Darling-Hammond, L., Cook-Harvey, C. M., Flook, L., Gardner, M., & Melnick, H. (2018). *With the Whole Child in Mind: Insights from the Comer School Development Program*. Alexandria, VA: ASCD

[137] E.g., Onderwijsraad, (2018b)

[138] This also has to do with the highly competitive climate that researchers have to operate in. A climate that stimulates a publish or perish culture and thus on easily to obtain and publish results (Martens, 2018).

[139] E.g. Glastra & Van Middelkoop (2018).

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