Schooling for social transformation? A mixed methods social network case study of a school and its collective music education programme

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ABSTRACT

Schools have often been depicted as instruments of social reproduction. However, they have also long been imbued with the hope that, if harnessed properly, their social dynamics could enable students to change their social positions and acquire the dispositions necessary to change society for the better. Lately, advocates of group music-making have also started claiming that music has a 'power' that gives it the capacity to transform both individuals and communities. Yet, little is known about how educational practices in either schools or music programmes shape the relationships between individuals which underpin social transformation processes.

This thesis responds to this gap in knowledge. In it, I study a case of a combined day and boarding school which targeted students with schooling difficulties and sought to achieve social transformation goals. The school implemented a collective music education programme to help achieve its aims, making it ideal for studying how educational practices in schools and music programmes impact on students' relationships and relate to social transformation. I carried out a Mixed Methods Social Network Analysis investigation of the case during one school year. This involved ethnographic fieldwork throughout, as well as two waves of questionnaires and social network measurements.

After describing the school's mission and its key educational practices, I set out their consequences for students' social lives. I argue that the school's practices of using social dynamics in school groups (school classes, boarding houses…) to achieve social transformation contributed to the establishment of what I call 'collectivity' and 'intensity'. 'Collectivity' meant that friendship relations were concentrated within school groups, while 'intensity' encouraged student performances and resulted in students' attentions being turned towards school events. I explore how these paradigmatic notions led to concentrations of not only friendship but also disliking ties in the school. Subsequently, I show how related educational practices made older students and boys more influential, and thus inordinate recipients of positive and negative sentiment ties in the school.

The second half of the thesis turns to the music programme, looking at how and for whom it was able to achieve its transformational goals. I first examine the role of performances in the programme. I find that, in order to promote social cohesion and encourage students to appropriate the programme for their self-realisation, music teachers needed to provide students with valued opportunities to perform. I go on to enquire whether the music programme, in introducing a novel domain of musical competence, provided students who were otherwise marginal with a new resource to become influential in the school's social world. I reveal that students who were already influential before the programme started, namely due to their age, gender, and friendship ties, tended to become musically influential among their peers.

The thesis concludes that the school's educational practices aimed at achieving social transformation not only powerfully influenced students' relationships but also ultimately limited the school's ability to attain its transformational goals. They did this by fostering antipathy and unequally distributing resources for students to improve their social positions. Meanwhile, the music programme ended up being so significantly shaped by the school context that its transformative potential was also bounded by the school's social dynamics. The final chapter of the thesis considers the limitations of my findings, discusses their implications for scholars and practitioners interested in schools, music programmes, and social networks, and offers some reflections on the processes underlying them.

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LIST OF COMMON PLACE PSEUDONYMS

Name	Description
Alpine	Girls-only boarding house of Trinité, with primary and middle school students.
Jura	Boys-only boarding house of Trinité, with primary school and Year 7 students.
MASS	Pseudonym of the case study music programme. Stands for Music and Social Skills.
Pyrénées	Mixed-sex boarding house in Trinité, with both primary and middle school students, with a special *éducation* focus.
Trinité	Pseudonym of the case study school.

CHAPTER I.INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> "We will never have a proper grasp of schools and the schooling process until we are able to describe and analyse schools in terms that reflect the unique characteristics of the schooling enterprise" (Schlechty and Joslin, 1984: 161)

> "We should not ask the question, does music have an impact, but rather can specific kinds of musical experience have an impact, and how and when" (Overy, 2012: 67)

A. Introduction

For several centuries now, young people across the world have been spending much of their childhoods in school. In many countries, the move towards a school-based model of education was in no small part motivated by the desire to secure economic prosperity through universal instruction. However, the shift was also driven by the belief that schools could teach students the moral and social values needed to become upstanding citizens and, ultimately, bring cohesion to their nations (Miqueu, 2016; Muller, 1999).

That said, schools have rarely been seen to teach moral and social values by theory alone. On the contrary, a common view – today as in the past – is that schools facilitate social[1] dynamics through which students learn to function in, and even potentially transform[2], wider society. Of course, schools have also famously been depicted not as agents of transformation, but rather of social reproduction and of the maintenance of power inequalities (Bourdieu, 1974; Foucault, 1975). However, if this condemnation holds, it is because schools, as prime institutions fashioning future generations of citizens, have been conversely imbued with the promise of ultimately reconfiguring society for the better. This was the promise that John Dewey (1916) was pursuing when he argued that developing a democratic *modus operandi* in public schools would solidify American democracy, both by instilling democratic dispositions in students and by encouraging reciprocal interactions between those who hailed from all sectors of American society.

Accompanying this view is the equally prominent narrative that schools can promote self-realisation, and so have important implications for students' social positions[3] in society. This is exemplified by the notion that schools can help foster social mobility, a claim which has been central to the sociological study of schooling (Boudon, 1974; Halsey et al., 1980). Once again, not all agree on the extent to which

[1] In this thesis I use the word "social" in two ways. The first relates to its use in expressions such as 'social action' and 'social change'. This meaning is rather broad and vague. Its closest definition in the Oxford English Dictionary seems to be "carried out to improve the condition of society or for the benefit of society as a whole" (OED, 2009), and I employ it only because others employ it. Whenever I do, I include the word or expression in single quotation marks (e.g. 'social action'). Meanwhile, the second way, in which I do not use quotation marks, refers to social as "developing from or involving the relationships between human beings or social groups that characterize life in society" (OED, 2009).

[2] In this thesis I often refer to the notion of 'social transformation'. I use this notion because, even though it is not the most theoretically established, it brings together important concepts which have wider relevance in accounts of music-making, schooling, and 'social' deprivation. As such, I take it to include both the 'transformation' of social environments (e.g. schools, societies), and the 'transformation' of individuals (e.g. students). While the former meaning refers to the improvement in some way of social relations in social environments, the latter meaning refers to individuals improving their social positions in these environments. I use the latter meaning synonymously with the expressions "self-transformation" and "self-realisation".

[3] My definition of 'social position' is inspired by (White et al., 1976); it consists in the position occupied by individuals in a social setting as a result of their relationships with other individuals in the setting. It can refer to the notions of structural or regular equivalence, although I tend to refer to the latter (cf. Borgatti and Everett, 1992).

schools alone can actually bring about such mobility, especially for students from 'disadvantaged' backgrounds (Breen and Jonsson, 2005; Brown, 2013). However, there is little doubt that schools are perceived as key players in the potential improvement of students' social positions, and furthermore that schools' internal social environments play a crucial role in this process (Coleman, 1961; Creemers and Kyriakides, 2008).

Although accounts do not agree, then, on whether schools in the end have positive or negative effects on pupils and society, they concur that schools are places where social transformation is critically at stake, and that whether the latter is realised or not depends in large part on school social environments. Ideas about the distinctiveness of these environments have even permeated into sociological accounts of schooling. Prominent sociologists such as Coleman (1994: 31) have viewed schools as "one of the few social contexts in modern society that constitut[e] largely self-contained social systems", inspiring related accounts of these institutions as "the first place where children experience society in all its facets" (OECD, 2017a: 5). These conceptualisations of schools as distinct societies in themselves or microcosms of society at large have only served to increase the perceived importance and alleged role played by educational institutions in social transformation. Thus, schools have been seen to just as easily produce social deviants and anomie (Coleman, 1961), exemplified by the bullied or school-excluded child, as fashion individuals equipped with the social skills necessary to contribute to adult society (OECD, 2017b). Just which outcome obtains, once again, depends on social dynamics within schools.

Recently, there has been a surge in the idea that social dynamics in group music-making ensembles might also help transform individuals, communities, and ultimately society at large. This idea is not new; in the UK, classical music-making ensembles have been seen as tools for inculcating bourgeois values at least since the nineteenth century (Bull, 2016; Wright, 2013), and music has likely been used

in social and spiritual rituals for several millennia (Fancourt, 2017). However, the transformational value of the arts, and music foremost among them, has come to "[represent] something close to orthodoxy amongst advocates of the arts around the world" (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 4). This view has been buttressed by increasing numbers of studies finding wider (e.g. cognitive, social, health…) benefits to music-making (see Hallam, 2015) and other artistic practices, spurring in turn an interest in using the arts to, for instance, assist students with complex emotional and behavioural needs (Thompson and Elliott, 2017).

At least two developments have emerged from these claims about music. First, policy shifts have occurred in international and national contexts, in turn furthering the notion of the 'more-than-musical' value of music (e.g. Blanquer, 2017; DfE, 2011; Hanna et al., 2011; NEA, 2011; UNESCO, 2010). Second, music programmes seeking to achieve 'social change', and arguing for the wider benefits of music as part of their raison d'être, have spread dramatically (Chorus America, 2011; Clift, 2012; JMI, 2010; Sing Up, 2010; Vaughan et al., 2011). Perhaps the best examples of these are those inspired by the Venezuelan 'El Sistema' programme (hereafter 'Sistema-inspired programmes'), at least 157 of which have appeared around the world since 2006 (Creech et al., 2016). The original Sistema programme describes itself as having used music to achieve the social transformation of individuals, families, and communities since 1975[4] (see e.g. Abreu, 2009). Since its rise to fame in Europe and North America, buoyed by the performance of its top orchestra at the BBC Proms in 2006, it has become a standard-bearer for group music-making programmes with self-professed 'social action' or social transformation missions across the globe.

[4] Although some scholars have called into doubt just how sincere or long-standing this 'social' mission is (e.g. Baker, 2014; Baker and Frega, 2018).

Despite the rise in popularity of such programmes, there remain deep chasms in our understandings of the 'group' aspects of 'group music-making'. Precisely which social set-ups, social interactions or relations, and social contexts can promote group music-making's 'transformational' potential, and for whom, remains unclear. Surprisingly, looking to scholarship on schools for answers to these questions yields unsatisfying results. While there is no shortage of theories and studies specifying which educational practices are likely to promote positive school environments, and so foster social transformation, curiously few studies examine how educational practices affect the tangible relationships which undergird institutional social environments. This is somewhat startling given that, by all accounts, school social environments often seem to be characterised by antagonistic relationships, which in turn appear to be unconducive to transformative goals. Indeed, 20-65% of children globally are estimated to suffer from some form of school violence every year (UNICEF, 2006). Other accounts suggest that school pupils can by and large view violence as normal and difficult to prevent (Sundaram, 2014). Thus, despite policy (OECD, 2017a; UNESCO, 2017) and academic interest (e.g. Salmivalli, 2010) around conflict and bullying, the question of how schools become such conflictual social environments, or why they are so commonly portrayed as 'war zones' or 'prisons' (Schlechty, 2009; Schlechty and Joslin, 1984), remains largely unexplained. Likewise, even though the impact of educational practices on students' social positions has been well-established, there is less knowledge about how this impact is manifested at an inter-individual, relational level. While new methodological developments in Social Network Analysis (SNA) have provided us with essential tools for understanding these phenomena, SNA scholars have typically shied away from addressing research questions that could help develop crucial insights into these areas.

This thesis thus uses Mixed Methods Social Network Analysis (MMSNA) to fill gaps in knowledge on how educational practices and social dynamics lead to social transformation. I use data obtained from a ten-month case study of a school and group music-making programme to support new conclusions

about how social contexts promote or inhibit the positive 'transformational' power of music. I also use the data to understand how educational practices shape patterns of relationships that make up school social environments, and thereby modulate schools' capacities to pursue transformative goals.

The school chosen for this study takes in students with histories of schooling and relational difficulties. Through its pedagogical practices and social environment, it seeks to foster social transformation outcomes. I study it as it is going through the first year of a collective music education programme which similarly stresses that group music learning will help transform the school and its students. By conducting a detailed study of this particular case, and precisely as it is going through a period of change (Hargreaves, 1967; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Stake, 1995), I hope to shed light on more general problems (Lacey, 1970; Pollard, 1985) and to contribute to scholarly understandings of how schools and music-making programmes use social processes to achieve social outcomes. The central contribution of my thesis, then, is to show how educational practices trying to achieve transformative goals can have potent effects on students' relationships, but with implications which can in fact circumscribe the capacity to achieve social transformation.

The remainder of this chapter expands on the background, rationale, aims, and theoretical framing of my study. The next section (Section B) reviews existing scholarship in the fields relevant to my thesis. Section C reiterates the core aims and research questions of the study. Section D describes the theoretical framework of the thesis, or the previously-established conceptual tools that I use to tackle my research problem. Finally, Section E outlines the content of the following chapters of the thesis.

B. Literature review

1. Studies of group music-making: an underdevelopment of the 'social'

Despite a spread in practice and research, many important questions surrounding the use of music for 'social' benefit, and particularly for advancing properly social goals, remain unanswered. In large part this is because many studies testing the effects of music on social outcomes obscure the role of the social in achieving these outcomes. An astonishing amount of studies, for instance, investigate particular group music-making set-ups and conclude that their positive effects are simply attributable to music being made in groups (Dunbar et al., 2012a; Fancourt et al., 2016b, 2016a; Kirschner and Tomasello, 2010; Pearce et al., 2015; Rabinowitch et al., 2013; Schellenberg et al., 2015). They support this claim by invoking mechanisms, such as the release of endorphins through interpersonal synchrony (Dunbar et al., 2012; Tarr et al., 2014; see also Rabinowitch et al., 2013), that could apply to potentially any group music-making set-up, and to any participant within these. This suggests that group music-making has a kind of 'power' that holds quasi-regardless of social set-ups, contexts, and participants.

Accordingly, these studies take little notice of contextual aspects of group music-making (e.g. Alemán et al., 2017). When programmes take place in schools, the school context is rarely addressed (e.g. Schellenberg et al., 2015)[5]. This is despite evidence that sound (which is of course involved in music) and power can be related in schools (Gallagher, 2011), or that the impact of programmes can vary

[5] Some studies do not even specify where the music-making they study takes place (e.g. Koelsch et al., 2010).

significantly between schools (Osborne et al., 2016). Relatedly, studies rarely consider pre-existing relations among participants, or how music-making fits into participants' existing social (or musical) lives (Bittman et al., 2003; Fancourt et al., 2016a; Kirschner and Tomasello, 2010; Rabinowitch et al., 2013; for an exception see Pearce et al., 2015). Similarly, when music programmes have 'social action' or educational aspects, these are not always incorporated in analyses (e.g. Pearce et al., 2015; Schellenberg et al., 2015). This means that dynamics relating to, for instance, participants' social positions in society (Bull, 2016; Bull and Scharff, 2017) are left unaddressed.

These studies are certainly not alone in taking such a decontextualized and general view of group music-making. Many music-making organisations and advocates, foremost among which those from the El Sistema movement, also argue that the benefits of group music-making are attributable to the 'power' of music (Agrech, 2018; Tunstall, 2012; Tunstall and Booth, 2016). Yet these claims and conclusions are problematic, as they completely ignore how different groups and group activities imply different social relations, interactions, and experiences, and therefore inevitably have different effects on individuals and communities. These studies therefore not only wash their hands of the different effects that different kinds of group music-making might have for different individuals, implicitly denying the possibility that group music-making might have negative effects. They also pre-empt a potentially fruitful area of research, using different group music-making set-ups to teach us about the effects of different kinds of social engagement[6]. There is a critical need for such an exploratory approach, given that so few investigations of Sistema programmes seem to adopt one (Baker et al., 2018).

[6] The fact that these studies use so many different terms to refer to group music-making, without them seemingly meaning different things, suggests their disinterest in these questions.

In some ways, influential theories of the potential of music for social transformation suffer from similar drawbacks. Small's (1998, 1987) important theory of 'musicking' – the act of "tak[ing] part, in any capacity, in a musical performance" – is one of these. In it, he claims that musical performance can bring into being desired relationships, even an ideal society. All those taking part in the performance (whether by listening, playing music…) can experience them as if they were real. This capacity, spurred by the correspondence between a group's musical practices and its values, can in turn help individuals enhance their "sense of being and well-being" (Small, 1998: 68). Small therefore argues that music can enable social transformation by improving both relationships and individuals' views of themselves.

Although Small's theory has been productive and influential, it has been criticised for assuming that all 'performers' enjoy similar social positions in musical performance and so benefit from it equally, and that music mirrors the values of societies without concealing or reproducing more problematic aspects of social structure (Boeskov, 2018; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). I, additionally, argue that Small does not fully explicate how existing relationships can affect the affirmation of ideal relationships, nor indeed how affirming these desired relationships can have tangible effects on existing relationships. In these respects, his account of social transformation through music is incomplete.

DeNora's (2003, 2000) prominent theory of music's affordances responds to some of the problems in Small's theory. Rather than viewing music as an expression of culture, she depicts it as a "material" of social life that "provides constraining and enabling resources" (DeNora, 2000: 74; 39). For her, music allows individuals to "regulate, elaborate, and substantiate themselves as social agents", and is involved in individuals' "self-generation of social agency" (DeNora, 2000: 47). As such, her theory takes into account people's social positions and agency, and finds that music can both enable and constrain their social actions.

However, some scholars have also criticised her account (Boeskov, 2018; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). For them, DeNora places too little emphasis on music's role in constraining agency, and is too optimistic regarding individuals' capacity to use it to further their agency. As Hesmondhalgh (2013: 41) puts it, "if music is as imbricated with social processes as [DeNora][7] suggest[s], then it is hard to see how people's engagements with music can be so consistently positive in their effects, when we live in societies that are marked by inequality, exploitation, and suffering". Boeskov (2018) equally claims that music can bring about constraining social arrangements just as it can bring more enabling affordance structures. It seems, then, that her theory does not account well for how music can shape societies. Nor does it make clear how existing social relationships and social structures enable or constrain individuals to 'use' music for their own social transformation, or whether music in fact has differential effects for different participants.

These weaknesses mean that Small's and DeNora's theories are especially lacking when it comes to music's potential for young people at risk of social exclusion. These individuals are indeed likely to occupy disadvantaged social positions which constrain their social agency. Recently, scholars have investigated the benefits of participation in arts activities, namely drama (e.g. Thompson and Tawell, 2017; See also Ennis and Tonkin, 2018) and music-making (e.g. Parker et al., 2018), for these young people. These accounts highlight the importance of creating different 'spaces' for these young people, where they can try out different 'versions of themselves' in atmospheres characterised by encouragement and supportive guidance. They thus bring to the fore the role of tangible relationships in creating positive communities and promoting self-transformation[8]. However, they too, through

[7] Hesmondhalgh also mentions two other authors (Ruth Finnegan and John Sloboda).
[8] 'Self-transformation' refers to the social transformation of individuals (see p. 2) by the individuals themselves.

under-exploring the different effects of music on different participants, can be overly optimistic as to the transformative potential of music.

How problematic are these shortcomings, however? If studies of different kinds of group music-making were unanimous in finding positive effects, then an under-investigation of the social would be of little practical consequence. Yet, several studies suggest that this is far from being the case. While some studies similar to those above find that making music with others does not increase social skills (e.g. Kirschner and Ilari, 2014), others suggest that the symphonic orchestra model behind so many 'social action' music-making programmes may not be so conducive to social transformation. Professional symphonic orchestras, for instance, have been found to be rife with competition and strife (Faulkner, 1973a), and to foster low general job satisfaction (Allmendinger et al., 1996). More importantly, several scholars have argued that the authority structures within orchestras can infantilise and disempower musicians (Cottrell, 2004; Faulkner, 1973b; Levine and Levine, 1996), thus questioning the appropriateness of that specific form of music-making for social transformation.

These findings are concerning, given how, as mentioned earlier, classical music ensembles are often seen as ideal musical settings to promote social transformation. Crucially, similar findings have been found in youth orchestras, and specifically in Sistema or Sistema-inspired programmes. Baker's (2014) seminal study of the original Venezuelan programme found, among many other things, that inequality and exploitative relations were systemic in the programme's functioning. Meanwhile, Boia and Boal-Palheiros (2017) found, in a well-developed Portuguese Sistema-inspired programme, ambivalent effects of conductor authority. Students could experience it as symbolically violent just as they could be empowered by it. More broadly, exactly how the orchestral model could help marginalised young people enact their self-transformation when it incarnates a nineteenth-century model of social relations (Bull, 2016), complete with a deficit account of 'disadvantaged' participants, is open to

debate (Baker, 2016a). In light of this, it is specially alarming that, as Creech et al. (2016: 25) find, "many researchers [have attributed social outcomes in Sistema and Sistema-inspired programmes] to learning through ensemble, although the pedagogy that underpins those reported positive benefits has not been explored fully".

2. Studies of school social environments

Scholars of schools have taken social processes more seriously, through long recognising that the 'social life' and culture of schools can be important for student outcomes (Dewey, 1916; Martin et al., 2009; Martin and Dowson, 2009; Perry, 1908; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009). Further, studies of how to create school environments which contribute to desired student outcomes have recently taken on a particularly social bent, as evidenced by developments in the educational effectiveness, school climate, and sense of community fields. So do theories of schools indicate which kinds of social set-ups might be most conducive to achieving social transformation?

Educational effectiveness studies have more recently stressed the importance of social dimensions of schools. This reflects the field's shift from ascertaining *whether* there are any discernible 'school effects' on students' academic achievement (Bernstein, 1970; Coleman et al., 1966; Rutter et al., 1979) to *how* schools could have these effects (Reynolds et al., 2014). The shift is evident in a recent comprehensive theoretical model of how to develop effective 'learning environments' in classrooms and schools (Creemers and Kyriakides, 2010, 2008; Kyriakides and Creemers, 2016). Creemers and Kyriakides include some decidedly social factors in their model. These include fostering teacher-student and student-student interactions that encourage on-task behaviour; establishing rules that discourage negative competition among students and create a "businesslike and supportive

environment for learning" (Creemers and Kyriakides, 2008: 113); creating a safe environment for students outside the classroom; facilitating collaboration with the wider community; and developing positive attitudes towards learning and high expectations of achievement in students and teachers. These are reminiscent of factors put forward by other scholars, such as the need for an orderly climate facilitating high expectations (Edmonds, 1979), involving students in their education (Teddlie and Reynolds, 2000), and teacher sensitivity to students (Sammons, 2008).

Even the above factors that do not explicitly mention social relationships are directly or indirectly related to them. Social interactions can be seen as arising from or constituting relationships (Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). Rules and attitudes arise from or are affected by social processes, such as those relating to peer influence (Brechwald and Prinstein, 2011; Gallupe et al., 2018; Ryan, 2001; see also Crossley, 2015). Finally, creating a 'safe environment' in schools means minimising bullying and conflicts among students, given that these are among the greatest sources of insecurity for students in schools (cf. Klein, 2012).

Creemers and Kyriakides's (2008) framework therefore demands an account of which relationships should prevail among different school actors to establish and maintain these factors. Yet they do not provide this. Instead, they focus on teachers' actions, given that, they claim, teachers are most apt to influence teaching and therefore student learning. Unfortunately, this ignores the role of other school actors and the relationships between them in shaping school environments.

Thus, even comprehensive theories of the factors behind educational effectiveness have insufficiently addressed the social make-up of schools. However, this may be due to their focus on academic

achievement. Does the same criticism apply to theories of school climate, which consider a wider range of outcomes than those relating to educational effectiveness?

Social relationships make up a large part of these theories. Anderson's (1982) classic review found that most conceptualisations and measures of school climate (as of 1982) referred exclusively to patterns of interpersonal relationships within schools and/or to school cultures. Thirty years later, other reviews of school climate research reveal the continuing importance of social relationships. Zullig et al. (2010: 141) find that "social relationships" and "school connectedness" are two of five key domains of school climate, and find sub-domains relating to social relations in the other three domains. Similarly, Thapa et al. (2013: 358) find that "relationships" constitute one of five essential dimensions of school climate, with the other dimensions containing elements relating to relationships.

Further, while school climate has been famously hard to define (Zullig et al., 2010), some of its definitions have been very relational. Cohen et al.'s influential definition (2009) states that school climate is "based on patterns of people's experiences of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures" (p. 182). Most of these dimensions are inherently relational or evoke social relations. Norms are social phenomena, arising from social interactions and relations (see Crossley, 2011). Goals and values, as described above, are also shaped by interactions and relationships, and the latter can influence practices and organisational structures.

Social relationships and phenomena arising from them are thus explicitly mentioned in theories of how to create positive school climates. However, in most cases scholars of school climate have not examined actual relationships and interactions. Instead, they have conceived of them in the

aggregate, tending to measure students' psychological perceptions of relationships as a whole (e.g. Zullig et al., 2010). This conceptualisation is problematic, as not only do perceptions of relationships but also many of the factors above arise from actual relationships. It also ignores the substantial evidence showing that sets of relationships have real consequences for students beyond their subjective evaluations of them (see below). Thus, through neglecting actual relationships, studies of school climate provide an incomplete picture of how educational practices help schools promote socially transformative outcomes.

In some ways, the literature on school climate suffers from similar problems as another theoretical strand on psychological sense of community in schools (Osterman, 2000). This literature is more specific on the conditions leading to a positive sense of community in schools. McMillan and Chavis (1986), presenting a foundational model in the field, argue that individuals should feel like they belong to a community; have a shared emotional connection with other community members; sense that they have an influence on the community and that the community matters to its members; and feel that their (and others') needs will be fulfilled through being a part of the community. This implies that a school (or a group music-making programme) that wants to foster positive social outcomes among its students should facilitate relationships that promote these features.

However, the forms that these relationships should take in this model are once again unclear. Osterman (2000), who applied the sense of community model to students in schools 15 years after its development, found that there were "noticeable gaps in the literature… deal[ing] with the development and incidence of [sense of community], particularly with respect to peer relationships" (p. 343). While Baumeister and Leary's (1995) theory of sense of belonging, which is closely related to this field, argues that belonging arises from having a few significant relationships, this view ignores the potentially pivotal impact that 'weaker' relationships and wider social networks can have on

students (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). Therefore, this theoretical model, like the others above, posits educational practices that can potentially transform school environments, but does not specify how practices affect the relationships that make up these environments.

These shortcomings are not for a lack of interest in students' social relationships in schools, or how educational practices affect these. These have been the subject of studies from influential sociologists and educationalists from at least the end of the 1950s. However, many of their accounts foreground the analysis of 'social systems' or 'societies' of students. They therefore ignore or downplay the importance of students' individual relationships and agency in shaping school social environments.

This is particularly the case for functionalist theories[9], epitomised by that of the eminent sociologist Talcott Parsons. In a famous essay (Parsons, 1959), he described the school class as a social system, and argued that social relations in school classes were shaped by two core functions of schools: 'differentiating' pupils according to achievement and 'selecting' pupils into their future adult roles. Thus, relations between teachers and students are such that "particularistic treatment is severely limited" (p. 303) as this would prevent 'fair' differentiation. Likewise, peer groups exist on a voluntary basis due to their function of teaching students to be independent from adults and to gain approval from "status-equals, with which he [sic] will spend much of his time as an adult". Likewise, if peer groups are sex-segregated (in elementary schools), it is to help students "cope with the psychological difficulty of overcoming earlier incestuous attachments" (p. 306) with their opposite-sex parents.

Though few would later subscribe to such fully functionalist views, some elements of this thinking seem to be reflected in later works. Coleman's (1961) famous study of American adolescent 'societies'

[9] See e.g. Crossley (2011) for a discussion of functionalism.

starts from the premise that the changing functions of high schools in American society after WWII produced "as an unintended consequence, [the fact that] society is confronted no longer with a set of *individuals* to be trained toward adulthood, but with distinct *social systems*, which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society" (p. 4, emphases as in original). He treats adolescents not as individuals but as constituent parts of social systems which seem to have their own agency and which must be 'tamed' to prevent them from "develop[ing] standards that lead away from those goals established by the larger [i.e. adult] society" (p. 9). Consequently, Coleman focuses for the rest of his book on different components of adolescent social systems – their norms, elites, and status systems – and when he finally treats relationships ("associations") among students, his focus is on how they help maintain these social systems.

This emphasis on social systems is also reflected in Hargreaves's (1967) influential ethnography of social relations in a British secondary school. Though Hargreaves studies students and staff members and the relations that arise between them, his focus is on groups (e.g. the group of "4th year students"), their norms, and the structure of social relations between groups. Lacey's (1970) important study also looks in depth at student relationships using sociometric methods, but conceives of relationships mainly in terms of pro- or anti-academic norms, themselves resulting from processes of 'differentiation' and 'polarisation' linked to the school's functions. As with previous studies, he focuses squarely on the 'social system': he sees students and staff members as constituting sub-systems and "staff-student relationships… as the grinding interface between the two major subsystems within the school" (p. xvi). In each case, the importance of groups as 'societies' and 'social systems' is taken for granted, and students' individual relationships, alongside students' efforts in shaping them, are downplayed. Although Pollard's (1985) study is commendable for placing much more emphasis on agency, he also conceives of the 'social world' of the school as constituted principally by 'students'

and ‘teachers’ (as separate groups) acting and reacting to each other. He thus also downplays the importance of individual relationships.

3. Social Network Analysis studies of schools

Scholars of both music programmes and schools have therefore insufficiently addressed the role of the ‘social’. In their accounts, it is unclear how educational practices shape students’ relationships so as to turn schools or group music-making programmes into socially ‘transformative’ environments. This is in part attributable to a lack of an adequate conceptual link between individual relationships and features of social environments.

This link, however, is directly tackled by social network analysis (SNA) literature. While some have criticised SNA for being theoretically underspecified (e.g. Erikson, 2013; Salancik, 1995), and certainly the field suffers from important disagreements, I would argue, following other network scholars (Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell, 2011; Breiger, 1974; Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994; Katz et al., 2004; White et al., 1976), that inherent to SNA is a set of theoretical propositions about the social world. The two most important propositions for present purposes are the “anticategorical imperative” (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994: 1414) and the ‘emergence’ of networks from individuals’ social relations. The ‘anticategorical imperative’ emphasises that social behaviour should be explained through individuals’ “involvement in structured social relations”, as opposed to their “common possession of attributes and norms” (Wellman, 1983: 165). The ‘emergence’ proposition holds that social structure[10], as represented by social networks, ‘emerges’ “through the accumulation of small

[10] In this thesis I build upon a minimal definition of social structure given by White et al. (1976: 733): social structure is “regularities in the patterns of relations among concrete entities”, in my case people. It is a feature of social environments, such as those of schools, French society, etc.

local substructures and, ultimately, through the formation of individual ties into the patterns of those substructures" (Lusher et al., 2013: 16). This means that social environments arise from relationships between individuals, but are ultimately distinct from them and so can shape individuals' behaviours[11]. These two propositions have been developed further in relational sociology (see also Section 3).

These theoretical propositions therefore foreground individual relationships and link them with dynamics at the level of the social environment. Of equal interest, schools and students have been the subject of a plethora of SNA studies, including ones that were foundational for the discipline (e.g. Delitsch, 1900; Hallinan, 1978; Heidler et al., 2014; Moreno, 1934). They have also been used as testing grounds for many influential theories (e.g. Coleman, 1988) and methods of analysis (e.g. Snijders et al., 2010) – so much so that classrooms have been called "'laborator[ies]' in the development of social network analysis" (Herz, 2014: 249)[12]. With such an importance of schools, one would expect to find many SNA investigations of how educational practices influence individual relationships and school social environments, and of how these relate to important social outcomes.

However, instead the great majority of SNA studies overlook the educational characteristics of schools, such as schools' pedagogy, educational mission, and organisation. This is evident from the scarcity of studies looking at how educational characteristics might affect social networks, as well as how numerous SNA studies of schools are framed. For instance, Hallinan's (1978) classic paper finds that reciprocated friendships are more stable than asymmetric ones in school students. Although she

[11] This follows from O'Connor's (1994) definition of emergence, according to which a network is emergent on a set of social relations and actors if it supervenes on them, is not 'had' by them, is ultimately distinct from their structural properties (even though it may arise from these), and influences their behaviour. Note also that, according to Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell (2011), social network scholars in the nominalist tradition do not tend to conceive of networks as emerging from inter-individual ties. This view thus situates me in the 'realist' camp of network scholars (Laumann et al., 1983).

[12] This is quite possibly due to the relative accessibility of schools and their relatively clear boundaries, which help solve the pervasive boundary specification problem in network analysis (Laumann et al., 1983).

recognises that age and institutional factors could have influenced her results, and calls for future studies to look into these factors, she does not otherwise take them into account. Meanwhile, Schaefer et al. (2010), studying affinities among preschool children in Head Start centres, find a 'structural cascading' of reciprocity, popularity, and triadic closure over time in these children, arguing that it is "a fundamental process of network formation". They argue this because "for the time being, [they] see no empirical basis to expect that Head Start classrooms differ systematically in ways that would be apparent in the networks children form. Although it remains to be tested, [they] propose that structural cascading is general in nature and should be found in any preschool context" (p. 69). Finally, Block (2015), based on analyses of friendship networks in 29 high schools in the Netherlands and the UK, finds that the reciprocation of friendships is stronger outside triads than within triads. He argues, based on this finding, that the prevalent interpretation of 'three-cycles' as indicating local hierarchies is spurious. He admits some potential for his results to be locally specific, conceding that "further research is needed to understand whether this pattern is specific to friendships among adolescents" (p. 171). However, he does not discuss how his findings could instead reflect the institutional set-ups of high schools.

These studies all downplay the importance of variation between educational contexts, and even seem uninterested in these. A similar assessment can be made about Dijkstra et al. (2010), van den Bos et al. (2018), or the studies reviewed by Veenstra et al. (2013): when contexts are taken into account, they tend to be peer contexts (e.g. the attitudes of peers or group size), not institutional contexts. The studies above also imply that the features they observe may be fundamental to positive tie networks in general. If anything, this is implied by the titles of their articles (e.g. "The Process of Friendship Formation"). In so doing, they not only suggest that schools are not particularly distinctive 'social systems' or social environments. They also contribute to a more general trend among SNA scholars of minimising the importance of contextual variation (e.g. in institutional practices) in explaining social

networks. As McFarland et al. (2014) note, through focusing on micro-level tie formation mechanisms[13], scholars fail to account for how very different social structures can arise from the same micro processes.

To be sure, some network scholars recognize that schools are very peculiar social environments, and that institutional factors might affect student relationships (Blaylock et al., 2018; Cappella et al., 2012; Moody, 2001; Neal et al., 2016; Neal and Neal, 2013)[14]. The best example of an SNA study directly tackling the influence of institutional factors may be that of McFarland et al. (2014). It proposes a network ecology theory whereby elements of the "social context combine to moderate the expression of relational preferences and thereby generate different global network structures." (p. 1088). They argue that the size of schools, the extent to which academic selection or tracking operates, the heterogeneity in school composition, and students' academic orientation and school attachment modulate the expression of clustering, hierarchy, and segregation in student friendship networks.

The study is ground-breaking in focusing on how institutional factors can shape individual relationship decisions and school-level social structure. However, it only scratches the surface of the body of factors that could affect student networks. Importantly, it does not consider arguably one of the most important educational factors in schools – teachers' views and educational practices (see e.g. Hendrickx et al., 2017). As a result, some of the study's predictions are not borne out by other studies which take wider educational factors into account (e.g. Lee et al., 2000).

[13] This tendency to focus on local substructures at the expense of contextual factors is perfectly demonstrated by Cugmas et al. (2018).

[14] Feld (1981) and Pattison and Robins (2002) have also put forward broader attempts to take contextual factors into account when analysing social networks.

a) Negative sentiment and conflictual ties in schools

If few SNA studies have investigated how institutional factors affect positive sentiment relations, even fewer have considered how they may affect negative (e.g. conflictual or disliking) relations. This is surprising, given the policy and scholarly interest mentioned above, as well as the burgeoning SNA scholarship on school violence (Kisfalusi et al., In Press; Oldenburg et al., 2018; Rambaran et al., 2015). It is also startling when we consider that existing network theories would not necessarily predict a prevalence of conflictual relations in schools. Indeed, schools are often viewed as paradigmatic examples of settings which concentrate social relations (Coleman, 1994; Feld, 1981), and dense networks are typically seen to produce positive outcomes such as trust (Kadushin, 2002). Interestingly, conflictual relations do not appear to be nearly as prevalent in workplace organisations, even though they also concentrate social relations. Labianca and Brass (2006), reviewing previous studies, find that 1-8% of relationships in workplaces were negative. These findings intimate that there may be something about schools which makes negative relations prevalent in them. However, network scholars have by and large not looked into this (e.g. Paluck et al., 2016; van den Bos et al., 2018).

I would argue that the neglect of school-specific and institutional factors is due to two features of negative tie SNA research. First, theories of negative ties have overwhelmingly privileged general explanations that apply across contexts. Yap and Harrigan (2015), reviewing theories of the formation of negative ties, find 8 theories, most of which are stated in such a way as to be potentially applicable in any context. When context is mentioned, it is usually the peer group context (e.g. the presence of concurrent or pre-existing positive ties).

This argument especially applies to balance theory (Cartwright and Harary, 1956; Davis, 1967; Heider, 1946), probably the most widely used and developed theory of negative tie formation. It states that individuals form positive or negative ties, or change their ties, so as to achieve 'balanced' relationship states. In triadic structures (involving three individuals), a 'balanced' state is one where the multiplication of the 'signs' (positive or negative) of the relationships are positive (principally where all three ties are positive – 'the friend of my friend is my friend' – or two ties negative and one tie positive)[15]. In contrast, imbalanced situations are those where the multiplication of signs is negative (e.g. two positive and one negative tie, or 'I dislike the friend of my friend'). The achievement of 'balanced' states is a process that happens over time (Doreian, 2002; Doreian et al., 1996a), through individuals' efforts to avoid the cognitive dissonance associated with imbalanced states (Hummon and Doreian, 2003).

One of the theory's greatest strengths is that it can be applied across potentially any context. However, this has also meant that it does not explicitly take context into account. For example, it does not specify which contextual conditions might make balanced structures more or less likely. Heider (1946: 107-108) only states that "if no balanced state exists, then forces towards this state will arise… If a change is not possible, the state of imbalance will produce tensions". The "forces" and "tensions" that might encourage or discourage balance are left unspecified. Few developments of the theory, in turn, have specified how contextual conditions might modify tendencies towards balance; when they do, they once again tend to refer to the peer context (Doreian and Krackhardt, 2001). While some have hinted at contextual conditions that are exogenous to social relations which might affect balance, such as avoidance (Harrigan and Yap, 2017; Van De Rijt, 2011), no scholars have, to my knowledge, developed the theory so as to systematically include these.

[15] Also if all ties are negative, under general balance or clusterability theory (Davis, 1967)

Second, I would argue that investigations of school-specific factors affecting negative sentiment or conflict ties are hindered by restricted views of such ties. Many theories and studies of negative sentiment ties treat these relations in a common sense way: as diametrically opposed to positive sentiment ties, such that one would exclude the presence of the other. This is the view implied by Everett and Borgatti (2014) in their development of centrality concepts and measures for disliking, conflict, and other negative relations, which they argue are "in themselves negative" (p. 111). While they admit that negative ties are not the complement of positive ties (i.e. not entailed by the absence of positive ties), their discussion implies that the two kinds of ties exist on separate ends of a spectrum, with the absence of ties sitting in the middle. Other scholars adopt a similar position when they operationalise negative and positive sentiment ties as opposites of each other, or when they develop measures where both cannot exist at once (Boda and Néray, 2015; Harrigan and Yap, 2017; Stark et al., 2015). Although some scholars have started to develop theories where the relationship between positive and negative sentiment ties is more complex (see Yap and Harrigan, 2015), these efforts seem so far to be sparse.

Yet, these more complex understandings are crucial, as they would enable explanations for why positive and negative sentiment ties could together be so prevalent in schools (See Chapter V.A). They would thus not only further our understandings of schools, but also of their differences with other social settings, such as work organisations, and how negative relations are configured there (see e.g. Ellwardt et al., 2012). Ultimately, they would counterbalance the relative under-theorisation of the formation and concentration of negative ties compared to those of positive ties, for which theories abound (e.g. Feld, 1982, 1981; Kadushin, 2002).

b) Children and young people in social network studies

Perhaps the most glaring contextual factor to be ignored in social network studies of schools is the position of children and young people within wider society. In fact, many network studies seem to deploy a view of childhood which James et al. (1998) have termed 'presociological' – that lies outside of the social contexts of children – or 'transitional' – as a component of other social institutions. This is especially clear in studies of peer influence and selection regarding delinquency (Knecht et al., 2010; see also Brechwald and Prinstein, 2011). These studies implicitly speak of young people as incomplete adults whose development is paramount and must be safeguarded from 'bad influences' (see James et al., 1998: 17-19, 21-25), over which young people have little agency.

In contrast, scholars claiming a 'new sociology of childhood' have argued that it is more truthful to view children as fully-fledged social actors who, like other actors, are enabled and constrained by their positions within social structure (James, 1993; James et al., 1998; James and Prout, 1997; Jenks, 2005). I would argue that this is not only more compatible with the theoretical tenets of SNA and relational sociology (See Section D.2). It also begs pressing questions regarding children's social lives which have so far been unanswered by network studies. In what ways do teachers' views of children, as enacted through educational practices, affect students' social relations in schools? In what ways, if any, do students think of themselves and other students according to children's positions in wider society? How do these factors enable and constrain them, and how do they shape students' relational decisions?

4. Summary of the literature review

While many accounts claim that group music-making settings, through their social dynamics, can have socially transformative effects, it is unclear how social relationships and contexts are involved in these processes. Theories of school environments, while they are clearer on how school social environments can lead to positive outcomes, are still unclear as to how individual relations make up these environments or are affected by educational practices seeking social transformation. While early studies from the sociology of education have made some inroads into these questions, they tend to focus on groups and do not specify how they relate to individual relationships.

SNA methods and theory, alongside relational sociology, present a promise to fill these gaps in understanding, through their way of linking individual relationships with macro- or meso-level social structure. However, existing SNA studies (with few exceptions) tend to ignore educational or institutional factors in schools, the specificities of schooling, and macro-level influences on school networks. As a consequence, SNA scholars have not only missed out on opportunities to further knowledge of schooling and schools. They run the risk of uncritically applying findings from schools to other social settings, and therefore obscuring understandings of whether and how social settings differ from each other. Clearly, a 'network theory of students in schools' is long overdue – despite similar efforts being undertaken with teachers (Moolenaar et al., 2012).

C. Thesis aims & research questions

This thesis aims to establish how educational practices which try to shape school social environments influence students' relationships and ultimately the capacity to achieve 'social transformation'. To achieve this aim, I present results from a mixed methods case study of a relatively extreme (Yin, 2014) case: a combined day and boarding school targeting students with schooling difficulties, and employing educational practices which try to achieve social transformation, including through implementing a collective music education programme. The presence of the music programme and the school's practices make the case ideally-suited to furthering understandings of social transformation processes in both schools and music programmes.

My analysis proceeds in two steps, seeking to answer the following research questions:

1. How did the case school's educational practices related to social transformation shape students' social experiences, relationships and interactions? How was their influence reflected in the networks of friendship and negative sentiment relations between students?
2. How did the music programme's social dynamics interact with existing processes affecting the school's social environment, and ultimately shape the extent to which the programme was able to achieve the social transformation of the school and its students?

Charting a course between explanation and understanding (von Wright, 1971), I hope to illuminate broader educational and sociological processes and present new theoretical concepts. I hope, in so

doing, to help understand and predict how and whether certain educational practices lead to transformative outcomes. Ultimately, I strive to help explain how different social contexts can influence individuals' social relationships and social networks, and thereby affect the capacity to achieve important social outcomes. I additionally aspire, through my analysis, to demonstrate a variety of ways of conducting mixed methods social network analyses. In these ways, I aim to help scholars, practitioners, and other stakeholders working in areas related to schools, music programmes, and social networks.

Before tracing the outline of this thesis, it is useful to specify the theoretical framework that I use to help answer my research questions. It is to this that I now turn.

D. Theoretical framework

"Stand on the shoulder of giants" – Citation on the home page of the Google Scholar website (https://scholar.google.co.uk/)

In the following I take theories to be ways of representing the world which inform decisions and actions, in the case of this thesis in research, and theoretical frameworks to be sets of theories. These definitions were informed by Becker's (1998) and Walford's (2001) views on theory.

1. Underlying premises

A pragmatist premise underlies my entire theoretical framework (Biesta and Burbules, 2003; Dewey, 1938, 1931; Pierce, 1955). It is summarised by the following quote from Charles Sanders Pierce: "Different beliefs are distinguished by the different modes of action to which they give rise. If beliefs do not differ in this respect… then no mere differences in the manner of consciousness of them can make them different beliefs" (Pierce, 1955: 29). It is also inspired by John Dewey, whose transactional realism states that "knowledge is a construction[…] [not] of the human mind, but […] located in the organism-environment transaction" (Biesta and Burbules, 2003: 11), with both organism and environment constituting each other in the process.

This premise not only means that I chose the elements of my theoretical framework based on their usefulness for my study. It also means that I have viewed understanding my study case as part of this 'organism-environment transaction' through which knowledge is built. This view is also inspired by Ragin's (1992) view of 'casing' (see also Ragin and Becker, 1992). As Ragin states, "the continuous web of human social life must be sliced and diced in a way compatible with the goal of testing the generality of theoretical ideas" (p. 219). According to him, researchers invoke cases to both manage the infinite complexity of the empirical world and flesh out inevitably vague theoretical ideas. In turn, theoretical ideas serve to better frame the social world, a process which involves redefining cases. It follows from these statements that my analysis involves both understanding my study case in depth and building new theoretical ideas, with both processes reinforcing each other. These dual processes have shaped my analysis throughout the thesis. In order to make them transparent, I have tried to stay as 'close' to my data as possible. Thus, I have carried out comparatively 'simple' analyses of quantitative data and have made abundant use of vignettes, which should additionally allow for many opportunities for

'naturalistic generalisations' (Stake, 1995). This method, I hope, will help inform discussions of generalisability in Chapter 9.

2. Relational sociology, social worlds and social networks

Probably the most central component of my theoretical framework draws on relational sociology, which is one important current of thought underpinning social network research[16]. It recognises that individuals, or actors, "emerge in and through processes of interaction" (Crossley, 2011: 2), and that "individual activity in the world is organized through and motivated not by categorical affiliations but by the structure of tangible social relations in which persons are embedded" (Bearman, 1993: 9-10). Accordingly, it posits that "individual persons[…] are inseparable from the[ir] transactional contexts" (Emirbayer, 1997: 287). Concretely, this means that attempting to understand individuals without the relations between them, or to understand the contexts in which individuals are embedded without the individuals themselves and their relationships, is futile. It rejects both 'individualist' approaches, which see individuals as pre-defined units who should be understood independently of each other (Abbott, 1988), and 'holist' approaches, which posit that 'societies' or 'social systems' are discrete, given entities that define individuals. Rather, any groups that may exist, whether small 'micro-sociological' groups or large 'macro-sociological' structures, are "networks of interacting, interdependent, mutually constitutive and mutually affecting actors" (Crossley, 2011: 181; see also Breiger, 1974), some of which are simply bigger than others. Since actors and the networks that emerge from their interrelations result from dynamic processes, they are also constantly in flux (Abbott, 1995; Dépelteau and Powell, 2013), and actor attributes are to be understood relationally – as relations between actors, understandable only in relation to each other (see footnote p. 35).

[16] alongside, namely, structural sociology.

I do not employ a relational sociological approach to contradict *a priori* some of the claims presented above, such as those claiming that individuals can in some way 'transcend' social reality. Although it is consistent with some basic truths, including the fact that people "are born helpless and incomplete" and require others for survival (Crossley, 2011: 3), that group living has shaped our evolution (Crossley, 2015), and that even thinking often takes the form of inner conversations (Mead, 1967), this coherence is not my primary reason for using it. Nor do I even use it due to the inroads that have been made linking pragmatism and relational sociology (Dépelteau, 2015; Emirbayer and Goldberg, 2005)[17]. Rather, in line with my pragmatist premise, I employ it because of its useful concepts, and because of how it helps link key elements of my study.

The first among these concepts is that of Trinité's 'social world'. The 'social world' concept has been used in different ways, most notably in the interactionist tradition (Becker, 1982; Pollard, 1985), although I favour its more relational development (Bottero and Crossley, 2011). Pollard (1985: 3) argues that "teachers and children directly 'construct' understandings and social practices through their activity and interaction together, and it is a product of these adaptations, or strategies, by teachers and children which makes up the 'social world' of the primary school". He emphasises that the social world is made through interaction, which is consistent with a relational perspective, but does not give a precise account of *who* is involved in the social world (or why it should only be "teachers and children", as he suggests). Nor is he clear about how these "social practices" develop. Becker's (1982) approach provides some answers to these questions. He defines art worlds as "network[s] of people whose cooperative activity, organised by their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for" (p. x). The social

[17] This quote alone suggests some parallels: "An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment, [including when] the latter consists of persons with whom he [sic] is talking about some topic or event" (Dewey, 1938: 43-44)

world is thus constituted by all the people whose activity is centred on the product of the world at hand (in my case, education) and who share certain conventions with regard to that product, as well as the relationships between these people. These conventions – "earlier agreements now become customary" (p. 29) – are what give rise to actors' practices and strategies.

Following Bottero and Crossley (2011: 106), I see social networks – that is, sets of social relationships that exist between actors, which are "both interpersonal connections and positional relations, of opportunity, inequality, and constraint" – as being at the core of these social worlds. In particular, since my study is ultimately about students' social experiences and relationships, I distinguish a 'student social world' in the school. It is comprised at its core of social networks between students, and it interfaces with the wider social world of Trinité. This concept allows me to consider students' interrelations both separately and in relation to ties with other actors in the school's social world. In turn, the focus on networks allows me to use the conceptual and methodological tools developed in SNA. It brings to the fore how the structure of networks, as well as individuals' positions within these (Bonacich, 1987; Borgatti and Everett, 1992), enable and constrain individuals and determine their access to resources (e.g. Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001).

Relational sociology also allows me to make sense of change in terms of culture (See also McLean, 2017). This is especially useful in a case study of a school going through an intervention. Following Crossley (2015), I see culture emerging in the 'social world' of Trinité as a result of actors interacting and attempting to co-ordinate their activity, eventually forming the 'conventions' mentioned above. It is situated within these interactions and is internalised unequally across actors, if only because of cognitive constraints (Martin, 2010). Crucially, culture, "though it arises out of interactions, relations, and networks which precede it, transforms those interactions, relations, and networks" (Crossley, 2015: 69). Though it is partly static, as interactions tend to reproduce it, it is constantly re-worked by

individuals and their interactions, especially in periods of change. Therefore, in my framework, the MASS programme can be seen to give rise to new elements of culture, which interact with existing practices and relationships in the school.

Where do the actions giving rise to culture come from though? To answer this question, I draw on a relational conceptualisation of agency, which is often lacking in SNA studies (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). According to this view, agency is inseparable from structure, thus positing as moot the structure/agency problem that is endemic in much social science. As Crossley, (2011: 126) puts it, "there is little else that one can say, in general, about structure and agency than that we make our own history but only ever on the basis of the history sedimented both within conventions and the structure of relations in which we are embedded". Specifically, I borrow from Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) conception of agency, due to its explicitly temporal element, which is appropriate for a study of an unfolding music programme. For them, agency involves an "iterational element", involving "the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action", a "projective element", constituting "the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action", and a "practical-evaluative element", meaning "the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action" (p. 971). It is a relational process whereby individuals engage with their social contexts. Thus, agency involves actors 'using' their past to project themselves into the future, discriminating between different possible futures, and actively choosing which trajectory to follow to reach a desired future self. This leads to them engaging accordingly with their social contexts.

3. Agency: performances and artefacts

But *how* do individuals express their agency in relation to their social contexts? Goffman's (1959) theory of self-presentation, which he claims is particularly suited to bounded social settings ("the kind of social life that is organized within the physical confines of a building or plant", p.9), is helpful here. Goffman argues that, in these settings, which he likens to a theatrical stage, people attempt to manage the impressions that others have of them by projecting their own 'definition of the situation'. When people come together, they treat others as (potential) interaction partners and as their 'audience'. They enact 'performances' to promote their own definitions. Each projection contributes to a "working consensus", an overall definition of the situation "which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honoured" (p. 21). In my study, then, I see students as engaging in the social world of the school through performances. These are expressions of students' agency and they project a definition of the situation which is preferable to the performing student. I see them as a relational counterpart to individual 'creativity', which has been emphasised in other studies of students in schools (e.g. Willis, 1981; see also Mills and Gibb, 2001). As we will see, students' performances are an important focus of my study, if only because the organisation of Trinité left little room for a 'back region' (where performances were not emphasised) (see Chapter 4).

The question remains however of *how* individuals engage in performances. How are performances oriented towards the future? If social structure can also be enabling, how do students 'take hold' of it to enable their actions? And what is the relation between the above and a key aspect of my study site – learning?

The answers to these questions, for me, are in Vygotskian concepts. As Lev Vygotsky said, "every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people and then inside the child[…] All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals" (Vygotsky, 1978: 57). This statement has many implications, but for the present purposes I take it to mean that students' 'performances' are a manifestation of gestating ideas that they are developing about themselves. Thus, a student 'performs' not only to manage the impression that others have of her, but also to project an impression of herself in the future. This idea is close to Butler's (1999, 1988) analysis of the fundamental constitution of gender through performative acts, and indeed I do not presume that students' socially ascribed attributes correspond to any 'fixed reality'. Thus, I add that performances, as well as acting on other people, allow students to eventually interiorise identities and dispositions that they see as helpful in their lives[18]. This latter aspect of performances makes them essential parts of students' projections of themselves into desired future identities, which I call acts of 'becoming'. I liken, therefore, Goffman's 'performances' with play as seen by Vygotsky: "A child's greatest achievements are possible in play, achievements that will tomorrow become his basic level of real action and morality" (Vygotsky, 1978: 100).

A Vygotskian perspective also means taking seriously the many 'artefacts' (Daniels, 2001) that exist in a social world. Students' 'performances' are mediated by these 'artefacts'[19]: they are (literally) the tools that students have available for thinking and acting, and therefore for their performances. Since students use performances to shape their social lives, artefacts used in performances can be thought of as tools to extend students' social agency. These artefacts can of course include 'technical' and 'psychological' artefacts which have been studied traditionally, as well as imagined worlds (See

[18] My framework also draws on Lave and Wenger (1991) in that it takes learning and knowing to be essentially a relation between people. Being seen as more musically competent than someone else, for example, is fundamentally a relational state. This inspires my analysis in Chapter 8.

[19] The closest 'Goffmanian' equivalent of the 'artefact' concept is probably the concept of the 'prop'.

Wartofsky, 1979). I would argue that they should be considered alongside other people and other aspects of a school's social world as elements constituting a student's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)[20] (Engeström et al., 1999). I take this to be the range of actions that students can successfully undertake not only by themselves (using tools at their disposal) but also by 'using' elements of the social world within which they are embedded as 'scaffolding' (See Lave and Wenger, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978; Wood et al., 1976). Thus, I see students as using both more traditional artefacts and aspects of school social worlds in their performances, for instance in enactments of becoming.

4. The New Sociology of Childhood

Relational sociology is also useful due to the way it links micro- and macro-level social structures. This lends new answers to the question of 'who' is involved in Trinité's social world[21]. The definition of 'social worlds' above implies that many kinds of people could potentially constitute a social world. For schools, they could include not only students and teachers but also support staff members (e.g. administrative staff), parents, and even educational professionals in other institutions. This brings attention to the wide range of individuals who may influence the social world of a school and the practices of its members, potentially going beyond the school's traditional boundaries.

With this in mind, I argue that children's social positions in schools should also be understood in terms of the social positions occupied by children in wider society, due to schools' connections with wider institutions and the influence of outside actors on schools. This view is inspired by research on the

[20] As Daniels (2001: 68) puts it, "to what extent is the 'social' other in the ZPD an individual with whom the learner interacts? […] The reduction of the complexity of classroom life to a quasi-experimental dyad carries significant restrictions in terms of the generalisability and validity of findings […] it thus seems reasonable to ask – to what extent should we consider social groups, institutions, communities and other cultural historical dimensions within the ZPD[?]".

[21] 'New' relative to SNA studies, if not some currents of anthropology (Marcus, 1995).

social construction of childhood. Stimulated by accounts of the historical construction of childhood (e.g. Ariès, 1973, 1962), it finds its most thorough expression in the 'New Sociology of Childhood' (James and Prout, 1997). This paradigm sees children as agents who actively shape their social lives and complex social worlds[22], and childhood as a feature of social structure that is historically and culturally constituted through discourse. Instead of viewing children from the prism of assumed adult competence, it sees them as actors with their own practices and culture, and sees childhood as inherently intersected by other categorisations (e.g. in terms of gender and social class)[23].

Most relevant to my thesis are some of the properly 'sociological' theoretical views of childhood that have been developed in this paradigm (James et al., 1998). These include the views that children "inhabit a world of meaning created by themselves and through their interaction with adults" (p. 28); that "their worlds are real locations, as are those of adults, and [should] be understood in those terms" (p. 29); that 'children' as a group should be considered a minority group, i.e. a group with relatively little power in society; and finally that 'children' as a group emerge from children's place in social structure. In particular, I view the students in Trinité, due to their status as children with 'schooling difficulties', as "doubly marginalised": "Not only do they, as children, share in childhood's conceptual isolation from the adult world but, through disablement or disease, [they] find their social personhood subject to further qualification" (James, 1993: 82). These perspectives shape my view of students' performances and interactions with each other and with staff members.

[22] See also the literature applying this view to children's social capital (e.g. Allan and Catts, 2012; Morrow, 1999; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004; Weller, 2010).
[23] Note that this literature, rather than having a unitary view of childhood, shares some common views on it (James et al., 1998).

E. Thesis outline

After setting out the research methods of the study (Chapter 2), I introduce the case school, pseudonymed 'Trinité', and its music programme, pseudonymed 'MASS' (Chapter 3). I present basic information about the case, detail Trinité and MASS's educational missions and how they relate to the notion of social transformation, and set forth key aspects of the educational practices that staff members put in place to accomplish these missions.

The following five chapters (chapters 4-8) are the findings chapters of the study, split into two parts. Chapters 4-6 are devoted to the school and how its educational practices linked to social transformation shaped its 'student social world' (Research Question 1). Meanwhile, chapters 7-8 analyse the music programme, its ability to enact its transformational goals, and how it was influenced by processes in Trinité's social environment (Research Question 2). This split reflects my approach of discussing the context of the music programme before discussing the programme itself. However, it is somewhat arbitrary, as I discuss aspects of the school and music programme in both parts.

I frame chapters 4-5 with a conundrum regarding Trinité's friendship and disliking networks, namely that they were both dense, something which is not predicted by existing theories and previous studies. In Chapter 4, I give further details of the school's organisation and pedagogy, covering the typical day of a student and key educational practices related to elements discussed in Chapter 3. I show how students spent a disproportionate amount of time in groups and were considered and managed as groups by staff members, leading to a state of 'collectivity' which made school groups a crucial part of students' lives. Concurrently, I demonstrate how the school's organisation and practices led to

students' attention being turned 'inwards' to events happening in the school and its groups, such that the lives of other school members took a disproportionate importance for them. I term this state of affairs 'intensity'. I reveal how 'collectivity' and 'intensity' were reflected in the structure of students' friendships in Trinité, and argue that they formed a bedrock for student performances, which were pervasive in the school.

In Chapter 5 I tackle the constraining aspects of 'collectivity' and 'intensity' and their consequences for Trinité's disliking networks. Drawing on a theoretical strand which has not yet been applied to schools nor to social network analysis, I argue that disliking ties arose due to students constraining each other. I discuss how 'collectivity' and 'intensity' enabled these constraints to arise, especially between students who were socially close. I then present network analyses suggesting that disliking ties occurred disproportionately between students who shared friends in common, particularly because the constraints subdued processes which would normally prevent disliking ties from appearing between these students. I conclude both chapters by contending that educational practices leading to 'collectivity' and 'intensity', even when they aimed to achieve social transformation goals, might have counteracted these goals by fostering relatively high concentrations of negative alongside positive sentiment ties.

Chapter 6 builds on the previous two chapters and sets the scene for the next chapters. It discusses how Trinité's educational practices surrounding two individual characteristics of students – age and gender – shaped Trinité's student social world. I introduce the dual notions of *'grands'* (older students/students in higher classes) and *'petits'* (younger students/students in lower classes). I present how the notions were manifested through staff members' practices and beliefs, wider societal discourses, and students' division into classes, and were imbued with a deficit discourse in the school which gave 'grands' a more prominent place in the school than 'petits'. I then discuss how gender

intersected with *grand*-ness in Trinité. I consider girls' and boys' differing performances of *grand-ness* and 'becoming', how they were apprehended differently by school staff members, and how this in turn brought boys into the limelight. Finally, I establish how these features were mirrored in Trinité's student friendship and disliking networks, and how this had implications for how Trinité allocated resources for self-realisation to students. The results discussed in these chapters help ground the analysis of the music programme that follows.

Chapters 7-8 reflect the themes evoked in earlier chapters. Chapter 7 argues that the MASS programme's emphasis on performances, combined with the 'intensity' of Trinité and other school practices, meant that students' engagement in the programme could be shaped by the extent to which they saw it as a potential purveyor of 'performances'. This was particularly the case for *grands*, for whom 'becoming' was especially important. Through comparing the attitudes of such students in two music groups and how lessons in these groups were run, I demonstrate how pervasive demands for 'performances' were, and how they ultimately decided the programme's ability to create cohesive music groups and get students to realise their self-transformation.

Chapter 8 in turn considers a different aspect of the programme's social transformation aim: its introduction of the notion of musical competence as a resource to help students with their self-realisation. The chapter examines whether the notion reproduced or reconfigured patterns of social influence in the school's social world. It shows that peer-assessed musical competence was not only highly associated with friendship, but that it was further influenced by those factors which were already determinant for social influence in the school before the programme started: early friendship centrality, age, and gender. Through examining how students became musically influential in different music groups, I point to various ways in which these factors intersected to ultimately reproduce many (if not all) of the ways in which the school allocated resources for self-transformation.

Chapter 9 integrates the findings of the previous chapters. After summarising the results, I discuss some important limitations of the study. With the latter in mind, I set out how the study's findings shed light on the research problem presented in this chapter. I discuss which aspects of my study may be of interest to scholars, practitioners, and other stakeholders interested in schools, music programmes, and social networks. I then offer some final reflections on how the French educational system, as well as Trinité's position within it, may have shaped processes happening in Trinité, namely leading to the presence of what I call an 'educational contract' in the school.

CHAPTER II. RESEARCH METHODS

"Do not believe you know because you have seen, do not make moral judgements.

Do not be astonished. Do not lose your temper." (Mauss, 1947)

A. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods that I employed to answer the research questions set out above. I discuss these methods both as they were initially conceived and as they played out in practice, as well as how I handled the ethical dilemmas I faced regarding each method. I start by giving an overview of the research design of my project. I then discuss my methods for gaining access, obtaining consent, and guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity, as well as the role I progressively and painstakingly developed in the MASS programme and Trinité[24]. I discuss the latter in more depth in Appendix II, where I detail the ideas on ethnographic roles with children that I developed along the way. This discussion includes how I developed my "third adult" role, my use of reciprocity in building rapport, and my way of thinking of "giving oneself". I follow by discussing how I carried out the qualitative methods in my project, including my approaches to participant observation, carrying out semi-structured interviews, and analysing my qualitative data. I discuss the trials and tribulations of writing comprehensive, rich descriptions of the field, and of carrying out successful interviews with children. I carry on by discussing my quantitative methods, and then my approach towards mixing qualitative and quantitative methods. This includes the tensions I experienced in switching between my

[24] For an in-depth description of the study case, please refer to the next chapter.

"ethnographic" and "quantitative" selves, as well as focusing on theoretical ideas as "points of interface" during Mixed Methods analysis. I finally conclude by reviewing the challenges faced, main lessons learnt, and main methodological contributions of my study.

1. Overview of research design

To investigate my research questions, I undertook a mixed-methods 'embedded' (Yin, 2014) case study of a collective music education programme (termed 'MASS' and 'the MASS programme) implemented in two primary schools in a large city in France. The main case study school, referred to as 'Trinité', is a semi-private school run by a large French charitable foundation. It exclusively takes in students that experience "schooling difficulties". It is the source of all the results presented here, and is described in more depth in Chapter 3. The second case study school, referred to as 'Learning Adventure School' (LAS), is a private school which takes in students from the local housing projects of a disadvantaged neighbourhood of the study city. I included both schools in my study as they were both implementing the collective music-making programme in my study. I focused my fieldwork on Trinité due to its larger size, its piloting of MASS, and its special pedagogy (namely the presence of boarding houses) which made it a relatively 'extreme' (Yin, 2014) case to study with regard to my research problem. I used LAS as an illuminating second case. All of the results presented in this thesis arise from the analysis of data gathered in Trinité, although they were inevitably coloured by some observations and analyses of data gathered in LAS[25]. I therefore present a brief outline of the data I gathered in both schools, but focus in this chapter on the research methods that I employed in Trinité.

[25] For instance, observations of LAS students were important in developing the idea of 'creativity in the gaps' (see Chapter IV.E), since the *cadre* in that school was especially strong.

Following Stake (1995), I view my study as an 'instrumental' case study, whose purpose is to illuminate broader theoretical questions and issues through achieving a thorough and in-depth understanding of the case. This means that part of my data collection and analysis has involved seeking an understanding of the case in and of itself, beyond the research questions and issues that I brought into the field. Happily, this coincides well with my contextual approach to the MASS programme, which I see as embedded within Trinité, thus making an intrinsic understanding of Trinité crucial in its analysis.

I chose a mixed methods design based on my philosophical pragmatist premise. This meant that I chose my methods according to how much I believed they would further my understanding of my case and produce findings that were transferable to other cases (Lincoln, and Guba, 1985; Morgan, 2007). This latter point is especially important given that case study research has often been criticised for its lack of generalisability (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In particular, I follow the view of some social network scientists that studying whole networks – as I do in my own study – is tantamount to doing a case study, and that mixed methods are best suited to studying these cases and the mechanisms and processes operating within them (Bolíbar, 2016; Crossley, 2010; Crossley and Edwards, 2016; Edwards, 2010). In particular, I argue that MMSNA is best-suited to making links between individuals' social relationships, school social environments, and educational practices, which are themselves influenced by institutions and practices in wider society.

My study's quantitative methods were useful for obtaining a broad picture of students' opinions, attitudes, and social relationships, and of changes in these over time. Using surveys made it possible to capture large quantities of data on pre-established items of interest in relatively short periods of time. This was especially necessary as I intended to use information on these items to guide my subsequent (qualitative) sampling (though this was fraught with unexpected difficulties). Further, the

numerical form of the data made certain well-established analytical techniques possible, thus enhancing my analytical capabilities.

On the other hand, my study's ethnographic methods were useful for apprehending my case in a more holistic manner and for understanding the complexity of students' social lives, including aspects I had not foreseen. Through "subjecting [my]self… to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals", they helped me "physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation" (Goffman, 1989: 125) and understand the "reality studied in all its various layers of social meaning in its full richness" (Woods, 1986: 5). I used this information to develop theoretical ideas that fit the case most closely, and which, in combination with the quantitative data, could best achieve both 'explanation' and 'understanding' (von Wright, 1971). Both sources of data were therefore complementary and necessary for my study[26].

With this perspective in mind, I undertook an ethnography of both schools from September 2015 to July 2016, involving participant observation, interviews and conversations, and the analysis of written materials. At two points during the year, after approximately 3 weeks and 6 months of fieldwork, I carried out structured interviews and administered questionnaires to students and staff members in both schools. These measurements related to students' social lives, well-being, behaviours, musical self-concept, and sense of community in school. I also returned to the field for a week two years after the end of the main fieldwork. During this time, I carried out interviews with staff members to clarify important points.

[26] For my original justification of my choice of methodology, please see Appendix VII.E.

In the following I have used pseudonyms instead of the real names of participants and institutions, in accordance with the confidentiality promised to participants.

B. Access, participant role, and ethics

Obtaining initial access to the site that I ended up studying was a long and complicated process. I was first put in touch with Trinité via an organisation implementing similar music programmes to MASS 11 months before the start of my fieldwork. In between then and the start of fieldwork my plans shifted several times, involving five music programme organisations and more than 12 schools in 5 cities. This was in part because of the uncertainty and delays in the implementation of MASS. The programme was first set to start in January 2015, but was then delayed to September 2015 and eventually November 2015. In the end I chose to stay with studying Trinité and its music programme however, due to its superior fit with my research aims.

1. Access once in the field

Upon arriving in the field, I was anxious to get my fieldwork underway. I therefore thought it useful to try to arrange access to as many settings as possible. From my experiences doing pilot fieldwork in another school run by the charitable organisation that ran Trinité, I thought that this would be relatively unproblematic. I thought for instance that I would be able to eat lunch with the children in the school cafeteria from my first days in the field.

However, after my first meetings in the school, I sensed some pushback from Cécile (the headteacher) due to the many requests I was making. After she made no mention of being able to eat on-site, it suddenly occurred to me that Trinité was an entirely different institution with different practices from the other school, and that, of course, proposing to undertake fieldwork for several months was different to making a one-week visit.

After this initial perceived setback during the first days of fieldwork, I decided to let access take the time it needed. I saw this as being more true to the ethnographic disposition (Mills and Morton, 2013) and spirit (Woods, 1986). After all, what kind of ethnographer comes into an institution which has established habits and practices and immediately sets about disrupting them? As such, I spent the first three weeks of fieldwork introducing myself to the students and staff of Trinité, LAS and other organisations. I progressively attended a wider and wider set of events and settings. I also offered to inform Cécile and Lucy (MASS's administrative lead) of my whereabouts and proposed research actions on a weekly basis, to give them opportunities to re-negotiate access. I kept doing this until the end of my fieldwork. I also offered to help in as many ways as I could – without taking on a role of authority – including computing statistics for the teachers and offering feedback on my results at the end of my fieldwork.

In the first few weeks of fieldwork, alongside developing my role with students, I progressively defined an ethical stance to guide my behaviour towards members of staff. I posited that, even if my research project failed completely, producing not a shred of evidence by its end, I should still have been seen as a positive presence and a helpful colleague. In short, I decided that I should try to make the positive aspects of my presence outweigh its negative aspects, independently of my research output. I

therefore made every effort to be personable and collegial, for instance making jokes at my first formal meeting with teachers and *éducateurs* (Fieldnotes, formal access meeting, 23.09.2015), and offering to help within the bounds of my role. However, one way in which I perhaps underestimated the 'harm' I could do was in being unclear at first about what I expected from members of staff. Ethnographers have to remain flexible, yet individuals working in schools are very busy and need forward visibility to cope (Pollard, 1985) and manage their working lives. Members of staff in Trinité were generally very understanding and supportive of my project from the very beginning, even offering ideas of topics to investigate. Yet I was relatively unclear with my own demands. Properly "owning" my project and being clearer with staff as to my needs may have provided them with more visibility and therefore been a more ethical approach.

2. My participant role in Trinité

In Trinité I experienced many trials and tribulations in developing my participant role. In the end I settled for a role which I call the 'third adult' role, whose development I detail in Appendix II. In the main, this role involved me aligning my role with the other members of Trinité with whom I was most closely associated. These were the other 'third adults' in the school – school members such as the school psychologist and the school's other pastoral members of staff, who were adults but who did not hold formal authority.

In the role, I focused less on whether I could be considered as being closer to a 'student' or an 'adult', and more on my involvement with participants, the relationships I developed with them, and how much I was 'giving away' for them. After observing that student-student interactions tended to be much more reciprocal than adult-student interactions, I also decided to adopt reciprocity as one of

the principles of my interactions with students. I also describe these characteristics of the role in more detail in Appendix II. More prosaically, the role meant that I sometimes helped students in classrooms, whereas during break times and in boarding houses I tended to engage in joint activities with them. I also occasionally helped adults with student-centred tasks for short periods. It also meant that whenever I was participating as a learner, such as in music lessons, I subjected myself to the same rules as other learners, whether adult or student. This had the added benefit of bringing me closer to students' lived experiences.

In adopting this role, I solved many dilemmas that I experienced. I managed to effectively reduce the power imbalances that existed between myself and students (see also Section C.1.c) by accepting that they too could be involved in defining my role (Raffety, 2015). I made my position clearer to participants, and established behaviours and relationships that were appropriate for my research. I relieved tensions that I experienced with regard to my relationships with staff members, even allowing my 'helping hand' identity to blossom with them. I was able to stop focusing on my 'adult'-ness and start focusing on how other aspects of my identity – social class, gender, etc. – affected my fieldwork experience. I also got 'stuck in' more, and thus left the field with many valuable embodied experiences and memories. Finally, the role allowed me to do all of these things while staying true to the fundamental social divisions of the setting, thus developing an ecologically valid way of participating.

3. Consent, confidentiality & anonymity

I overtly mentioned my research project and researcher status in the field. I also viewed consent as an aspect of access, in other words gradually and constantly negotiated (as in Thorne, 1980), on top of the formal consent negotiations that I conducted at the beginning of the study. I followed Oxford

University guidelines in considering that adults were responsible for their own consent and that children's parents or guardians were responsible for children's consent. I therefore presented adults who were a part of my study, as well as the parents and guardians of all students, with information and consent sheets at the beginning of my study. I was sensitive to children's assent at all times, keeping away from them when it was clear that my (researcher) presence was not desired. For adults whom I knew I would see regularly, I gave them first information sheets and then consent sheets, to give them time to inform themselves on the study and ask any questions.

I adopted an opt-out consent approach with students' parents and guardians, consistent with university guidelines. The parents and guardians of more than 50% of Trinité students did not return consent sheets for their children. To compensate for this, I attempted to introduce myself to parents on various occasions. This was difficult due to parents' sparse presence in the school, especially if their children were boarding. However, I did manage to obtain explicit (opt-in) consent from some of the parents who had not returned consent sheets, thanks also to staff members' help.

The parents of only one student did not consent to the study. As such, I excluded this student from the focus of my observations and from interviews, and did not undertake any quantitative measurements with him, although I still interacted with him in my participant role. I also made some basic notes about him when these were relevant for understanding contexts or other participants, and included students' social network nominations towards him in my analysis. I have not written about him elsewhere in this thesis, and he does not appear in any of my reported findings.

I also introduced my research to all the students at the beginning of my fieldwork. I aimed to give them the information they needed about my study to make meaningful decisions about their

participation (Soffer and Ben-Arieh, 2014). Thus, I introduced myself, my role, and my purpose, particularly that I was not there to examine them or discipline them. I also explained to them that all information shared with me would be kept strictly confidential unless I considered there was a risk or danger involved, and that I would use pseudonyms in any research report. I finally explained to them that their choice to participate or not participate would not affect their lives at school, including in MASS. I gave students the opportunity to ask questions about my research, and encouraged them to discuss any concerns regarding participation with their parents and guardians. I formally reiterated these principles, and insisted on students' rights not to answer my questions, when I started carrying out semi-structured interviews based on early quantitative results. I gave each student a sheet of paper in large font detailing their rights during interviews and conversations, to be kept safely. I read it out and suggested that non-readers get readers to help them read it.

Though I succeeded in negotiating consent with staff members at formal meetings in the beginning of the year, some adults joined the programme or school part-way through the study. For these participants, establishing formal consent was more challenging. I sought to do this at the earliest opportunity, though for some of them this was not feasible due to their fleeting presence in the school. I therefore made sure that these individuals were at least aware of my role and of the output of my research, giving them at least information sheets as much as possible. I also applied the same principles of constantly negotiating consent with them (described below), and avoided writing about them in this thesis.

For me, viewing consent as constantly negotiated meant recognising that participants had a right to live their lives without constantly being research participants. As such, I systematically asked for teachers' and éducateurs' consent before entering classrooms or boarding houses to carry out observations or to interview students. Though this added to my logistical workload and even

eventually became unnatural – jarring with my increasingly natural presence in Trinité – I deemed it necessary to make sure that consent remained negotiated. I also obtained consent or assent from all participants before carrying out intensive methods, such as semi-structured interviews, and before recording interviews.

I was also sensitive to participants' privacy, and to the intrusiveness of my presence with children. I avoided being in spaces where they wouldn't expect or want to find an adult without their invitation, and I sought assent from them before asking about potentially sensitive or intrusive topics. However, as we will see (cf. Chapter 4), the boundary between 'public' and 'private' information was blurred in Trinité. Thus, I was privy to many 'private' events and pieces of information, such that one of the ethical dilemmas I faced was dealing with second-hand information about children's families obtained through talking to members of staff. After some consideration, I decided to view this sharing of information as an endogenous, institutional practice, and that therefore it was ecologically valid for me as a school adult to take part in these discussions. However, I was careful not to enquire any further than necessary into such personal matters, and have avoided writing about them in this thesis.

I also guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality to all study participants. I ensured that nobody but myself had access to my field notebooks, computer, recorder, and questionnaire responses, and kept a careful eye on my belongings[27]. I used pseudonyms for research participants in my field notebooks, and refused to let students look at them, or to report on what participants had told me privately (though see below).

[27] Only twice did students take my field notebook from me (and my recording device only once). In these cases, I made sure to retrieve them immediately and to make it understood that I took privacy seriously.

I was surprised by how many times I needed to remind certain participants of the principle and importance of confidentiality. Though previous research often talks about research participants 'testing' researchers' roles (e.g. Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991), it does not often talk of participants 'testing' confidentiality. One member of staff for instance asked me to report on what some students had told me during an interview following a particularly difficult music lesson. I insisted that I needed to maintain confidentiality, but in order to appear co-operative I agreed to share some general observations that were easily deducible from the lesson in question. Likewise, some students made a game of looking at my notebook, despite my repeated insistence that it was a serious matter. Thankfully, I soon realised that students could not decipher my "doctor's hand-writing" (as some students' called it), and so made sure to keep my writing illegible.

C. Methods

1. Qualitative methods

In this section I describe my observation and note-taking approach, my interview approach, ethical issues arising from these, and how I analysed my qualitative data.

a) Observation approach

Participant-observation was the "central method" (Delamont, 2002: 7) of the ethnographic arm of my study, and the fieldnotes arising from it were my principal source of qualitative data. In the field I observed systematically (Delamont, 2008, 2002) with a view to writing up notes (Emerson et al., 1995) which recounted 'what happened' in a "microscopic" manner (Geertz, 1973: 20). As I was interested in students' social lives, I focused on making detailed reports of social behaviours and interactions, as well as how students were affected by each other, in order to document "social life as process" (Emerson et al., 1995: 14). My observations were informed by the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter.

My method of observing systematically meant that I needed to sample as wide a variety of locations and occasions as possible. It was important that I do this across the school, so that I could study the school holistically as it was going through its music intervention. This was all the more important as one of the stated aims of the MASS programme was to bring cohesion across the school (see Chapter 3). However, in order to deepen my analysis of the research issues (Stake, 1995) that I brought into and developed in the field, I also decided to oversample from certain school locations. Some of this I did and had planned to do in response to my quantitative results (see section 3). However, I additionally spent more time in music lessons and in break periods than in classrooms and boarding houses. I did this as I was generally interested in students' experiences in the MASS programme and during times when they were most socially active.

Regarding school classes, I focused more on the Year 6 class than on the other two classes. This was in part because of the lesser social distance of students in the class to me compared to younger

students, which suited my role better, and the fact that older students were more used to expressing their views in conversation than younger students. This made it easier to elicit their points of view and participant voice. It was also in large part due to the class's class council sessions, which seemed to be an excellent way of studying social dynamics in the class, and because it was in part taught by Cécile who, as the school headteacher, 'represented' school staff and had more responsibility than most in setting the pedagogy and organisation of Trinité. This focus on the Year 6 class is reflected somewhat in the preponderance of extracts from interviews with the class's staff members, namely Cécile and Ernest. In the event, these staff members to some extent became 'key informants' (Marshall, 1996; See also Tremblay, 1957), to whom I regularly turned to understand aspects of Trinité's educational practices. I will discuss the implications of my focus on them in Chapter 9.

Among boarding houses, I focused more on the Pyrenees boarding group, due to its reinforced focus on *éducation* (see Chapter III.B.3). I also focused to a lesser extent on the Jura boarding house, given that it had a far greater proportion of primary-aged students than the Alpine house, and given that, as a man, my presence was more appropriate in a boys' boarding house than in a (part-teenage) girl's boarding house.

The strategy of oversampling from these locations ended up driving more of my sampling than I had initially conceived, given the difficulties I encountered in using my quantitative results for qualitative sampling (see Section 3.a). The qualitative results, fieldnotes, and interview excerpts presented in this thesis reflect this. Although it is difficult to quantify exactly the time I spent in the field, I have estimated, based on a typical day and week spent in the field and the amount of days and weeks spent doing fieldwork, that I carried out over 700 hours of participant observation in the various sites of my fieldwork.

This project was my first significant experience in carrying out ethnographic fieldwork. As such, I experimented extensively with how to best balance participation, observation, and writing notes. My focus on making detailed notes of social interactions, and on noting as much as I could about sequences of events happening around me both rapidly and systematically, made finding this balance particularly difficult. Making fine-grained observations of interactions put a great strain on my memory, such that I needed to write headnotes in my notebooks relatively often. I therefore progressively adopted an approach whereby I would observe events around me until my memory had reached saturation and then step aside in a discrete place to jot down headnotes in an A6-size notebook that I kept in the back pocket of my trousers. I progressively wrote fewer and fewer headnotes as I developed a sense of which themes were most important for my study, which headnotes would be most evocative for writing up fieldnotes, and which words needed to be recorded verbatim. This was helpful in freeing up more time for me to participate and observe.

I took the time to write up these field jottings into fieldnotes onto my personal computer as soon as possible once I left the field (Delamont, 2008, 2002; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), and sometimes when I was still in the field if I knew that I would not have time to do it later. I typically wrote up descriptions of events in English but reported any important indigenous words and expressions in French, in order to bring out participants' voices. I also kept a 'research log trail' (Richards 2009) to record important changes in my research methods.

As with my field jottings, I took care to separate my observations from my interpretations of what I was observing. This was not to attempt to arrive at an undisputedly 'objective' description of events, 'unpolluted' by my own interpretations. I was well aware that my observations were inseparable from

my interpretations and self (Coffey, 1999). Rather, I did this to access my interpretations more easily, to make my early process of analysis more transparent, to maintain consistent reflexivity over my positionality and how it produced my observations and interpretations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), and to try to remain 'open' to new ideas and events happening in the field that did not fit with my current analytical ideas. From 05.01.2016 I decided to keep a separate 'fieldwork journal' for my analytical reflections, similar to other researchers' practices (Delamont, 2008; Emerson et al., 1995; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Many fieldnotes were written up electronically within a day of observations taking place, or before the start of the next set of observations. However, many fieldnotes had to be written up or finished later than this, due to the astounding amount of time that writing up fieldnotes took. I thus often had to return to the field before I had finished writing up notes, due to field commitments that I had previously made and my desire to appear trustworthy by keeping them. The fact that my fieldwork was time-sensitive, in the sense that I was following the MASS programme as it was unfolding, also induced me to return to the field before I had finished writing up notes. Events unfolded very quickly once the programme had started, such that I feared spending too long away from the field. Finally, my more general overhanging fear of leaving the field with data lacking led me to multiply my field commitments and to be especially conscious of the time-sensitive nature of my fieldwork, and thus to spend more time in the field[28]. To account for these limitations, I made sure to identify how my notes were written up, by systematically dating my entries and often recording my whereabouts or mood during write-up, as recommended by Richards (2009).

[28] This fear was ironic, given that I left the field with close to 500,000 words of written-up observation notes and fieldwork journal entries (not including interviews and written materials).

The amount of time I spent and delays I experienced in writing up notes also led me to experiment with note-writing, observing and participating techniques. I tried writing up notes in more succinct manners, as well as writing up fewer incidents that I had already experienced before. I tried participating more and observing less, focusing more on capturing incidents that seemed more critical for the analytical ideas I was developing. This was motivated by a fear that, by not focusing on participation, I was not taking full advantage of the embodied knowledge I could gain in the field, which, for some ethnographers, is arguably the most important part of ethnography (see Mills & Morton, 2013). However, in the end I often reverted to an approach that emphasised observation and extensive note-taking. This was due to my fear of being unsystematic in note-taking and closing off avenues of enquiry that might be critical later, as well as the fear of forgetting the details of events in the field. It was also because I did not appreciate just how long-lasting and powerful embodied knowledge from the field could be, although the rich descriptions in my fieldnotes have also evoked embodied memories and specified details of those memories. My approach may therefore have been appropriate in the end.

However, were I to carry out my ethnographic fieldwork again, I would certainly change some aspects of my observation approach. I would make my personal reactions and interpretations of events more explicit, as opposed to keeping them implicit, to-be-extrapolated later. I would also discuss the "big picture" of situations at more length, to help my future self gain a more holistic understanding of context. I would equally spend more time participating and pursuing participants' meanings, safe in the knowledge that my embodied memories would persist somewhat and be valuable in themselves. This would include 'giving myself up' more for participants (See Appendix II). I would also make more note of my physical surroundings, especially in the beginning of my fieldwork (Emerson et al., 1995). I unfortunately tended to postpone note-taking on physical surroundings, as I knew the latter would always be there, as opposed to transient events which were fleeting. In the end, this meant that I left

the field without having taken pictures of some of the classroom walls, despite this being a potentially important and easily accessible source of data. I would also have made more systematic audio recordings of sessions, and started recordings at an earlier stage of my fieldwork, in order to verify some notes and relive some embodied experiences of the field. I would also have more faith in my own self as an interpreting device, for instance in understanding why certain students were upset. Though this constant questioning gave me a healthy sense of doubt, it also made me more hesitant and was a cognitive burden. I would also try to integrate more the strengths of being in the field – which gave me continuity and a sense of narrative – with the strengths of being out of the field – which has given me the faculty to see patterns across disparate events, to re-interpret earlier events in the wake of later evidence, and to iron out some uncertainties from the field. However, this would have required me to have left the field in a less exhausted state. Accordingly, I would have given myself more opportunities to rest and enjoy non-fieldwork-related aspects of the fantastic city I was living in.

b) Interview methods

I carried out approximately 90 semi-structured interviews with students, members of music programme and school staff, and parents. I adopted Rubin and Rubin's (2005) 'responsive interviewing' approach as a general guide for these interviews. It sees interviews as "conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion" (p. 4). It emphasises co-operating with active interviewees to co-shape the interview and achieve shared understanding. As such, my semi-structured interviews were relatively unstructured: I would have an idea of topics I wanted to cover but would co-lead the interview with participants, often letting them lead and providing some steering when needed. I held interviews in a variety of locations depending on the availability of rooms in Trinité, but always in places with at least relative privacy. I would let interviewees, and especially students, choose where we held our interviews whenever this was

possible. I audio-recorded interviews, except when participants did not consent or assent to audio recordings, in which case I usually took copious notes.

With adults, I carried out typical semi-structured interviews. With students, I first carried out such interviews. However, many students proved to be uncommunicative and relatively uncomfortable with this interview format. Typical interviews can indeed be problematic because they can exacerbate power dynamics that are already present between adults and children, and because they often lie outside children's domains of competence (e.g. Punch, 2002; Tisdall, 2009). Indeed, in my own site, I noticed that children's conversations did not tend to follow the information-exchange format that many adult conversations follow, and that, to make matters worse, many questions from adults to children were rhetorical and sought some kind of agreement or behavioural compliance (Garbarino & Stott, 1989). Conversations between adults and children were rare and short, and often felt unnatural when I engaged in them.

Instead, many researchers argue that, in order to be consistent with a view of children as competent social agents, researchers must enter their "cultures of communication" (Christensen, 1999: 76-77, 2004) and engage in 'child-friendly' research methods where children are competent (e.g. Punch, 2002). Thus, at about the same time as I decided to adopt a 'third-adult' role with children, I decided to employ child-friendly methods alongside more conventional interviews based on fit with interview questions and students' preferences. I decided to carry out story-telling interviews (Davis, 2007) and let students produce and comment drawings (Backett-Milburn and McKie, 1999; Eldén, 2012). The former, which consisted in asking students to tell stories that could be real or imagined to get at their figured worlds (Holland et al., 1998), worked well with many students. I used it often with older students, as did Davis (2007). Drawings worked well with younger students and some older students,

although I was surprised to find that some students felt they were incompetent drawers, something which is rarely discussed in the literature on the subject.

One interview technique with students that worked well was making my interviews more reciprocal, in accordance with patterns in student-student interactions (see above). The realisation that reciprocity could be useful for carrying out successful interviews came to me three months into my fieldwork:

> At the end of the lunch break, Damon refuses to go to class. As I am 'shadowing' him that day, I offer to his teacher that I will stay with him outside. I figure I could interview him on what he's done today. The teacher agrees, and I ask him where he wants to go for an interview. However, he is reluctant, saying we won't be able to go anywhere. I then attempt to set up a 'child-friendly' story-telling interview by saying "let's play a game where we tell stories about the school". He says he's not interested, and says first let's play a game where we have to guess the word that the other person is thinking. I agree. I guess his word, he then guesses my word. Afterwards, to my surprise and joy, he insists that I tell my story about school. (Fieldnotes, Afternoon lesson, 08.12.2015)

It seemed to me after this event that Damon was not in principle against 'playing my game' of telling stories about school. Rather, he was enacting a wider principle of peer interactions among students in the school: that of setting up reciprocal interactions through negotiation. In fact, not only did Damon want us to play his game as well as mine, but the game he suggested included reciprocal turn-taking. Later that day, I used the principal of "I play your game, you play my game" with him to great

effect – this time playing at finding hidden trophies and then telling stories about school, home, and the boarding houses.

I also used the principle in a broader way in other interviews, by sharing my own experiences or opinions when asking interviewees about theirs, by letting students suggest interview-centred 'games' we could play, and by letting interviewees ask me questions. These 'reciprocal interviews' were sometimes difficult to implement however, for instance when students were not in a mind to play or had no games to suggest, or when I had not developed a wider habit of playing individually with them. In these cases, I would try other interview approaches.

I finally occasionally used other innovative methods. I attempted to get students to demonstrate their descriptions through role play (Kennedy et al., 2001). Though this was relatively successful, I felt it was difficult to record in writing afterwards and that it added too much to my workload. I therefore used this method sparingly.

In the interview excerpts reported in this thesis, I have omitted hesitations and pauses where these did not add substantial meaning to the passages. While participants' words are almost always quoted verbatim with interview extracts (except where I was not able to record interviews), direct quotations are not always available with fieldnotes. For the latter I rather try to convey the meaning of what participants were saying.

All translations from French are my own, although it is important to note that carrying out fieldwork in French and reporting results in English has been challenging. There is always a risk of mis-translating indigenous terms and mis-representing participants' words. To alleviate these risks, I try to represent

participants' words and terms in the meanings that participants gave them (e.g. as opposed to dictionary definitions of terms, though I sometimes contrast official meanings with local meanings).

c) Ethics in observation and interviews

Many ethical issues can arise in carrying out observations and interviews with children and young people. Kirk's (2007) review found that the main ethical concerns that can arise in qualitative research with children more generally relate to power relations, informed consent, and confidentiality. Though I have addressed these issues above, some aspects relevant for observations and interviews bear mentioning here.

During observations, I sometimes witnessed events or behaviours which presented a risk for students. For instance, I witnessed bullying or other forms of psychological and physical harm. In these moments, I had to compose with the role I had built up at the time as well as my own psychological and moral reactions. Since, as the year progressed, I increasingly realised that I needed to 'give' if I was expecting to 'receive' (See Appendix II.D), I intervened more and more in such events to protect students that were being attacked, while being careful not to 'take sides'. I was also sometimes compelled to intervene, and even to inform adults on what I had observed, when I witnessed a student suffering a grave injustice or when I witnessed an event that presented a significant risk. For instance, at one point a student showed me some cut marks on her wrists, explaining to me that she had gotten upset with her mother. Two students also separately expressed the wish to hurt themselves or take their own lives (Fieldnotes, 20.11.2015). These ominous events were always unexpected, bewildering and surprising. As such, it was difficult to gauge how serious they were. However, I took no chances with them and informed the headteacher or class teacher in each case.

However, only in very few cases did I divulge information to members of staff. Indeed, one of the most important and constant pillars of my role was the importance of maintaining confidentiality (see above), which I made sure to make very clear during access and throughout my fieldwork. As such, when staff members sometimes asked me to testify as to what I had observed or had been told, I most often told them I could not testify and sometimes feigned ignorance, except when this presented a significant risk. However, I did sometimes ask students if they wanted me to divulge information to adults, especially when they came to me to report on what other students had done to them.

During interviews, the issue of unequal power relations between children and researchers can be particularly problematic. It may encourage children to try and give 'correct' answers that do not represent their views (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010). My main methods for countering this were to develop relations of trust, to avoid displays of authority in my role (cf. Appendix II) to remind students that there were no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, to emphasise my own ignorance, and to remind them that they were the experts. I also made sure to check how students were feeling regularly during interviews, and suggested skipping questions or stopping interviews if children seemed uncomfortable.

Some concerns arose specifically during group interviews. The greatest one concerned conflicts or mocking between interviewee students. This happened rarely, although when it did I intervened immediately. I saw it indeed as my responsibility to make sure that students came under no harm when they were under my supervision. When this happened therefore, I immediately stepped out of my non-intervening role. I generally tried to stop this from happening in the first place however by

carefully composing groups of interviewees, based on consultations with staff members and my social network observations in the school.

d) Data analysis methods

To analyse my qualitative data and produce the findings reported here, I followed recommendations set out by various researchers (Delamont, 2008; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2009; Stake, 1995). I privileged familiarity with my corpus of data, close reading of selected passages, combining my notes with embodied memories from the field, and using my field journal and in-the-field reflections to inform my analysis. I started by gathering my qualitative data records, skimming through them, and entering them into a specially-designed "repertoire of data", systematically recording certain characteristics for each record. Afterwards, I selected passages that stood out as landmark moments in the progression of my thinking during fieldwork, as well as passages that I had labelled as addressing important themes reflected in the findings chapters. I focused on MASS programme sessions and other school moments separately, closely reading, coding, and analysing these passages in order to specify my theoretical ideas and to develop links between the different settings. I developed my ideas through keeping and writing analytical memos, as I had started doing in the field.

I used the 'collectivity' and 'intensity' themes as departure points for much of my analysis as they were organising themes of my fieldwork experience. Students' collective experiences, both in the music programme and schools, indeed constituted a "foreshadowed problem" (Malinowski, 1922: 9) of my study given my theoretical background, research focus and interests. However, 'collectivity' and 'intensity' gained in importance when I realised that they were used as indigenous terms in Trinité.

They became even more central when I realised on January 14th 2016, after taking a break from the field, that they were very important parts of students' school lives, as reflected in my embodied experiences. The themes then gained in definition and remained important as I left the field, and I later found them to be effective tools to frame much of the rest of my analysis.

Throughout my analysis I have tried to maintain a dialogue between my data and theories. This follows from my case study approach, according to which cases help specify theories, which help (re)define cases, then prompting changes in theories, and so on (see Chapter I.D.1). This has been my view since before my fieldwork, and as such I have tried to both create and read in theoretical ideas into my data from early in my analysis. This has, for instance, led me to identify reciprocity and diffusion in my qualitative data while using my fieldnotes to think about these phenomena in new ways.

To produce the results presented in this thesis, I have prioritised the analysis of qualitative data collected between October 2015 and March 2016. This is in large part because of my emphasis on explaining the effects of educational practices on school networks. It therefore stands to reason that I should focus on analysing data collected before my second (and final) network data collection wave (in mid-late March/early April 2016). It is also because from April 2016 onwards there were more and more orchestral rehearsals in the MASS programme, which did not fit neatly in my school-centric analysis. Finally, it is because during the last quarter of the year I spent a greater portion of my time collecting data in LAS.

2. Quantitative methods

a) Measures and implementation

I administered questionnaires and undertook structured interviews with all students who consented or assented to participate in Trinité and LAS (N=71 in Trinité & LAS; N=47 in Trinité). I used questionnaires to obtain responses to various psychometric scales, and structured interviews to obtain responses to 'relational' questions on students' social networks. I administered these questionnaires and carried out these interviews twice, forming two waves. In Trinité, the first wave was in October/November 2015, and the second in March/April 2016.

I decided to measure students' social networks using structured interviews to maximise both data quality and response rates. The relational instrument was long, and I hoped to lessen the potential response burden on participants through administering it individually. This was particularly important as network data needs to have high response rates to validly reflect a complete network (Borgatti et al., 2013). Most of all, I feared that the presence of other students in the same room would lead to breaches of confidentiality, as well as potentially spurious nominations, thus significantly damaging the quality of the data (at least for my purposes).

I deemed the above risks to be less significant for the psychometric scale data. Thus, I administered questionnaires to groups of students according to what their teachers thought was realistic. While I administered questionnaires to all Year 6 students in Trinité at once, with the assistance of a teacher, I administered them alone to small groups of Year 4-5 students of similar reading ability and to even smaller groups of Year 2-3 students.

In the questionnaires, I tried to use scales that had been previously validated for the concepts I was trying to measure, if possible with French or French-speaking populations. To measure students' sense of community in school, I used scales from the 'Child Development Project' (Battistich et al., 1995; Center for the Collaborative Classroom, n.d.). To measure student well-being, I decided to use Health-Related Quality of Life scales. I used the KIDSCREEN-27 questionnaire (Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2014, 2005; The KIDSCREEN Group Europe, 2006) for older students and the PedsQL (Varni et al., 1999) for younger students, in both cases using the generic scales of these questionnaires intended for healthy students. To measure older students' social and academic self-concept, I used the Self-Perception Profile for Children (SPPC) (Boivin et al., 1992)[29]. To measure students' musical self-concept, I used scales relating to children's "identity as a musician" (Welch et al., 2014b), adapted from scales on children's "identity as a singer" (Welch et al., 2014a). These latter scales had been previously validated in the UK.

Younger students (Years 2-3) in both schools had shortened versions of the full questionnaire administered to older students (Years 4-6). I developed these two separate versions as I (and teachers) considered the older student questionnaire to be too long for students in Years 2 and 3. Furthermore, many scales used in the older student questionnaire had not been validated for the younger age bracket, making it less important to preserve the integrity of the scales. As such, the younger student questionnaire included reduced versions of the musical self-concept scales, graded on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 3 instead of 1 to 7. This procedure, as well as the questions for musical self-concept, were the same as those used by Welch et al (2014b) with students of similar ages.

[29] This measure was not validated nor easy to adapt for younger students.

These questionnaires, while informative, ended up playing a much more peripheral role in my analysis than I initially intended (see Appendix VII). This was in part because I had to use different scales with younger and older students. This made it difficult to investigate the age dynamics that became important in my study. It was also because I focused progressively on the influence of educational practices on students' actual relationships and social networks, as opposed to students' perceptions of their school community. This made analysing student questionnaire data much less useful for answering my research questions.

In addition to these questionnaires and scales that I administered to children, I also gave questionnaires to adults in the study. The classroom *éducateurs* or teachers in the study, as well as the boarding house *éducateurs* that were official referents for boarding students (or their colleagues if they were unreachable), completed the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997) for each of their students, without the impact supplement. I used this questionnaire mainly to measure staff members' opinions of students' social skills, but also their opinions of other aspects of students' behaviour, and because it had reference norms for several populations (though not France). I had initially intended to only collect this from classroom teachers and *éducateurs*, but in the end decided to also collect it from boarding house *éducateurs* based on a suggestion from Rose, who said that the latter might in fact have a 'different perspective' on students. I obtained responses for all students in the school for these questionnaires (excluding students who had left Trinité). Finally, during wave 2 I gave questionnaires to music teachers on students' musical competence and attitude during music lessons adapted from the *Every Child a Musician* programme evaluation (Welch et al., 2013). The musical competence scale that I used assesses a wide range of musical skills (See Appendix V), and as such I view music teachers' responses to that scale as an indication of their views on students' overall musical competence. I obtained responses for that scale for 91% of the school's students involved in MASS at wave 2. As with the student questionnaire scales, I took French versions

of scales when they were available, and translated them myself when they were not. Each of my translations was checked at least once by other native French speakers.

To assess students' social networks, I used the name generator technique, consisting in asking students to name others with whom they had a particular relation. I asked students to name individuals both inside and outside the school that they would invite to a party organised in their honour, following a procedure used by Haussling (2010). This was to arrive at the individuals whom students thought were a part of their personal networks. I then asked students to nominate their friends inside and outside the school, as an indication of students' positive sentiment relations[30]. I then followed by asking students who they disliked, as an indication of negative sentiment relations[31], followed by who they thought were popular (see below), and who they thought were the best at playing music in the school (hereafter 'best musicianship ties'). If students nominated members of the school who were not students (e.g. staff members), then I accepted these nominations, although I do not include them in my analyses unless otherwise specified. If for any relation students had not mentioned any other students in the school (or any relations outside of the school for the party and friendship relations), then I checked with them whether they wanted to nominate any students (or relations outside the school).

I first asked students to recall their relations freely, and then showed them a roster of students and gave them the opportunity to nominate any students they may have forgotten. I employed both methods to correct both for potential under-nomination for recall nominations and over-nomination

[30] Even though the 'party' data undoubtedly also taps into positive sentiments, I prefer using the friendship data as an indication of these, as friendship is a much more established indicator of positive sentiments, and has been discussed far more in the literature. It also has the advantage of being widely seen as an indicator of status, especially in relation to receiving friendship nominations (whereby students who receive many nominations have higher status).

[31] Note that this is distinct from conflictual relations (e.g. 'conflict', 'fighting', or 'bullying' ties).

for roster nominations. However, this procedure lengthened the structured interviews substantially, and therefore meant that the latter took up a much larger proportion of my time than anticipated. This time may well have been better spent carrying out other research tasks, especially considering that in almost all cases I use both types of nominations in my analysis without differentiating between them.

I asked students to nominate popular children based on evidence that perceived popularity is different from sociometric popularity (Parkhurst and Hopmeyer, 1998). However, upon implementing the instrument, it became clear that the concept of "popularity" was not very salient in Trinité: it was not always understood, and seemed to be understood inconsistently. In wave 2 I therefore decided to use a standard definition for popularity and to ask students to nominate other students "that have many friends". This inconsistency across waves makes this data unwieldy to use for this thesis however, and in the end I did not use it.

I sometimes present results of analyses of reciprocated friendship networks, which I consider to include stronger friendship relations than overall friendship (i.e. reciprocated and non-reciprocated) networks (Berndt and McCandless, 2009; see also Gouldner, 1960). I do this whenever it is important to use a stronger friendship measure or a measure which includes mutuality, which is important for cohesion[32]. I also at times present analyses of reciprocated disliking ties, which may indicate stronger or more established negative sentiments than (nonreciprocated) disliking ties do (Labianca and Brass, 2006). In this document, when I talk of 'friendships' and 'disliking ties' I mean relations between students in Trinité, unless I specify otherwise.

[32] Although some argue that friendships that are not reciprocated are not friendships (Cillessen, 2009).

Some network data is missing in each wave. This is principally due to three students leaving Trinité between both waves. Indeed, according to my view of Trinité as a social world, as well as my broader realist view of the school's networks (Laumann et al., 1983), I consider the latter to be constituted by every student's individual networks. Thus, if students nominated other students who had left the school, then I considered these students to still be a part of the school network. The missing data was also due to me not having consent to interview one student (see above), and not having assent to interview another. For all of these students, I decided to treat their outgoing nominations as missing data while keeping their ingoing nomination data. These procedures resulted in an overall missing network data rate of 4.3% at wave 1 and 10.6% at wave 2. Meanwhile, the student response rate for questionnaires was 94.3%.

b) Ethics in quantitative methods

The main ethical dilemmas pertaining to my use of quantitative methods relate to confidentiality and the problematic nature of some questions asked.

To resolve the problem of confidentiality, I used individual structured interviews for social network measurements (as stated above), paid very close attention to the whereabouts of my questionnaires, and made sure as much as possible that students and adults were not allowed to view the responses of other students. During the second round of questionnaires, some students suggested using pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. I took up this idea, although in the event the participants generally took the principle of confidentiality seriously and did not try to spy on others' responses. However, it was not always possible to shield students' responses from members of staff when they were helping me with implementing questionnaires.

While the great majority of non-answered questions were simply omitted, some questions were left unanswered because they were indeed problematic for students. Some researchers have wondered whether children's social networks are a sensitive subject and thus whether it is ethical to ask students about these. Farmer & Cairns (1991) in particular report that some students do not want to answer or only answer reluctantly questions asking them to nominate others they dislike. However, I followed Asher et al.'s (2014) view that social risks are omnipresent in young people's lives and that any potential damage caused by social network questions are most likely outweighed by everyday occurrences. Furthermore, previous studies suggest that social network questions do not have negative side effects for children's well-being and social lives, and that in fact children rather enjoy answering such questions (Asher et al., 2014; Mayeux et al., 2007). Indeed, children expressed very few reservations regarding social network questions. However, when they did, I reminded them that their responses were confidential and that it was their right to answer or not answer any questions. In the end, all students who consented or assented to be interviewed provided responses to my relational questions. Two students however (Dimitri and Ibrahim) were reluctant to answer; I did not insist on checking their responses with them, so their answers may be unreliable.

Likewise, some students consciously objected to other questions which asked about negative or personal experiences[33]. In these cases, I tried to alleviate the students' concerns or propose solutions that addressed them (such as the pseudonym example above). If the student still objected, I accepted their right to not respond. I reminded them of their right of non-response before each questionnaire session. As we will see below, my ethnographic fieldwork made it natural to grant this right, as I applied the same rules for my semi-structured interviews and conversations. In the end, less than one

[33] Students did not object to the musical self-concept questions.

per cent of questions were left blank for both older and younger student questionnaires in waves 1 and 2.

c) Data analysis methods

I use very few 'standard' quantitative analysis methods in this thesis, and I do not use any that would be seen as typical 'inferential' statistical methods. This is essentially due to my case study approach: I am not seeking to make statistical generalisations to a wider population but rather to understand my case in depth and explain phenomena within it. Thus, for the few standard methods that I use (e.g. Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient), I do not deploy standard significance tests to establish the 'importance' of my results (see also below). Further, the small sample size of my study seriously limits the range of quantitative methods that I can use.

However, I do use several 'non-standard' quantitative methods, designed for analysing social network data. The handicap of small sample size is far less present for these methods, since samples of ties between actors are much bigger than corresponding samples of actors[34]. Naturally, ties sent by actors are not statistically independent of each other. Actors can, for instance, have different definitions of friendship, which introduces dependencies between every friendship tie they send. Thus, I still do not use typical inferential methods with this quantitative data, but rather, when appropriate, undertake permutation tests to establish 'significance'. These tests consist in running a given analysis, then performing random permutations of the columns and rows of the network data, and then running the same analysis for these randomised networks. The analysis software finally calculates the proportion

[34] For any relation between students, I am not analysing a sample of 47 students but rather a sample of 47 x 46 = 2,162 ties (or absence of ties) between students.

of randomised networks that display values as high or as low as the value of the (original) observed network, and displays these proportions as P-values. Since the randomised networks conserve key properties of the observed data (see Borgatti et al., 2013), permutation tests make it possible to establish how different an observed network is from what would be expected 'at random'.

Permutation tests are useful as they do not assume that observations are statistically independent of each other, as usual statistical tests do. However, I still use them sparingly, given the long-standing debate about the usefulness and epistemological appropriateness of statistical tests in general (Morrison and Henkel, 2017; Rozeboom, 1960). Rather, I find it more useful, especially given my case study approach, to focus on the direction, magnitude, and substantive meaning of results. Nonetheless, when I do use them, I run at least 5,000 permutations, and the 'null hypothesis' of each permutation test is that the value of the observed network measure is the same as the average value of the same measure for the randomised networks. I carried out permutation tests (as well as all the other network analyses mentioned here) using the UCINET software, version 6.647.

I use many established network measures. I report on the density of different networks at various points. A network's density is simply the number of ties that are present in the network as a proportion of the number of ties that could be present in it. I use the E-I Index, which is the extent to which ties are concentrated within groups (e.g. school classes) as opposed to between groups in a network[35]. I report Quadratic Assignment Procedure (QAP) correlation coefficients, which are simply Pearson's correlation coefficients applied to all the columns and rows of a network, to which permutation tests are applied. I refer to tie-based reciprocity rates, which is the number of reciprocated ties divided by

[35] Its mathematical formula is $\frac{E-I}{E+I}$, where E is the number of ties between groups and I the number of ties within groups.

the total number of ties (i.e. the extent to which a student's tie to another student is 'met' with a tie sent back from that other student). I use this measure because, for random networks (where there is no particular tendency for reciprocity), tie-based reciprocity rates should be very similar to network density. This makes it easier to interpret the substantive importance of reciprocity rates.

I finally use indegree and Beta indegree centrality as measures of student influence in Trinité's student social world (c.f. Bonacich, 2007, 1987; Freeman, 1979). While the former states that a focal student is 'central' when she receives many ties, the latter also takes into account the centrality values of the alters[36] sending ties to the 'focal' student. Thus, a central student becomes one who not only receives many ties but receives ties from students who are themselves central[37]. The weight given to the centrality of alters is proportional to the beta values for each network, which are reported in Appendix III.A.

I use Beta indegree centrality in the friendship and 'best musicianship' networks as operationalisations of social and musical influence, respectively. This is because both kinds of influence can plausibly be 'transmitted' between students when a tie is sent. For instance, a socially influential student nominating another student as a friend can be seen to make that student 'recommendable', and thus more influential in the process. More generally, socially influential students are likely to play a greater role in establishing who is socially influential than socially peripheral students. Likewise, the opinion of a musically influential student on who are the best musicians in the school may carry more weight than the opinion of a student with very little musical influence. Whenever large Beta values produce outlying beta centrality values however, I revert to using degree centrality to establish influence, as I consider such large differences to potentially not be meaningful. I finally use degree centrality in the

[36] By 'alters' I mean the other students to whom focal students potentially send or receive ties.
[37] That is, in cases where Beta values are positive, as in all the analyses presented in this thesis.

disliking network to ascertain a different form of influence: the capacity to concentrate negative sentiments, or to be known as widely disliked. Since this capacity (which could be called 'disliking influence') is not conceivably 'transmitted' between students, I use degree centrality and not beta centrality to operationalise it (see also Everett and Borgatti, 2014)[38].

All network results arise from analyses using nominations obtained through the recall and roster methods, unless otherwise indicated. Although by default analyses include ties sent to students who did not consent or assent to be interviewed, and (at wave 2) who had left the school, density figures do not include these students, as doing so would systematically under-estimate measures of density. Any analyses of ties within and between music groups likewise exclude those students who had left the school between waves 1 and 2 (i.e. Kevin, Cristina and Sandra), as they had only participated in MASS for at most 8 weeks (spending at most 5 weeks in their final music groups). All figures showing visualisations of quantitative results use a common shape and colour scheme to indicate students' gender and school class. A legend for the scheme can be found in Appendix III. Any tables reporting the results of permutation tests report significance values in brackets next to the observed network values, unless otherwise indicated. Levels of significance are established using conventional significance thresholds (* = $P<0.05$; ** = $P<0.01$; *** = $P>0.001$).

[38] Note that I do not view friendship and disliking as two sides of one same influence or status measure, as others do (e.g. Bonacich and Lloyd, 2004). Although it is possible to view an influential student as a student who receives many friendship and few disliking ties, one can see receiving many of either kind of tie as different forms of influence (Coie et al., 1982). Therefore, I analyse friendship and disliking ties separately.

3. Mixed methods

a) Mixed methods design

My mixed methods design was originally a sequential design (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). I intended to first carry out a period of qualitative fieldwork to familiarise myself with the setting and participants. I planned to then undertake a round of quantitative measurements and use results from these measurements to inform future observations and a set of semi-structured interviews, in effect carrying out a 'network ethnography' (Howard, 2002)[39]. I planned to carry on with observations and interviews until the second wave of quantitative measurements. I would finally use results from this wave to inform more future observations and another set of semi-structured interviews.

This pattern of quantitative results informing qualitative data collection was somewhat successful. Noting that Trinité's Strings B music group had an unusually small number of reciprocated friendships before the beginning of the MASS programme, I decided to focus my observations on it. I also used my quantitative results to choose some students to interview after wave 1 and especially wave 2. Finally, as mentioned above, these results helped me determine which combinations of students would work best for group interviews and group questionnaires.

However, several challenges presented themselves. Firstly, just as it was difficult to set aside time to write up all of my fieldnotes before my next observations, so it was difficult to enter, analyse, and

[39] Although 'network ethnographies' do not normally involve surveying and ethnographically studying the exact same population over long periods.

interpret my quantitative data in time to perform interviews soon after the questionnaires. As mentioned earlier, my fieldwork was time-sensitive, and research 'issues' (Stake, 1995) arising during fieldwork beckoned for immediate attention and further research. This compelled me to return to the field before completing some quantitative analyses. Although I planned for quantitative waves to happen just before mid-year school holidays to try to alleviate this effect, this strategy was only partially successful. Secondly, students' responses to questionnaires did not always vary considerably nor in obvious ways, and they naturally contained measurement error. Meanwhile, their social network responses could also be difficult to interpret. This made it difficult to identify clear outliers or 'extreme' or 'critical' case students to interview. Yet I had to be selective with who I interviewed, given my time constraints. Thirdly, I realised that I already knew students very well through my ethnographic fieldwork, making the quantitative data less useful for sampling decisions. Thus, I interviewed many students based on both quantitative and qualitative data.

In the event, my mixed methods design was more concurrent than sequential. During both quantitative waves, I was compelled to partially continue my ethnographic fieldwork to observe events in the field that I felt I could not miss. Moreover, during wave 2 I found myself making ethnographic observations about more mundane events, relieved as I nominally was from the pressure of maintaining a steady rhythm of observations. Likewise, I attempted to include some structured observations during my ethnographic fieldwork. For instance, I tried to systematically record which students were not choosing to engage in MASS lessons, in order to have some longitudinal data on this. Counting is of course not new in qualitative research (Sandelowski, 2001), but doing so in a somewhat structured fashion is perhaps less usual – although the unpredictability of participant-observation meant that I was too often side-tracked from my structured observations. Finally, I pursued opportunities to obtain interesting, suitable data that could be 'quantitised' when I found it (Sandelowski et al., 2009).

b) Mixing data collection methods, mixing roles, and implications for data quality and ethics

Despite the above, switching between "ethnographic" and "quantitative" research phases created significant shifts in my behaviour and role. While I shied away from adult authority and giving instructions in my ethnographic role, I explicitly stood in front of groups of students and gave them 'work' to do, brought them outside of class (and so controlled their whereabouts), and when necessary used adult authority as a quantitative researcher.

Yet, I found during the second wave of questionnaires that, having built relationships and a particular role in the field, I could not proceed as I had done in the first wave. I found it natural then for example to consult students about when they wanted to have their structured interviews. Relatedly, the reciprocal role approach I had developed pushed me to make adaptations to my questionnaire administration. Not only did I give students more freedom during questionnaire sessions – sometimes negotiating with them to obtain questionnaire responses – but I also completed and gave students versions of their questionnaires that I had answered myself (following a student's suggestion). I likewise found it at once less and more difficult to obtain questionnaire responses from staff members. While in the first wave I was handicapped by not having built relationships with them, in the second wave I was constrained in the requests I could make by the history of our relationship (e.g. the favours given and received). It may have been easier for me to make more stringent requests without the moral and practical implications that came from overburdening friends and colleagues. This, as far as I am aware, is not often a part of quantitative research.

This mixture of roles does present potential risks for the quality of my quantitative data however. Indeed, previous research suggests that interviewer effects are relatively strong in children (Saywitz and Camparo, 2014), and for social network measures (Marsden, 2003; Van Tilburg, 1998). Yet, this could conceivably have had an important impact on figures of network change in my study, as I was building rapport with students through my ethnographic role. Though I initially tried to correct for this by carrying out structured observations of students' interactions around the questionnaire administration periods, this proved too difficult to carry out alongside the other methods. Likewise, my impact on the school may have been great enough to impact on students' questionnaire responses.

However, I would argue that these effects may not have been so substantial. Firstly, I consciously tried to monitor and often mitigate my impact on the field in the first months of my fieldwork. Although I soon realised that this impact was quite negligible compared to what was happening already, I still maintained this principle somewhat by for instance refraining from making recommendations for changes in practices[40]. I also paid very close attention to my evolving relationships. Though it was of course important to build rapport with students, I was wary of adopting an exceedingly student-like role, for instance by getting involved in friendship dynamics in the school (though cf. Appendix II). Secondly, It is difficult to predict whether spending more time with students would lead them to systematically over-report or under-report their nominations, and other research suggests that participant-researcher relations may have little impact on network composition (Herz and Petermann, 2017). Thirdly, though I certainly knew students better as my fieldwork progressed, my acceptance and rapport with them was often ambiguous and unclear (Sim, 2016), especially as I was consciously trying to lessen my impact on the setting. This makes me question the impact that my rapport with them might have had on their responses. Fourthly, the fact that important results in LAS[41] and Trinité

[40] This explained why I did not seriously contemplate involving students in the design of my research, given that this was so contrary to the notion of the *cadre* which undergirded the pedagogy in Trinité (see Chapter 3).
[41] Not reported here.

are in the same direction, despite me holding very different roles and relationships to students in both schools, suggests that interviewer effects did not have an overriding impact on responses. In the end I can only speculate as to their effects however, and my best guess is that, in the second round, a few students saw their structured interviews with me as an opportunity to play with me in a relatively intimate setting. These students may thus have given more nominations than they did in the first round. They are some of the students with very high outdegrees at Wave 2 (see Appendix IX).

Few other ethical concerns arise from mixing methods. Though no students gave questionnaire responses that were unilaterally negative, I did learn about students who were in precarious positions in their school's social network. When this happened, though I maintained confidentiality, I bore this information in mind during my participation, for instance when deciding whether or not to intervene in conflicts. Finally, as mentioned earlier, I knew that the Strings B music group had very few reciprocal friendships before the MASS programme started, and so that it was likely to become a difficult group. Though I could have informed the programme's administration of this, I decided to stay silent to keep my policy of not impacting the setting.

c) Mixed methods analysis

Many strategies exist to analyse Mixed Methods data (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). In this study, I decided to focus first on analysing my qualitative data[42]. This was because of the importance of embodied memories and of being in touch with the field for the analysis of ethnographic data, as well as the fact that the data was focused on understanding the case holistically. I then analysed my

[42] Notwithstanding the quantitative analyses I did to inform my ethnographic sampling and to give feedback to school and programme staff.

quantitative data, with the aim of triangulating (Stake, 1995) my qualitative findings – i.e. finding confirming or disconfirming trends in the latter. In the chapters that follow, I prioritise presenting results about themes that I address using both strands of data. This is to better fulfil one of the thesis's subsidiary goals of furthering methods of analysis of MMSNA data.

In order to fulfil this goal and integrate quantitative and qualitative analyses, I have decided to use theoretical ideas, both inductively generated from the field and taken from the literature, as "points of interface"[43] (Guest, 2013) where my qualitative and quantitative data and analyses meet. This is consistent with my view of 'casing' espoused above (see Chapter I.D.1): since cases (and thus data) and theory both influence each other, then it should follow that a natural place for qualitative and quantitative analyses to 'meet' would be in addressing theoretical ideas. In short, this means that I have decided to analyse both qualitative and quantitative data according to which theoretical ideas they might apply to. This is similar to procedures adopted by other researchers (e.g. Sammons et al., 2016).

D. Chapter conclusion

As the above demonstrates, I made many adaptations to my research design and methods when I was confronted with the realities of fieldwork, consistent with my pragmatist premise and 'bricoleur' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018; Kincheloe, 2001) approach to theory. I found that access had to be built

[43] Note that Guest refers mainly to temporal points of interface, whereas I argue here that theoretical ideas can act as points of interface.

gently, and that my role in the field should ultimately be conceptualised in terms of my involvement with participants, not in terms of whether I was most like an “adult” or “student” (see also Appendix II). I experimented incessantly with observation and interview procedures – arguably having left the field without settling on “best practices” – as well as ways to conduct mixed methods integration. I used previously validated quantitative measures and had to contend with the challenges of having dual ‘ethnographic’ and ‘quantitative’ roles and asking sometimes sensitive questions. All of these challenges should be borne in mind when reading the following chapters.

Some of the methods and approaches I developed seem to be relatively novel. My conceptualisation of the ‘third adult’ role could serve as a helpful benchmark for future researcher roles with children. My use of reciprocity as a guiding principle of action towards students could also be a fruitful avenue of reflection for researchers. Finally, my view of ‘casing’, and using theories as ‘points of interface’, may prove helpful in future efforts to accomplish mixed methods integration. In the future, my aim is to further explore these ideas theoretically and empirically, to turn them into wider contributions to the social scientific literature.

CHAPTER III. THE CASE AND ITS CONTEXT

> It's not all that rewarding being a teacher in this school… You have to learn to say goodbye to the idea of teaching… that you were taught during your teacher training. We're light years away from what we were taught. (Interview with Cécile, 06.11.2015)

A. Introduction

This chapter describes the case school ('Trinité') and music programme ('MASS') in detail. I start by describing basic features of Trinité and its student population. I then describe Trinité's 'social action' mission, the latter's relation with social transformation[44], and the school's emphasis on both *instruction* and *éducation*. I define both terms and lay out how the school's organisation and educational practices tried to bring both to students. I specially treat the pedagogical notion of the *cadre* (literally "frame" or "framework"), as it shaped many key educational practices in the school.

After describing the purpose of Trinité's boarding houses and how they fit within the school, I turn to the MASS programme. I outline its pedagogy and organisation, including its focus on group learning and how this fit with its goals. I then describe MASS's social transformation goals in more depth, and

[44] See Appendix I.B for a definition of this and other key terms.

how the programme was framed as a space for 'learning' in the school. The information set out here is crucial for interpreting the findings of later chapters.

B. Description of *Trinité*, the case study school

Trinité, the main case study school, was a private primary school "under an association contract" (*sous contrat d'association*) with the French state. This meant that it was subject to the same teaching regulations and curriculum as state-run schools (with additional freedom in non-teaching activities), and that its teaching staff were employed by the state and followed very similar training to teaching staff in state-run schools. However, it was in fact run by a large, Catholic, charitable foundation.

It was located in a large French city with a reputation for delinquency and for having relatively high rates of poverty and immigration, particularly concentrated in specific neighbourhoods. These characteristics result from a long history of immigration to the city combined with much more recent economic decline, caused by the deterioration of the city's traditional core economic sectors. Many of Trinité's students, especially those boarding in the school, came from the city's more deprived neighbourhoods, although the school itself was not strictly located in one of these centres of poverty. The city also receives periodic news coverage of overpopulation and inadequate infrastructures in its public schools. As such, though the proportion of students in private schools in the area was similar to that of the rest of the country – between approximately 10 and 20% (DEPP, 2016) – some reports suggest that the proportion of students in private schools in the city has increased substantially in

recent years[45]. The position of Trinité in the city's educational landscape is to be understood in the context of this (perceived) underinvestment in public schools, especially given that several parents explicitly mentioned the inadequacy of public schools as a reason for sending their children to Trinité. It should also be understood in the context of a contemporary trend towards the increasing presence of private schools in the French educational system, fed by narratives such as those mentioned above (Battaglia, 2016).

Trinité was adjoined and administratively tied to a secondary (middle) school that was run by the same foundation. Both schools were located in a single complex, although their grounds, staff members, and students were entirely segregated in all spaces except the boarding houses (see below). Trinité was also associated with a nursery and was located near another private primary school. It shared some facilities with them, but was otherwise strictly segregated from them. Finally, in its complex, a stone's throw away from the buildings and courtyard of Trinité, there was a multi-purpose sporting ground called the *stade* (literally "stadium"). It was the size of a football field and included a full-length football pitch, which was itself composed of two half-length football pitches and a basketball court, and some extra space on the sides. It was used by Trinité and the other educational establishments nearby for sporting activities and, when the conditions were right, break periods.

Trinité counted between 43 and 46 students throughout the fieldwork year (the school year 2015/2016) (See Table III-1). It was divided into three school classes – one Year 6 class, one Year 4/5

[45] Unfortunately, I am not able to verify this information as it comes from a newspaper article which cites an internal (confidential) document of the education services of the city. However, it does seem to fit with the perceptions of parents and actors in my study, as well as with other newspaper reports, both of which emphasise a narrative of parents needing to turn towards private educational provision due to the poor state of public education facilities in the area.

class, and one Year 2/3 class. This made it substantially smaller than the average French private primary school at the time, which averaged 7.3 classes per school and 178 students[46].

	Number of students	% of newcomers	% female	Minimum age	Maximum age	Mean age	Standard deviation age
Whole school	47	51%	38%	5.78	11.67	8.98	1.68
Year 6 class	15	67%	27%	9.70	11.67	10.82	0.68
Year 4/5 class	15	33%	40%	8.51	10.52	9.25	0.69
Year 2/3 class	17	53%	47%	5.78	8.39	7.13	0.74

Table III-1 – Demographic information for Trinité and its classes.

Age figures are calculated using the age of students on the first day of the school year; numbers of students counts all the students who had once been in the school or class. 'Newcomers' are students who joined the school at the beginning of or part-way through the fieldwork year.

Trinité was singular in that it exclusively recruited students who were in "difficult schooling situations" *(en situation scolaire difficile)* and had explicit 'social action' goals related to social transformation. The stated aim of the foundation running Trinité was to help these young people rebuild "confidence" and "trust". It aimed to "prevent the social exclusion" of young people through a personalised educational project which would help them reach fulfilment and successfully integrate into society. It also aimed to impact families by helping consolidate relationships between the young people and their parents and by assisting parents with the *éducation* – alongside the *instruction* (see below) – of their

[46] Based on my own calculations from data by DEPP (2016).

children. As such, it aimed to help students achieve their self-realisation, improve family relationships, teach social skills to students, and counterbalance societal processes leading to the social exclusion of students from 'difficult' backgrounds. These aims are all reminiscent of social transformation.

Being in 'difficult schooling situations', in almost all cases, signified that students were struggling academically but that they had not been diagnosed as needing special needs education. Indeed, 49% of the school's student population had already repeated at least one year of schooling at the start of the fieldwork year. The same proportion for Year 6 students (at the end of their primary school trajectory) nationwide that year was only 10.3% (DEPP, 2015) and for 15 year-olds of only 22% (OECD, 2016). These figures are much smaller than the figures for Trinité, despite the younger age of Trinité's students.

Trinité's 'repeating' figures are significant as repeating years in France, especially at the Primary school level, tends to be justified by students' poor academic achievement (CNESCO, 2014). Moreover, the practice has historically enjoyed a relatively positive image among parents and teachers as a way of helping students who struggle academically (Opinionway, 2012) in an egalitarian and meritocratic way, despite evidence suggesting that it is stigmatising and ineffective (Dubet, 2002). Finally, it was only loosely regulated until a reform was passed in 2014, a year before my fieldwork. As such, it can be seen as an important indicator of the academic difficulties of Trinité's students – and of the extent to which students had been ascribed a stigmatising status as students with academic 'difficulties'.

In addition to having academic difficulties, a relatively large proportion of Trinité's students were perceived as experiencing 'difficult' family situations, coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, and/or having relational difficulties. Only 26% of Trinité's students lived with their mother and father

at the beginning of the year, and over 20% of the students were known to social services at the time, according to Trinité's records. Likewise, many of the boarding students' homes in particular were registered in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The precarious financial situations of many families was finally reflected by the fact that the school often made fee reductions, derogations, and exceptions to allow students to attend the school, as was its policy for families with low incomes.

Many students were also seen and described by staff members as having relational difficulties. The extent of this, and precisely what kinds of difficulties the students were seen to have, can be gleaned from staff members' responses to the Strengths & Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997). As Table III-2 exhibits, while approximately twice the number of students as the UK norm[47] had overall difficulty scores which put them in the abnormal or borderline categories, these difficulties were especially pronounced in the conduct problems and pro-social behavioural categories, and only to a lesser extent in the peer problems category. While 'peer problems' refer to mostly internalising problems, such as being bullied, playing alone or not having any friends, 'conduct problems' refer to externalising problems, such as getting into fights, lying and cheating, and having oppositional attitudes towards adults. Finally, the pro-social scale refers to helpful, kind, and generous behaviours. Thus, it would appear that Trinité students' 'relational' difficulties tended to be concentrated in externalising behaviours towards both other students and adults.

[47] A French norm was unavailable.

		Overall difficult-ies	Hyperact-ivity	Conduct Problems	Emotional Problems	Peer problems	Pro-Social Scale
Proportion 'abnormal & borderline'	*Wave 1*	32.6%	17.4%	39.1%	19.6%	23.9%	34.8%
	Wave 2	29.8%	23.4%	42.6%	19.1%	21.3%	25.5%
	UK Norm	16.4%	18.9%	13.2%	9.0%	20.7%	25.4%
Mean score	*Wave 1*	9.44	3.31	2.29	2.56	1.29	7.11
	Wave 2	9.45	3.77	2.00	2.26	1.45	7.19
	UK Norm	8.4	3.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	8.6

Table III-2 – Scores of Trinité's students on the Strengths and Difficulties questionnaire in both measurement waves

The academic, familial, and relational difficulties of the students formed an integral part of the narrative of staff members regarding the school and their work within it. During interviews, for instance, when I would ask staff members or MASS musicians to introduce themselves or their involvement in the school, they would almost invariably, and often spontaneously, mention the "difficult" nature of the "public" *(public)* of the school (i.e. the school's students)[48]. My first interview with Cécile also featured this emphasis, of which the quote introducing this chapter is an example. Likewise, Natasha, the manager of the Pyrenees boarding house, claimed that the one common factor affecting all students in the house was "bad luck[…] it's lacking something essential: love with a capital L" (Interview with Natasha, 06.01.2016). Staff members would also often interpret the difficulties they observed or encountered as arising from students' 'difficult' family situations[49]. In my very first extended conversation with Ernest, he explained that students' relatively frequent disruptive behaviours on Mondays were due to 'tension' building up during weekends in their family homes. This

[48] It is possible that they emphasised this especially to me, a researcher investigating the impact of a 'social action' music programme. However, I witnessed staff members adopt a similar narrative with each other or outside individuals on many occasions. Further, as Cécile said in my end-of-year interview with her, I was "a part of the team[…] [I] was a part of students' and staff members' daily lives" (Interview Cécile, 2018.06.22). Thus I do not think that the narrative that they adopted with me was substantially different to the narrative they adopted with each other.

[49] This is similar to observations made by Thompson et al (2016).

perspective and similar views were shared by other staff members (e.g. Fieldnotes, conversation with Susan, 01.10.2015; Lunch with Tracy and Juliette, 15.10.2015). For instance, upon returning from the very first school holidays, when I asked Rose (The Year 4/5 classroom *éducateur*) about how the first lessons had gone, she described the lessons as "slow[…] clearly some things have been left behind" (Fieldnotes, conversation with Rose, 02.11.2015). Finally, the narrative emphasising students' difficulties was even sometimes expressed to students, for instance when boarding house *éducateurs* explained to students that their role was to help with *éducation* (e.g. Fieldnotes, first visit to Alpine house, 01.10.2015).

1. 'Instruction' and 'éducation'

In line with the above, staff members saw themselves as providing both *instruction* ("instruction") and *éducation* ("education"), with both being related to Trinité's 'social transformation' goals. *Instruction* refers to the academic learning of knowledge, often described as *savoir-faire* (know-how-to-do), while *éducation* is often understood as non-academic aspects of learning and described as *savoir-être* (know-how-to-be). It is partly encapsulated by the term "upbringing"[50], and includes a wide range of behaviours and attitudes considered necessary to 'integrate' in society. These range from adopting 'basic' habits, such as brushing one's teeth and showering every day, to displaying behaviour deemed appropriate in social settings, such as adopting 'good manners', being respectful towards others (especially adults), and having the right attitudes in school. While both *instruction* and *éducation* were critical for students' self-realisation and for changing processes happening in families and society at large, *éducation*, as we will see below, was additionally involved in teaching students how to improve

[50] Although, as some scholars have noted, it can also be seen to include *instruction* and academic learning (Hameline, 1994). I (rather arbitrarily) separate the concepts in my discussion as they were treated separately in Trinité's policies.

their social relations. This made it essential in fostering the transformative goal of creating a cohesive school community, fully capable in turn of promoting students' *instruction* and *éducation*.

The importance of both terms, especially vis-à-vis each other, should be understood in the context of historical debates on the role of schooling in France, where their respective roles have been contested since at least the 18th century. They have co-existed in concert or in opposition since the foundation of France's national education system in the 1760s (Muller, 1999), and came to represent differing conceptions not only of schooling but also of the wider, nascent French Republic (Miqueu, 2016). The clearest historical distinction between both was perhaps best expressed by Rabaut Saint-Etienne in 1792: "one must distinguish public instruction from national education. Public instruction trains and enlightens the mind, national education must shape the heart" (Muller, 1999: 152). The notion of *instruction* won the day in the several decades that followed, and it was only with the advent of the democratisation of primary education and Jules Ferry's *école républicaine* (Republican school) in 1882 that the notion of a national *éducation* system, and of the importance of *éducation as* provided by schools more generally, gained prominence (Muller, 1999; Nique and Lelièvre, 1993). In the decades that followed, Nique and Lelièvre (1993) note that this idea that schools and the state should provide *éducation* gradually withered. Instead, the notion that *instruction* was best provided by schools (Alain, 1967) and *éducation* best provided by families and community organisations (re)gained prominence. However, whether schools should provide *éducation* as well as *instruction* is still a matter of considerable debate. It is stimulated by a widespread narrative affirming that schools end up needing to contribute to students' *éducation* anyways, given that parents are no longer providing it (cf. Flahault, 2006; Gomez and Anberrée, 2015; Lelièvre, 1999; Meirieu, 1991, n.d.; Perrin, 1994).

Trinité's differentiation from other educational providers as working both on students' *éducation* and *instruction* was very much centred on a deficit discourse of parents' parenting practices, thus seeming

to be a part of this narrative. Cécile (as headteacher) for instance claimed that *éducation* ended up being a large part of teachers' roles due to difficult situations in students' families, which could themselves give rise to a deficient *éducation* from parents (Interview with Cécile, 06.11.2015). Other staff members also reflected this narrative of needing to provide *éducation* which wasn't provided by parents (e.g. Fieldnotes, after school in Pyrenees house, 16.11.2015).

In particular, there were several elements that the school staff saw themselves as providing to the students which they saw as important, even necessary, for students' successful development. Central among these was the notion of an appropriate *cadre*. This notion had wider relevance in the French educational landscape. In a report commissioned by the French national Ministry of Education, it was defined as "a collection of rules, limits, prohibitions, norms, customs, habits, and attitudes which are prescribed by teachers[…] to students, to form a "container" for the psychological processes in play during the school's primary duties: the transmission of knowledge and the law[…], [and] the process of helping students[…] to become psychologically autonomous" (Obin 2002: 188). Within Trinité, the staff members had various conceptions of this all-important notion. However, common to many of these was that the *cadre* consisted in an ensemble of rules and limits set by adults, as well as clear *repères* (literally "landmarks" or points of reference), that could 'contain' students and were necessary for creating an environment in which students would feel 'safe' and 'reassured', and thus could learn and develop successfully.

A strong *cadre*, with its clear rules and guidelines for appropriate behaviour, along with clear enough *repères* would avoid students being anxious and behaving disruptively. They would also help students develop a *posture* (literally "posture", referring not only to a physical posture but also to a figurative 'mental' posture, or attitude) that was appropriate for school, enabling both their *instruction* and *éducation.* In a sense then, they can be seen as a form of 'scaffolding' put in place to expand students'

ZPD (See Chapter I.D.3). Although staff members disagreed as to whether providing an effective *cadre* and *repères* was synonymous with or parallel to developing an emotional bond with students, they seemed to agree that the *cadre* and *repères* could be incarnated or transmitted by things, places, and people – such as students' classrooms, the seats they occupied there, or their class *éducateurs*.

As alluded to above, for most members of staff, providing an appropriate *cadre* and clear *repères* was all the more important as, once again, this was not being done in students' families. For them, this translated into deficiencies in *éducation* which created attitudes and behaviours that were disruptive or non-conducive to learning in school. In this way, Trinité's responsibility to provide *éducation*, *repères* and a *cadre* became even more important, and was reflected in the school's brochure for parents, which advertised "reinforced *éducation*-al support" for students.

Crucially, the éducation, *cadre, and repères* provided by Trinité were also meant to teach students *vivre ensemble* (literally "living together"). At the time of the fieldwork, the term had acquired a complicated meaning. It had become politicised and used in national debates concerning the integration of immigrants and religious minorities (specifically those identifying or classified as Muslim) in French society. These members of society were perceived as (at risk of) not respecting core, secular, republican values *(valeurs républicaines)*. However, *vivre ensemble* had acquired a wider meaning in educational debates, and had been mentioned in a 2013 law known as the *Refondation de l'école de la République* (literally "re-founding of the school of the Republic"). According to this law, which was implemented two years before the beginning of my fieldwork, teaching *vivre ensemble* meant teaching students to respect others, their origins and their differences, as well as secular values that were the foundations of the French Republic. The law also implied, through stating that all educational acts contributed to the teaching of central Republican values, that teaching *vivre*

ensemble was not only the matter of its dedicated school subject – called *'instruction civique' (*"civic instruction") at the primary school level – but also a whole-school and cross-disciplinary affair.

Accordingly, some members of Trinité's staff saw teaching *vivre ensemble* as an essential part of the school's mission. For Cécile, *vivre ensemble* was an essential ingredient of the *éducation* of a student, and thus of the *éducation*-al contribution of the school. It consisted in a student's ability to care for and respect others, whether adults or other children, and to respect the school rules that enabled students to respect each other. It was something that the students could achieve through caring for themselves: According to her, "if they can't care for themselves, how do you want them to care for others?" (Interview with Cécile, 19.06.2018). For Tracy, the Year 4/5 class teacher, it also included respecting oneself in order to respect others, but it was also linked to the studious nature of school life. In her own words:

> "they don't have to be friends, but they spend a year working together. Sometimes they need to work together, and a teacher shouldn't be hearing "I don't like him, I don't want to work with him". In the courtyard I don't force them to play together, but in class there's work to do" (Interview with Tracy, 22.06.2018).

This quote reflects a wider belief: that teaching *vivre ensemble*, just like providing *éducation* (see below), was essential as it enabled *instruction*, which was the school's preserve and an elemental part of its mission. The school could do this by providing an appropriate *cadre* and *repères*, including rules for behaving with others, and also by helping students gain self-esteem and a 'sense of self-love'. Through this, students could achieve their self-realisation, and develop positive, as well as avoid negative, relations and interactions. This would in turn help attain another important school goal related to social transformation: the creation of a cohesive school community, conducive to providing both *instruction* and *éducation*.

2. School practices for '*éducation*' and '*instruction*'

The *instruction* of key academic content was indeed a fundamental reason behind students' presence in class and in the school. This was evidenced by the way the school day and week were organised. There was an especially strong focus on the school disciplines that comprised the so-called "fundamentals" (*fondamentaux)*, i.e. French and Mathematics. These were given the lion's share of the school timetable, taking up all the morning hours, when students were reputedly most alert and able to concentrate. The exact timing of the school's daily morning and afternoon breaks gave further pride of place to *instruction.* Indeed, it was decided at the discretion of teachers, who would typically let students go on their breaks when they judged that they had reached a natural "stopping point" in their lessons.

The early afternoon periods (just after the lunch break), when students were 'less able to focus', tended to be used for other ('non-fundamental') subjects, such as science, history or art, although some were also devoted to the 'fundamentals'. They also sometimes consisted in sessions led by volunteers from a national charitable organisation called the *Blouses Roses* ("pink coats"). The organisation's purpose was to help children and adults who were 'ill' (typically in hospital) 'escape' from their 'illness'. These sessions happened once a fortnight, and involved volunteers coming into each school class and organising creative 'workshops'. These typically involved arts and crafts, and most often making an object which, the volunteers hoped, students could be proud of. Besides these sessions (and some arts and sports classes), it was only in the late afternoons, after the afternoon break periods, that Trinité offered "cultural", "artistic" and "sporting" sessions where academic instruction was not central. These sessions were enabled by a recent national reform (known as "la réforme des rhythmes scolaires" – since partially repealed) that freed time for extra-curricular

activities and gave French schools funding to organise these, known as "TAP" (for *temps d'activités périscolaires*)[51] [52].

The above demonstrates therefore that *instruction*, and particularly that of 'fundamental' subjects, was an elemental purpose of schooling in Trinité. Yet, as alluded to above, it was heavily intertwined and underpinned by a focus on *éducation*. In Cécile's words:

> A big part of our work as teachers is to provide *éducation*. If we haven't set up a *cadre* with these students, there's no point. We can teach all the content we want, in all kinds of new, innovative, pedagogical ways, It won't work. We need to rely on the *éducation*-al to be able to work. We can't skip that, the *vivre ensemble* and all. (Interview with Cécile, 06.11.2015)

The way in which both were intertwined was evident in the organisation of Trinité's classes. The school had reduced-size classes: they had approximately 15 students each (compared to a nationwide average of 23.5 students per class for equivalent private schools in 2015/2016 (DEPP, 2016)). This was meant both to facilitate academic learning and to provide a more solid *cadre*. Furthermore, each school class had a dedicated classroom *éducateur*, who was meant to act as an *éducation*-al counterpart to the *instruction*-al teacher[53]. However, this division was not steadfast: while teachers

[51] Some of the TAP sessions, particularly in the boarding houses, had elements which drew on students' classroom learning, but they were not nearly as developed as in class, and were not the primary aim of these sessions.

[52] Note that, as is customary in many French schools, students did not go to school on Wednesday afternoons.

[53] This *éducation*-al and 'social action' purpose of *éducateurs* was inscribed in the larger professional corps to which they belonged, of *Educateurs de Jeunes Enfants* (EJE; "éducateurs of young children") and *Educateurs Spécialisés* (ES; "specialised éducateurs"). While the former provide *éducation* to children aged 0-7, the latter do so with older children and adolescents, or with adults who are "handicapped, experience behavioural troubles or experience difficulties with social integration" (DGCS, 2013: 1). In both cases their primary responsibilities consist in providing *éducation* for the people involved, with particular reference to the notion of social action. According to the national federation of EJE, EJEs "act on a daily basis on the social, *éducation*-al, psychological, and sanitary levels to prevent or limit the establishment of troubles or deficiencies" (FNEJE, n.d.). Likewise, according to a document prepared by the French government, ES "help individuals experiencing difficulties to restore or preserve their autonomy and develop capacities for socialisation, integration and

contributed significantly to the *cadre*, classroom *éducateurs* also provided academic assistance to struggling students[54]. These elements of Trinité's organisation therefore epitomized the way in which *instruction* and *éducation* were linked in the school.

Another element which linked *éducation* with *instruction* is the way they were both explicitly taught. The academic content taught during lessons was often highly explicit, formulaic, and rule-based. This was reflected in Cécile's method for teaching new academic content, which she described as very standard *('classique')*. After a lesson or so to "discover" content, she would write a rule for the content on the whiteboard, often expressed in technical vocabulary (e.g. "A division is a distribution into equal parts. It is composed of a dividend, divisor, quotient, and remainder. A dividend is[…]"). The students would then have to copy the rule (and its examples) word for word in their notebooks, and could be tested on the content and vocabulary of this rule later. This "thing-ness" of *instruction*-al learning – the fact that it consisted of discrete "things" that were presented to students – made academic learning very explicit for students.

Yet in many ways the *cadre*, and what was asked of students in terms of *éducation*, was also made highly explicit. Each school class had an overt system which both kept records of students' behaviour and made clear what was required of students behaviourally. In the two older classes this system was called the "keys of behaviour", a name which referred to the summary assessments that teachers and *éducateurs* made at the end of each week, which took the form of a "key" of a given colour. These

insertion" (DGCS, 2013: 1). Finally, a government description of *éducateur*s working in juvenile detention centres suggests the link between *éducateurs, éducation*, and the *repères* mentioned above: "The *éducateur* conducts investigations and *éducation*-al actions with young people and their families. Humane yet firm, he represents a stable *repère* for them" (Ministère de la Justice, n.d.).

[54] Even the boarding house *éducateurs* were also partially charged with helping students with their academic work, although this could cause some issues.

'keys' could be very consequential: they needed to be signed off by parents over the weekend, and 'bad' keys were accompanied by sanctions. To establish these 'keys', each week teachers would hang a sheet of paper on a wall, in view of all students, and publicly record instances of negative (and in the Year 6 class positive) behaviours. Accompanying these sheets were explicit 'action points' detailing what students needed to do to get a good 'key'.

Mirroring the importance of *vivre ensemble*, all five keys – the keys of "listening", "respect", "space and time", "work" and "care/meticulousness" (*soin*) – had elements relating to students' social relations and interactions. Taking one example from each key, these ranged from "I listen to the teacher and my classmates"; "I respect classmates and adults"; "I take part in collective or group work", "I take care of my own and others' belongings"; and "I watch out for others when I play with a ball". Significantly, the first three of these action points were among those receiving the most positive and negative marks in the Year 6 class, and in the Year 4/5 class the 'key' of 'respect' had more than twice the number of negative marks of the other 'keys'.

Other posters and wall displays in Trinité's classrooms also pertained to students' *éducation* and social relationships. Figure III-1, Figure III-2, and Figure III-3 below exhibit parts of the two whiteboards of the Year 6 class. While Figure III-1 and Figure III-2 show that the spaces around the class's main whiteboard were occupied by many sheets referring to *instruction*-al content – such as those concerning dates in English – there were also some sheets referring to the *cadre* and aspects of *éducation*. These included a sheet reading "respect" (Figure III-1), with each letter stylised to represent a symbol of faith or gender, or a sheet enjoining students to respect the "code of speech" (*"Je respecte le code de la parole"* – Figure III-2). This acted as a part of the *cadre*, since it indicated the extent to which students were allowed to speak in class.



Figure III-1 – The left side of the main whiteboard in the Year 6 classroom

This photo was taken on 23.11.2015.



Figure III-2 – The right side of the main whiteboard in the Year 6 classroom

This photo was taken on 23.11.2015.

The secondary whiteboard (Figure III-3) of the class, separating the classroom in half, gave much more pride of place to sheets relating to *éducation* and social relations. At its centre were the "keys of behaviour" sheets. Surrounding those were seven other sheets, four of which related directly to students' social relations and interactions. Two of these gave students advice as to what to do in case of a conflict – one entitled "You're the one who decides!" (*"c'est toi qui décides!"),* and the other "The 4 steps of Ms Peaceful" (*"Les 4 étapes de Mme Pacifique")*; another set out the "rules of the class" (*règles de la classe*); and another set out what 'we do here' (*"Ici, on…")*, including "help each other", "say please, thank you, sorry, hello and goodbye", "are generous", and "are nice to each other" (*"s'entraide", "dit s'il-te-plait, merci, pardon, bonjour et au revoir", "est généreux", "est sympa entre nous"*).

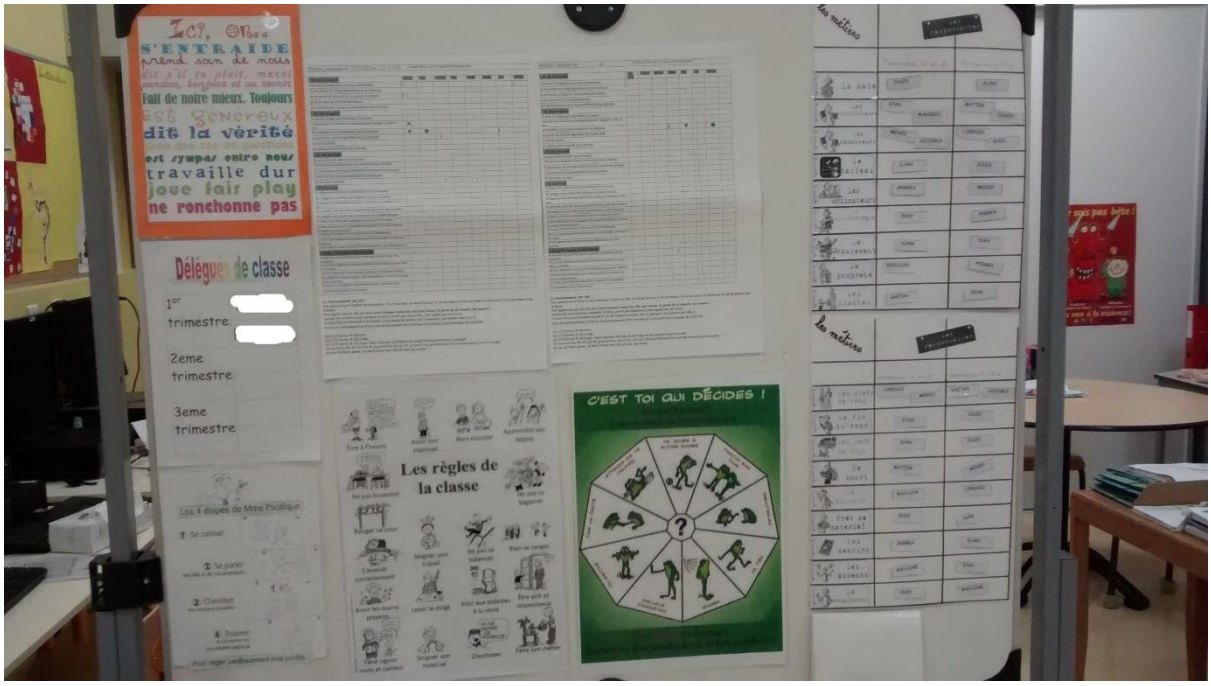

Figure III-3 – The secondary whiteboard in the Year 6 classroom

The interconnectedness and overt way in which both *instruction* and *éducation* were carried out indicate just how important both were in the school, and how both formed pillars of the school's educational practices. Moreover, as Daniels (1989: 124) argues, wall displays in classrooms act as visual relays of schools' pedagogic practices; in particular, "art displays are part of the system of signs that constitute the culture of schools… [through which] the principles which regulate the curriculum are realised". If so, then the aforementioned wall displays, which make much more explicit statements than art displays, should be at least as informative of the school's culture and its educational practices. They suggest that both academic and non-academic learning were important in Trinité, and that, within the latter, learning how to relate to others was especially important. They also imply that learning social skills was not only a personal affair – a matter of students changing their own dispositions. It was also a public process, one that happened out in the open, and which leveraged the social environment of the class – something that I will turn to in detail in the next chapter.

3. Trinité's boarding houses

Perhaps Trinité's most comprehensive tools for working on students' *éducation* – and which, as above, also had an *instruction*-al role – were its boarding houses, which were also called "*groupes*" ("groups") and "*lieux de vie*" (literally "living places"[55]). These housed students between Monday and Friday during term time. 53-54% of the school's student population stayed in these houses throughout the year[56] (see Table III-3). The remaining students were regular day students, going home after school hours and all (except two students) eating lunch at the school's cafeteria.

	Wave 1					***Wave 2***				
Class	**N (Total)**	**N (board-ers)**	**Jura**	**Alpine**	**Pyrenees**	**N (Total)**	**N (board-ers)**	**Jura**	**Alpine**	**Pyrenees**
Whole school	46	25	9	5	11	47	25	8	4	13
Year 6	15	8	4	1	3	13	8	4	1	3
Year 4/5	15	7	2	2	3	15	7	2	1	4
Year 2/3	16	10	3	2	5	17	10	2	2	6

Table III-3 – Numbers of students in each boarding house coming from each school class in waves 1 and 2.

The figures in Wave 2 include the three students from the Pyrenees house who had left the school between waves 1 and 2.

The Jura and Alpine houses were single-sex boarding houses, respectively meant for boys and girls, and were located in Trinité's main building, along with a boarding house dedicated solely to middle school male students. Meanwhile, the Pyrenées group was mixed sex and located a very short walk

[55] This possibly referred to a wider kind of institution called "lieux de vie et d'accueil", which cared for young people and adults in 'difficult social, psychological or family situations'.
[56] 57% of all students had at one point stayed in one of the houses.

away from Trinité's main buildings. Most importantly, as a "Unit for Preventative *éducation" (Unité d'éducation preventive),* its purpose was to provide reinforced *éducation*-al support for students whose relations with their families were so troubled that their *éducation* was especially at risk. All of the boarding houses included both primary and middle school students; while these students' activities were more or less strictly segregated in the Pyrenées and Alpine boarding houses, they were not in the Jura boarding house, which only included Year 7 middle school students (who were therefore in the year just above the last year of primary school).

The houses were run by teams of *éducateurs*. These teams were responsible for overseeing, managing, and organising activities for their students before and after school hours. Their role was especially *éducation*-al: as stable *repères*, highly adaptable in order to maintain a solid *cadre*, they were to extend parents' *éducation* and provide all the aspects of *éducation* mentioned above. It was also partly *instruction*-al, as they had to help students with their homework, although this was limited in practice and not equally accepted across *éducateurs*. They contributed to linking both aspects of students' education by also liaising with classroom *éducateurs*, who had more clear *instruction*-al roles, and by liaising with students' parents.

The boarding houses' role of providing *éducation* was perhaps most clearly expressed by Natasha. For her, the Pyrenées house tried to:

> "reproduce that familial *'osmose'* (affinity, closeness), that family atmosphere[…] while remembering[…] that we're professionals, it's not our family. But the children need to have that family illusion, to feed and thrive on it." (Interview with Natasha, 06.01.2016)

For Natasha, this meant that the boarding house had to provide all the essential features of a family: a safe home with the furnishings necessary for a decent standard of living, 'parents' who had the necessary space of mind to provide the right *éducation*, and other students who could act as 'siblings' and from whom students could learn.

The fact that boarding houses played a key role in Trinité's history further suggests their importance, and by extension the importance of *éducation*, for the institution. Although Trinité did not always include a school, it always had boarding houses, which previously had only *éducation*-al goals. At the time of the study it had only recently opened to non-boarding students, with a view to broadening the socio-economic base of its students. However, this had not fundamentally changed Trinité's student population: according to Cécile, the school's reputation meant that the "day student parents who approach [the school] are those who have problems with their child's schooling" (Interview with Cécile, 06.11.2015). Accordingly, working on students' *éducation* alongside their *instruction* remained an important aspect of Trinité's educational provision, both for boarding and day students.

C. Description of MASS, the collective music education programme

1. MASS's organisation and pedagogy

MASS (Music and Social Skills)[57], the music programme under study, was an in-school programme in its first year of implementation in Trinité. Students' participation in the programme was compulsory[58], and it consisted in implementing intensive, collective music education. This meant that students would learn music in 'music groups' of 10-15 students for a total of 3-5 hours each week. MASS music sessions happened in the late afternoon, after the afternoon break, replacing other activities that had been organised as part of the TAPs.

The programme started two months after the beginning of the school year, and it culminated in an end-of-year concert, for which it formed a symphony orchestra of almost 100 students from several participating organisations. Trinité provided around half of the students for the orchestra and LAS provided another quarter. The concert took place in a local performance centre, and families, sponsors and local dignitaries were invited to it.

Teaching in the programme was delivered by pairs of professionals. These included musicians working in local orchestras, *musiciens intervenants* (musicians specialised in delivering music teaching in extra-curricular contexts), singers, and professional dancers. Members of school staff also took part in music

[57] Note that the programme's goals were more complex than simply training students' social skills (see below). I use this pseudonym thus not because it encompasses the programme's goals, but rather because I focus on the properly social outcomes of the programme.
[58] This was due to the belief that the children might otherwise dismiss the programme without having 'given it a try'.

lessons. Their roles ranged from discipline-keepers, (jointly) responsible for setting the *cadre* in music lessons, to music learners with no discipline-related responsibilities, depending on the individual and music group.

One of the key dispositions of the programme, including in how the programme advertised itself and differentiated itself from existing musical provision, was its collective aspect. Almost all music learning in MASS happened in groups. Lessons were most often delivered to entire or split music groups, but also included several orchestral rehearsals, which increased in frequency throughout the year in preparation for the end-of-year concert.

MASS's leadership hoped that a good 'group dynamic' developed through collective learning, alongside pedagogical methods that prioritised creativity, musical games, and oral learning, would help students maintain their motivation to learn. Ultimately, it hoped that this dynamic would help combine the 'rigour' and 'joy' that was necessary for MASS to accomplish its social action goals. Developing such a dynamic was especially key in the first phase of the programme, which comprised of dancing, singing, and introductions to instruments. This phase lasted two months, and according to the guiding principles communicated to MASS music teachers, it was designed to help build a good "group life" and "collective energy", to develop positive social relations, and to give students a sense of belonging in the music groups. It started with a two-day session, variously called an "immersion course" *(stage d'immersion)*, "integration days" (*journées d'intégration)*, or "integration course" *(stage d'intégration)*, in which all the students of the orchestra took part. It introduced students to the collective learning of the programme.

As the year progressed, The MASS programme increasingly focused on instrumental learning 'by ear', with singing taking a more minor role and dancing being phased out. The programme included a

repertoire that was mostly classical but that also included some world music pieces. It was arranged and adapted to beginning learners. Eventually, the programme 'loaned' a musical instrument to each student, allowing students to take their instruments home or to their boarding houses with them. This moment was marked by a formal instrument-lending ceremony, to which families were invited. Students returned their instruments after the end of year concert.

Trinité's music groups featured instruments belonging to either the strings or woodwinds families. Within the school's two 'strings' groups, students could learn violin, viola, or cello. In its 'woodwinds' group, they could learn clarinet or flute. The groups were named after these instrument families.

The music groups were first composed of students who were in the same school class. After two weeks of lessons in these groups however, the classes were mixed to create new music groups. Trinité and MASS staff members decided on which students would be in which groups: they tried to balance the composition of the groups by school class while respecting students' perceived affinities with one of the two instrument families[59]. They also avoided putting students in the same groups whose relationships were antagonistic or could be problematic for learning. They thus avoided putting siblings in the same groups, due to conflictual interactions or power dynamics between them. Once the music groups were formed, staff members insisted on their integrity: they made few changes in group composition and admitted even fewer requests for changes from students. While 6 students changed groups in the first week, only two of them changed groups in the following week, and no requests for changes were accepted afterward. Further, staff members only accepted students' requests to change groups when they were motivated by conflictual interactions or disaffinities with

[59] Although most students had not been able to try out both string and woodwind instruments before they were assigned a music group. This may partly explain why many students in the Year 2/3 class, which was the Woodwinds group at the beginning of MASS, ended up in the Woodwinds group.

instruments, or when they solved problems of balance in numbers between groups. These pedagogical characteristics – i.e. the emphasis on group learning and on the integrity of music groups – signify, just like in the rest of Trinité, that 'groups' and group processes were perceived to be instrumental for musical learning and for achieving the programme's goals.

The final key, relevant pedagogical dispositions of the programme were its principle of adaptation to each local context and its experimental ethos. The former meant that partner organisations (such as Trinité) were responsible for defining the specific goals of their MASS programme, in concertation with the organisation offering MASS. The latter meant that many aspects of the programme were to be decided in consultation between programme and school staff. These two dispositions went hand in hand: the experimentation, the programme leadership hoped, would help weld MASS to its local (school) context through encouraging genuine collaboration between programme and school staff. Further, through creatively coming up with solutions to problems together, the programme and school staff would also contribute towards the programme's goals of building collaborations within music groups (see Section 2). The experimental aspect of the programme was all the more developed in Trinité as MASS had not yet been deployed in a school context, and as participation in the programme was usually voluntary.

2. MASS's social transformation goals

Trinité being the organisation leading its MASS programme's implementation, it had a very influential role in defining the programme's 'social action' goals. Cécile, who was also the local MASS programme lead, expressed that the aim of the programme was to work both on students' *éducation* and *instruction*. Both aspects of the programme were important, with a slight primacy tentatively given to the first aspect, and both referred to features of social transformation.

Cécile hoped that the programme would positively highlight students in front of others and introduce a new domain of musical competence in which students could (finally) 'succeed'. This would help students enact their 'self-transformation'. First, she envisaged, students' behaviour, 'posture', social relations, and *vivre ensemble* would improve. Then, there would be ricochet effects on academic learning. In turn, she hoped that students' improved *vivre ensemble*, alongside the nature of activities in music sessions, would help develop cohesion within music groups. Through allocating students from different school classes to the same music groups, the programme would eventually result in more school-wide cohesion, thus transforming the school community[60] (Interview with Cécile, 06.11.2015; 22.06.2018).

a) *Music, learning, and the* cadre

Concomitantly with the *éducation* and *instruction* goals of MASS, the programme was framed as a space for learning in Trinité. This, alongside the compulsory nature of students' participation, made MASS sessions more similar to school classes than to TAP or other extra-curricular sessions, where student participation was more voluntary.

From very early on in the programme, music teachers used language that was similar to that used in school classes. On many occasions I heard MASS staff members tell students that in the music sessions

[60] The MASS programme also advertised other goals that were less emphasised by Cécile, and which I will not particularly deal with in this thesis. In line with a general trend promoting "cultural democratisation" (*médiation* or *démocratisation culturelle*) in France, seeking to bring members of the (especially 'disadvantaged') public in greater touch with art and 'high culture' (Montoya, 2009), the programme targeted publics who did not traditionally have access to classical music. It aimed to associate parents with the programme, inviting them to some of the children's singing sessions. It finally aimed to bridge between local educational and musical institutions.

they had to "work" and apply "effort", or that, since they were "in school", they had to act accordingly. Such language was used especially when music teachers attempted to curtail students' disruptive behaviour, or when musical performances were approaching – therefore, on similar occasions as in classes.

The emphasis on learning meant that setting up a solid *cadre* was also important in the music groups. Julie, MASS's pedagogical lead, said as much to the Strings B teachers, who were struggling with their group. For instance, she told Ciara that she needed to impose a very strong *cadre* in her sessions, "otherwise [the students] force open the *cadre* because they want to be reassured[…] sessions need to be organised second by second[…] because if you show even the slightest breach then the kids dive into it" (Fieldnotes, Post-MASS debrief, 22.02.2016). Thus, just as in Trinité, the *cadre* in MASS needed to be solid and consistent.

In fact, some comments from Trinité staff members regarding MASS musicians also suggested the importance of the *cadre*. For instance, Emma, an *éducateur* who was temping in the school, commented in the beginning of the year that the MASS teachers in the Woodwinds group shouldn't start off with "kisses and hugs", as it provided a bad "base" to start from (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds dancing sessions, 30.11.2015). Implicit in her comment was the notion that being too affectionate would complicate MASS teachers' efforts to set up a solid *cadre*. Ernest expressed a similar idea, even though he believed, on the contrary, that developing a strong bond with students was essential for an appropriate *cadre*. When, at the end of the year, I asked him to reflect on MASS teachers' practices, he said that they had been on the whole exemplary:

> "They gave a lot[…] They 'got' the kids very quickly, they really quickly understood when some kids weren't doing so well, much quicker than my teacher and éducateurs colleagues[…] they were much better *repères* in that regard". (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016)

Thus, even though Ernest held a somewhat different view of the *cadre* to some of his colleagues, it was still important for him that music teachers act as *repères*. This once again suggests that fostering an appropriate *cadre* in music sessions was seen to be important.

Critically, students seemed to understand well that MASS sessions were spaces for learning. Maryam expressed this in an interview after a difficult Strings B session. She was telling me that one of the reasons why some students came with a non-cooperative attitude to their music sessions was because on the day they complained to each other that they didn't want to 'do MASS'. She commented:

> Because last year it wasn't like this, we had the TAPs with our boarding groups, we would go to the *stade*, we would play and everything. But now it isn't like that anymore. Instead of relaxing, we do music[…] now it's only on Fridays that we can chill *("on est tranquille").* (Interview with Maryam & Omar, 2016.03.01)

These words, coming from a student who had been in the school for several years, are telling. By opposing MASS with the TAP sessions and the *stade* – prime locations for 'letting go'[61] – she seems to

[61] See my discussions of 'letting go' (*se défouler* and *se relâcher*) in Chapter 4, of the *stade* in Chapter 6, and of TAP sessions in Chapter 7.

be saying that she saw MASS as anything but a place for 'relaxing' and 'chilling'. Rather, she – and the other students complaining to each other – seemed to see it very much as a space for learning.

D. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have described many features of Trinité and its boarding houses which are important for making sense of the next three chapters. I described the school's 'social action' mission in depth, giving attention to how it related to social transformation and included providing both *éducation* and *instruction*. I described the key pedagogical notions of the *cadre* and *repères*, how they served to carry out *éducation* and *instruction*, and how their explicitness suggested that achieving *éducation* was not only a personal process of changing one's dispositions, but also a process involving the school's social environment. I will deal with this idea again in the next chapter.

I have also described the MASS programme, its organisation and pedagogy, and its social transformation mission. I described how it also used 'groups' and 'group processes' to achieve its goals and how it was framed as a space for learning, complete with a solid *cadre*. These various features are important to bear in mind for interpreting chapters 7 and 8.

CHAPTER IV. THE STUDENT SOCIAL WORLD OF TRINITÉ, PART 1: COLLECTIVITY AND INTENSITY

> There are no more points to discuss, signalling the end of the Year 6 class council. Shane, who was elected President for the session, concludes: "It was a good council, despite a few 'warnings' *("gênes")*. Congratulations to the class, let's continue like this. As Ernest says, we're becoming a real class, a collective *("dans la collectivité")"*. (Fieldnotes, Year 6 Class council session, 29.01.2016)

A. Introduction

In this and the following chapter, I set out how the pedagogical views and organisational features discussed in the previous chapter shaped the student social world of Trinité. In particular, I treat how the notion of the *cadre* and the use of group processes to pursue *éducation* shaped students' positive and negative sentiment relations and related to the school's social transformation goals.

I frame my investigation with a conundrum: that Trinité's friendship and disliking networks were relatively dense at both measurement waves. This may seem like a tenuous statement, given that it is difficult to determine whether a network is 'dense' or 'sparse' in any absolute sense, and since density tends to scale down with network size. However, comparing Trinité's networks to those in other

studies of positive and negative sentiment ties in schools (see Table IV-1) indicates that the former were indeed relatively dense. These studies, using a variety of different methods with students of various ages, typically report network densities that are below the same densities in Trinité and in its classes. This is particularly startling for Trinité's school-wide networks, which are larger than the networks of other studies and yet still have larger density figures. Table IV-1 also reveals that a substantial proportion of ties in Trinité occurred across classes. It therefore suggests that the reasons for these relatively high densities should be sought not only within classes but in the school as a whole.

Study	Type of tie	Mean N per network	Density (Positive)	Density (Negative)	Neg ties as a % of positive ties	Ages
Current study	Friendship/Dislike (within school)	43	0.25-0.32	0.18-0.25	71-80%	5-12 yo
Current study	Friendship/Dislike (within classes)	14.3	0.42-0.43	0.21-0.24	50-57%	5-12 yo
Boda and Néray (2015)	Friendship/Negative (within classes)	26.25	0.19	0.12	63%	~15 yo
Daniel et al. (2016)	Friendship/Antipathy (within classes)	24.27	0.16-0.18	0.11-0.12	72%	3-5 yo
Stark et al. (2015)	Like/Dislike (within classes)	24.07	N/A	N/A	71-80%	12-13 yo
Huitsing et al. (2012)	Like/Dislike (within classes)	21.8	0.21	0.18	86%	10-12 yo
Berger and Dijkstra (2013)	Friendship/Dislike (within classes)	34.13	0.07-0.09	0.06-0.07	80-90%	10-12 yo
Rambaran et al. (2015)	"Like the most"/"Like the least" (within grades)	240	0.03-0.05	0.02-0.04	60-100+%	11-14 yo

Table IV-1 – Densities of positive and negative relationships found in other social network studies of schools

However, the table also presents some surprising commonalities between Trinité's positive and negative sentiment networks and those in other schools. In many of these schools, for every positive relation reported, students tended to report 0.6-0.9 negative relations. Yet, the proportions of positive to negative relations within Trinité fall squarely within those numbers[62]. Perhaps more importantly, these numbers go against theoretical predictions from other studies of negative ties. Labianca and Brass (2006), reviewing such studies in work organisations, find that negative ties make up 1-8% of the total relationships in such organisations. Accordingly, they propose some theoretical predictions regarding negative ties, such as the fact that "negative relationships will be less numerous in a high-density [positive tie] network" (p. 605). The negative tie network densities and positive-to-negative tie ratios in Trinité and other schools therefore are not only much greater than those found in organisational settings, but contradict a key theoretical prediction made there.

In bringing out these findings, I am not suggesting that all schools have the same positive-to-negative tie ratios, nor that networks of students in schools and of employees in work organisations are directly comparable. Students and employees have very different ages, and their roles in their institutions – as well as the purposes of the institutions themselves – differ substantially. However, age cannot be the sole factor explaining the difference in positive-to-negative tie ratios, as the studies in Table IV-1 look at students of various ages. More generally, I argue that the ways in which schools may be distinctive should be taken into account in theoretical explanations of student social networks in schools. Further, I argue that the similarity in the ratio numbers above suggests that some of the processes at play which produce such high ratios may be attributable to more general aspects of schooling – aspects which, given the high density values in Trinité, may be singularly present in Trinité.

[62] The lower ratios within Trinité's classes mask significant variation between classes. For instance, the ratios are 60.0% in the Year 6 class and 90.5% in the Year 4/5 class at wave 2, numbers which fall within the range stated above. Further, lower ratios tend to be pushed by students nominating most or all of their class as friends – as 6 students do for example in the Year 2/3 class at wave 2.

In this chapter, I focus on processes that might explain some key features of Trinité's friendship networks. To get at these processes, I start the chapter by describing a typical school day for a student in Trinité. I use this description to demonstrate how students' social lives in Trinité were characterised by what I call 'collectivity' and 'intensity'. I show how these features were related to the school's practices and goals related to social transformation, and how they were reflected in the density, concentration within school groups, and 'small-worldness' of the school's friendship network. I finally treat some attendant features of 'collectivity' and 'intensity'. These included students taking a keen interest in the 'life' of the school and in events involving other school members. They also included the school and its various groups acting as 'stages' for student performances (which themselves became events that other students took an interest in). I explore how these performances interacted with the *cadre* of the school and its groups, leading to what I call 'creativity in the gaps', whereby students creatively circumvented the *cadre* to further their social agency.

B. Outline of a typical school day

Let us take a typical day of a student in the 'Pyrenees' boarding group. The student, alongside her boarding housemates, would need to wake up and be out of bed by around 07:45. She would then need to get dressed, make her bed, and have breakfast, and then line up, paired up with another student, to go out to the school courtyard at 08:15-20. She could then play until she had to line up again in pairs with her classmates to go to class for 08:30. She would have class with her classmates,

starting with morning 'rituals'[63] (such as doing registration, writing the schedule of the day, and rehearsing the date of the day). The lesson would last until the morning break, starting between 10:00-10:30 and lasting for 15-30 minutes. She would spend it in the school courtyard with her classmates and students from whichever other classes happened to be having their break at the same time.

She would then have class with her classmates until approximately 12:00, the beginning of the lunch period, when she would eat lunch in her boarding house with her boarding housemates[64]. She would line up in pairs with these students in front of the school and cross the short distance to the boarding house (under the watchful eye of a boarding house *éducateur*), often settling down for lunch around 12:10. Although lunch nominally lasted until 12:45, she would often need to finish eating between 12:35-12:40, under pressure from the middle school students, who would need time to eat themselves before class.

Our student would then have her lunch break until 13:15-25, often with students of her own boarding house but sometimes also with other students. She would then line up in pairs, along with her classmates, to go back to class around 13:30. Class would last until 15:00-25, after which she would have her afternoon break, this time with all the students in the school. She would then line up in pairs again to go to her MASS session, from 15:35-15:45 to 16:45-17:05, along with the other students in her music group.

After the MASS session, while the non-boarding students went home, she would line up in pairs to go back to her boarding house, often immediately after but sometimes after a short break, along with

[63] 'Rituals' were routine activities that teachers would organise at regular times, typically every day or every week.
[64] The other students would have lunch all together in the school cafeteria.

her boarding housemates. She would then shower, pack her clothes for the weekend if it was a Thursday, and do her homework in the Pyrenees lunchroom along with whoever else had homework. Between 18:30-19:00 she would line up again to have dinner in the school cafeteria, along with the students from the other boarding houses, who would arrive in a staggered fashion, each house sitting at designated tables. Dinner would last 45-60 minutes, after which she would have a 10-15 minute break in front of the cafeteria with the other boarders before her *éducateur* would call for the Pyrenees students to line up in pairs and make their way back to the house. Our student would then have a "veillée" – a fun post-dinner activity organised by the *éducateurs* – with her housemates, before being sent to her room, which she usually shared with one, sometimes more, students, so that she could be in bed by approximately 21:00.

C. Collectivity and intensity

1. Interpreting the school day

The most obvious feature of the school day indicated by the above description is that sharing the company of other students was the default mode of being for Trinité's students. No matter what activity a student was engaged in, she would be doing it either with or within easy reach of other students. Likewise, there were very few times of the day when students could be assured to be on their own, and even fewer spaces where students could be reliably alone for very long. This was especially the case in the school courtyard, which was open plan so that students could easily be in view of school staff. The only space where solitude was integral was the school toilets (and showers

for boarding students), which would typically offer only a few minutes of solitude before another student would need to use the toilet.

Even the few occasions when students were out of reach of other students could be preceded by moments of intense scrutiny. For instance, when fetching students for one-to-one appointments, the school psychologist, special needs assistants, or myself would typically come to the class and announce the name of the student concerned. This usually led to a short hiatus in the lesson, when the student could be seen going to their appointment, in full sight of other students, or resisting her appointment, creating an even longer display.

Another feature which stands out from the above description is the extent to which staff members managed students not as individuals but as groups. This was reflected not only in staff members telling students to line up in pairs to transition between activities, but also in how they did this by calling out the names of school groups. It was also reflected in how *éducateurs* managed students' break periods, where they would judge the *agitation* (literally "agitation" – disruptiveness) of entire groups of students, as opposed to individual students. This happened for instance during an occasion when I was trying to undertake some structured observations of students' interactions:

> I manage to do some structured observations of the Jura, Alpine, and non-boarding students for about 10 minutes, until part of the group of students suddenly goes inside. I ask around and find out that earlier there was such a big fight between Damon and Alfredo that the éducateurs decided to send the boarding students up to their houses. (Fieldnotes, Lunch break, 03.12.2015).

In this vignette, the *éducateurs*, in response to very high levels of *agitation* and a potentially hazardous situation, did not just separate the two students. They also separated the groups of students – even though, at the time, Damon and Alfredo were actually part of the same boarding house. Although in this case the separation happened in response to a difficult situation, often it happened before the break started, as keeping groups separate was seen to reinforce the *cadre* and thus prevent potential conflicts or disruptiveness. Staff members also divided students for this same reason on other occasions, for instance during out-of-school trips[65].

Another feature which betrayed staff members' tendency to think in terms of groups of students were the explanations they gave for students' *agitation*. As per the overarching narrative that staff members had regarding the students' family situations (see Chapter 3), many of these explanations referred to students' 'difficulties'. This revealed a trend to think homogenously about the students. Yet other explanations emphasised factors that affected entire groups of students, or all students in the school. Thus, the weather – hot days, windy days, and rainy days – was a 'risk factor' with regard to students' *agitation*. Relatedly, beginnings and ends of school periods, days, weeks, holidays, and even school years, were perceived to be times when students were especially *agités* (literally "agitated") or *excités* (worked up, literally "excited"). As these explanations applied to whole groups of students, they uncovered a tendency for staff members to think of students as a 'collective'.

Equally distinctive of the school day, as per the outline above, was that it was highly structured. From the moment they had to get up to the time they went to bed, boarding students' school days were organised by staff members. This structure was so dependable and set by adults that students simply

[65] This is not to say that staff members never gave particular attention to students, nor that they never let them be alone. They of course did both things, for instance to build relationships with students or because the student had special needs. Rather, the point is that managing students as groups was very much the default practice among staff members.

had to let each school day unravel and follow adults' instructions. The importance of these instructions was revealed on the few occasions when students somehow missed them, such as in the following vignette:

> It's the end of the school day. Most if not all of the students have either gone home or gone up to their boarding houses. I come out into the courtyard to find Chloe and Elenna playing together. They ask if I will play with them, but Ernest, upon seeing them, tells them "aren't you worried that you're the only ones here?". He brings them back to their boarding house, commenting "good thing there's Superman!". (Fieldnotes, Post-MASS session, 12.11.2015)

This vignette, as with other occasions when students were not where they were supposed to be, seemed to expose a crucial part of students' thinking: that they did not particularly need to think about where they had to be, as adults were supposed to do that for them.

Further, students' school days were structured in a highly rhythmic way. Each school day consisted in a regular, repeating sequence of '*intense*' (literally "intense") moments, such as school class periods, and less *intense* periods, such as break periods, when students could *'se défouler'* ('let off steam') or *'se relâcher'* ('unwind')[66]. This rhythm was crucial: the less *intense* moments were seen to compensate for the relative '*intensité*' (literally "intensity") that characterised academic learning. This *intensité*, according to Trinité staff members, tired students, and could therefore make them become *agités* or

[66] *Se défouler* is a more physically active version of *se relâcher.* Yet, similarly to the distinction that Georg Simmel (Simmel and Hughes 1949) makes between 'sociability' and other forms of association, *'se défouler'* and *'se relâcher'* were both seen as activities where "the concrete motives bound up with life-goals fall away" (p. 255); as activities without a particular (educational) focus.

fill them with '*éxcitation'* (literally "excitation"). On the other hand, spaces where students could *se défouler* and *se relâcher,* enabled students to 'let go' of this negative energy, and therefore not act disruptively and concentrate on their future learning[67]. The most significant moments for students to do this were the morning, lunchtime, and afternoon breaks. During these periods, students were encouraged to play outside as much as possible, given that outdoor games and activities were seen as the best way for students to *défoule* or *relâche* themselves. In fact, according to my observations, whenever staff members occasionally encountered students who were trying to stay indoors during their breaks, they instructed them to go outside[68] [69].

The predictable, rhythmic structure of school days in Trinité was fractal. Class periods typically started with a '*temps calme*' ('calm period'), during which students had relative autonomy, followed by more *intense* learning. Likewise, as described in Chapter 3, methods for teaching new academic content could follow certain set patterns, thus making the structure of lessons more predictable. Relatedly, the structure of each week was repeated in predictable ways: Thus, MASS sessions happened on set days of the week; Blouses Roses volunteers came every fortnight on the same weekday; and on Fridays students were let out early. The school weeks thus resembled each other, creating a week-long rhythm. Even school holiday periods, each lasting two weeks, typically happened every 6 weeks, creating bimonthly periods which were repeated throughout the year.

[67] In fact, members of staff sometimes made links between students' 'negative' energy and their perceived 'difficult' backgrounds. For instance, some argued that since some students lived in neighbourhoods where their parents could not let their children go outside (due to perceived threats to their safety or bad influences), these students did not have moments to *défoule* themselves outside of school. Likewise, some argued that when parents let students watch TV or play video games all day – itself a result of an inappropriate familial *cadre* – students also did not have opportunities to either *défoule* or *relâche* themselves.

[68] The only times when staff members did not encourage students to go outside was when they thought that the outdoor conditions would cause students to become even more agités (e.g. due to rain, high temperatures, etc.), and therefore potentially create hazardous situations.

[69] Although note that this was undoubtedly also to fulfil their obligations of supervising students.

2. Influences of the school's educational practices

The above features – students always being in groups, staff members managing students as groups, and the structured nature of school life – responded to very practical concerns. Trinité, as elsewhere, had a legal responsibility to supervise students at all times. Further, given the difficulty of their jobs, staff members tried to make each day run as smoothly as possible. Thus, managing students as groups – where they could watch over many students at once – and creating recurrent daily schedules were ways of minimising the (already huge) amounts of decisions that they had to make each day. Hence, thinking of students as groups and managing them as such was a form of 'batch processing' (Thorne, 1993: 31), whereby staff members "cope[d] with the large number of students by treating them as members of groups", using students' group (school class, boarding house etc.) affiliations to ease their management and supervision.

However, the features above were also influenced by the educational practices and beliefs set out in Chapter 3. As students' groups, as well as the locations and people that embodied them, were seen to act as *repères* for students, they were also especially effective for bringing about a strong *cadre*. It made sense therefore, when the *cadre* was at risk of being 'broken', for members of staff to bring students into situations where *the cadre* was reinforced, such as getting them to line up in pairs (the line also serving as a *repère*) or dividing them in class groups. Likewise, the structured and rhythmic aspect of school periods (days, weeks etc.) provided clear *repères* and thus avoided students feeling 'lost' and anxious and acting disruptively[70].

[70] It was also likely informed by a view that students could not look after themselves without very clear guidelines from staff members.

The features also resulted from the school's 'social action mission' of providing *éducation* and teaching *vivre ensemble* to its students. Part of the reason for maintaining such a timetable in the boarding houses was to ensure that students got at least a basic *éducation* – that is, that they acquired the reflex of doing 'basic' things such as showering every day or eating with a knife and fork. Likewise, for students to learn the rules and behaviours of good *vivre ensemble*, it was important that they spend time in group situations with strong *repères* and a solid *cadre*. This was implicit in Cécile's comment in the previous chapter about how setting up an appropriate *cadre* was necessary before teachers could do anything else in class (p. 98). It was also evident in the role of the boarding houses, as Natasha mentioned about the Pyrenées boarding house:

> "The students are useful to each other[…] it isn't 'hey, let's make this group…', no, it's 'let's make this group, and then what do we do with this group? What do we work on?[…] It's one big family[…] [And] it's responding to things that are missing in their family[…] It's showing them that [metaphorical] siblings can get along, because in some cases you have brothers and sisters who hit each other, insult each other… we try to replay those scenes, I guess that's a part of our job, to get them to replay scenes that they've experienced, but with a different ending. (Interview with Natasha, 06.01.2016)

Thus, in the boarding house where the focus on *éducation* was most intense, it was important that students had ample opportunities to be in group situations with a solid *cadre*, not only to learn how to act in groups, but to 'unlearn' patterns that they had acquired in their homes (where *éducation* was deficient). Once again then, the use of group situations was buttressed by staff members' deficit views of students' backgrounds. And it was linked to the school's 'social transformation' mission in two ways:

in trying to bring cohesion to the boarding house, and in attempting to further students' self-realisation.

In other school spaces too, getting students to spend time in groups with an appropriate *cadre* seemed to be seen as essential to enable students' 'self-transformation'. This was evident in one of Cécile's comments about the meaning of *vivre ensemble* in the context of the MASS programme:

> « Vivre ensemble really means that the programme is able to unite the groups, the students, that it's able to help them surpass themselves, but in such a way as to allow them to encourage each other, to see that no they are not alone, that together they can overcome the problem". (Interview with Cécile, 08.06.2016)

According to Cécile then, teaching students *vivre ensemble* meant students 'surpassing' themselves, something which was itself enabled by group dynamics such as mutual encouragement.

This creed – that problems were inherently individual but that bringing them into the group setting could help students overcome them – seemed to be inscribed in the weekly Year 6 circle time sessions, variously called 'class councils'[71] (*conseils de classe)* or 'co-operation councils' *(conseils de co-opération)*. These happened every Friday afternoon, after a period where Ernest and one of the class teachers would give individual feedback to the students about their behaviour, attitude, and learning that week. During the councils, the members of the class would discuss items that they had put in a specially-dedicated box over the preceding week. These items could contain suggestions for running

[71] This same name is often given to the student-and-staff bodies that meet in French secondary schools to discuss class-related matters.

the class, congratulations for other students' work or behaviour, or mentions of problems (typically conflicts between students).

Yet group dynamics were essential to the functioning of the councils. This was clear from the insistence that students arrange themselves in a large semi-circle for each council, so that, as the members of staff said, "everyone can be in view of everyone else" (fieldnotes 09.25.2015, Year 6 class council session). It was also evident from how the points were discussed, and from the very first council that I attended (on 25.09.2015). During that session, one 'discussion slip' from Kevin read "I congratulate Nathalie for calming down when she gets angry", after which Ernest congratulated Nathalie and announced that she was "overcoming a hurdle" ("*tu passes un cap, bravo")*. Nathalie reacted to this by smiling and looking emotional. This mirrored other congratulations which students gave to each other, even for academic matters (such as improving handwriting). These congratulations were almost invariably followed by 'jazz hands' from the rest of the class. Likewise, another slip from Cristina read: "I don't want to fight with Kevin anymore". Kevin reacted by admitting that he had been the one to provoke her that morning, and Ernest then commented "look how nice she is! She doesn't say she doesn't want to get attacked, she says she doesn't want to fight", to which Cécile agreed, saying "she can be difficult but she is nice".

What unites these various 'items of discussion' is that they were framed in terms of individual students' 'difficulties' and that they involved using the group to help students overcome their difficulties. In each case, the other students were either used as encouragement or as a 'public' (Goffman, 1959) to amplify the praise coming from students and staff members. And their presence was also useful as it helped them learn vicariously from the issues that were being discussed.

Spending time in groups with an appropriate *cadre* was important for yet another reason. It helped further another of the school's social transformation goals, including for the MASS programme: fostering group cohesion, or, in the words of Shane in the opening quote to this chapter, turning each school group into a "collective". This was an important goal of the Year 6 class council sessions: their purpose, according to Cécile, was to "regulate tensions and emotions, and to turn the students into agents of a better class life (*"d'un mieux vivre dans la classe")*" (Interview with Cécile, 22.06.2018). This was linked both with students' *vivre ensemble* and with students' achievement and 'becoming'. Cécile made this clear during a speech at another class council session later in the year, just before one of the mid-year school holidays:

> Ernest and Cécile say it's time to conclude the council, and Cécile will do it this time: "It's been a short period since the Christmas holidays, but it wasn't an easy one. Things quickly got worse, because you aren't kind with one another. You look out for mistakes that other people make so you can make fun of them. It doesn't help, it generates anxiety, and it's a waste of time for adults. And then you lose time for learning. I was talking with the French teacher of the Year 7 class, and she said that those who make progress in her class are those with the right *posture.* So what we're asking of you, it's not for us – it will be useful for your work. If you get used to behaving in the right way now, it will help you when you get to middle school. (Fieldnotes, Year 6 Class council session, 05.02.2016)

In this excerpt, Cécile not only implicitly claims that the students' relational problems arise from an inadequate *posture* – an individual-level trait *par excellence*. She also links students' relational difficulties with class-wide cohesion and with students' 'becoming', by referring to the class as a whole and to students' fateful and imminent transitions to middle school.

Ernest would also do this with other students to stop or prevent conflicts. The following vignette illustrates this:

> As the students return to the school courtyard after lunch, I notice that Ibrahim is being picked on by Mario, Leander, and Zach: they are taunting him, and when Ibrahim tries to (mostly unsuccessfully) retaliate by kicking them, they respond by saying they hadn't done anything or by intimidating him and threatening him[…] suddenly Sonny and Omar join in the bullying, Ibrahim backs up against the wall, and I feel I need to intervene. However, at this point Ernest comes back to the courtyard, immediately sees what's going on, and asks loudly "who is facing off with Ibrahim?". The boys instantly stop, and I have a feeling of justice and authority restored. Ernest first asks Sonny what he was doing. Sonny replies (truthfully) that the others started first. Ernest simply replies, "how about we talk about you?". This leaves Sonny stumped. I am by Ibrahim at this stage, who says "Sonny always tells on others". (Fieldnotes, lunch break, 13.11.2015)

This vignette is remarkable, as it not only displays a complicated situation which was threatening to become even more complicated (see Section Chapter V.B.2), and Ernest's skill in effectively defusing it. It also shows how one of his most effective strategies for avoiding contestation from 'misbehaving' students was to draw their attention to their own behaviour. This suggests that the narrative of students needing to focus on their own behaviours and attitudes was well-established in the school, including in the context of interpersonal relations.

3. Defining 'collectivity' and 'intensity'

The above thus suggests two essential features of the student social world of Trinité. The first aspect was that it was defined by students being in a state of 'collectivity'. This, as per the dictionary definition of 'collectivity'[72], meant that students not only spent the great majority of their time in groups, but also that they were very often considered (managed, addressed, etc.) as a 'group', whether as a school group or as 'children' in general. It also reflects the extent to which the school groups were reified as aspects of students' identities, thus homogenising students' experiences within groups.

The second feature, closely related to the first, was that of 'intensity'[73]. This meant that the lives of other students, of school groups, and of the school as a whole could take up a large part of students' attention and time. It resulted from the little amount of time devoted to being 'alone' or out of reach of other school members, and from how difficult it was for students to withdraw from the social world of the school. It also comprised the degree to which 'private' matters were mentioned as matters of 'public' discussion or scrutiny, and thus the indistinguishability of 'private' and 'public' spheres in the school[74].

[72] 1. The quality or condition of being collective; 2. The people considered as a body or whole (American Heritage Dictionary, n.d.).

[73] The term 'intensity' was inspired by Ernest's use of the same term in French. He described students' days in the school as marked by a remarkable 'intensité': "Unlike us adults, who get a break when we go home, they sleep on site, and are constantly caught up in a frantic rhythm. From the moment they wake up to when they go to sleep they are in a hurry to do things, and most importantly they are never alone to do them. It's awful, it's awful that they don't have a place of solitude where they can refresh or reset themselves." (Interview Ernest, 30.06.2016).

[74] Here, as elsewhere, I use Weintraub's (1997: 4-5) two "kinds of imagery" to establish my definitions of 'public' and 'private': "what is hidden[…] versus what is open [or] revealed" and "what is individual, or pertains only to an individual, versus what is collective, or affects the interests of a collectivity of individuals". Within the

Crucially, this 'intensity' was not only reinforced by students' 'collectivity' in the school. It was also exaggerated by the rhythmic and highly structured organisation of the school day. This organisation meant that students did not have to ask themselves where they needed to be or what they needed to do at any point in time – instead, they could refer to adults' instructions, or to the model of the school day that the school had carefully nurtured. This maximised the amount of time and attention that students could devote to taking part in school activities, including not only learning but also the school's social life[75]. Thus, the school's intensity was strengthened by the notion of the *cadre.*

D. Attendant features of collectivity and intensity

In the next section I will look at some attendant features of collectivity and intensity in the school. I will look at some factors which may have contributed to the latter, as well as other features which may have both fed into and fed from the school's 'intensity' and 'collectivity'.

definition of 'private' I also include events concerning two individuals, which I consider to be private to that dyad of individuals.

[75] The stability of group membership throughout the year in turn meant that complex relationships could develop within groups, and that students could accurately predict the social make-ups of their school days. This may have reinforced the intensity of the school.

1. The arrangement of school spaces

The 'intensity' of the student social world of Trinité was no doubt reinforced by the merely relative isolation of the school's classes. In each class, students could at times hear and sometimes see students from other classes, whether through doors or windows. This was particularly true for the Year 6 classroom, whose windows looked out onto the passageway that the Year 4/5 class used to go to and from their classroom. In turn, the students in the Year 4/5 classroom could peer into the other classrooms when they went out for their break, and sometimes also hear middle school students above them. Likewise, and especially if their classroom door was open, the Year 6 students could easily hear the Year 2/3 students leaving or going to their classroom, and even sometimes the voices of the class's students and staff members while they were in class.

This relatively weak isolation was also true of the Jura and Alpine boarding houses, which were only a floor apart and whose windows sometimes looked onto each other. The Jura boarding group was also adjacent to the middle school boy's boarding house, and shared some facilities with it. The Pyrenees boarding house was the only house which was physically isolated from other school locales, though it shared some facilities with the school and other boarding houses, such as the *stade*.

This relative isolation meant that students could more easily be aware of events not only happening in their own groups but also in other groups. Further, it was sometimes reinforced through staff members' educational practices. For instance, Cécile, when she was teaching the Year 6 class, often left the door of her classroom open. As she explained:

> "I need my class to be open to the outside world[…] of course the class has to act as a *cadre* which contains the students and puts them in a disposition to learn, but at the same time I need to move beyond this model of teaching that we have of a completely closed class with the teacher at the helm of her ship[…] I need the class to be linked up with the [boarding house] éducateurs who sometimes go by. For example, I remember that sometimes Roger (Jura boarding house éducateur) would go by, stop, and take a peek. That way he would see students in his house, he would observe, even if he didn't come in the class, he would see that they were at work. It helps create or maintain a link with the boarding houses and other people in the school. Because we need everyone to be around the students if we want things to work. (Interview with Cécile, 22.06.2018)

Leaving her classroom door open thus responded to practical and symbolic concerns. In doing this, she not only symbolically kept her class open to the world, and thus moved beyond the traditional model of education which had clearly failed the students in her school. She also made it easier for other members of staff to get involved in students' lives, something which was necessary for staff members to effectively do their job. At the same, she also said that leaving the door of her classroom (and also of her office) open served a secondary role: that of keeping an eye and ear on the rest of the school, something which was particularly important due to her role as school headteacher.

These practices – though they were not the same for the other teachers, who typically preferred more isolation – thus did two things. They implied that other people in the school were of concern to school members, and, just like the weak isolation of school spaces, increased the availability of information about these people. In this sense, they potentially reinforced the 'intensity' of Trinité's (student) social world.

2. Teachers' conversations

The conversations of Trinité's staff members about students also reinforced the 'intensity' of the school setting. As in other schools, these conversations were part and parcel of staff members' 'coping' (Pollard, 1985) strategies. However, given that students' 'difficult' backgrounds and personal lives were such an important part of staff members' professional identities, and, according to them, such a potent factor explaining students' *agitation* and academic difficulties, staff members' conversations very much revolved around these topics.

For instance, during lunchtimes, which many staff members spent out of earshot of the school's students, conversations which started with problems that they had encountered with students that day quickly and often turned to the problems that students or their families were facing. This put students' 'difficult' backgrounds centre-stage. Teachers also extensively discussed students' backgrounds during their termly teachers' meetings, which served to review the progress of each student during the preceding term. During these meetings, which lasted more than 3 hours, teachers sometimes 'let off steam' by digressing on the students' 'difficulties' and personal and familial circumstances.

In the previous examples, staff members could confidentially share information about students between themselves. However, the moments where they could do this were few, especially given their need to supervise students. Further, they needed to exchange such information on a daily basis, and often had to do so quickly and fleetingly, during the few moments when they intersected with the relevant staff members. This meant that, often enough, they were not able to share information

privately. It was not unusual, thus, for staff members to enter the Year 6, and sometimes other, classrooms to share information about students with the teacher. This became so normal that they sometimes did it without whispering – not that this would have prevented students with a keen ear from eavesdropping[76].

This constellation of practices and beliefs thus not only increased the 'flow' of information about students to other school members. It also contributed to the idea that the lives of others were objects of interest. It thus blurred the boundary between 'private' and 'public' information in a way which was linked with the 'social action' mission of the school. In this way it contributed to Trinité's 'intensity' – as evidenced by suspicious comments from staff members about students who 'hung around' adults and seemed to pick up information from them.

3. Friendship networks: 'small-world-ness' and the school as a focus for students

Feld's (1981: 1016) influential Foci theory argues that "relevant aspects of the social environment can be seen as foci around which individuals organise their social relations". Individuals tend to form interpersonal ties when they are constrained to interact in joint activities organised around these foci. Eventually, social relations cluster around the foci, and especially those that are the most 'constraining'.

[76] These practices were even sometimes accompanied by doubts about whether students had any notion of their dissociation from others. The clearest exposition of this came from the school psychologist, who earlier in the year had judged that one of the most common problems of Trinité's students, giving rise to their frequent conflicts, was them being too much "in fusion" with others (Fieldnotes, conversation with psychologist, 17.12.2015). The process of child-mother separation having not been followed consistently enough with them, they had little notion of their own bodies and of their separation from other people, he suggested.

In many ways, the arguments about 'collectivity' and 'intensity' made above suggest that Trinité could be seen as an important 'focus' in students' social lives – as a place which structured students' activities, interactions, and social relations. If this is true, then Foci theory would predict that students' social relations should be concentrated within Trinité.

Yet this was certainly the case when examining students' friendship networks. As Table IV-2 brings to light, in waves 1 and 2 students respectively nominated an average of 220% and 175% more friends inside than outside Trinité. Even when only including recalled friendships within Trinité, in order to make the methods for obtaining nominations comparable, and when excluding Trinité staff members, students still nominated 82.7% and 39.2% more friends inside than outside the school. Moreover, even when counting students from the middle school associated with Trinité as outside the school – a dubious proposition, given that most students tended to encounter them as part of their daily school lives – and once again excluding staff members, students still recalled more friendships within than outside the school. In fact, only two students recalled having no friends in the school at both waves – none when using the roster method – while respectively 12 and 13 students recalled having no friends outside of Trinité at waves 1 and 2.

	Wave 1 (Oct/Nov)	Wave 2 (Mar/Apr)
Within School		
% of other students nominated as friends (Network density)	25.2% *(0.252)*	31.7% *(0.317)*
% nominated as reciprocated friends (Network density)	10.7% *(0.107)*	14.4% *(0.144)*
Mean Nominations per student (in school)	11.1	14.0
Mean Nominations (recall method, students in school)	6.45	7.09
Mean Nominations (recall method, school staff members)	0.30	1.10
Mean Nominations (recall method, outside school)	3.53	5.09
Mean Nominations (recall method, middle school)	1.67	1.62
N° Students nominating 0 friends in Trinité (recall method)	2	2
N° Students nominating 0 friends outside Trinité (recall method)	12	13
Within school classes		
% of other students nominated as friends (weighted mean across classes)	42.70%	41.60%
N. Students receiving 0 friendship nominations within their class	0	3

Table IV-2 – Summary statistics of students' friendship nominations in Trinité.

Likewise, a consequence of 'collectivity' in Trinité was that most of the school's groups were important foci for students. The E-I indices[77] for school class, boarding status, and boarding house (including non-boarders as a group) (see Table IV-3) indicate that friendships tended to be substantially (and significantly, most P values <0.001) concentrated within these groups at both time waves. These effects were even more pronounced when considering only reciprocated friendships. For school class in particular, the differences between the observed and expected E-I indices in wave 1 were similar in size to the same differences for gender at that wave, despite gender being a consistently reported

[77] The E-I index is a measure for the concentration of relations within groups in a network– see p. 75.

determinant of friendship among school-aged children (Kovacs et al., 1996; Poulin and Pedersen, 2007; Thorne, 1993).

	Wave 1 (Oct/Nov)	Wave 2 (Mar/Apr)
E-I Index – School Class	-0.005*** (0.362) (a)	0.204*** (0.360) (a)
E-I Index – School Class (reciprocal)	-0.333*** (0.362)	-0.065*** (0.360)
E-I Index – boarding house	0.153*** (0.399)	0.312* (0.404) (a)
E-I Index – boarding house (reciprocal)	0.098** (0.399)	0.145** (0.404)
E-I Index – boarding status	-0.128** (0.020)	-0.148*** (0.018) (a)
E-I Index – boarding status (reciprocal)	-0.178* (0.020)	-0.258** (0.018)
E-I Index – Gender	-0.301*** (-0.047)	-0.290*** (-0.034)
E-I Index – Gender (reciprocal)	-0.501*** (-0.047)	-0.661*** (-0.034)

Table IV-3 – E-I Indices in the student friendship network in Trinité

Expected E-I indices are reported in brackets.

Yet other features which characterise Trinité's friendship networks further reinforce the idea that the student social world of the school was characterised by 'intensity'. The first is the relatively low geodesic distances, or degrees of separation, in the networks across time (see Table IV-4). They meant that students were either friends or 'friends of friends' with most other students in the school at both waves, including when considering reciprocated friendships at wave 2. In fact, when discounting for missing data, 81% and 89% of students when taking directed friendship distance, and 40% and 57% when taking reciprocated friendship distance, of students were two or less 'steps' away from each other, respectively at waves 1 and 2. To the extent that scholarship (e.g. on transitive closure) has suggested that people tend to be or become cognizant of those who are one or two steps away from

them (Cartwright and Harary, 1956; Doreian et al., 1996b; Simmel, 1950), then these geodesic distance values suggest that students had most other students in the school in their "peripheral vision". Furthermore, geodesic distances between individuals have been associated with the 'reachability' of actors, especially regarding 'flow' processes, such as information transmission, diffusion of attitudes, or contagion of behaviours (Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell, 2011; Christakis and Fowler, 2013). Thus, these values suggest that, if such flow processes were to happen through friendship ties, then they would reach most or all students in the school very quickly.

	Wave 1	Wave 2
Directed friendship distance		
1	23.9%	27.2%
2	54.0%	50.5%
3	15.5%	9.3%
4	2.2%	0.1%
5	0.1%	0.0%
Missing	4.3%	12.8%
Mean	2.0	1.8
Standard Deviation	0.7	0.6
Reciprocated friendship distance		
1	9.9%	13.5%
2	26.3%	35.1%
3	30.9%	27.6%
4	20.4%	8.5%
5	4.0%	0.6%
6	0.2%	0.0%
Missing	8.4%	14.7%
Mean	2.8	2.4
Standard Deviation	1.1	0.9

Table IV-4 – Geodesic distances between students in the directed and reciprocated friendship networks

Another important feature of Trinité's friendship networks was their levels of transitivity. Triplet transitivity – the extent to which, when ties exist from an actor A to an actor B and from the same actor A to an actor C, a tie also exists between actor B and C – and its dynamic counterpart, triadic closure, has been a much studied feature of social networks (Hallinan, 1974; Schaefer et al., 2010). It has been propounded as a near-universal feature of social relations (Cartwright and Harary, 1956; Heider, 1946). Although it is a feature of triads (i.e. groups of 3 actors), it has long been recognised

that transitivity at a triadic level tends to lead to clustering, or 'clumpiness', at a network-wide level (Davis, 1967; Holland and Leinhardt, 1971).

Table IV-5 sets out that, in both waves 1 and 2, about half of all triplets were transitive (i.e. when they featured two ties, they also featured a third tie which 'closed' the triangle). While these values were within the usual range of transitivity values for empirical social networks (of 0.3-0.6) (Snijders, 2012), they were considerably higher than the densities of the networks. Yet, for random networks – i.e. networks with given sets of actors and ties randomly distributed between them – transitivity values tend to be close to density values (Snijders, 2012). The transitivity values of the reciprocated friendship networks were more than double the networks' density values, suggesting that these networks were even more transitive, relatively speaking, than the overall friendship networks.

	Wave 1	**Wave 2**
All friendships	0.494 (0.256)	0.531 (0.317)
Reciprocated friendships	0.251 (0.107)	0.364 (0.144)

Table IV-5 – Triplet transitivity values of the student friendship networks in Trinité.

Values in brackets indicate the density of the relevant network.

In themselves, these transitivity values are not so informative. Nor are they surprising, given that friendship networks tend to display transitivity. However, when combined with the geodesic distance measures mentioned above, they suggest that the friendship networks display a 'small-world' quality (Watts, 1999a, 1999b; Watts and Strogatz, 1998). 'Small-world' networks are composed of tightly-knit groups which are united by ties linking individuals in different groups. They were conceptualised to

explain how low geodesic distances and high transitivity values could theoretically be achieved in a network, and have since been shown to characterise many real-world social networks, including school networks.

When calculating the small-world values of Trinité's student friendship networks and using a cut-off value of 1 (see Humphries and Gurney 2008), the networks appear to be 'small-world'. Small-world values for the overall friendship networks are respectively 1.201 and 1.08 in waves 1 and 2, whereas their expected value is 0.82[78]. Meanwhile, small-world values for the reciprocated friendship networks are respectively 2.166 and 2.372 in waves 1 and 2, suggesting even more prominent 'small-world-ness' for the reciprocated friendship network in the school.

One should be cautious not to conclude too much from these latter numbers. Such measures of 'small-world-ness' were designed to be used (and interpreted) with much larger networks. Yet, together with the geodesic distance and transitivity values, they remain evocative. They suggest that Trinité's student social world featured some tightly connected groups which were relatively highly connected to one another – i.e., that there were both 'tight' friendship groups and friendship relations that spanned across groups. Above all, they suggest that students were 'close to' many other students, and thus not only familiar with them but also susceptible to be affected by them. Finally, the relative constancy of the measures between waves 1 and 2 suggests that these features characterised Trinité's student social world throughout at least most of the school year.

[78] According to a linear scaling of small-world values with the number of nodes in a network (Humphries and Gurney, 2008) (although note that the Trinité network is smaller than the smallest networks taken into account by the authors).

4. Students' interest in school events

The student social world of Trinité can thus be seen as an important social focus for students, where students were within easy reach of many, if not most, other students. One implication of this is that events happening among students, no matter where the students involved were situated in the school's network, could potentially be known and be consequential to many other students.

Accordingly, students seemed to take an active interest in these 'school events'. This was especially clear when relatively unusual and dramatic events took place. The following vignette illustrates how this could play out:

> It is an ordinary, if rather chaotic, lunch time, on the Friday back from the February holidays. The non-boarders and Alpine and Jura boarding groups have just finished eating lunch and are playing in the space in front of the school cafeteria. Just as I come out myself, I see Damon throw a wooden stick into the air, which happens to land on Omar's head. Omar instantly crouches, holding his head with both hands. Rose instantly goes to him and tells him to stand up. Suddenly, we can see blood running down his face and onto his arm. Soon the usual post-lunch playing has stopped and almost all of the students are massed around Omar and Rose. Only Damon is alone, embarrassed, telling the few students around him that he "didn't do it on purpose". Rose then brings Omar and Damon to the principal's office. Roksana, Maryam, and Kori follow them, while Matteo asks me to tell him what happened. (Fieldnotes, 26.02.2016, lunch break)

This vignette reveals how a dramatic event – Omar getting hurt, even through no fault of Damon's – could attract the attention of almost all the students around, even stopping the normal course of events in its tracks. Further, while most students soon minded their own business again, a sizeable minority sought information about the event, either by asking around or by forthrightly following Omar and Rose to the principal's office.

The vignette also suggests a process whereby events that were private in nature – that meaningfully concerned at most two individuals – became public through becoming objects of much wider interest, then affecting the course of the day for many students. Another vignette, from a Year 6 class shortly before the end of the school year, exposes how this could happen:

> Cécile has exceptionally organised a group work activity for students as an afternoon, end-of-year, fun activity. While the groups are chatting and working away, Dylan gets up from his seat and asks Cécile if he can go to the bathroom, saying "I'm in a hurry". To my surprise, Cécile exclaims in a laughing voice "you're in a hurry? But you're always in a hurry!". Then, just as suddenly, a loud "ooooooh!" resonates from the other students in the class. Several students start heckling Dylan (who is now showing his usual embarrassed smile) for having been "clashed" (*clashé*) by Cécile. I ask Shane, who is sitting next to me and commenting excitedly, what's going on. He tells me that "when Dylan doesn't want to work he asks to go to the bathroom and says he's in a hurry". (Fieldnotes, 21.06.2016, Afternoon lesson)

This vignette is evocative for at least three reasons. Firstly, the initially private interaction between Dylan and Cécile, turned public, then proceeded to catch the attention of the class. Secondly, as Shane explained, it seemed to precisely be the uncovering of Dylan's trickery, and thus the 'turning public' not only of the private interaction but of this private knowledge, that caused such an intense reaction. Thirdly, the fact that Cécile's 'revelation' was unusual suggests that she did it purposefully, and in full knowledge that it would likely fetch a reaction from the class[79].

The previous two vignettes may be unusual, but they exhibit the full extent to which certain school events could quickly become subjects of intense and widespread interest among students. Coming from such different periods of the school year, they also suggest the existence of 'well-oiled' processes whereby private events became public – i.e. the business of larger group of students. In fact, some students even expressed to me that learning private information was useful to them. Nathalie, during a conversation about relationships, told me about several students who were 'in love'. I asked her why it was important to know that, and she replied, "because then it's a laugh, we can make fun of them and everything". She also pointed out that Kayley was the cousin of Cristina and Sandra, and when I asked her the same question, she said "it's useful to know that, before I didn't know" (Fieldnotes, Conversation with Nathalie, 26.11.2015). Her words suggested that the processes were so well-established that at least some students had learned to use them to further their social agency[80].

[79] This was fitting, considering the relaxed nature of the activity and thus relatively weak *cadre*.
[80] This is not to say that all students spent their school days prying into the affairs of others. In fact, there was a strong counter-narrative of not 'meddling' (see the next chapter) emphasised by both students and staff members. However, the presence of this narrative suggests how prevalent 'prying' could be.

E. Performances as a consequence of collectivity and intensity

One more aspect related to intensity and collectivity bears mentioning here, as it is relevant for future chapters. The two features of Trinité's student social world meant that, as alluded to in Chapter 1, the 'front' stage of the school was much more prominent than its 'back' stage (Goffman, 1959). In other words, students having very few occasions to be alone meant students very often having a potential 'public' for their actions. This, alongside the importance of the school as a foci for students' social lives[81], presented ideal conditions for students to 'perform' before others.

These performances were especially obvious when the *cadre* was relatively weak, and during occasions when opportunities to perform seemed to naturally present themselves. The following vignette from a session where the Year 6 class was electing its class representatives for the spring term demonstrates this well:

> The session has been raucous so far, with many heckles, much banter, and much laughter from students, alongside many somewhat unsuccessful calls from Claudia (the class's part-time teacher) for students to quiet down. It's now Alfredo's turn to give his speech. He comes up in front of the class with an extremely casual demeanour. He opens: "hey, what's up!" (students laugh), My name is Alfredo! (students heckle him), I want to be a class rep! Because… wait, because I… (someone calls out: "What a nice day!") I want to be a rep because, that way we change the food, we do trips, I don't know"[…] some boys call out Alfredo's name,

[81] Potentially alongside the highly structured nature of the school day, which meant that students could devote their attention to what was going on around them and not particularly need to 'think ahead'.

> pretending to ask him a question. Claudia tells Dylan off, warning him that he already has a detention. Suddenly a student exclaims "He wants to be a rep! He has detention and he wants to be a rep??". Some students laugh, another student calls out in a silly voice "it's not personal!"[…] After fielding a few 'questions', Alfredo goes back to his seat, and Francesco tells him "you want to be a rep, but you don't show me any respect". Alfredo retaliates: "shut it, you're the one who tells me "f*** you" and all that". Several students erupt in laughter. (Fieldnotes, Year 6 class representative election, 18.12.2015).

The vignette is significant as it is awash with performances. Alfredo, a very influential student in the class[82], acts in a transgressive way, seeming to project an image of himself as someone who has nothing to prove. The social dimension of his performance is evoked by the laughter he fetches from other students, and the fact that other students – mostly his friends – in turn use his performance to do performances of their own. These include performing their affinity with him or making comments which also seem to be aimed at fetching laughter from others. The final performative interaction between Francesco and Alfredo[83] is particularly revealing, as it presents how private matters, brought into the 'public' sphere, could be used for performances. This therefore hammers home the link between performances and intensity and collectivity. Finally, the vignette is interesting as Alfredo's performance proved to be successful: he was elected as class representative, getting half of the class's votes, while all the other boy candidates got one or two votes each.

[82] He was among the most central students in the class's friendship and reciprocated friendship networks in both quantitative measurement waves.

[83] While Alfredo sent Francesco a friendship tie at both waves, Francesco's friendship towards Alfredo developed between both waves, during which time he often requested to be sat next to Alfredo or to be in the same music group as him.

‘Performing’ in such obvious ways was rather uncommon. In the previous vignette the students were very much emboldened by Ernest’s absence, as he otherwise established a very effective *cadre* in the class (see Section Chapter V.B.3). These obvious performances were also highly gendered (see also Section Chapter VI.C). From my observations, boys tended to engage in them more often; indeed, in the session recounted above, when Cristina, the most central girl in the class’s friendship network, gave her speech, there were far fewer such performances. Likewise, the two first MASS sessions of the Year 2/3 class emphasised performances, but the ‘take-up’ of performance opportunities seemed to be gendered. During the sessions, students and staff members formed a circle, and students suggested and demonstrated gestures in the middle of the circle which could then be incorporated into a class-specific choreography. Yet, not only did most of the suggestions come from boys, but most of the students who were reluctant to ‘perform’ in the middle of the circle were girls (Fieldnotes, Year 2/3 MASS sessions, 04.11.2015 & 05.11.2015).

But performances did not only occur when the *cadre* was weak. While they were more obvious then – such moments acting as liminal spaces – they certainly still occurred when it was strong. The teacher-centred instruction that was *de rigueur* in the school for instance produced many moments when students’ actions could be highly visible – or at least highly audible – to others. As noted by Lacey (1970), times when teachers asked questions and picked students to answer them could be opportunities for students to ‘show off’ their knowledge, or to make jokes to impress their friends.

More generally, whenever the *cadre* was strong students seemed to find ways to perform ‘around’ it. This process is evidenced in the following vignette:

> While Cécile is copying something on the whiteboard, Shane quietly calls over to Dylan and does a gesture which makes him laugh. Cécile catches Dylan and tells him to go out into the corridor to "calm down". Dylan spends a few minutes out there. Then, seeing that Cécile has her back turned, he quietly opens the door and leans in, smiling a clownish smile to the class, particularly facing Shane and Paul. Cécile turns around, but he manages to steal away just before she catches him. He then knocks on the door, and when Cécile opens it he has a sorry, affected look on his face. Cécile asks him if he's calmed down, he says he has, and she lets him back in. (Fieldnotes, Year 6 morning class, 20.06.2016)

In this vignette, just as with Willis's (1981) 'lads', Dylan performs so as to narrowly avoid confrontation with Cécile – in other words, to avoid directly going against the *cadre*. In a sense then, Dylan seems to 'fit' his performance around the boundaries and obstacles provided by the *cadre*. This vignette demonstrates a wider process whereby, in Goffmanian and Brunerian/Vygotskian terms (See Section Chapter I.D.3), the *cadre* determined to such a large extent the overall 'definition of the situation' that students either 'circumvented' it or used it as a 'scaffolding' to enact their performances[84]. This turned the *cadre* therefore into a part of students' ZPD not only for academic matters but also social performances. The strategy of using the *cadre* as scaffolding was especially clear during one evening in the Jura boarding house:

> The boys ask the *éducateurs* whether, since I am here, they can play hide and seek tonight? Roger says he doesn't know, they are quite *excités*. The adults will have to

[84] Note that, as far as I am aware, the notion of 'scaffolding' is typically used to refer to features which enable academic performance, not social performances. However, taking a pragmatist view, I would argue that the concept could be applied to social performances to the extent that scaffoldings could help students carry them out, just as scaffoldings could help students with academic performance.

> vote on it. I vote yes, and Laura says she will vote yes, but only if they manage to be silent for two whole minutes, "not one word". The boys say they are up for the challenge. About 15 seconds into it, some of them start moving and doing clownish facial expressions. Dylan in particular moves emphatically and looks at Laura, prompting her to laugh. Meanwhile, Paul is lying on the floor and another student is pretending to crush him. The atmosphere is very playful and the *éducateurs* are much amused, although a cough and a sneeze are heard during the two minutes, drawing angry accusations from the boys until the *éducateurs* point out that they don't 'count'. (Fieldnotes, *Veillée* in the Jura boarding house, 03.03.2016)

The boys were clearly not going against the *cadre* that the *éducateurs* imposed; rather, their performances relied on the *cadre,* and specifically on the "grey areas" within it. Indeed, Laura had not specified that they could not make gestures or facial expressions, even though this could have been considered an indication of *excitation*. These 'grey areas' allowed students to creatively perform by using the *cadre*. In doing this – what I call displaying 'creativity in the gaps' of the *cadre* – students were able to effectively further their social agency and influence the overall definition of the situation. This was a common performative strategy in the school, such that students also used it during MASS sessions, as the following vignette elucidates:

> The next activity in this MASS session consists in students tensing and untensing their arms at the dance teacher's signal. Jose, who is 'on fire' during this lesson, starts making a defecating noise while he tenses his arm, which eventually spreads to several other students. The teacher repeats to Jose to stop[…] later, during a very similar activity where students have to tense their whole bodies and stop moving,

> Jose, instead of making noises, falls down in jest, to the laughter of Federico. This 'joke' is soon picked up by Omar. (Fieldnotes, Year 4/5 MASS session, 2015.11.16)

This vignette, occurring at the very beginning of the MASS programme, demonstrates 'creativity in the gaps' well: in the initial activity the dance teacher had not specified that students were not allowed to make noises. She then emphasised that this was not permitted – but she had not specified in the latter activity that students were not allowed to fall down. Thus, Jose's performances were, strictly speaking, allowed, in view of effective 'gaps' in the *cadre*. These vignettes establish, then, that students found ways to perform regardless of the *cadre* – they just adapted their performances accordingly, through displaying 'creativity in the gaps'.

F. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have described a typical school day and used it to illuminate some crucial features of Trinité's organisation. I showed how the latter was highly structured and how it featured students being managed as groups and spending the overwhelming majority of their time in groups. I demonstrated how these characteristics were informed by the school's social transformation mission, its educational practices, staff members' views of students' 'difficulties', and more prosaic concerns. Focusing somewhat on the Year 6 class, I brought to light two core features of the student social world of Trinité, which I name 'collectivity' and 'intensity'. Together, these features meant that the school and its groups were very important parts of students' social lives, turning students' attention 'inwards' towards what was happening in them and blurring the distinction between what was private and

public. I then outlined how the arrangement of school spaces, as well as teachers' conversations and beliefs about students' 'difficulties', may have contributed to Trinité's intensity.

I used 'collectivity' and 'intensity' to explain three features of the school. First, I suggested an answer to the question set out at the beginning of the chapter. I argued that 'collectivity' and 'intensity' turned the school and its groups into important and constraining 'foci' (Feld, 1981) for students, thus concentrating friendship relations within them. Second, I demonstrated how they meant that students took an interest in school events and in the lives of other students, particularly relishing opportunities to uncover private information. This is reminiscent of Uzzi's (1997) argument about how concentrations of ties can choke the arrival of new information, by extension turning members' attention 'inwards' towards events happening inside a setting. It will be important to bear in mind when reading the next chapter.

Finally, I argued that 'collectivity' and 'intensity' underlined and encouraged students' 'performances', including through inciting other students to take an interest in them. I suggested that performances were pervasive in the school, with obvious performances being a particularly 'boy' practice. I also elucidated how they were very much shaped by the *cadre* that was present in each school setting. I summarised this interaction between performances and the *cadre* by invoking the notion of 'creativity in the gaps', which meant that students tended to use the *cadre* as a 'scaffolding' in their performances. My discussion of performances will be crucial to bear in mind when interpreting the findings of chapters 6-8.

CHAPTER V. THE STUDENT SOCIAL WORLD OF TRINITÉ, PART 2: CONSTRAINTS

The opposite of love is not hate, it's indifference – Elie Wiesel

A. Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated important features of Trinité's student social world and explained aspects of the school's friendship networks. However, it did not make obvious the reasons why negative sentiment relations should be so prevalent in the school, especially given the many positive sentiment ties there and the school's social transformation goals. Table V-1 below indeed shows that even though several students did not send any disliking ties at waves 1 or 2, no student was spared from receiving at least one such tie in either wave. Therefore, even those students who did not 'contribute' to Trinité's negative sentiment network were implicated in it. Similarly, the few students who were spared disliking ties within their class in wave 1 were no longer spared in wave 2, and the number of students sending 0 disliking ties within their classes decreased by 33% between the waves.

	Wave 1 (Oct/Nov)	Wave 2 (Mar/Apr)
Within the school		
% of other students nominated as disliked (Network density)	17.8% *(0.178)*	25.3% *(0.253)*
% nominated as reciprocated dislikes (Network density)	3.4% *(0.034)*	8.5% *(0.085)*
Average Nominations per student	7.9	11.9
N. Students sending 0 dislike ties	5	5
N. Students receiving 0 dislike ties within school	0	0
Within classes		
% of school classes nominated as disliked – weighted mean across classes (Network density)	21.4% *(0.214)*	23.8% *(0.238)*
Average Nominations per student	3.05	3.50
N. Students sending 0 dislike ties	12	8
N. Students receiving 0 dislike nominations within their class	2	0

Table V-1 – Descriptive Statistics: Disliking ties in Trinité

What might explain these features of Trinité's dislike network? One obvious contender, due to its popularity, is structural balance theory (Cartwright and Harary, 1956; Heider, 1946), which states that individuals form negative sentiments in order to achieve psychological 'balance' in their relationships (See p. 23). Although it has often been applied to explain the structure of positive sentiment relations (e.g. transitivity), it can also be used to explain negative sentiment relations, such as disliking ties (see Yap and Harrigan, 2015).

Empirical support for the theory, however, has been mixed. Scholars have found that, when taking negative ties into account, some 'imbalanced' situations are more likely than the theory would expect (Doreian and Krackhardt, 2001; Truzzi, 1973; Van De Rijt, 2011). Furthermore, structural balance theory makes predictions about the evolution of local network structures (e.g. triads and dyads)

towards balanced states – much less about why actors might send negative ties in the first place[85]. Although Heider's original theoretical formulation of balance theory does address why an actor *i* might develop an initial disliking of another actor *j*, this explanation is essentially psychological (Feld, 1981): for instance, it explains that *i* might dislike *j* because *j* dislikes an object that *i* likes. This explanation neglects factors relating to, for instance, *i* and *j's* social interactions, or the broader web of relations within which *i* and *j* are embedded.

Few structural or relational theoretical alternatives to balance theory have been developed to explain how negative ties might first come into being – let alone how so many can co-occur alongside numerous positive ties. One such alternative has been status theory (see Lim and Rubineau, 2013; Yap and Harrigan, 2015) which posits that individuals tend to send positive ties to others of higher status and negative ties to those of lower status. Although Yap and Harrigan (2015) find some support for this theory, they also find that, at best, it partially explains the formation of disliking ties. Furthermore, in school settings, status theory does not explain the consistent finding that students can have 'controversial' sociometric statuses – i.e. that students can receive both many positive and negative sentiment ties (Coie et al., 1982; Coie and Dodge, 1983). Yap and Harrigan (2015) find some support for several other theoretical mechanisms which they argue can be used in conjunction to explain negative ties. However, most of these mechanisms make scant reference to individuals' agency (see Section Chapter I.D.3) and thus actors' motivations for forming negative sentiments – something which properly relational theories must reckon with (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994).

[85] The theory specifies that an actor should form a negative tie if this reduces the amount of imbalance in the network, or in the actor's immediate vicinity. However, forming a negative tie can only solve an imbalanced situation if a negative tie already exists. Thus, in a hypothetical network with only positive ties, balance theory predicts (strictly speaking) that no negative ties should form. Even by incorporating stochastic processes, negative ties should be rare given that they are generally considered to be more costly than positive ties (Labianca and Brass, 2006). This example is purely hypothetical, but it shows how balance theory is lacking when it comes to explaining the generation of negative ties.

Feld's foci theory, introduced in the previous chapter, may help uncover a theoretical alternative to balance theory. Feld (1981), we recall, argues that the creation of social ties between individuals should be centred on 'foci', especially when they force individuals to interact. Although Feld does not explicitly state this, it appears that when he refers to 'social ties', he essentially means positive sentiment ties. Referring to Homans (1950), he claims that "shared relations to foci create positive sentiments indirectly through the generation of positively valued interaction" (Feld, 1981: 1017). Importantly however, Feld does not explicitly limit the application of his theory to positive sentiment relations.

Literature on ambivalence within families (Connidis, 2015; Connidis and McMullin, 2002; Luescher and Pillemer, 1998; Lüscher, 2011), trying to chart a course between overly positive and conflictual accounts of family relationships, in turn suggests that certain foci may encourage the formation of negative sentiments. Most important for the discussion here, it sees ambivalence, or the co-presence of positive and negative sentiments within interindividual relationships (See Smelser, 1998), as linked to aspects of social structure. When these aspects lead family members to constrain each other's agency in negotiating relationships, then ambivalence appears. The aspects can include contradictions[86] arising from macro-sociological factors, such as gender relations in society resulting in working women being expected by their partners to do the bulk of household chores. However, they can also include aspects of the social networks and immediate social environs in which individuals are embedded (see Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Phillips, 2011). They may particularly include the structure of networks, given the pedigree of scholarship finding that these can be carriers of constraints for individuals (see Chapter I.B.3). A dense friendship network may for instance bring individuals in close proximity to each other, or, as explored in the previous chapter, encourage them

[86] Note that these contradictions are often termed "sociological ambivalence" in this literature. However, to make my exposition clearer, I refer to the co-presence of positive and negative sentiments as ambivalence.

to take an interest in each other's private lives. Combining with literature on ambivalence, whenever these features lead to actors constraining each other, they may also produce ambivalence in relations.

Three elements are important to address before deciding whether foci theory and theories of ambivalence might together explain how disliking relations formed in Trinité however: the nature of the relationship between disliking and 'ambivalence'; whether theories of ambivalence can be 'transposed' from family to school contexts; and how foci theory is related to theories of ambivalence.

Regarding the first point, both disliking and ambivalence, as per the definition above[87], involve the generation (and maintenance) of negative sentiments, and this is indeed the focus of some of the discussion on ambivalence (e.g. Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Phillips, 2011). This indicates that explanations for ambivalence may be applicable to more straightforward (i.e. unmitigated) disliking ties. Thus, if actors constraining each other can produce ambivalence, then it may also plausibly produce 'unmitigated' negative sentiments[88].

The second matter – whether ambivalence theory can be 'transposed' from families to schools – boils down to whether schools can lead to interpersonal constraints in the same way that families can. Some scholars of ambivalence imply that one of the reasons why interpersonal constraints may be so present in families is that family relations are somewhat inescapable (Connidis, 2015; Connidis and McMullin, 2002; Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Phillips, 2011). By the same token, school relations can be

[87] Note that 'ambivalence' does not include the absence of positive and negative ties, which may be better called 'indifference'.

[88] Importantly, this explanation is consistent with Gould's (2003) seminal theory of interpersonal conflicts. Gould claims that conflicts happen due to individuals struggling over "who decides what goes on in the relation" (p. 40). Such struggling could easily be seen as individuals constraining each other - although it must be remembered that conflict, especially in Gould's conceptualisation, is not the same as negative sentiments.

similarly difficult to avoid. Just as with families, students rarely have a choice over who their schoolmates are (i.e. who is enrolled in their school). Moreover, in the previous chapter we saw how the 'collectivity' and 'intensity' of Trinité meant that the capacity to 'escape' others was limited in the school. This may, just as in families, have encouraged the presence of unavoidable interpersonal constraints between students, which may lead to negative sentiments. This argument is bolstered by other network studies, which intimate that the ability to avoid others is critical in shaping negative sentiment ties (Harrigan and Yap, 2017; Jehn, 1995; Labianca and Brass, 2006). That being said, whether 'avoidability' is important for disliking ties in Trinité is ultimately an empirical question, and one that I shall return to later.

Finally, the third matter – the relation between explanations of ambivalence and foci theory – is closely related to the second. Foci (schools, families, work organisations…) that force individuals to interact (which Feld calls 'highly constraining foci'[89]) are by definition foci where other people are difficult to avoid. If, in these settings, other people are constraining, and their constraints can lead to negative sentiments, then a set of theoretical propositions follows, which effectively extends Feld's foci theory to negative sentiment ties:

(1) Foci which force individuals to interact make interaction partners difficult to avoid;

(2) When these 'difficultly escapable interaction partners' are constraining, then negative sentiments can appear towards them; thus,

(3) Foci which encourage interpersonal constraints can lead to high concentrations of negative sentiment relations.

[89] Note the different use of the word 'constraint' here.

This ultimately offers an explanation for why some foci which make individuals interact – which already are predicted to lead to concentrations of positive sentiment relations (Feld, 1981) – might also be characterised by high concentrations of negative sentiment ties.

If the above holds true, then three important questions emerge. First, to what extent and how did students constrain each other in Trinité? Second, were these interpersonal constraints related to the 'collectivity' and 'intensity' of the school, as well as the institution's focus on social transformation? And third, was there a relationship between interpersonal constraints and the disliking ties sent between students?

This chapter addresses these questions by looking at how these crucial educational practices of Trinité led to students constraining each other. It starts by examining 'collectivity', arguing that it did indeed increase opportunities for students to constrain each other. It then looks at 'intensity', arguing that the interest that students took in school events, alongside the 'small-world' characteristics of the school's friendship network, led to many instances of network diffusion (including in conditions that have not yet been studied) which could also be constraining. In these sections I consider who students blamed for these constraints, and how this was tied to beliefs and practices surrounding the social transformation goals of Trinité. The chapter subsequently addresses a particular kind of diffusion – 'copying' – and how it intersected with the school's educational practices. It then considers "meddling", a set of practices that students resented, but which was encouraged by the school's 'intensity'. The final section reports on some analyses of the school's disliking networks, arguing that they demonstrate that those students who were the most difficult to avoid and most potentially constraining were indeed disproportionately likely to be the subject of negative sentiments.

B. Collectivity

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that 'collectivity' in Trinité meant that students spent most of their time in groups. Coupled with 'intensity', it afforded students few opportunities to be alone or to withdraw from their groups, thus making other students (and unwanted interactions) difficult to avoid. It also meant that adults managed students as groups, and furthermore sought to 'use' school groups to further students' *éducation*, through encouraging the latter to act cohesively and focus on their own roles in group cohesion.

This section documents how all three of these aspects of collectivity led to interpersonal constraints between students that were difficult to avoid. Co-presence in groups led students to routinely 'step on each other's toes', particularly through sound. Being managed as groups meant that events that concerned only certain students could 'spill over' and affect other students. Finally, the staff members' attempts to build cohesive 'collectives' through focusing on individual students' behaviour meant that constraints that staff members imposed on students were framed as students constraining each other – an interpretation that was somewhat shared by students.

1. Being in groups: the *cadre* and constraints through sound

Being in groups carried with it a host of sensory experiences which became the norm for students, thus creating a baseline level of constraints that students endured as part of their daily lives.

Sound in particular was a powerful medium for students to constrain each other. Fundamentally, sound travels and is amplified in closed spaces (such as classrooms). Further, it is near impossible not to hear a sound in one's vicinity. Yet – as the accounts of music programme musicians, who were particularly sensitive to sound, attested when they visited the school – in Trinité relatively high levels of noise were the norm from very early on in the year. The following vignette from a TAP session at the beginning of the year demonstrates this well, exhibiting just how habituated students were to noise:

> I come into the Year 6 classroom, where the non-boarders are cooling down after doing some physical exercise. A group of them are sat at the students' desks, watching a cartoon of 'Titeuf' [a very popular French comic and cartoon] that is projected onto the whiteboard. A character which resembles Johnny Hallyday [a well-known French musician] appears on screen and I exclaim "hey, that's Johnny Hallyday!". I expect a reaction, but my words ring hollow as the students continue watching the cartoon. Suddenly I notice a cacophony of voices producing continual noise from the other side of the room. A group of students are drawing and loudly talking to each other there – out of sight, but certainly not out of earshot. On our side, a student gets up and asks an *éducateur* if he can go to the bathroom. She answers to wait until the end of the session. The volume of the cartoon in comparison to the rest of the noise is so low that I can barely hear it at all, but the students watch on, unperturbed. (Fieldnotes, TAP session, 13.10.2016)

This vignette is remarkable not so much because it illustrates how noise levels made watching the cartoon difficult, or because the volume of the cartoon was so low. Indeed, the classroom speakers had a limited decibel range, and the students may well have been aware of this. Rather, what is

surprising – at least from an external person's point of view, as I was at the time – is just how habituated and unbothered the students who were watching the cartoon seemed to be by the noise around them. This vignette therefore indicates that, from early on, students had at least partly internalised the idea that being in groups in Trinité meant enduring a certain amount of noise coming from others[90].

This is not to say that students never complained of other students' noises. Another episode involving watching a movie suggests just how constraining noise could be for students:

> The Pyrenees students and myself move to the Pyrenees TV room for a *veillée*… Karim [a Pyrenees *éducateur*] sets up Disney's Aladdin and says "Marc I'm leaving you with them, I'll be right back". The movie starts, and soon afterwards Jasmine (the main female character) comes on screen, prompting several girls to say, one after the other, "I'm Jasmine!" and "I'm Jasmine too!". Soon after, when Aladdin comes back on screen, Ervin and Vito 'respond' by saying "I'm Aladdin". Then, another student brusquely tells them to "be quiet!". This 'unleashes' an avalanche of complaints from different students, one at a time urging others to be quiet. After several of these complaints and counter-complaints, Sonia exclaims "Marc, do something!". Completely flustered, I manage, after a couple more 'shut-ups' from students, to say "Alright, everyone is all the characters so no need to talk about it!". Cristina flatly responds, "of course not, how could I be Aladdin?". (Fieldnotes, veillée in the Pyrenees boarding house, 10.12.2015)

[90] The fact that students rarely complained of the stench of their classrooms after they had spent an entire day (or week) in them, or of the stench of their toilets at the end of the school day, suggests that they may have also interiorised the notion that being in school also meant enduring some unpleasant smells.

In this vignette, students seem to perceive even small amounts of noises as very frustrating and as legitimate sources of resentment and conflicts. However, the episode also shows the importance of another aspect of collectivity: the presence of the *cadre*. Sonia's comment indeed suggests that adults – the embodiments of the *cadre* – were responsible for managing these constraints. In the absence of the *cadre*, it seemed, students were incapable of managing them. Interestingly, this was reflected in comments that Sonia and Jose made to me just a week later. When I asked them what they did when somebody was talking during a movie and they wanted them to be quiet, they replied:

> Sonia: "We say be quiet, and if they don't want to [be quiet] then they start to insult us, then we start hitting each other, then it's over. Either one of us starts bleeding or someone is put to bed. It's simple". Jose: "Or else he gets punished". Sonia agrees and says: "we hit each other all the time". Jose agrees. (Interview with Sonia & Jose, 17.12.2015)

This account is striking because it indicates that students' attempts to regulate constraints themselves, if anything, led to conflicts. This process, in turn, is described as inevitable, even mechanical. This therefore links the *cadre* with students' interpersonal constraints: since the former was responsible for preventing situations where students impeded each other, there were few established processes for students to manage these situations themselves. This was even more powerfully expressed during

an interview with two younger girls. I was asking them what they liked and didn't like in school, and they explained that they didn't like how Damon made so much noise in their class:

> Chloe: this morning he made me cry three times because he was making so much noise […]
>
> Laticia: He keeps on saying bad words, and also he talks while we're working, and it bothers us. Every time I ask him nicely if he can stop, and he says no. I ask him nicely as well! (Interview with Laticia and Chloe, 2015.12.17)

For Chloe and Laticia, Damon's noise bothered them while they were trying to work in class. And it was also constraining because, as they said later, it could create a hiatus in the lesson whenever the teacher admonished Damon. Yet, Laticia specifically points out how difficult it is for her to get him to stop: even "asking nicely" doesn't work. This is significant, as 'asking nicely' was a typical piece of advice that members of staff would give to students in like situations. However, it was very often met with a simple refusal, or, crucially, responses along the lines of "you're not an *éducateur*" or "so what, what are you going to?". This suggests then that the school's educational practices revolving around collectivity and the *cadre* could make students, who were not beholders of the *cadre*, powerless to prevent interpersonal constraints coming from other students. Interestingly also, Damon was nominated by Laticia as a disliking tie at both measurement waves[91], and during the second wave he was nominated by Chloe as a disliking tie.

[91] Although Laticia eventually retracted this nomination at wave 2, suggesting that he may have been more of an ambivalent tie then.

2. Managed as groups: *débordements* and conflicts that generated constraints

In the process described above by Sonia and Jose, a simple complaint escalates into a round of insults, then into a full-blown conflict, and finally into the end of the movie. This process of 'escalation' was not isolated – it was in fact recognised by both members of staff and students, who described them using expressions such as "*débordements*" ("overflowing") and situations that had *dégénérées* ("degenerated").

Processes of *débordement* were indeed recognised by students. For instance, Michael, during one of the Year 6 class council sessions, complained that Charlie, his neighbour, was distracting him in class, saying: "first I'm working, then he talks to me, then I [inaudible] my desk, and then things 'go South'" (Fieldnotes, Year 6 class council, 26.02.2016). The last two 'steps' in particular suggest a *débordement* process. But *débordements* were above all feared by staff members, as they meant an 'overflowing' or 'explosion' of the *cadre* which was seen to make students feel anxious, act disruptively, and potentially create hazards. This fear naturally had a considerable impact on how staff members managed groups of students. This was clear from very early on, for instance in the following vignette with the Jura boarding house boys:

> Susan [one of the Jura *éducateurs*] has gotten her students to sit against the wall of the school to calm down after dinner. She tells the younger boys to go up to the boarding house to get ready for bed and lets the older boys stay in the courtyard as their bedtime is a little later. The older boys play a version of 'tag' while I talk to Susan, who is supervising them. Then, suddenly, Alfredo grabs one of Michael's

> slippers, and the boys start throwing it back and forth between them, turning Michael into a "monkey in the middle". Susan spots this, immediately interrupts our conversation and issues a threat that she will stop the game and send them all upstairs if they don't give back the slipper. She explains to me that she always has to be on the lookout for these kinds of *débordements*. (Fieldnotes, Evening with the Jura boarding house, 01.10.2015)

While in this case, Susan did not bring the threat to execution, this certainly happened on other occasions where *débordements* were at stake. It happened one Friday after school when Ernest and Roger had decided to take the non-boarders and Jura boys to the *stade* – a place that students coveted – to wait for their parents. However, Mario, having previously got into a fight with Lennie, suddenly became furiously angry:

> Suddenly I notice that Roger is holding back Mario in the middle of the *stade*. Mario is trying to escape with all his might, with a look of rage and an enormous frown on his face. Ernest calls to Roger to let him go, "he's not doing well". Roger lets go, and Mario storms off in the direction of a game of football involving several students. Their football (made of foam) comes his way, he runs to grab it and kicks it in the direction of the parking lot, where it will be complicated for them to get it back. In his rage he kicks the ball straight over his head; several of us watch as the ball pathetically arches up and down right above him. Ernest calls over to calm him down as the ball lands, but Mario catches the ball again, runs towards the edge of the *stade* and kicks it into the parking lot[…] after several more incidents of Mario disrupting other students' playing, Ernest calls for the non-boarders to come inside, exclaiming "I can't leave you out here in the *stade* when one of you isn't doing

> OK"[…] a little later, Roger also brings the Jura students back to their boarding house, explaining to me "I could tell that the situation was starting to degenerate". (Fieldnotes, Friday after school, 04.03.2016)

This vignette is illustrative of important processes in at least three ways. First, it discloses how the conflict between Mario and Lennie, which strictly concerned only them, led to some 'collateral damage' which impeded other students' agency due to the collectivity of the school. Second, it shows how students were constrained by Ernest's and Roger's reaction to the *débordement*, which consisted in getting all students away from the much-coveted *stade*. The way in which conflicts and *débordements* could impact other students through adults' reactions was also clear during a Year 6 *Blouses Roses* session where Dylan and Shane had gotten into a fight. After this incident, which had already created a significant hiatus in the session:

> One of the *Blouses Roses* exclaims: "Right, are you going to get to work then?" in an accusatory tone. The chatter of students in the class dies down after this; I note that the atmosphere has deteriorated dramatically. I also note that while before the Blouses Roses were talking about students 'doing a drawing', they have just asked the students to 'get to work'. (Fieldnotes, Blouses Roses session, 19.11.2015)

This episode illustrates how a conflict and *débordement* which strictly concerned only two students affected an entire school group by changing adults' dispositions to the group.

Third, the March vignette above discloses how *éducateurs* reacted to complicated relational situations in the *stade* – where the *cadre* was relatively weak – by bringing students into a space where the *cadre* was stronger, such as a classroom. This process of reinforcing the *'cadre*' also happened in other occasions *when débordements* were at stake. These incidents therefore bring out how *débordements* were seen as dangerous breaches of the *cadre* which could only be prevented or stopped through restoring the *cadre*. They thus link the constraints that students faced with key educational practices in the school.

3. Creating cohesive collectives

Collectivity not only meant managing students as groups, it also meant using group processes to build group cohesion – in other words, to turn school groups into 'collectives'.

Yet, as we will see, this process could also lead staff members to, at times inadvertently, emphasise that students were liabilities to each other. An extreme way in which they did this was when they implemented 'collective punishments'. These punishments were rare – they only happened when students had trespassed the *cadre* so extensively that staff members, as a way to restore the *cadre*, felt the need to give all students in the group the same punishment. They were seen as a last resort measure, especially as they were liable to attract accusations of injustice from students. This, in turn, meant that staff members felt a need to justify them whenever they were implemented.

One important way in which staff members justified these punishments was by claiming that the group in question needed to 'act as a whole'. This was clear from an interaction I observed one morning in the Year 6 class:

> Cécile, like every Monday morning, is going through the students' home-school books, checking whether they have been checked by the students' parents. She comments on an item in a student's book about needing to bring swimming clothes for school trips to the local swimming pool. This sparks a discussion on going to the pool. Nathalie says she would like to go, and Cécile remarks that she already gets to go with her boarding house. But, Nathalie answers, "every time some of them fool around and we get a collective punishment". Cécile tells Nathalie that this is something that she needs to bring up with her boarding group, and Ernest adds: "that's the group alright". (Field notes, Year 6 class, 30/11/2015)

In this vignette, Nathalie emphasises that it's because of other students and their 'fooling around' that she gets collective punishments which presumably deprive her of using the pool. Cécile and Ernest's comments, in contrast, emphasise the group 'life' of the boarding house.

This disconnect between staff members' narratives of collective punishments – as arising from shared failings – and students' narratives of these events – as arising from individual failings – was even more pronounced in another group punishment episode. This occurred at the beginning of the year, when Mathilde, the Year 6 class's part-time teacher at the time, organised a relatively fun science lesson involving pair-work. She reacted quite strongly to the noise in the class from the very beginning, telling students to stop what they were doing when noise levels were too high, as well as threatening to give sanctions to disruptive individuals. However, after some time and another bout of noise rising, she finally stopped the pair-work and told the students to go back to their desks to complete mathematics problems quietly and individually:

> As the students get started on this task, Mathilde explains that "the whole class is at fault – you were all making noise even though there was nothing [to make noise about]. It's *because of the class* that you changed partners. Now you need to act *together* [emphases added] to get the science lesson started again." Dylan and Paul accuse other students of causing this upset. Mathilde tells them not to "add fuel to the fire." A few minutes later, Kevin says something rude. Mathilde scolds him, and Kevin responds: "I didn't do anything, and now I have to put up with the stupid things that others have done". Mathilde responds, in a matter of fact tone, "That's true. Either way we will be doing science tomorrow". (Fieldnotes, Year 6 afternoon lesson, 17.09.2015)

What is interesting here is the contrast between how Mathilde frames the incident – as a collective failing, which students need to overcome together – and the reactions from the boys. Admittedly, the latter may not have been seriously accusing other students – even at the time they sometimes made jokes involving false accusations, and they had pointedly been told off by Mathilde during the lesson for making too much noise themselves. However, even if not, their comments demonstrate that the 'move' from a 'group' failing to an 'individual' failing was already well-established at that point in the year – as Mathilde's final comment, "that's true", reflects.

This isn't to say that students always saw collective punishments as being the fault of other students. At times they expressed them as being due to failures of staff members. Michael and Lizzy said as much to me in an interview during a time when Ernest was off sick and Claudia, the Year 6 class's new part-time teacher, had implemented several such punishments. I had arranged the interview because

Michael had complained during a class council that, whenever Ernest wasn't in class and Claudia (as opposed to Cécile) was teaching, "there was lots of yelling":

> Lizzy: "When Ernest isn't here it's carnage because, since Claudia is a little new, that's why everyone yells".
>
> Michael: "Yeah, because she's only been here for 2 months, so she needs to develop her own habits. Otherwise things are going well with her! But it's just that[…] when Ernest isn't here, how can I say[…]".
>
> Lizzy (jumping in): "Nobody's keeping an eye on us".
>
> Michael: "Yeah, because Ernest is always there, among us, telling us 'you're going to make it'. And if we fool around, he tells us, just like Claudia, except…"
>
> Lizzy: "Claudia doesn't do it like Ernest" (Michael: "Yeah").
>
> Marc: "And what does she do exactly?[…] I'm just looking for your opinion".
>
> Michael: "So, my opinion is that Claudia should be more strict".
>
> Lizzy: "Yeah, or at least she's too nice with us".
>
> Marc: "And what does that mean, that she's too nice with you?"
>
> Michael: "it means that everyone messes around".
>
> Lizzy: "it means that everyone messes around, and she doesn't yell, she tells us to do lines [a form of collective punishment] instead". (Interview with Lizzy and Michael, 16.12.2015)

The two students claim several differences between Ernest and Claudia, and several missing elements in Claudia's practice which lead to her giving group punishments. However, what unites them is the lack of an appropriate *cadre* coming from Claudia. Indeed, not only does a *cadre* take time to develop – hence the comments about Claudia being new – but the students also complained that Claudia didn't display the mix of benevolence and authority that Ernest projected in the class, which made him such an effective embodiment of the *cadre*. This special case shows then that, if students focused on staff members' faults instead of each other's actions, it was because of an anomaly in the *cadre*.

This unusual case brings out a wider perception: if the *cadre* had been well-established (i.e. if staff members were doing their jobs correctly), then any negative communal outcomes could only be due to individual students and their 'difficult' behaviours (as the excerpt on p. 130 indicates). This produced a 'move' from 'collective' to 'individual' student failings which occurred on many occasions when staff members imposed constraints due to the actions of groups of students. This was clear during a *veillée* period in the Jura boarding house. There had been talk of playing hide and seek, but the Jura *éducateurs* had pointed out that students could only do it if they were well-behaved. On the way back up to the house after dinner, the *éducateurs* had gotten students to sit and calm down, and then, once the group was in the house:

> Roger tells the boys to again sit and calm down. As we sit in relative quiet, some boys start complaining that they don't understand why they are being punished. Roger answers that this isn't a punishment, it's a 'calm period'. He then asks us if we know what calm periods are for? […] A student asks Roger if he can explain, and Roger acquiesces: "basically, if we come back to the house all *excités*, then we'll get even more *excités*, whereas if we calm down then we'll get *excités* but less than

before". Roger tells him that's correct. (Fieldnotes, *Veillée* in the Jura house, 03.03.2016)

The *éducateurs* in the Jura house very often got their students to 'calm down' in this way, especially when they found that the group was too *agité* or *excité*. Moreover, Roger and Susan only two days earlier had framed this as a 'punishment', undoubtedly explaining students' interpretation of the 'calm period' as a punishment. Yet, as the student's explanation reveals, this 'punishment' imposed on the group was very clearly framed as being due to individual students' levels of *excitation* – in other words, to their individual, problematic behaviour. In a very real sense then, the vignette demonstrates that at least some students had internalised the notion that frustrations arose due to students' individual actions and 'difficulties'. Although in this case no specific student was to blame for the upset, in other instances 'guilty' students were very much singled out, causing the ire of other students to fall on them (e.g. Fieldnotes, Year 2/3 class, 10.06.2016).

C. Intensity: Diffusion, copying & meddling

In the previous chapter, we saw how the 'intensity' of the school meant that students took a keen interest in school events, and how it blurred the distinction between what was private and what was of concern to other school members. In this section, we will see how these features led to interpersonal dynamics which could hinder students' social agency.

1. Diffusion

Network diffusion is a well-researched topic in the social networks literature. It concerns ways that attributes and characteristics 'spread' between individuals through social ties acting as 'conduits' (Atkin, 1972; Borgatti and Halgin, 2011). Akin to social influence processes (Brechwald and Prinstein, 2011), it has been studied in relation to the spread of innovations (Burt, 1987; Valente, 1996), of information about employment (Granovetter, 1973), and of unhealthy or positive behaviours (Christakis and Fowler, 2013, 2008, 2007; Fowler and Christakis, 2010, 2008; Smith and Christakis, 2008).

Crucially, diffusion processes were not only pervasive in Trinité but were linked to the school's 'intensity'. The following vignette presents a clear instance of this:

> The three school classes are forming lines in separate parts of the courtyard to go back to class. Abruptly, a chant arises from the beginning of the Year 6 line: "Nathalie & Nestor!". The chant swells as more Year 6 students arrive in the line; seconds later, several Year 4-5 voices join the chorus. Soon even some Year 2-3 students, who are waiting for their teacher several meters away, join in the chanting, as the adults watch on, bemused[…] After several of these chants, Nathalie walks off and hides behind a door. (Fieldnotes, lunch break, 25.02.2016)

This diffusion event happens within seconds – very quickly then, compared to many diffusion processes studied in the literature. This speed suggests that several students, upon hearing the revelation of information about Nathalie and Nestor 'being in love', took an immediate interest in it,

or at least wanted to 'join in the fun'. Further, the vignette indicates another link between the 'intensity' of the school and an aspect of the school's practices. While getting students in a *rang* was one of the ways in which staff members (re-)imposed a *cadre* in between activities, it also meant that students spent some time waiting, potentially in silence, in relative physical proximity to other students. This undoubtedly made students receptive to the diffusion event cited above. Finally, the event was clearly constraining for Nathalie and Nestor: if the chant started in the first place – and if it caught other students' interest as much – it was because the 'love' between these two students was a guarded secret. Its airing could limit their capacities to negotiate their romantic relationships – something which could be particularly problematic for girls (See Section Chapter VI.C.2).

Although this diffusion example was clearly deemed to be relatively harmless by the staff members around, other diffusion events were so serious that staff members intervened rapidly and decisively. They did this for instance when Sonia's 'secret' – that her brother was incarcerated – was 'leaked' to the rest of the school. The following vignette describes both how the 'leakage' unfolded and how it was resolved:

> Alison (a Pyrenees *éducateur)* quietens the students of the Pyrenees boarding house, who have assembled in the house's lunchroom. She gives Sonia the opportunity to stand in front of everyone and say what she wants to say. Sonia, after a few moments, speaks up, telling us how annoyed she is that everyone now knows about her situation. Her mum will be so angry when she learns that everyone knows! She's particularly upset at Karen (another Pyrenees *éducateur*), because she's the one who, just after lunch today, yelled in front of everyone "you can't see your brother! Go see Natasha (the house manager)!"[…]. Then Sonia went to see Natasha, and by the time she came back to class, everyone was asking about her

> brother, asking her things like why he was in jail. What really upsets her is that now everyone knows. I ask her later if even the non-boarders know – she says they do. (Fieldnotes, after school in the Pyrenees boarding house, 16.11.2015).

This vignette is revealing for at least three reasons. First, the fact that the Pyrenees *éducateurs* organised this gathering just after school, at the earliest opportunity, suggests just how seriously they took the incident. Second, it once again uncovers an incident where the diffusion of information happened extremely quickly in the school – in the space of an afternoon, it seemed that all of the students knew about Sonia's 'situation'. Finally, it concerns information relating to Sonia's 'difficult' family situation, which in the vignette appears to be a kind of 'risk factor' for Sonia's self-presentation in the school, as well as for her relationship with her mother. Yet, she was not the only student to have a 'difficult' family situation, making such diffusion events potentially hazardous for many students in Trinité. Thus, the vignette reveals an 'extreme' example of a wider process, whereby the 'intensity' of the school[92], which meant that other students could take a keen interest in students' private lives, could create many potential constraints for students, including because of their allegedly 'difficult' backgrounds.

2. Concern about diffusion: the risks of escalation

Shortly after the vignette above, I asked Alison about her take on what had just happened:

[92] The solution that the *éducateurs* employed – organising a public gathering – is in fact reminiscent of the intensity of the school.

> Alison tells me it's such a shame that the information 'leaked' this time. It's so important that the *éducateurs* are clear amongst themselves about what to do in these situations, as it's crucial to address this kind of problem quickly, before each student starts adding his/her interpretation to the situation and things get out of control. (Fieldnotes, Pyrenees boarding house, 16.11.2015).

Alison's comments are reminiscent of the passages above describing *débordements* and how they were particularly feared by members of staff. The diffusion event is indeed described as one which can blow out of proportion and cause much greater harm if it is not effectively brought under control. Yet, other members of staff also shared this interpretation of diffusion, such as Ernest, who was seen as particularly skilled at keeping situations 'under control'. I had come to him looking for support as I had had a difficult group interview one day, where I had been unable to stop two students from mocking another student:

> I tell Ernest how incapable I am feeling. He tells me not to worry[…] he tells me about his first years, when students got into fights all the time and he kept on getting angry at them. He tells me that over time you learn how to become capable in these situations, and especially to send an electric shock in the "system" that stops the chain [of conflictual interactions]. And you also learn strategies to cope, instead of returning the violence that the students do to you. (Fieldnotes, after school, 02.06.2016)

For Ernest then, one of the main things he learned with his several years of experience was that conflicts could actually create 'chain reactions' which could escalate, and which he had to learn how

to stop. This description very much evokes the process of diffusion[93], and therefore suggests that interpersonal conflicts could diffuse due to intensity and thus have much more far-reaching consequences than was immediately apparent.

Ernest was not alone in recognising that diffusion could happen in the school. Roger, in his explanation for why he brought his students inside after the Mario incident described above (see p. 166), also seemed to recognise that the incident could 'diffuse' to students in his group[94] and that this was potentially hazardous. Likewise, certain students also acknowledged behavioural cascades and even used them to explain disruptive behaviour. This was reflected in the section of my interview with Michael and Lizzy that followed the part discussed above (p. 171-172). I had just asked them who exactly fooled around in their class so as to bring about collective punishments. After admitting that they too sometimes fooled around, they answered:

> Michael: "Everyone (Lizzy agrees). Actually, some students stay calm, and others sometimes, when somebody fools around, well they think it's funny so they fool around, and so on and so forth".
>
> Marc : "OK[…] And what does it do for you when the other students fool around?"
>
> (I have been watching Lizzy and Michael idly throw some pebbles that are at their feet. At this point I ask them to stop as I'm afraid that I will get blamed for their actions).

[93] Interestingly, when looking at the network of disliking relations in the school, and if positing that disliking ties can act as conduits for 'chains' of negative interactions, then Ernest's concern was certainly justified. Indeed, the mean geodesic distances of students in the dislike networks in Trinité were 2.1 (SD = 0.8) and 1.8 (SD = 0.6) respectively at waves 1 and 2. This suggests that, positing the above, conflicts would not take long to spread to many students in the school.

[94] Mario was a non-boarder.

Lizzy and Michael laugh.

Marc: “Because I can see that right now you’re the ones who are fooling around!”.

(They laugh some more.[…])

Lizzy (smiling): “here, for example, Michael started and then me too, I don’t know why, I was drawn”.

Marc: “Do you know why?”

Lizzy: “I don’t know. It’s fun, it’s a laugh”.

Michael: “Actually, if someone is fooling around, sometimes you say ‘stop’ and everything, and the teacher hears you and you’re the one who gets it, and sometimes it’s such a laugh, or he says something that’s interesting, you talk and talk, and then, well, you also get shouted at”.[…]

Lizzy: “Actually we didn’t do anything, but we still have to do the collective punishment”. (Interview with Lizzy & Michael, 17.12.2015)

Michael appears to explicitly describe the process leading to group punishments as a diffusion process, where students ‘feed off’ each other. Yet, the students describe this process as if they had very little control over it. Not only are they mysteriously drawn to what other people are doing, but they also seem to believe that reacting to another student who is fooling around is legitimate – or at least not sufficient grounds for a punishment. This further suggests that the ‘intensity’ of the school was a normal part of school life and that instead of focusing on their own agency, students could blame others whenever diffusion became a problem for them. Interestingly, students often ‘deflected’ the blame for constraints on other students in this way – as Sonny did, for instance, in the vignette where he told Ernest that others had started picking on Ibrahim first (p. 130).

What allowed students to disregard their own roles in creating constraints, and make them focus on the actions of others? The answer, I would argue (as is suggested by the above), may have been partly in staff members' conceptions of the *cadre*, as well as their conceptions of students. Since staff members were primarily responsible for setting and maintaining the *cadre*, which itself was meant to 'contain' students, it followed that disruptive behaviour could be put down to 'cracks' in the *cadre*. Moreover, for at least some staff members, diffusion processes could be explained by students' 'child-ness' and difficult backgrounds. This was evident in a description that Ernest gave of diffusion processes:

> They say that children are sponges, and that you can see that with babies, who mirror the emotional states of their parents[…] But it's still very strong in our own students, who are between 6 and 10 [sic]. And especially because these are children who, due to their backgrounds, are very emotionally sensitive. So this 'sponge' phenomenon is basically, you absorb what's going on around you, whether good or bad[…] and then you spit it out[…] you spread it. (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016)

In this interview excerpt, Ernest retells the principle of diffusion and puts it down to students being children and, crucially, having 'difficult' backgrounds. Such reasonings, in a sense, absolved students of their individual responsibility in diffusion processes. However, it is equally clear that, for Ernest, the 'capacity for diffusion' is an individual trait of students (as opposed to, say, a feature of the school context). This suggests that Ernest saw students as being ultimately responsible for diffusion processes – something which would explain his comments enjoining students to 'think about their own roles' in

conflictual situations. Such beliefs may have influenced students' views that, if they themselves weren't to blame for diffusion processes, then other students ultimately were.

3. Copying

Other more surprising events also showed how diffusion could be potentially problematic for students. The following episode of a very special dinnertime in the Pyrenees boarding house – Cristina and Sandra's last dinner before they were put in foster care – is one of these:

> Several students cry Cristina's, and to a lesser extent Sandra's, departure. Most remarkable though is Lana: even though she has just arrived in the school this week, she cannot stop crying and repeating "Cristina!...". Laticia, Melanie and Jose tell her to stop crying, to no avail[…] Melanie also cries on and off[…] at one point she even parrots Lana's crying, laughing at her own joke and starting a bout of students parroting Lana's crying[…] several times throughout the dinner I hear Jose repeat "man, if this goes on I'm going to start crying too!". (Fieldnotes, Pyrenees boarding house, 07.01.2016)

This vignette shows how a very different kind of diffusion event – the diffusion of emotions – could happen in the school. And it exposes a form of diffusion which had its own name and so a special meaning in the school: 'copying'.

The word “copy” had several meanings in Trinité, although they were all united by a core feature: ‘copying’ was, in essence, doing exactly like what someone else was doing. Yet, this not only meant paying attention to other people, but also potentially exposing what they were doing. In this way, it blurred the boundary between what was public and private, and fed off of the ‘intensity’ of the school. This ‘exposing’ is evident in the vignette above, where Melanie copies Lana’s crying to expose it to (further) ridicule from other students. The vignette also illustrates how such ‘exposing’ could be constraining for the ‘exposed’ student.

Copying was also significant because, given the collectivity and intensity of the school, it was easy to do. This turned it into a widespread tool for students – though one which could limit other students’ agency[95]. The following vignette demonstrates the availability and constraining aspects of copying very well. It tells of my first ever dinner with the Pyrenees boarding house. On the way to the school cafeteria there were heated discussions about who would sit next to me; Laticia and Melanie, both particularly attached to me throughout the year, had ‘claimed’ me by holding one of my hands each. We talked excitedly on the way there, and then, once we had settled down to eat:

> Jose tells me a call-and-response joke, the format of which I remember from my younger days: “repite and repeat are on a boat, repite falls in the sea. Who’s left?”, to which I answer “repeat?”, followed by Jose repeating the joke. Then straight afterwards Laticia tells me a similar joke: “Pinch-mo and Pinch-me are on a boat, pinch-mo falls in the sea. Who’s left?” “Pinch-me?” followed by Laticia pinching me. Then, other students (Melanie, Nathalie, and others) also clamour for my attention, repeating in quick succession the jokes that the first two students had told,

[95] It was also possibly widespread because it was embedded in the core of the school’s academic practices: in class, students would routinely copy things that were written on the whiteboard into their notebooks.

> sometimes with minor innovations – to these students' annoyance. At one point, Vito does one of these jokes with me, and Jose (his brother) yells "stop copying me!". This frenetic bout of students asking for my attention and arguing with each other amplifies progressively, and it only ceases when Farhad (a Pyrenees *éducateur*) roars at the students to stop. (Fieldnotes, Pyrenees dinnertime, 10.12.2015)

In this episode, I had clearly become a significant object of interest for the students. The situation was indeed unique: it was not only my first dinner with the students but my second ever visit to their boarding house. This 'raised the stakes' for any student who wanted to interact or play with me, since their opportunities to do so in such a (relatively) intimate setting were fleeting and limited. Some students therefore used tools to maximise these opportunities, from taking my hand to copying their boarding housemates. Yet, Jose and Laticia's reactions to the copying demonstrate how, in this instance at least, they recognised that the students were furthering their own agency at their expense. Crucially, this was not the only time that students competed for the attention of someone for whom they held an affinity. Indeed, the highly structured nature of the school day meant that opportunities for free social interactions could be scarce, therefore pushing students to potentially 'compete' with each other by using tools, such as copying, to 'get ahead' of others[96].

The importance of both intensity and constraints for copying was reflected in a conversation I had with Tailor, when I asked her why a student might be annoyed at being copied. She gave four reasons: it might be due to their personality; it might be because they wanted to be left alone; it might be because they knew that others were copying them to annoy them; and finally it might be because they

[96] In the vignette above I in fact unwittingly amplified the competition between students by trying to respond to as many of them as possible, eager as I was not to offend any students and thus create risks for my research.

were jealous that others were copying them (Fieldnotes, afternoon break, 26.11.2015). While the second reason is reminiscent of the inescapability of other students, the last clearly suggests that copying could happen at the expense of others' agency: seeing that other students were copying her to try to 'get ahead' compared to her, a student might feel jealous of the copying students[97].

4. Meddling

Students had ways of resisting unwelcome diffusion events. One of these was to accuse other students of 'meddling'. These accusations tended to be deployed when a 'meddling' student was getting involved in the matters of one or more other students, at least one of whom did not want the 'meddler' to get involved[98]. As such, 'meddling' was a form of diffusion which seemed to be linked to the 'intensity' of the school.

I decided to dig deeper into students' meanings behind the word during an interview with Shane, shortly following a class council session where he and other boys had accused Ana of "meddling". I asked him to give me an example of her meddling and he told me to take part in a role play with him:

> Shane: "Come on, speak to me, pretend that you're talking to a friend".
>
> Me: "OK. So, how's it going friend? I…" [I continue talking].
>
> Shane: "Hey! Can I play with you? Can I play with you?".

[97] In fact, I observed students complain about other students copying on them in class as well – although not if they considered the 'copiers' to be their friends (e.g. Fieldnotes, Year 4/5 class, 22.02.2016).
[98] These accusations are reminiscent of research suggesting that even young students value their privacy (Birnhack et al., 2018).

Me: “Can you – no, please Ana, just a sec, I’m trying to talk to a friend here”.

Shane: “now, pretend that you’re trying to sort something out[…] Like someone’s insulted you and all”.

Me: “Yeah, uhm, Hey listen, I don’t, listen…”.

Shane: “Hey, he insulted someone, and also he insulted me, ladida ladida…”. (Interview with Shane, 07.06.2016)

In both of Shane’s examples, the fictional Ana ‘gets involved’ in matters between two friends that do not concern her. Further, in the second example she not only threatens to expose a conflict – thus risking sanctions from adults – but also ‘widens’ the story to include herself in it. In both cases she takes an interest in other people’s affairs, and ‘blurs’ the boundary between what does and doesn’t concern her, thus participating in the intensity of the school – but in a confining way.

The importance of constraint and denial of agency is even more forcefully demonstrated in an off-the-cuff remark that Shane made seconds after we had finished our role play:

Shane (spoken very quickly, imitating Ana): “‘Stop calling me SCH!’ [as himself] It’s not my fault, if she looks like SCH it’s not my fault is it”.

Me: “Stop calling me what, did you say? I didn’t…”

Shane: “SCH, because…”

Me: “SCH?”.

Shane: “Yeah, he’s a singer, she kind of looks like him, we tell her “you kind of look like SCH”, and then she starts crying”.

Me: “and is that the same thing as meddling?”

Shane: (very short pause, speaks softly) “for me it is”. (Interview with Shane, 07.06.2016)

Does Shane believe that Ana’s ‘defence’ was meddling, or does he think that it was simply like meddling? This is unclear; however, either way Shane makes a clear link between Ana’s ‘meddling’ and his own agency illegitimately being denied. What is equally interesting is that, in both waves of network interviews, Ana named Shane as a friend, while Shane named her as a disliked relation in the first wave and as one of the students he ‘appreciated the least’ in the second wave.

This would suggest that, to constitute “meddling”, an act of ‘getting involved’ in somebody’s business should be perceived as a hindrance by the ‘victims’ of the meddling. The following vignette brings home the importance of this perception:

I am eating dinner with the Jura boys, sitting near Damon and Dimitri, with Damon sitting in front of Nestor. Our main dish comprises of fish sticks. As we are eating, I abruptly hear Damon shout at Nestor to stop eating with his fingers. Nestor responds by smiling and picking at his fish sticks with his fingers, taunting Damon. Dimitri then comments: “what I don’t like about Damon is that he always tells us not to meddle, but he’s constantly meddling himself”. Damon responds: “I’m not

> meddling, he's right in front of me, I can't not watch!". An *éducateur* nearby intervenes and the conflict stops. A few minutes later, Damon whispers in my ear "Dimitri accuses me of meddling but actually he's the one who's meddling in my business". (Fieldnotes, Dinner with Jura boarding house, 08.12.2015)

In accusing the other of "meddling", Dimitri and Damon are clearly saying that the other is getting involved in something that does not concern them. However, they are also clearly trying to resist each other's attempts at constraining others' social agency. For Damon's accusation this is relatively clear: he is accusing Dimitri of preventing him from reacting to perceived affronts from Nestor. As for Dimitri's accusation, it is not simply about Damon preventing Nestor from eating in the way he wants to, or preventing himself from having a less noise-filled dinner[99]. It is also about Damon unfairly trying to prevent others from negotiating their relationships with him. Dimitri's accusation, in a sense, therefore tries to stop Damon from unfairly denying others their social agency.

Students could even accuse staff members of meddling, and for similar reasons. For instance, during his first MASS session, at one point I noticed Kevin refusing to participate. When I came to see him to ask him what was wrong, he complained that Farhad (an *éducateur* in his boarding house) was "not minding his own business" because he had punished Kevin for being disruptive. Yet, that day, as on many other occasions (and for many other students), Kevin's 'disruptiveness' largely involved playing with friends. In reprimanding Kevin then, Farhad was effectively denying Kevin the ability to act in his relationships freely. This links Kevin's accusation with those made above.

[99] Which was significant, considering how noisy the school cafeteria typically was.

A conundrum remains however. The discussion of the previous chapter suggests that getting involved in other people's 'business' was routine in the school. Does this mean that students were continually accusing each other of meddling?

This was not so, as these involvements did not always draw accusations of "meddling". It seemed that accusations weren't made particularly when the presence of the 'meddler' was legitimised by the personal relationships she had with the students involved. This was clear after the bullying incident between Ibrahim and the older boys (see p. 130). After the incident, while Ernest was getting the students to calm down by sitting in the courtyard, Ibrahim and Mario sat next to each other and made amends. As they were chatting, Luigi came and sat next to them, saying nonchalantly "I'm sitting down, I'm meddling". This suggests that Luigi knew that he was, strictly speaking, meddling; yet, neither Mario (his brother) nor Ibrahim (who had nominated him as a friend at wave 1) had accused him of this, nor protested his presence. Likewise, Cristina did not protest his presence when he 'gatecrashed' an intimate session of listening to a recording of her boarding housemates saying goodbye to her before her departure from the school. She had requested to do this with Nathalie and Lizzy, her two closest friends. Yet, Luigi was Nathalie's 'sweetheart' at the time. This undoubtedly explained why his presence was tolerated.

D. Network tests of negative ties and constraints

The collectivity and intensity of the school therefore enabled processes which led to many instances of students constraining each other. But did these processes lead to recognisable patterns in the negative sentiment (i.e. disliking) network of the school?

Before answering this question, we must first ascertain who students would be likely to dislike if the processes above led to negative sentiments forming between students. For collectivity, the answer seems to be relatively straightforward: students should be more likely to dislike students when they were in the same school groups as them. Table V-2 displays the correlations between disliking ties and the amount of time that students spent together in groups at waves 1 and 2 and between waves. It shows that this association was positive (and significant) at wave 1, but negative (and non-significant) at wave 2. It also indicates that, accordingly, disliking ties gained between both waves did not tend to be formed in groups, and suggests that the tendency for disliking ties within groups to be kept may have been weaker than the tendency for such ties to be lost. These results indicate that, while collectivity encouraged the creation of disliking ties within groups in the beginning of the school year, this effect had disappeared by the latter third of the year. They therefore suggest that, if hindrances produced by the importance of school groups were behind disliking ties within groups, then they were less keenly felt, or at least better put up with, as the year went on.

	Correlation values	P-values
Wave 1	0.085	<0.001
Wave 2	-0.032	0.08
Gained between waves	-0.066	0.001
Kept between waves	0.036	0.063
Lost between waves	0.071	0.001

Table V-2 – QAP correlations between disliking ties and students' 'coincidence'

Students' 'coincidence' is calculated as the amount of hours that students spent in the same school groups on a typical school day. Coincidence at wave 1 is used for analyses with wave 1 disliking ties. For the other analyses I use students' coincidence at wave 2, as it broadly corresponds to students' coincidence between both waves.

However, collectivity does not only concern ties within school groups. As the previous chapter argued, it also reinforced the intensity of the school. This leads to the question of who students should dislike if processes related to the latter held true. In other words, which other students should be more likely to (be seen to) participate in constraining instances of diffusion, including copying and meddling?

I would argue that such students are likely to be those who are socially close to ego[100] but who are not friends with ego. Indeed, the incidents above intimate how students who were friends were not considered 'meddlers' or 'copiers'. Yet, students may have been more interested in 'meddling' in private matters when those matters concerned students who were socially close rather than those who were socially distant. Likewise, being socially close, and especially sharing friends, could mean engaging in the same activities as ego, especially during unstructured periods of the school day[101]. This

[100] By 'ego' I mean a focal student sending or receiving ties (see also Appendix I.B).
[101] These periods were especially important as they imposed the fewest restrictions on social interactions, turning them into places where relationships were most 'up for' renegotiation.

would increase the likelihood that students were striving for the same goals and therefore competing, leading to instances of copying. It would also increase the chances of alters[102] being difficult to avoid, and students thus not being able to avoid unwanted diffusion processes.

One way to operationalise social proximity and sharing friends is to consider alters who are at a geodesic distance of 2. A distance of 2 is not only the closest geodesic distance after a distance of 1 (i.e. being friends). Alters at that distance also, by definition, share friends with ego, whereas those who are at greater geodesic distances do not. In other words, these alters are students whom egos share friends with but don't have (strong) affinities towards. One way of ascertaining whether the effects related to 'intensity' hold, then, is to examine whether disliking ties tend to be sent disproportionately to alters at a social distance of 2, especially compared to alters at greater social distances.

Table V-3 presents the results of QAP correlations between disliking ties and directed friendship distances of 1, 2, and 3 or more ('3+'). It shows that, at wave 1, the only association to be positive (and significant) was the correlation with distance 2. However, this result is influenced by the high proportion of students who were at that distance. Since this itself results from the high density of Trinité's friendship network, one could observe this effect without positing any 'intensity' effects. Comparing the extent to which those at different friendship distances receive disliking ties takes this issue into account. Table V-3 reveals that, at wave 1, the proportion of pairs at distance 2 who had disliking ties was much higher than the same proportion for pairs at distance 3+. Furthermore, while

[102] By 'alters' I mean the students to whom egos potentially send or receive ties.

students sent 44% more ties to those at distance 2 than would be expected at random[103], alters at distance 3+ were sent 37% fewer ties than would be expected at random.

	% of total geodesic distances	QAP Correlations with disliking ties	Proportion having disliking ties
Directed friendship distance		Expected value ~0.00	Expected value ~0.176
Distance of 1 (friend)	23.9%	-0.196*** (<0.001)	0.047*** (<0.001)
Distance of 2 (friend of friend)	54.0%	0.234*** (<0.001)	0.254*** (<0.001)
Distance of 3 or more	17.8%	-0.081* (0.018)	0.111* (0.013)

Table V-3 – Associations between directed friendship distance and sending disliking ties at wave 1

These effects at wave 1 are evocative, but they were measured only 6 weeks after the beginning of the school year. It may well be that, by then, students did not have sufficient opportunities to interact with peers who were not friends of friends to develop negative sentiments towards them[104]. Table V-4 below exhibits the same analyses as above for wave 2, by which point students should have had many opportunities to interact with students across the school. The results are similar, except that associations with distances of 3+ are stronger than at wave 1, making the relative effect of being at distance 2 weaker (although still stronger than the effect of being more socially distant).

[103] i.e. when compared to 'expected values' taken from the average values of the permuted networks. Note that in this case it is almost identical to the density of the disliking network.
[104] Although note that this does not call into question the presence of 'intensity' effects among friends of friends.

	% of total geodesic distances	QAP Correlations with disliking ties	Proportion having disliking ties
Directed friendship distance		Expected value ~0.00	Expected value ~0.256
1 step (friend)	27.3%	-0.326*** (<0.001)	0.042*** (<0.001)
2 steps (friend of friend)	50.5%	0.273*** (<0.001)	0.363*** (<0.001)
3 steps or more	9.4%	0.043 (0.243)	0.307 (0.215)

Table V-4 – Associations between directed friendship distance and sending disliking ties at wave 2

The above analyses use a relatively weak measure of social proximity however: approximately half of all pairs of students in Trinité at either wave were at distance 2 when using directed friendship distance. Further, the measure does not consider whether friendships are mutual. Yet without an element of mutuality, friendships and therefore social proximity may be far less consequential. Table V-5 therefore repeats the analyses above but uses geodesic distances in the reciprocated friendship network to ascertain social distance. Its wave 1 results are similar to those above. However, in wave 2 students tend to send fewer disliking ties to those who are at a reciprocated friendship distance of 2 compared to those who are at greater social distances.

	% of total geodesic distances	QAP Correlations with disliking ties	Proportion having disliking ties
Recip. friendship distance (wave 1)		Expected value ~0.00	Expected value ~0.176
1 step (friend)	9.9%	-0.135*** (<0.001)	0.028*** (<0.001)
2 steps (friend of friend)	26.3%	0.094*** (<0.001)	0.232*** (<0.001)
3 steps or more	55.5%	-0.001 (0.478)	0.175 (0.520)
Recip. friendship distance (wave 2)		Expected value ~0.00	Expected value ~0.256
1 step (friend)	13.5%	-0.205*** (<0.001)	0.045*** (<0.001)
2 steps (friend of friend)	35.1%	0.023 (0.252)	0.270 (0.288)
3 steps or more	36.7%	0.125** (0.002)	0.317** (0.004)

Table V-5 – Associations between reciprocated friendship distance and sending disliking ties at wave 2

These results need not invalidate the intensity effects posited above however; they may be due to the operation of triadic closure through structural balance. Balance theory (See p. 23) indeed predicts that situations where negative sentiment ties are sent to friends of friends are unbalanced and therefore unstable. The fact that many fewer 'reciprocal friends of friends' share disliking ties at wave 2 than at wave 1 may therefore be explained by balance processes.

To more fully test the effects of intensity then, it is useful to look at situations where they would hold but those of balance theory would not obtain. Looking at disliking ties that are 'gained' across time is particularly useful for this for two reasons. First, 'intensity' primarily speaks to the formation of negative sentiments. Second, if its effects were to hold across time, then the same processes which produced disliking ties up until wave 1 should also shape new disliking ties between waves 1 and 2[105].

[105] This statement implies that negative sentiments at wave 1 were not significantly affected by ties existing between students before the beginning of the year. Repeating the above analyses while controlling for whether students were 'newcomers' to the school produces very similar results, suggesting that this was the case.

Table V-6 thus displays proportions and numbers of disliking ties gained according to changes in reciprocated friendship distances between waves. It not only reveals that nearly as many new disliking ties are sent to those who 'go to' or 'stay at' at distance 2 than to those who 'go to' or stay at distance 3. Critically, it shows that the proportion of alters 'moving from' distances 3+ to 2 gaining disliking ties is similar to the proportion 'staying at' distances 3+ gaining these ties (with both being significantly above chance levels)[106]. These results are in line with 'intensity' but not with balance theory, which would predict that students 'going to' distance 2 should actively not be 'greeted' with disliking ties.

(a)

Dislikes gained	**Recip. friendship distance - Wave 2**			
Recip. friendship distance - Wave 1		*1*	*2*	*3+*
	1	0.011*** (<0.001)	0.328** (0.003)	0.368** (0.005)
	2	0.052** (0.001)	0.139 (0.144)	0.171 (0.475)
	3+	0.021*** (<0.001)	0.210* (0.041)	0.216* (0.021)

(b)

Dislikes gained	**Recip. friendship distance - Wave 2**			
Recip. friendship distance - Wave 1		*1*	*2*	*3+*
	1	1	20	14
	2	5	34	26
	3+	2	89	120

Table V-6 – Dislikes gained between waves 1 and 2 according to reciprocated friendship distances at both waves

(a) Proportions of students at these combinations of distances who were sent disliking ties, alongside significance values. (b) raw numbers of these disliking ties gained.

[106] A similar claim can be made for those 'moving from' distance 1 to distances 2 and 3+; however, the numbers of these are small.

E. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the 'dark side' of collectivity and intensity, looking at how they could foster negative sentiments among students. Being in the same groups could entail interpersonal constraints which students found difficult to manage, namely due to Trinité's educational practices surrounding the *cadre*. At the same time, being managed as groups and attempts to build group cohesion could lead to frustrations which, in part due to the school's practices, were framed as students hindering each other. In addition, the 'inward-looking' character of school life meant that constraining diffusion processes were particularly prevalent, with educational practices and staff member views once again encouraging students to look to others, and particularly other students, when apportioning blame for them. In particular, 'intensity' laid the groundwork for two forms of diffusion, 'copying' and 'meddling', to happen, especially in their more aggravating guises.

Building on the previous chapter, this chapter shows how educational practices linked to social transformation could foster antipathies which themselves undermined the 'creating cohesive communities' goal of social transformation. The chapter also presents a new theoretical rationale linking collectivity and intensity with the formation of negative sentiments. It frames the theory in terms of students' views and agency, substantiates it with vignettes and interview excerpts, and carries out network analyses to test it. It broadly finds support for it, with results suggesting that the constraints experienced due to intensity were more keenly felt throughout the year than those frustrations due to collectivity only. This is reminiscent of research indicating that conflicts are a formative but impermanent feature of the development of groups like school classes (Bonebright, 2010; Tuckman, 1965; Tuckman and Jensen, 1977; though see Cassidy, 2007). It is also consistent with ambivalence scholarship, which argues that constraints should be reproduced in interpersonal

relationships for negative sentiments to develop. Finally, it is in line with network research going back to the foundations of SNA (e.g. Moreno, 1934), which demonstrates that, although formal structures are important, the informal social structure of a setting has a greater impact on individuals[107].

My theoretical account also proposes a contextual addition to balance theory. This addendum takes into account previous findings regarding the importance of avoidance for negative ties. It also explains how high concentrations of positive and negative ties can co-occur in a network without positing that the network is composed of cohesive subgroups who essentially feud against each other[108]. It offers that, in conditions such as those that prevailed in Trinité, tendencies towards balance can be counteracted by social dynamics enabled by intensity and collectivity. For the first time then (to my knowledge), it details how a school's educational practices (specifically related to social transformation) could shape student disliking networks. This adds to accounts of how negative sentiments can become so common in schools (Klein, 2012). And it suggests, in passing, that the opposite of love may indeed not be hate, as the opening quote claims.

Finally, the chapter suggests an extension of Feld's foci theory: foci where individuals are forced to interact and which induce individuals to constrain each other can produce high concentrations of both positive and negative sentiment ties. This can happen when they feature intensity and collectivity, which turn high concentrations of friendships into 'risk factors' for diffusion events, and which turn socially close individuals into sources of hindrances. And it may also be encouraged by perceptions and practices which lead individuals to blame other people for constraining events or outcomes (as opposed to themselves or features of the context). This would give shape to Connidis and McMullin's

[107] This could also have been because, while staff members made many efforts to relieve tensions in school groups, they understandably found the school's informal social structure more difficult to influence.
[108] It also takes Gould's (2003) theory into account by addressing competition over peers; I return to this theory in Chapter 6.

(2002) comment about ambivalence arising especially in 'oppressive institutions' – where some individuals (e.g. staff members) possess greater privileges than others (e.g. students), for instance in apportioning blame for frustrating events.

Two caveats must be mentioned however. First, I assume in this chapter, and especially in my network analyses, that the structure of positive sentiment ties gives rise to negative sentiment ties much more than the converse. Many scholars take this perspective (e.g. Gould, 2003; Yap and Harrigan, 2015), although not all do (Huitsing et al., 2012), and it merits interrogation. In my efforts to test it, I have found that QAP correlations between nominating disliking ties in common and being a friend or part of the same friendship cliques (Luce and Perry, 1949) uncover very small, often negative, and always non-significant (P_{min}= 0.101) associations. These results suggest that this assumption is not outlandish in my case.

Second, my analysis is incomplete as it does not take students' individual attributes into account (beyond their group membership), even though these are likely to influence student networks. I turn to these in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI. THE STUDENT SOCIAL WORLD OF TRINITÉ, PART 3: AGE & GENDER

> "We are all communists with our closest friends, and feudal lords when dealing with small children" (Graeber, 2011: 113).

A. Chapter introduction

In chapters 4 and 5 we saw how the 'collectivity' and 'intensity' promoted by Trinité's educational practices created conditions which concentrated friendship and disliking ties in the school. However, their analysis of how educational practices shape students' relationships and relate to social transformation remains incomplete. For one, they do not consider whether students' individual attributes may have affected students' and staff members' views and practices so as to affect students differently. Yet, attributes such as gender have been found to be important in previous studies (Berndt and McCandless, 2009; Kovacs et al., 1996; Thorne, 1993), and, importantly, may have been more present in actors' minds when thinking about students than, say, social distance. They may therefore have impacted students' resources for self-transformation. Second, though the previous chapters account well for positive and negative sentiments within school groups, they less convincingly explain why these sentiments would have increased between groups. They therefore give an incomplete account of the *vivre ensemble* and social cohesion aims of the school. Finally, they do not address whether negative sentiments could have simply arisen due to conflicts developing between students of similar status, as Gould (2003) suggests.

The current chapter addresses these shortcomings by examining two ascribed aspects of students' identities that were highly influential and that interacted with Trinité's educational practices: age and gender. First, I show how age, in combination with the school class to which students were assigned, added a dimension to students' social categorisation and identities[109]: being '*grand*' or '*petit*'. After discussing the nuances of these dual notions, I specify how several factors, including the school's educational practices aimed at social transformation, colluded to establish a status hierarchy that advantaged *grands* over *petits*[110]. I discuss the concept of becoming and its relation with the 'performances' addressed in Chapter 4. I uncover how it contributed to the former status hierarchy and how it was heavily mediated by gender, such that boys and girls adopted very different 'becoming' performances. I argue that boys' 'becoming' performances could be constraining and could concentrate the attention of school members, while girls' performances were less obvious, less widely constraining, and turned girls' attention to boys.

Throughout the chapter I present arguments for how these factors might have contributed to the distributions of friendship and disliking ties in Trinité. I propose that the gendered nature of becoming practices made cross-gender friendship ties more likely from girls to boys than from boys to girls, and that *grands*' relative status made them more likely to receive friendship ties. Together, these findings suggest that the resources for self-realisation were especially concentrated in boys and older students. At the same time, I argue that *grands*' relative power over *petits* meant that they could more easily

[109] Following debates in studies of ethnicity (Jenkins, 2008), I view identification and categorisation as distinct processes. While the former involves focal individuals identifying with a given social group, the latter involves social categorisations being imposed on individuals by others. As Jenkins (2008: 83) notes, these processes are related, forming a "dialectic of identification". As such, I consider them together in this chapter, but note that they involve distinct processes.

[110] In accordance with relational sociology (Emirbayer, 1997), and in line with other familiar approaches (Lévi-Strauss, 1958; Saussure et al., 1972), I view the core social dimensions of this chapter (*grand*-ness and gender) as composed of mutually constitutive concepts (of *grands*/*petits* and boy/girl).

win ‘dominance contests’ (Gould, 2003) and thus be constraining for the latter. I argue that this produced resentment that was exacerbated by the incongruence between their ‘power to constrain’ and their status as children. This could have result in *petits* sending more disliking ties to *grands* than the converse, except when the *petits* went out of their way to resist the encroachments of *grands*. This, in combination with gendered becoming practices meaning that boys received more disliking ties than girls, could have impacted the school’s goals of teaching *vivre ensemble* and achieving social cohesion. In the final section of the chapter, I present network analyses which broadly support these assertions, and highlight an interesting network phenomenon related to ‘becoming’ and self-transformation.

B. Age and the paired notions of *‘grands’* and *‘petits’*.

1. Defining *‘petits’* and *‘grands’*

In being assigned to different school classes students were of course highly sorted by age. As per Table III-1, the three school classes divided students into groups with distinct ranges on the continuum of students’ ages in the school. However, these age differences took on an additional significance in Trinité: they contributed to sorting students into *petits* (literally “smalls”) and *grands* (literally “bigs”/”greats”/“talls”/”grands”). In common parlance, the two words in their noun form designate people principally according to their age, especially before adulthood, although their adjectival form refers to a person’s height. But Trinité students’ division into classes meant that these classes also defined who was *grand* and who was *petit*. Thus, staff members often referred to the Year 2/3 class

as the *"classe des petits"* ("the class of the *petits*"), or to the Year 6 students as the "*grands*". Likewise, students' definitions very often referred to the school years and classes that students were in. Sonny (in Year 5) said that the *petits* were those in years below his, and the *grands* were the Year 6 students (Interview with Sonny, 15.12.2015). Chloe and Laticia (both in Year 3) also spoke of *petits* and *grands* according to their class: for them, the *petits* were students in Year 2, while the *grands* were those in Year 3 and above (Interview with Chloe & Laticia, 17.12.2015). Ibrahim (in year 2) adopted the same definition as them, and he additionally included middle and high school students as *grands* and nursery students as *petits* (Interview with Ibrahim, 15.12.2015).

These definitions highlight how the two terms were opposites in a continuum, and how they were inflected by the school's notion of 'seniority', defined by students' school class and year[111]. However, they also intimate that *grand/petit*-ness was relative; one person's *grand* could be another person's *petit*. This was especially evident during an event which brought the definition of who was *grand* and *petit* out into the open:

> The point of this MASS session is to come up with a choreography that will represent the music group before the other groups of students. The students make a few suggestions, most of which are not well-formulated, and generally struggle to come up with ideas. The music teachers try to help them by asking them what could represent them. One Trinité staff member participating in the session in turn asks, "in the school, are you the *petits* or the *grands*?". Vito exclaims "we're the *grands*!

[111] School class and year constitute seniority as they were closely and hierarchically related to the central purposes of the school. However, the length of a student's tenure in the school is another possible meaning of seniority. Some students and members of staff indeed talked of students being '*anciens*' (literally 'ancients', having been in the school before the current year) and 'nouveaux' (literally 'news', having arrived recently or in the current year). However, these notions were not nearly as widely used or consequential, and so I do not address them in this chapter.

> The 'middles' are the Year 2s, the *grands* are the Year 3s". Monique answers, "but then who are the petits?". Vito says "that's the nursery". The adults laugh at his suggestion, and Monique admits: "I guess he's right!". (Fieldnotes, first MASS session with the Year 2/3 class, 04.11.2015)

From this episode it seems that, for at least some members of staff, the definition of *grand*/*petit*-ness seemed clear and uncontroversial – but that it was not universally shared across school members. Nor did there appear to be, as per Monique's comment, a special pressure on staff members to universalise definitions of the terms. Vito (in Year 2) also seemed to include himself quite hopefully in the *grands* of the school thanks to his shared class affiliation with the Year 3 students – something which will become interesting later in this chapter.

That the definitions were relative was also indicated by how they were different in different settings, and how they included individuals who were outside of the school. Indeed, while the Year 6 students were considered by many of Trinité's students as *grands*, in the Pyrenees and Alpine boarding houses, which both included large contingents of older middle school students, they were described as '*petits*' by both staff members and themselves. Chloe and Laticia, in the interview above, after saying that students in years 3-6 were *grands*, also said that all Trinité students were *petits* and all middle school students *grands* in their boarding houses. Lizzy, in an interview with Michael, particularly resented being a *petit* in her boarding house even though he was considered a *grand* in his, and even though they were both in the Year 6 class (Interview with Lizzy and Michael, 16.12.2016). Relatedly, Year 2/3 students may have been considered *petits* by many, but they were *grands* compared to *bébés* ('babies'), who were sometimes invoked as paradigmatic examples of *petits*.

The potential confusion arising from the relative definition of *grand/petit*-ness was exacerbated by the words' references to age and height. This was evident during a MASS session of the Strings A group:

> I arrive at the end of the Strings A session; the students are excitedly performing their group's choreography. After this, Ernest announces that they will now have time to try out some musical instruments, to general cheering. He says that Paul and Dylan have suggested that they line up from *petits* to *grands* to try out the instruments, congratulating them for their generosity. However, he asks, did they mean *petits* and *grands* in terms of height or age? Dylan starts answering, hesitates, stumbles as he tries to find his words, and finally, with Ernest's help, says he meant by age. (Fieldnotes, Strings A MASS session, 01.12.2015)

The ambiguity in this passage was reinforced by Dylan and Paul being both in the Year 6 class and among the tallest students of the school. Ernest's question was therefore well-founded, and the fact that Dylan took some time to answer it suggests that he was not used to explicating his understanding of *grand/petit*-ness.

It follows from the accounts above that exactly who was *grand* and *petit* could be very ambiguous in Trinité. This ambiguity was laid bare during an interview with Luigi, when I had asked him, after he had implied that Sonny, Jose and Federico (all younger than him) were not *grands*, whether they were *petits*. He answered, "they're not *petits*, they're *grands*, or, you know what I mean" (Interview with Luigi, 21.04.2016). Likewise, although Michael said he was a *grand* in his boarding house (Interview with Michael and Lizzy, 16.12.2015), when I asked his housemates Alfredo and Dylan whether he was

a *grand*, they were unsure as he was only 10 years old (and younger than them) (Interview with Alfredo and Dylan 03.12.2015).

2. *Grands* and *petits* in Trinité's student social world

a) Grand-*ness as a marker of status*

The above ambiguity and disagreements suggest that there could be definitional struggles over who was *grand* and *petit*. Yet, if these happened, it was because being (seen as a) *grand* was a signifier of status for students.

Grands enjoyed a higher status in the school for several reasons. Officially, the students were in school to learn; yet, *grands* were in 'higher' classes where learning was, by definition, more advanced. This gave them a self-presentational advantage: any claims they made about knowing more than more *petits* students were easily accepted, whether such claims were true or not. This meant in turn that they could also easily mock or taunt younger students for their lack of knowledge.

Grands were also able to participate more skilfully in the games that students played during break periods, giving them another self-presentational advantage. Indeed, many of these involved motor skills, such as the ability to run quickly. This often put *petits* at a disadvantage: with their smaller statures, they tended to be slower than *grands*. Thus, when playing games like British Bulldog, *petits*, such as Ibrahim, tended to be among the first to get caught (Fieldnotes, 05.11.2015, lunch-time break). Likewise, when playing football, their weaker motor coordination skills and relative slowness meant

that their chances of decisively contributing to the game were slim. Moreover, the sporting facilities of the *stade* next to the school were not particularly adapted to smaller statures: the basketball hoops were at a normal height, the football pitch was of an approximately normal length, and the 'half-pitches' remained large for younger students. While these features suited the *stade*'s use by different categories of people (schoolchildren, adolescents…), they also put *petits* at a disadvantage compared to *grands*.

However, *grands* also enjoyed a higher status in Trinité due to some of the school's educational practices and due to their relative proximity to adults. For many staff members in the school, adults could be considered responsible for their actions. As such, several staff members told me that they would have a hard time forgiving many of the acts that students routinely did if they came from adults (e.g. Fieldnotes, Conversation with Rose and Lucy, 04.12.2015; Fieldnotes, conversation with Shane and Ernest, 05.02.2016). They also expected adults to serve as examples for students. For instance, at the end of the year Ernest recounted how an important benefit of the MASS programme was that it had required diligence from staff members, which had in turn helped them set a good example for students:

> Before we would ask students to be diligent, but we wouldn't all be diligent ourselves. So they weren't likely to follow our example. And above all we serve as examples to them, we are examples, we almost need to be irreproachable in our way of being, especially with others, to show them the right way to do things, since they haven't learned it from other people. (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016)

Thus, for Ernest, adults are explicitly meant to act as examples for students, and even more so given students' deficient *éducation*. On many occasions, other *éducateurs* and teachers expressed similar views that parents could set a bad example for students. And this redemptory notion of staff members acting as examples was even embedded in the aims of the Pyrenees boarding house, which in a sense was on the *éducation*-al frontline of the school (see Section Chapter IV.C.2):

> Natasha : "The raison d'être of the Pyrenées house[…] it's to come by in these children's lives, it's to give them at that time in their lives, a model, it's to be examples for them, and to explain to them, why they are here. Really to explain… I don't know, it's probably only an ideal but, to explain what life is about, really". (Interview with Natasha, 06.01.2016)

For Natasha, this 'explaining about life' mostly consisted in helping students realise that, even though they were born into situations of deprivation, they could get themselves out of them through their own actions. Thus, staff members' roles as 'examples' could also be linked to the deficit discourse on children's 'difficult' backgrounds that prevailed in the school.

Yet, crucially, the notion of adults acting as examples was transferred to some extent onto *grands* as well (See also Section Chapter VIII.D.1). This was equally a part of the Pyrenees house's set-up according to Natasha. When I asked her what the differences in provision were between primary and middle school students, she replied:

> "They don't have the same activities, the same games or the same relationships to school, but all that makes the *vivre ensemble* up there, makes it work. Because the *petits* can act as mirrors for the *grands*[…] and vice-versa[…] That's why we work on the notion of example. We tell the *grands*: 'watch out, you're examples for the *petits*, so don't muck things up, it's important'. And it can be useful to them because it puts them under a positive light. [The *grands*:] 'Oh really, you want to be like me, do you?' [The *petits*:] 'Well yes, because, like, you're handsome, you run fast…' [The *grands*]: 'Oh!'. We work with that as well, the students are useful to each other". [Interview with Natasha, 06.01.2016]

It appears that, for Natasha, the greater maturity and capacities of the *grands* meant that they could serve as examples for *petits*, and that they could be held responsible for doing so, as per the warning she addresses to them ("Watch out, don't muck things up"). Moreover, getting *grands* to serve as 'examples' seemed to not only be a tool for fostering social cohesion between *petits* and *grands,* or for helping students learn *vivre ensemble*. It was also meant as a resource to *help* grands work on their self-transformation. Interestingly, on some occasions I observed *grands*, such as Cristina (in Year 6), 'taking up this mantle' with younger students, acting as arbitrators or authority figures (e.g. Fieldnotes, *veillée* in the Pyrenées house, 10.12.2015) – something which Sonia, who was older than Cristina but critically in the year below her, particularly resented (Interview with Sonia and Jose, 17.12.2015).

This higher status endowed to *grands* by staff members was in some ways embodied by symbolic privileges given to students in the Year 6 class. Their class council sessions were unique in the school; in the other classes the possibility for students to influence class affairs or make propositions that could be acted upon by staff members was much reduced. Along with this, the Year 6 staff members entrusted them with more *métiers* (literally "jobs" – explicit responsibilities in the class) than staff

members did in other classes. Importantly, these were adult privileges, resting on the idea that these students could be considered more 'responsible' than younger students[112].

By contrast, *petits* seemed to be defined by their lack of ability and even awareness. This was clear during an instance in the Jura boarding house. Roger had told the students to sit and calm down after dinner, and, having found a stray sock in the corridor, had threatened that he would not heed their requests to play hide and seek until they had figured out who was the owner of the sock:

> We start to wonder whether the sock might be Sammy's (in Year 2, the youngest student in the house)? Roger says that that's likely, as Sammy often loses his belongings. Sammy is just on my right, crawling on the floor. Someone asks Sammy if the sock is his. He replies that he doesn't know. The other boys comment on how he is a *petit*, so it's probably difficult to remember for him. Roger then calls Sammy's name again and asks him the colour of the glasses he is currently wearing. They are a very bright blue and green, an unusual colour that I don't recall ever seeing on him before. Sammy replies faintly that he doesn't know. All the other boys laugh in unison, in a good-humoured way. I notice that Sammy is smiling – he doesn't seem to have noticed that they have effectively just made fun of him. (Fieldnotes, Jura boarding house, 03.03.2016)

This vignette not only exhibits the older boys commenting 'in action' about how being a *petit* means having decreased cognitive abilities. It also unveils how this belief could be endorsed by members of

[112] The class additionally had Cécile, the headteacher, as their main class teacher – a symbolic privilege that was visible to all students in the school.

staff, to the extent that Roger seems to believe that it would be harmless to potentially make fun of Sammy in front of the others. This, in turn, suggests that the boy, due to his *petit-ness,* was at a disadvantage when it came to improving his social position in the school. His reaction, however, seems to confirm the picture that the others are painting of him: as a student who is, essentially, adorable but helpless.

This image of *petits* as un-able also came out when staff members explained to some students and their parents why they were not allowed to take their MASS instruments home. This concerned very few students, only a few *petits* who had either been markedly unwilling to participate during MASS sessions or had proved themselves to be unable to care for instruments[113]. Yet, the reason that was emphasised, which was evidently seen as more palatable to these students and their parents, was that they were too *petits* to receive an instrument. This in turn reveals that the idea that students could be denied responsibilities or privileges because they were "too *petit*" was uncontroversial enough to be used legitimately.

b) Power relations between petits and grands

Associated with their higher status, *grands* often enjoyed a position of dominance over *petits*. This was clear from the various occasions when they imposed themselves on the latter, for instance regarding the rights to play in the courtyard, as in the following vignette:

[113] Interestingly, *petits*, through their reputation as less 'able', started off at a disadvantage in this respect.

> Damon is playing football with Zach, Ervin and Justin in the corner of the courtyard that is often used and best suited for playing football. Suddenly, Jose, Sonny, Mario and Ryan, who must have just been sent on their break by Tracy, come and invade the game. At first the Year 3 boys resist this invasion by complaining that they can't play and grabbing the ball. The Year 4/5 boys walk off then, but they come back two minutes later and this time are successful, despite Damon vehemently arguing that his brother (Sonny) can't play. From here onwards the game is chaotic, with one team heavily outnumbering the other and several arguments over rules. (Fieldnotes, Afternoon break, 08.12.2015)

Here, Zach, Ervin and Justin are clearly not pleased about the older students joining their game. Yet, the latter are eventually able to 'invade' the game against the former's will, disrupting the balance of the game in the process, as Damon told me later that day:

> Damon tells me about the incident earlier, when the *grands* had come from out of the blue. He asks me rhetorically how big the teams were? They were 7 vs. 3. He hates it when he is playing football and others come, just join the game, and disrupt the balance of teams. (Fieldnotes, 08.12.2015, Jura Veillée)

Conversely, *petits* found it much harder to 'muscle in' on the games of *grands*. One of the complaints that Zach made to me just a week earlier demonstrates this:

> During a particularly noisy moment, Zach complains to me that he didn't even get to have a *récré* with the *grands.* I ask him what he means? He says that the *grands* didn't let [the *petits*] play with them or let [the *petits*] use their ball. So the latter had to go get another football, but by the time they came back, the récré was over. (Fieldnotes, Strings B MASS session, 01.12.2015)

Zach's way of specifically saying that it was the *grands* who refused them is suggestive of how students could frame these interpersonal constraints. Yet, descriptions of *grands* as 'bossy' came out on several other occasions, such as in the following interview, where I had asked Sonny to complete some sentences that I gave him:

> Marc: "In the courtyard, I don't like it when…"
>
> Sonny: "when… other people bother me[…] for example I was playing football[…] with Jose, Nestor, and Dimitri[…] and the Year 6s came and took our ball".
>
> Marc: "is there a link between being *grands* and taking the ball?"
>
> Sonny: "No[…] the petits do it too but we take it back".
>
> Marc: "and what happened next?"
>
> Sonny: "I went and told on them to Rose, but they wouldn't return the ball"
>
> […]
>
> "When others bother me, I go tell on them"
>
> Marc: "are there other ways [to get the ball back]?"

> Sonny : "I hit them, I beat them up" (laughs slightly) *[Interview with Sonny, 15.12.2015]*

In this excerpt, Sonny frames his account as *grands* stealing the ball from him. He also describes how he was powerless to get the ball back, even by referring to an adult. Indeed, staff members in the school were not always able to get their way in these situations, nor were they always able to help. This makes sense of Sonny's description of aggression as a strategy to 'get his way'. Yet, this strategy could be fraught with difficulties, due to *grands* relatively imposing physique compared to *petits*. In contrast, it seems that Sonny could get his way with *petits*. Later in the interview, he even completed the sentence "I like *petits* because…" with "because they don't bother me".

The picture that emerges from the previous vignettes is that, in Trinité, *grands* were perceived as more powerful and potentially constraining than *petits*, leaving *petits* relatively powerless to stop them from getting their way. This is not to say that the latter had no resources at their disposal. They could count on the protection of staff members, who were especially careful not to let *grands* act violently with *petits*, given the differences in size between them. Certain *petits* who held grudges against *grands* because of their dominance used this very much to their advantage. This was the case for Damon, who reacted particularly badly when he felt others were doing something to him that he had not done to them – of which *grand*-to-*petit* impositions were prime examples. The following vignette demonstrates just how much *grands* could be constrained by his 'grudges', as well as their own inability to 'fight back':

> Nestor, Francesco, Alfredo and some other boys are playing 'Pom' (a local variant of football with particular space requirements) together. Damon, who is particularly

> aggressive today, is visibly angry at Nestor and shouts "Homo! F*** your mum!". Nestor continues to hit the ball and simply answers "I don't care". Damon then comes and picks up the boys' football, holds it in his arms, and runs away from the boys. They ask him to give it back, but instead he rushes to hug the wall. Francesco tries to hit the ball out of his hands, but Damon slaps him in the face. The former raises his arms in indignation, looks around with a surprised look, and exclaims "what the heck is he doing?". Damon then gets on the floor and hugs the ball underneath his body. Nestor and Alfredo try to get the ball back; Alfredo asks him nicely, but Damon refuses and shouts "shut up" and other insults. Alfredo looks at me pleadingly, saying "he's being rude". Ernest then comes and tells the boys to just leave Damon alone and play with another ball that nobody seems to be using. (Fieldnotes, break before an important school ceremony, 27.11.2015)

In this episode, Damon's initial effort to get back at Nestor (a *grand* compared to him) falls flat. In reaction, he tries to constrain the *grands* as much as he can, in full knowledge that they would be unable to respond in kind to his own affronts. Significantly, this pattern was repeated on many occasions with the *grands* in his boarding house[114]. Accordingly, Alfredo and Dylan complained shortly afterwards that he was by far their worst boarding house-mate, as he constantly fought with them without them being able to do anything about it (Interview with Alfredo and Dylan, 03.12.2016)[115].

Petits were not only constraining for *grands* when they reacted out of hypersensitivity to the latter's impositions. Sometimes they simply got in the way, as in the following incident:

[114] in fact, he got into so many fights with them that he was taken out of the house halfway through the year.
[115] That the above examples of power relations between students only concern boys is no surprise, given the boys' affection for fighting and football to affirm their masculinity (see section below).

> I am playing 'Pom' with a group of Year 6 boys. Ibrahim comes and asks if he can play, which I let him do. At one point, he stands in the way of the ball and kicks it away, directly contravening the rules of the game. Francesco exclaims "Ibrahim!". This doesn't stop him from doing it again.[…] A little later, Adia comes and stands in front of me while I am playing and asks me to do something. The ball comes her way and she gleefully kicks it away too, to the complaints of the older boys […] Still later, after Theo and/or Lennie insist on trying to butt into the game, Paul complains to them that they "are always here when we want to play, so now it's our turn". (Fieldnotes, 20.11.2015, After school).

Two ways in which *petits* could constrain *grands* are apparent here. Lennie and Theo explicitly want to play 'Pom', and have a hard time taking no for an answer; the constraints they pose are like those seen already. But Ibrahim and Adia, among the youngest students in the school, create a different kind of constraint. Their behaviour, combined with received ideas about *petits* as helpless, made them seem clueless. This cluelessness could be particularly exasperating for the *grands*, as it seemed natural and so unavoidable to them[116].

Finally, Paul's final complaint uncovers an 'us' and 'them' discourse that further reinforces the divisions between both categories of students. Crucially, this discourse was recurrent and increasingly prevalent throughout the year. For instance, during one lunchtime later in the year, when I asked Matteo, Francesco and Maryam why the lunch ladies did not trust them to use the salt shakers themselves, Matteo answered: "it's because of the *petits,* they were playing with the salt". When I

[116] Such incidents showcasing *petits*' lack of skill seemed to inform *grands*' refusal to play with *petits*, contributing to the phenomenon mentioned earlier.

asked them who specifically they had seen doing that, they named only Ibrahim, and Maryam then said "maybe Mario… All the *petits*, actually". When I asked them if it was only *petits*, they nodded (Fieldnotes, lunchtime, 22.02.2016).

This further example is revelatory: indeed, it was extremely unlikely that *all* the *petits* had played with the salt. Yet, it seemed that, for these three *grands*, playing with salt was such a silly, stereotypically *petit* behaviour, that all of the *petits* might as well have done it. This unveils then the presence of a persistent *petit* vs. *grand* discourse, and demonstrates how it could shape *grands'* perceptions of *petits* as unavoidably constraining. Similar behaviours later in the year, such as Vito and Kori play-fighting with their violin bows, contributed to such perceptions, leading Roksana to comment "these *petits* keep on messing about" (Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 21.04.2016), or leading Luigi to decide that "[he doesn't] have *petits* as [his] friends – it never goes well, they make the teacher shout, they always mess around" (Interview with Luigi, 21.04.2016).

C. Gender, *grand*-ness and becoming

As suggested above, if the *grands* in Trinité enjoyed a higher status, it was also because they were closest to adults, the fully-fledged members of society that the school was trying to eventually make them 'become'. Adults of course enjoyed numerous privileges in the school compared to students: they could come and go as they pleased, were not (seen to be) ordered around by other adults, and were trusted more, given that they were considered more 'responsible'. This harsh reality of the difference between adults and students came out occasionally in events like the following:

> It's the end of the school day and the students are being let out for the winter holidays. I see Ernest come out of the school buildings with his viola on his back. Shane sees him and, going to him, says "man, you're so lucky!", in an indignant tone. He is referring to Ernest being able to take his instrument home, which none of the students had the right to do at that point. Ernest replies: "the thing is, people trust that I can look after my instrument, because I'm an adult, and I've learned to be responsible. When we'll be sure that you're responsible then we'll give you your instrument" (Fieldnotes, after school, 05.02.2016)

The key message of this vignette is not just that differences were seen to exist between adults and students, but that these differences were framed in terms of students' need to 'become' more like adults, or to acquire adult-like characteristics[117]. This notion of 'becoming' came up regularly in the Year 6 class council sessions, where students were for instance enjoined that they would need to "move forward in life […] have a role in society […] and become responsible adult[s]" [Fieldnotes, Year 6 Class Council, 09.10.2015], or to "become autonomous, to prepare [them]selves for Year 7" [Fieldnotes, Year 6 Class Council, 11.12.2015].

As the last comment suggests, although *grands* may have been still 'far away' from becoming adults, they were much closer to becoming middle school students, who, in many material and symbolic ways, occupied a higher status than Trinité's students. Materially, the boarding house for middle school boys had more facilities, including a much-coveted foosball table, than the (younger) Jura boarding house. Symbolically, the director of the middle school was also the director of the wider Trinité complex,

[117] As we will see in the next chapter, the ability to take instruments home was coveted by many students, and especially by Shane and other *grands* in his music group.

including Trinité itself, and was thus more senior than even Cécile. Likewise, in the Pyrenées boarding house, the middle school students could get out of bed at 07:00, while Trinité's students had to stay in bed until 07:30[118]. The middle school students also, *de facto*, encroached on Trinité students' lunch periods (See Section Chapter IV.B) and, as mentioned above, were given the privilege of serving as "examples" to Trinité students. Finally, in the Alpine and Pyrenees boarding houses, different Wednesday afternoon activities were often organised for middle school students, which could be coveted by Trinité students (e.g. Interview with Michael and Lizzy, 16.12.2015).

Instrumental to the notion of 'becoming' was that *petit*-ness was something that students should be happy to leave behind them. It could be a kind of stigma, for instance because it was a 'risk factor' for being compared to a baby. For instance, during one Woodwinds MASS session, Rob, the clarinet teacher, had asked students to suggest songs that he could play on the saxophone he had specially brought. Theo requested a song that seemed to come from a children's show. Sonny, in reaction, said "oh, you still listen to that stuff? You're a baby". Monique intervened a few seconds later, saying "he's more *petit* than you, that's normal", followed by Susan and Rob who asked them how old they were and pointed out that the 3 years of difference between them was indeed large (Woodwinds MASS session, 12.01.2016). The staff members' interventions indicated that they realised that being compared to a baby was stigmatising. Yet, the school's *petits,* being the youngest, were the most at risk of suffering this comparison. This undoubtedly encouraged them to look forward to becoming, one day, *grands*.

[118] This was primarily for practical reasons, as the middle school lessons started earlier and as it was difficult for the *éducateurs* to handle both groups of students at once. Further, this does not mean that middle school students enjoyed waking up at 07:00. However, several Trinité students were up by this earlier time, but were not allowed to get out of bed. Therefore, for their purposes, it could be seen as a privilege for middle school students.

Thus, the notion of *grand*-ness was linked to the notion of becoming. Yet, crucially, as noted elsewhere (Butler, 1988; Thorne, 1993), the latter notion was highly gendered. Boys and girls engaged in different activities, or more specifically engaged in different kinds of performances, to signal and constitute their becoming *grand*. We will examine these different performances in the following section, and look at how they were apprehended differently by the school's students and staff members.

1. Fighting & football

To perform their 'becoming', boys employed displays of masculinity centred on two activities associated with physical prowess: fighting and football.

Football seemed to be one of the favourite activities of many boys in the school. During break periods groups of boys would almost inevitably break off at the earliest opportunity to form football games in specially-chosen areas of the courtyard. Boys' recurring requests to go to the *stade* also indicated their interest in football: Although the *stade* was appreciated for several reasons, including its much bigger size compared to Trinité's courtyard, and its explicit status as a space for *se défouler*, as Shane described to members of the public during a Trinité open day (Fieldnotes, Trinité open day, 10.06.2016), it was especially well-designed for football.

The Year 6 boys were vocal advocates for going to the stade, for instance making several suggestions to this effect during their class council sessions. Yet, my observations suggest that these boys particularly enjoyed making skill displays in football. They tended to play forms of football which emphasised individual goal-scoring and skill in striking the ball rather than, say, concerted teamwork. The "pom" game mentioned above, which was particularly popular in the first half of the year,

consisted in striking a football so as to make it hit a particular section of the school's walls. It required some skill, and when I played it I was proud when I managed to hit the correct wall section. Another common form of football was penalty sessions, which emphasised the skills of both the striker and goal-keeper. The following vignette recounts one of these sessions:

> Paul, Dylan, Alfredo and I are shooting penalties in the stade. At one point, Michael comes over, asking to join the game. Dylan exclaims: "no, he can't play!", seemingly because he isn't very good. However, Dylan lets him play several seconds later, and it turns out that indeed he isn't very good: he misses the goal entirely with his first two shots and when his third shot goes in one of the boys calls out that it was a lousy shot[…] A little later, a middle school student butts in and intercepts a ball that is coming his way. He dribbles it and skilfully kicks it over his head, starting a phase where the boys seem to display their skilful footwork by kicking the ball over their heads and dribbling with themselves[…] Later again, Dylan intercepts the ball far away from the goal and gets ready to kick it. He takes 4 steps back, but Alfredo comes up and kicks the ball towards the goal, scoring a goal in the process. Dylan exclaims: "Alfredo!". Just afterwards the *éducateurs* instruct us to go back to the school, but Dylan insists on shooting the ball from where he was. When he finally scores, Michael comes and tries to score himself from where Dylan was. (Fieldnotes, Lunchtime break, 01.02.2016)

Two elements seem to be prominent in this session. The first is the centrality of displaying individual skill, whether in scoring or in handling the ball. The second is the attendant importance of the boys 'measuring each other up', as evidenced by the competitiveness between Dylan and Michael or Alfredo's taunt. They suggest that the boys were trying to perform, in the sense of influencing each

other's impressions of themselves. Yet the arrival of the skilful middle school student, whose skill and *grand*-ness appears to have pushed the other boys to display their own skills in dribbling, is also reminiscent of 'becoming', and therefore the aspect of performance related to projections of a desirable future self. The link between football and becoming was made more broadly when boys came to school dressed in footballers' clothes[119], or gave each other nicknames based on players in the city's local football team, both practices which brought them closer to 'becoming' footballers. Thus, it appears that one important reason why these boys especially appreciated football was that it gave them opportunities to perform and 'become' in a gendered way.

These boys seemed to enjoy video games for similar reasons. Although I never observed them playing these games together, whenever they discussed these games in school they emphasised their achievements, for instance in defeating adversaries in particularly skilful or aesthetic ways. Additionally, the games they discussed, of which GTA V and Black Ops 3 were recurrent examples, were often shooting, car, or crime games. They were therefore not only conducive to such performances, but they also let the boys participate in *grand* and stereotypically (adult) male activities that were normally inaccessible to them. Some games equally had vibrant online communities on YouTube, that the boys could aspire to participate in, or allowed online gaming, enabling the boys to show off their skills or achievements directly with friends.

So far, I have discussed the performances of *grands* boys through activities that they could participate skilfully in (football) and that were more accessible to them (video games)[120]. Yet, this did not mean that younger boys were devoid of activities whereby they could perform their becoming. They, just as

[119] On one occasion, Vito even came in a full goalkeeper's outfit (Fieldnotes, 02.05.2016).
[120] Given received ideas about the non-suitability of video games for younger children.

the *grands*, could use fighting for that purpose. The following vignette tells of how a group of Year 2/3 students (who often fought throughout the year) did this:

> I go to the side of the courtyard that is less visible to staff members and notice that Damon, Lennie, Ervin and Zach seem to be fighting. Then I see Jose separate them and, in approximate English, say "three, two, one, go!", moving his arm from up to down, as if he were umpiring a boxing match. Several 'rounds' ensue, where the boys face off, move towards one another, hit each other, and then back away. Damon and Lennie especially do this, employing complex tactics and consistently coming back when one manages to floor the other one[…]. A little later, while Jose, Lennie and Zach are bunching up on Damon on the floor, Shane comes up to them. He exclaims, "hey, there's a fight!", to which Zach answers: "no, we're playing!". Sonny comes over and him and Shane start to play-fight as well. (Fieldnotes, after school, 15.01.2015)

This episode, which at first seemed to be a fight, actually turned out to be a game, as Zach points out. But it wasn't just any game; it was set up as a performance reminiscent of boxing matches, complete with ritual actions and 'rounds' where the boys 'faced each other off' to establish who was the better fighter. Further, the fact that the game 'diffused to' Shane and Sonny suggests that this practice was also shared by some *grands*.

However, throughout the year fighting seemed to be an especially salient way to perform 'becoming' for *petits*. Yet, this was likely due to their small stature and *petit*-ness, both of which meant that their

status as 'strong men' was easy to call into question. Indeed, this looked to be particularly important for Vito, who was in Year 2 and so among the most *petit* students of the school. Although he got along very well with Jose, his older brother, I noticed the latter openly doubt his ability to fight on at least one occasion (e.g. Fieldnotes, lunch break, 28.01.2016). Further, Vito's *petit*-ness made him vulnerable and only able with difficulty to respond effectively to the intimidations of older boys, such as Leander (e.g. Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 24.03.2016). Accordingly, he seemed to be particularly sensitive to his lack of power *vis-à-vis* these boys: on one occasion, a single relatively minor taunt from Francesco (which the latter routinely used with older students) proved to be enough to make him burst into tears and hurl out expletives at him (Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 04.02.2016). Thus, when I undertook a story-telling interview with him, his stories of both the 'best' and 'worst days at school' featured him being a '*voyou*' ('thug' or 'rascal') and fighting and insulting several different characters (Interview with Vito, 03.06.2016)[121]. This strong presence of fighting in his 'figured world' (Holland et al., 1998) suggests that he was especially anxious to perform his fighting skills, and thus that they were an important element of 'becoming' for him.

Fighting also seemed to be very salient and linked to *petit*-ness for Damon, who was only in the year above Vito. As we saw above, he was already sensitive to the impositions of *grands*. Yet, one common way in which he reacted to them was to fight back while loudly exclaiming phrases like "I'm not afraid of pain! You can't do anything to me!" (Fieldnotes, Year 2/3 class, 31.05.2016). These phrases specifically suggested a desire to project an image of himself as physically strong, and to negate his precarious status as a competent fighter due to his *petit*-ness, thus linking fighting with performances and 'becoming'.

[121] To my surprise, during our second relational interview, Vito also volunteered a list of 'voyous' which included himself, his brother, and some of his brother's best friends.

Interestingly, being seen as the best fighter appeared to be consequential in the Year 2/3 class. Lennie had ended up being elected as the representative of his class in the beginning of the fieldwork year. Yet, as Juliette (one of his teachers) told me, this was principally due to his fighting abilities. He was elected at the expense of Justin, who had acted as if the entire class was his friend to increase his chances of being elected. However, he was much smaller in size than Lennie, which ended up playing in his disfavour (Interview with Juliette, 2018.06.21). Interestingly, having a relatively small stature did not stop Alfredo from being elected as representative of the Year 6 class (as recounted in Chapter IV.E), suggesting the outsized importance of fighting ability for *petit* boys.

Crucially for Trinité's student social world, performances involving fighting and aggressivity were understandably perceived as hazardous by staff members. As Curtis told me while he was watching over the play-fight mentioned above, "the problem is that these kinds of fights can *dégénère"*. Indeed, whenever they did, or whenever staff members spotted genuine fights between students, they invariably separated the students, intervening immediately and sometimes bringing them to Cécile's office – actions which could create public events in Trinité. As indicated in the previous chapter, the 'collectivity' of the school could equally turn fights into constraining events. On one occasion for instance, after Damon, Lennie, Zach and Ervin had gotten into a particularly bad fight, Monique took an entire half-hour of her class time to attempt to resolve the conflict between them (Fieldnotes, Year 2/3 class, 13.01.2016). Though this was principally to teach the boys and the rest of the class how to deal with interpersonal conflicts, it also served to put the boys in the spotlight, and to make their fighting potentially constraining for other students through taking up their time and attention.

More generally, then, the potentially hazardous nature of fights made them objects of public attention and possible sources of constraints. As Tailor once told me in frustration, one day after school when some boys had been fighting, leading *éducateurs* to intervene and send all the students indoors: "no

matter where I go I end up with boys who bring me into trouble!" (Fieldnotes, after school, 14.03.2016).

2. Beauty & boys

This is not to say that girls never engaged in the above activities. They sometimes played football (although boys often refused to play football with them). They also got into play-fights and real physical fights, and not infrequently. However, I never observed football to be a 'terrain' in which girls signalled their skills or performed their *grand*-ness and femininity. Likewise, only rarely did fighting seem to be a means for performances for girls.

Rather, prowess in attracting boys seemed to be a much more salient 'becoming' practice for girls. While I rarely observed boys discussing their romantic relationships, I recorded several instances of girls doing this, including with me. 'Romantic prowess' was likewise involved in an accusation that girls on occasion addressed to each other: that of doing "*faire sa belle*" ("acting as if one is beautiful"). Girls seemed to use this accusation in instances when, like with football and fighting, girls were measuring each other up. This was clear during a role-playing game that I took part in. Elenna, with whom I had to act out "*faire sa belle*", did a sort of catwalk with a very forthright gait, very deliberate footsteps, and with hands on her hips, as if she was showing off. When I tried my own imitation, Elenna told me that I was doing it wrong as I was meant to confront her by saying, for instance, that she was a loser (Fieldnotes, Alpine boarding house, 01.07.2016). Crucially, this element of 'putting down' the other person suggests that the accusation was not just a reaction to showing off. Rather, it was issued when the accuser felt that she was being denied something by the girl doing *faire sa belle*. The following vignette indicates just what this was:

> I am trying to learn more about Sonia's 'side of the story', in the context of her conflict with Roksana and Maryam [see below]. Sonia says that the problem with Roksana is that at the beginning of the year Maryam [was the pariah of the triad], now it's Sonia, but next year who will it be? Kayley chips in: "ever since she's arrived she's been acting like a *grand*, doing *faire sa meuf* [Note: essentially the same as *faire sa belle*]". Sonia adds: "earlier she was all like 'oh look at me I have a bra[ssière] on', fawning over herself and everything". (Fieldnotes, Bedtime in the Pyrenees house, 21.06.2016)

From this episode, it appears that the 'claim' that was being made by a girl doing *faire sa belle* was that she belonged to an imagined group of *grands*, specifically of young women competently involved in romantic relationships. The practice therefore seemed to be linked to 'becoming'. It follows that the accusation can be interpreted as a counter-claim to the 'definition of the situation' provided by the girl doing *faire sa belle*. Such a girl, through her performance, seems to be effectively saying "I am closer to 'becoming' than you are" – a message which the 'accuser' seems to try to negate.

Two features of girls using beauty for 'performances' in Trinité are important for the present discussion. First, this quite naturally turned girls' attention towards boys, and incited them to harbour positive sentiments towards them. Second, conflicts that arose from competition over these forms of 'becoming' were less visible and salient for staff members than boys' physical fights. They drew less attention from other school members and, thus, were rarely turned into public events.

This latter point was especially clear from how staff members dealt with some ongoing conflicts occurring between the school's older girls. Becoming through 'romantic prowess' may have been more salient for these girls, given that they were closer to adolescence, where romantic relationships can be framed as very important (see Thorne, 1993). Accordingly, it was involved in these ongoing conflicts, such as the recurrent conflict between Ana and her classmates Cristina and Nathalie. According to Ana, her relationship with these girls consisted in cycles of friendship and states where they "weren't talking", which were particularly consequential for her:

> Me "and how is it for you, when you fight, when you make up etc.?"
>
> Ana: "well when we fight I don't like it and when we're friends again it's good, because I have more friends, because each time, if I don't have so many friends it's because of Cristina and Nathalie, but now that we're friends I think I'll have more friends".
>
> […]
>
> Me: "How is it because of them?"
>
> Ana: "it's not really because of them but it's that Cristina says "she's doing *'faire sa belle'* and others agree with her, so… so they agree, but anyways we're friends again, but not for long (small sigh)".
>
> […]
>
> Me : "Why not?"
>
> […]

Ana: “because every time we make up it doesn’t last long, but now I will really try to make an effort and we’ll see what comes of that”.

Me: “and what kind of effort will you make?”

Ana: “I mean I’ll try not to meddle in everything because it’s also because I meddle in everything a little[…] I’m sure that if I stop meddling, doing *‘faire sa belle’*, even though I don’t really do *‘faire sa belle’*![...] Well, I hope that I can get along with them for as long as possible”. (Interview with Ana, 16.12.2015)

From this excerpt, it seems that performances of becoming through romantic prowess were indeed involved in the conflict between the girls. Further, the fact that the girls also accuse Ana of meddling, a classic reaction to students constraining ego (See Section Chapter V.C.4), hints at how the girls found Ana’s *faire sa belle* behaviour to be stifling. The extract also describes recurrent cycles of conflicts. There had indeed been conflictual interactions between Ana and the other two girls since at least the fourth week of the school year (Fieldnotes, Year 6 class council, 25.09.2015). Yet, the girls still sat together in the middle of the class for the first few months of the year. The situation had not resulted in open conflict, and so had not required direct intervention. Rather, a very public fight between Nathalie and Ana (Fieldnotes, Blouses Roses session, 19.11.2015) seemed to be the trigger event which pushed the Year 6 staff members to change the seating arrangement of the class (Fieldnotes, Year 6 council, 20.11.2015)[122]. Even then, the conflict remained unresolved (as the interview excerpt suggests) until Cristina left the school in early January 2016.

[122] Although Ernest had mentioned the issue to me two days before, showing that he was aware of it by that point (Fieldnotes, conversation with Ernest, 17.11.2015).

The ongoing conflict between Sonia and her classmates Maryam and Roksana suggested even more that conflicts related to romantic relationships were not of significant interest to staff members or the school's public sphere. The girls, who were mutual friends during the first questionnaire wave, had conflictual interactions from at least a month later (Fieldnotes, Year 4/5 MASS session, 16.11.2015). By wave 2, the reciprocated friendship between Sonia and the other two girls had disappeared, replaced by reciprocated disliking ties. By the end of the year, the discord between them had not been resolved, and had, as the following vignette implies, come to concern romantic relationships:

> Roksana says they don't talk to Sonia anymore. She keeps on inventing stories and lying about them and herself… Lately she is telling everyone that Shane is in love with Maryam, which isn't true, and has made his girlfriend really upset. And then she said that Melanie and Kayley had "made love", which also wasn't true. […] Shane, who has just joined the discussion, offers: "you want to know why she does that? It's because she has no friends and no boyfriend. At least that's what I think"[…] Maryam tells me that she'd like me to do something about this, even just to understand why [Sonia] tells these stories. She says they already went to see Cécile and Natasha, but they "don't give a sh*t, more or less". They then told it to the special needs assistant in their class and the school receptionist, and "they do give a sh*t but, well, they can't do anything about it"[…] Shane says they should go see the director of the middle school (and wider school complex), but Maryam strongly disagrees, "he doesn't give a sh*t either". I ask her what she means by "not give a sh*t". She says that means they say "don't worry, it will get better" and do nothing, whereas they want them to actually intervene. (Fieldnotes, After school, 21.06.2016)

Three features stand out from these fieldnotes. First, the conflict is framed as arising from competition in romantic relationships, and thus in 'becoming'. Second, the fight clearly does not seem to require much intervention from staff members, and certainly less than a physical fight would. Finally, just as with the conflict with Ana above, it appears that the girls' solution to cope with the situation was to "not talk to" Sonia. This meant that the conflict was even less likely to be noticed and turned into a public event, which could have caught the attention of staff members or created a *débordement* requiring their intervention. Thus, just as Bouchard et al. (2018) note in relation to bullying in adolescent girls, the girls' methods of competing over 'becoming' made their conflict less visible and more recognisable as 'normal' girl behaviour, as opposed to actual aggression (see also Ringrose and Renold, 2010).

D. Age, gender, friendships and disliking relations

The above has implications for students' friendship and disliking networks in the school. The discussion of age indicates that *grands*, through their higher status, may have been in positions of increased social influence in Trinité's student social world. At the same time, their increased 'constraining potential' may have made them disproportionately likely to receive disliking ties. In turn, the argumentation surrounding gender suggests that cross-gender ties may have been more prevalent from girls to boys than from boys to girls, for friendship ties and disliking ties.

Examining patterns of ties sent and received by students in Trinité substantiates the claims made above. As Figure VI-1 indicates[123], *grands* were more central in the school's friendship network early in the year, thus suggesting that they were more influential than younger students (Pearson's r = 0.51). In fact, a closer examination of the results shows that, while the spread of centrality values for younger students was relatively limited, it was much larger for older students, creating a heteroscedastic distribution which I call a "fan-like distribution". This suggests an intriguing trend: though *petit*-ness was almost a guarantee to not be influential in Trinité's student social world, *grand*-ness did not automatically translate into influence. Rather, it granted the potential to 'become'[124] influential, suggesting that only some *grands* were able to use their *grand*-ness to improve their social positions in the school.

[123] An enlarged version of this figure, and all the other figures representing distributions of network influence by age, is reproduced in Appendix III, where students' pseudonyms are also displayed.
[124] This meaning of 'becoming' is different to the meaning used above.

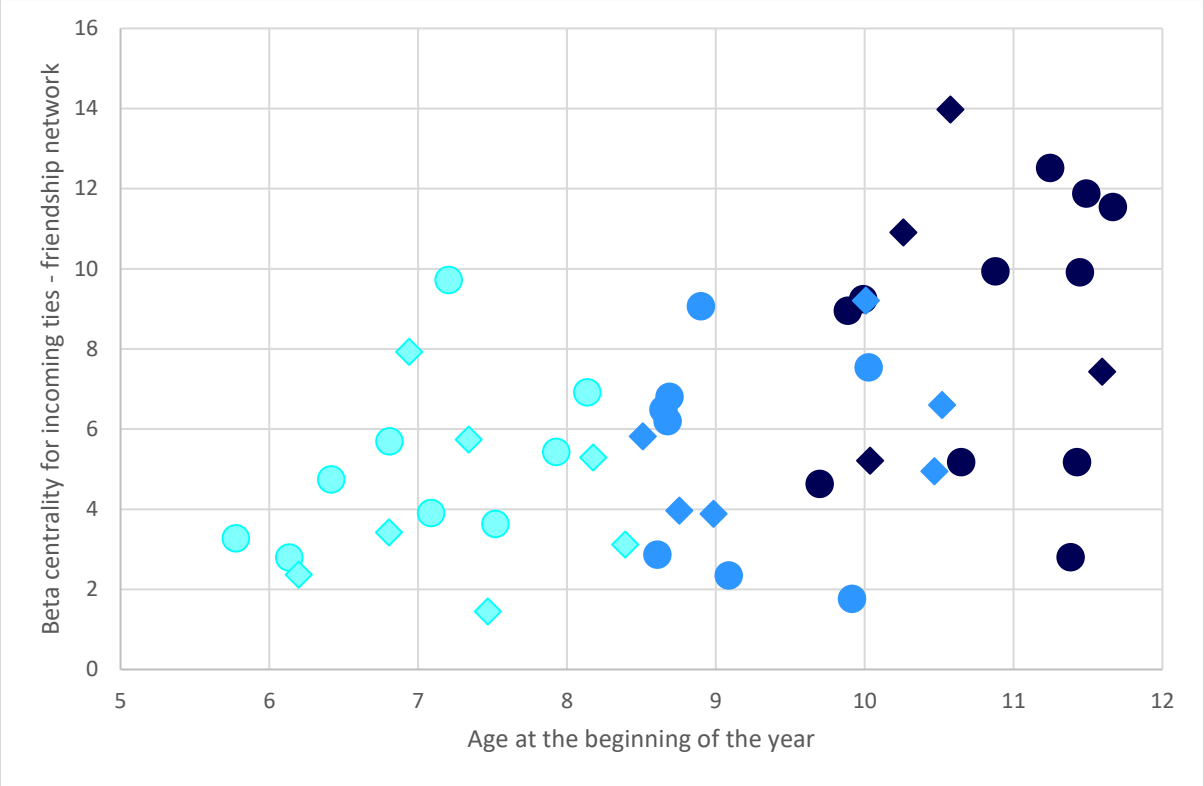

Figure VI-1 – Students' social influence (Beta Centrality in the friendship network) at wave 1 according to their age

In this figure and all the figures below, circles represent boys and diamonds represent girls. Dark blue nodes are Year 6 students; indigo nodes are Year 4/5 students; light blue nodes are Year 2/3 students.

Figure VI-2 below, reproducing Figure VI-1 but for wave 2, suggests that the hierarchy of age had dissipated somewhat by the last third of the year (r = 0.25). However, this conclusion is dampened by Table VI-1, which displays friendship ties sent within and across classes. It reveals that the trend was partly explained by a decrease in within-class ties in the Year 6 and 4/5 classes and an increase in ties within the Year 2/3 class. It also indicates that, whether in Wave 1 or Wave 2, students sent more friendship ties to students in more *grand* classes (i.e. more *grands* compared to their class) than to students in more *petit* classes. Crucially also, the density of ties sent from younger to older classes was always higher than the density of ties 'sent back' from older classes to younger classes. Likewise, when taking only ties sent across classes, the correlation between receiving friendship nominations and age

was almost the same at wave 1 (r = 0.51) as at wave 2 (r = 0.53). Thus, it may have still been largely present, and the shape of the distribution in Figure VI-2 further suggests that the effect of 'becoming' suggested by the 'fan-like' distribution of Figure VI-1 had 'levelled out'. This is also intimated by Table VI-2: while on several measures the variability in influence scores was higher in the Year 6 class than in the other classes at wave 1, the opposite was true in almost all case at wave 2.

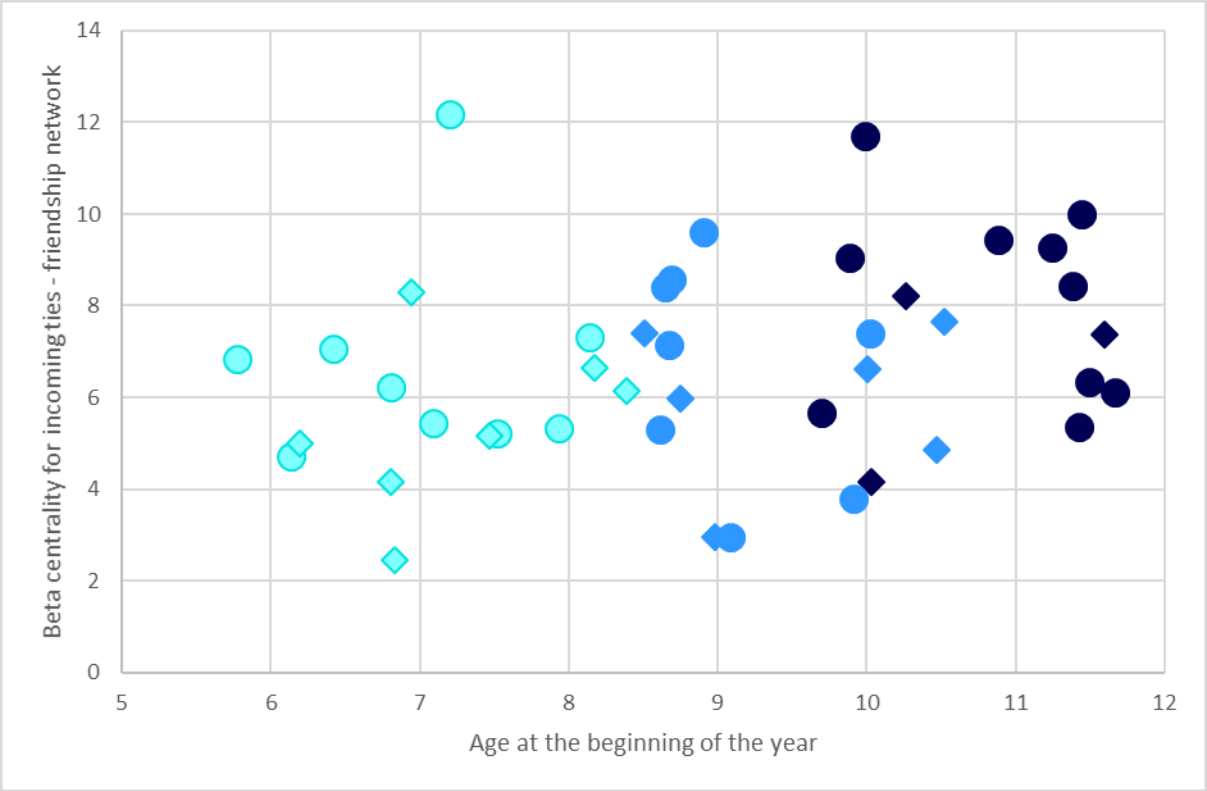

Figure VI-2 – Students' social influence at wave 2 according to their age.

Note that I do not display students who had left the school in the graph, as their centrality values could be outlying. This figure is reproduced in Appendix IV.B with these students included.

(a)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.43 (6.00)	0.12 (1.6)	0.05 (0.73)
Year 4/5	0.24 (3.54)	0.39 (5.08)	0.19 (3.08)
Year 2/3	0.20 (3.06)	0.23 (3.25)	0.45 (6.81)

(b)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.39 (4.85)	0.21 (2.85)	0.13 (2.08)
Year 4/5	0.36 (5.00)	0.34 (4.62)	0.23 (3.85)
Year 2/3	0.32 (4.75)	0.36 (5.19)	0.50 (8.00)

Table VI-1 – Density of friendship relations (and average number of friendship nominations per student) within and between classes in Trinité

(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2. Average friendship nominations are reported in brackets

Reading guide: Rows indicate groups that send ties, and columns groups that receive ties. Thus, the density of ties within the Year 2/3 class at wave 1 was 0.45. In that wave, the density of ties sent from the Year 6 to the Year 2/3 class was 0.05, while the density of ties sent from the Year 2/3 to the Year 6 class was 0.20.

		Received nominations	Received nominations (cross-class)	Centrality values	Centrality values (cross-class)
Wave 1	*Year 6*	4.67	2.89	3.25	4.02
	Year 4/5	3.74	2.32	2.25	3.46
	Year 2/3	3.86	2.17	2.10	3.72
Wave 2	*Year 6*	3.81	2.36	2.46	2.38
	Year 4/5	3.50	2.42	2.02	2.48
	Year 2/3	3.89	3.10	2.06	3.38

Table VI-2 – Standard deviations of measures of social influence by school class at waves 1 and 2

Table VI-3, accordingly, uncovers how ties sent from older classes to younger classes were much more reciprocated than ties sent from younger to older classes, and at both waves. Though it partially follows from the above, it is still significant, as not reciprocating friendship nominations has been linked with being in a position of power (e.g. Ball and Newman, 2013). It may be, then, that *grands*, due to their social positions, felt less pressure to reciprocate friendship ties from *petits*, leading to the imbalance in friendship densities across classes noted above.

(a)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.58	0.48	0.55
Year 4/5	0.24	0.56	0.43
Year 2/3	0.11	0.34	0.46

(b)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.53	0.63	0.42
Year 4/5	0.36	0.49	0.52
Year 2/3	0.16	0.33	0.61

Table VI-3 – Tie-based reciprocity rates of friendship relations within and between classes in Trinité

(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2.

While *grands* may have received more friendship ties in the school, it seemed that they were also more likely to receive disliking ties. This is suggested by Figure VI-3 and Figure VI-4, exposing how there was a positive association between age and receiving disliking ties at wave 1 (r = 0.26) and wave 2 (r = 0.29). Looking at the distributions in the figures suggests that the spread of values for older students was reduced over time, as with friendship ties, but that this was primarily pushed by *grands* receiving a larger 'minimum' of disliking ties. However, they also suggest that the spread of disliking ties received by students in the Year 2/3 class increased over time, with some younger boys particularly receiving disproportionate amounts of disliking ties while younger girls (with the exception of Ervin, see Appendix III) received fewer such ties. Looking at disliking ties sent and received across classes adds some definition to this picture (See

Table VI-4). It illustrates how at wave 1 *grands* sent many fewer ties to *petits* than the *petits* sent back to them, something which was less true at wave 2, even though *petits* sent even more ties to *grands* than at wave 1[125]. Looking more closely at ties sent between the Year 6 and Year 2/3 class (See Appendix IX) provides some potential explanations for these trends. At wave 1, only two Year 2/3 students and zero Year 6 students nominated more than half of the other class as disliked relations, whereas at wave 2, five Year 2/3 students and three Year 6 students did this. In fact, these three Year 6 students were the only students to nominate more than two Year 2/3 students as disliked relations. Of the other Year 6 students, four did not nominate any of these *petits* as disliked relations and five

[125] I do not carry out the same analyses of disliking tie reciprocity as before, as no existing theories that I know of address the meaning of differing disliking reciprocity rates across groups.

nominated only Damon and/or Vito as disliked relations from that class. In contrast, the students from the Year 2/3 class sent disliking ties to a much wider range of Year 6 students, with only two sending them zero ties, and nine sending them more than two disliking ties (including the 5 mentioned above).

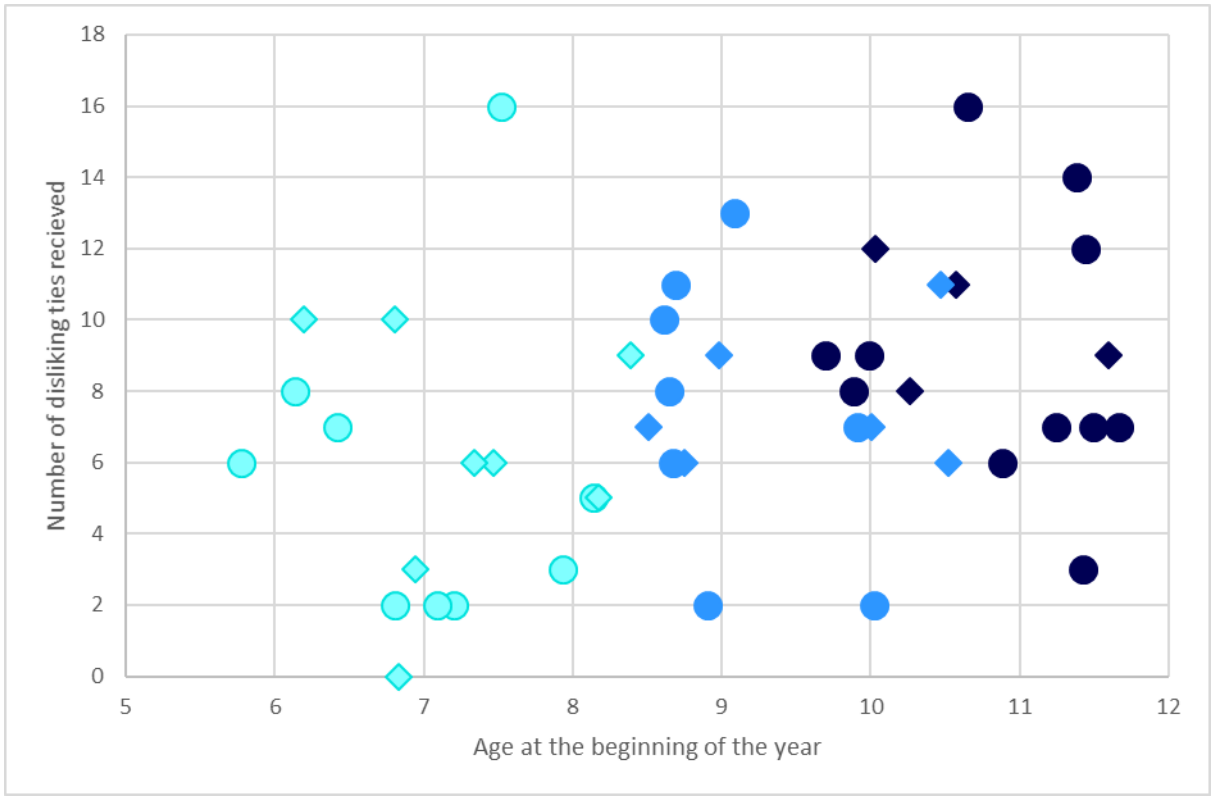

Figure VI-3 – Number of disliking ties received by students' age in wave 1

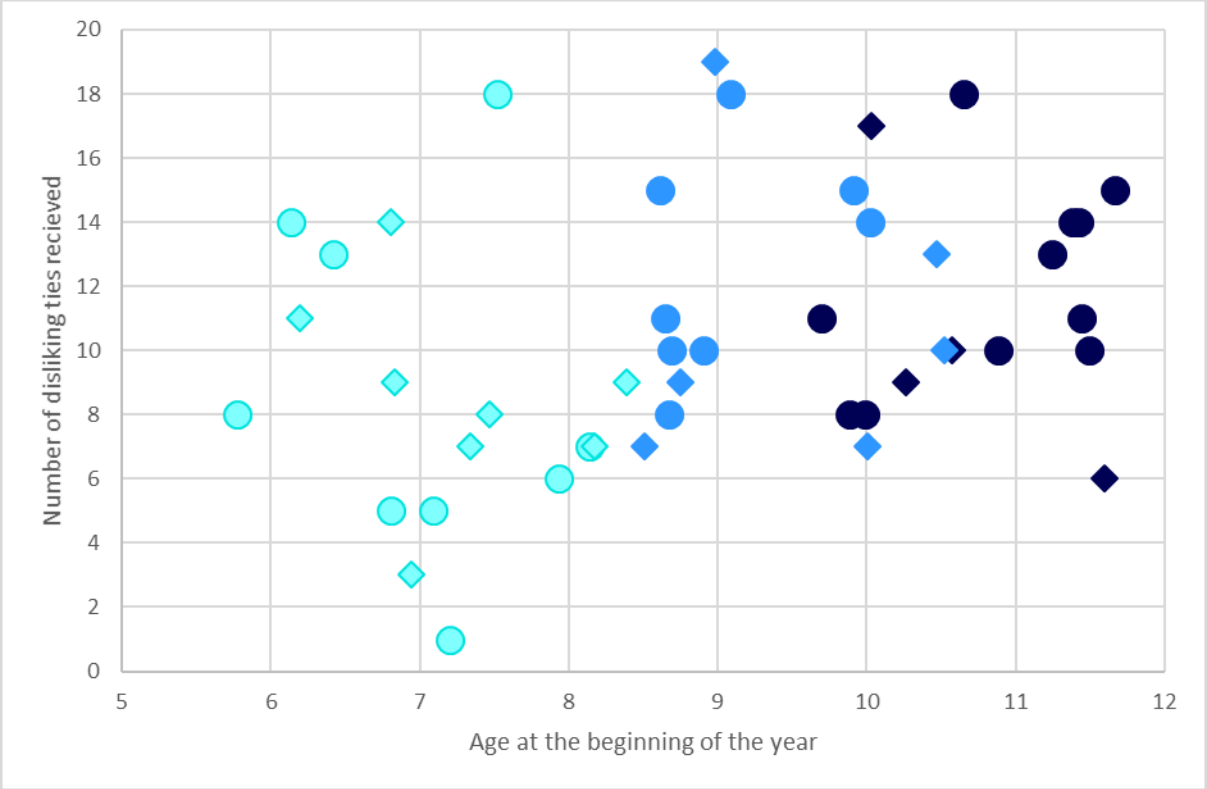

Figure VI-4 – Number of disliking ties received by students' age in wave 2

(a)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.19	0.06	0.05
Year 4/5	0.24	0.24	0.17
Year 2/3	0.22	0.23	0.22

(b)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.23	0.28	0.20
Year 4/5	0.27	0.31	0.25
Year 2/3	0.31	0.27	0.19

Table VI-4 – Densities of disliking relations within and between classes

(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2.

The figures above indicate few clear patterns according to gender.

Table VI-5 therefore focuses on ties sent within and between genders. It finds a gender homophily effect in the friendship network, an effect which has been repeatedly observed in other studies (Berndt and McCandless, 2009; McPherson et al., 2001). However, beyond this it finds some intriguing patterns in cross-gender ties. Although densities of cross-gender ties appear to be similar across girls and boys, they mask a situation where boys constituted a larger proportion of girls' friendship ties than girls did for boys. Thus, in waves 1 and 2 respectively, boys made up an average of 47.0% and 42.3% of a girl's friends, while girls constituted an average of only 24.3% and 25.1% of boys' friends. Likewise, in both waves there proved to be many more boys sending no ties to girls than girls sending no ties to boys. While respectively 8 and 13, or 29.6% and 50.0%, of boys nominated no girls as friends at waves 1 and 2, only 2 (respectively 11.8% and 12.5% of) girls did so at either wave (see **Error! R eference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**).

(a)

	Boys	**Girls**
Boys	8.67 (0.31)	2.78 (0.16)
Girls	5.12 (0.18)	5.76 (0.36)

(b)

	Boys	**Girls**
Boys	10.58 (0.38)	3.54 (0.20)
Girls	5.88 (0.20)	8.00 (0.47)

Table VI-5 – Average nominations and densities of friendship relations within and between genders in Trinité (a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2. Densities are reported in brackets.

Interestingly, these patterns hold despite a similar trend operating for disliking ties. As

Table VI-6 indicates, girls nominated several more boys as disliked than the converse in both waves, with the trend increasing over time and even being reflected in tie densities. Thus, respectively 67.8% and 78.0% of girls' disliking ties were sent to boys at waves 1 and 2, whereas boys only sent 43.7% and

44.6% of their disliking ties to girls, suggesting a distinct increase in negative sentiments from girls to boys. Relatedly, 15 (55.6%) and 8 (30.7%) boys sent no disliking ties to girls at waves 1 and 2, whereas the same number for girls was only 2 (11.8%) and 0, respectively.

(a)

	Boys	Girls
Boys	4.15 (0.15)	3.22 (0.19)
Girls	5.94 (0.21)	2.82 (0.18)

(b)

	Boys	Girls
Boys	6.15 (0.22)	4.96 (0.28)
Girls	10.19 (0.35)	2.88 (0.17)

Table VI-6 – Average nominations and densities of disliking relations within and between genders in Trinité
(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2

These trends are broadly in line with the patterns described above. *Grands*' increased social and disliking influence compared to *petits* reflects their higher status and increased constraining power in the school. Meanwhile, the patterns of disliking ties between the oldest and youngest classes suggest that, beyond a few Year 6 students sending disliking ties *en masse* to younger students, the *grands* had few reasons to dislike *petits* – except for Vito and Damon, who were particularly constraining for *grands*. The increasing presence of *petits* also sending disliking ties *en masse* to *grands* further suggests the establishment of an 'us vs. them' discourse between *grands* and *petits* throughout the year.

Regarding gender, the results also concur with the ethnographic findings presented earlier. Girls sent more friendship ties to boys than the converse, and boys tended to receive more disliking ties than girls did. The friendship result may have been due to girls' attention being disproportionately on boys,

due to the latter's more obvious performances and their own 'becoming' practices encouraging them to imagine which boys they could become romantically involved with[126]. Meanwhile, the disliking result also follows from the observation that boys' performances could be more constraining than girls' performances.

Looking at changes in students' social impact scores, social preference scores, and sociometric status groups according to school class and gender summarises the above results well. These measures look at positive and negative sentiment ties together[127]. While social impact is a measure of the extent to which students receive many negative and positive sentiment ties, social preference measures the extent to which students receive more positive than negative sentiment ties. Finally, sociometric status groups represent students who are relative outliers with regard to social impact and preference, being a standard deviation or more above or below the means for one of these scores (See Coie et al., 1982), with the 'average' group containing the remaining students.

Table VI-7 looks at these numbers in Trinité. Broadly it shows that, across waves, boys go from being relatively liked to being relatively impactful. While at first they make up most of the popular students, they then make up all 5 controversial students. Meanwhile, in either wave the students in the most *petit* class are most likely to be neglected and 'average', while the students in the two more *grand* classes have higher social impact and preference scores and are more likely to belong to the other three (more 'socially impactful') sociometric status groups. Together, these results imply that the

[126] My fieldnotes and some girls' explicit comments during structured interviews suggest that girls sent several friendship ties to boys they were "in love" with.

[127] For examples of literature using these methods, see (Coie and Dodge, 1983; Gest et al., 2001; Ladd et al., 1997; Newcomb and Bukowski, 1983).

school's aim of fostering cohesion across school groups, and of teaching students to 'get along' with others, remained significantly affected by age and gender throughout the year.

Wave	Class	Gender	Mean social preference (SP) score	Mean social impact (SI) score	N. Popular (+SP outlier)	N. Rejected (-SP outlier)	N. Controversial (+SI outlier)	N. Neglected (-SI outlier)	N. Average
Wave 1	Year 6	*Boys*	0.02	0.77	4	2	2	1	2
		Girls	-0.11	1.26	0	1	1	0	2
	Year 4/5	*Boys*	-0.14	-0.40	2	2	1	2	2
		Girls	-0.27	-0.22	0	1	0	0	5
	Year 2/3	*Boys*	0.57	-0.50	2	1	0	1	5
		Girls	-0.27	-0.59	1	0	0	1	5
Wave 2	Year 6	*Boys*	-0.05	0.63	1	1	4	0	5
		Girls	0.23	0.23	1	1	0	0	2
	Year 4/5	*Boys*	0.36	0.36	0	3	1	0	5
		Girls	-0.08	-0.08	0	1	0	0	5
	Year 2/3	*Boys*	-0.55	-0.55	1	1	0	3	4
		Girls	-0.48	-0.48	1	0	0	2	4

Table VI-7 – Social impact (SI), social preference (SP), and sociometric status according to students' gender and class

E. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have addressed the three limitations set out in the chapter's introduction. I have addressed the first by examining two elements of students' ascribed identity that were very salient in the school: *grand/petit*-ness and gender, and by addressing their influence on Trinité's student social world. I explained how the former's definition in the school was relative, ambiguous, and contested,

creating contests over *grand*-ness. I showed how these were fuelled by *grands*' position of relative dominance over *petits*, Trinité's educational practices related to social transformation, and children's wider positions in society, all of which gave material and symbolic privileges to *grands*[128]. Next, I uncovered how performing *grand*-ness was a highly gendered activity, exploring boys' and girls' 'becoming' practices.

Using this discussion, I produced some predictions regarding how Trinité's friendship and disliking networks might have been shaped by *grand*-ness and gender, focusing on cross-group relations and therefore responding to the second limitation. My network analysis results suggest that my predictions broadly held. I found that *grand*-ness was not only positively associated with social influence in Trinité's student social world but also with the propensity to concentrate negative sentiments, especially coming from *petits*. This is consistent with my discussion of *grand*-ness as a marker of status and *grands* as potentially constraining for *petits*. I hope, through linking these elements, to contribute to emerging literature considering practices related to age in schools (Alexander, 2014; Van Praag et al., 2018). I equally found that boys received more friendship and especially disliking ties from girls than they themselves sent to girls. I contended that this was consistent with boys' becoming practices related to fighting, which were the subject of greater attention in the school and were more potentially constraining, as well as girls' becoming practices related to romantic relationships. These findings, together, suggest that boys and *grands* had more resources for self-realisation in the school, and that the school's transformative goals linked to *vivre ensemble* and school cohesion were shaped by dynamics related to age and gender.

[128] I also, in the midst of this discussion, continue my analysis of another aspect of students' ascribed identity: their categorisation as being from 'difficult' backgrounds.

Through my analysis, I have also uncovered some interesting parallels between my qualitative and quantitative findings regarding reciprocation and becoming. As Appendix II.C develops, adult-student relations were characterised by non-reciprocity, including regarding friendship. Yet, adults were paradigmatic examples of *grands* for students. It may be little surprise, then, that *grand* students were less inclined to reciprocate *petits*' friendship ties. Likewise, I noted how *grand*-ness was intimately linked with becoming. Yet, I also found that it gave students a potential capacity to 'become' influential in the school's student social world. These are very different forms of becoming: one involves projecting a future desired self, while the other the potential to reap rewards thanks to having a privileged status. However, both involve the affirmation of a 'definition of the situation' that is favourable to ego. I return to these different kinds of becoming in the next two chapters.

I also conclude here a line of analysis that I begun in Chapter 4 concerning negative sentiments in Trinité. As the third limitation above indicates, I had not yet properly taken account of Gould's (2003) theory of conflicts forming through struggles over dominance. Although the analysis of Chapter 5 refers to it through mentioning competition over peers and analysing the impact of sharing friends, it did not consider the link between conflicts and negative sentiments. Yet, in this chapter we saw many examples of conflicts between students, for instance between *grands* and *petits*. The latter were particularly enlightening, as they brought out a tension between the relative seniority of *grands* and the fact that, in the context of the school, older students were fundamentally 'just children'. Gould's analysis speaks to these situations: he argues that conflicts are more likely to occur when the parties involved have inconsistent definitions about who should dominate over whom. Accordingly, as I set out above, some *grands* could get into conflicts with *petits* who tried to resist the former's dominance claims (a resistance which was backed by school-endorsed principles according to which adults, not children, held authority). Often enough, they were able to 'win' those dominance contests, constraining the *petits* involved in the process and thus generating negative sentiments towards

themselves. But sometimes this was much harder, as with Damon and Vito – *petits* who, crucially, were especially disliked by *grands*.

Thus, my analysis suggests a relatively straightforward extension of Gould's theory to negative sentiments: while contests over dominance can lead to interpersonal conflicts, these contests can generate negative sentiments when the 'winners' constrain the 'losers', and especially when the constraints are seen as illegitimate. This is consistent with Connidis and Mcmullin's (2002) conceptualisation, as they argue that those with fewer resources due to their social positions (such as *petits)* tend to face greater ambivalence.

Some will note that, in this chapter, I do not investigate the distinctive effects of academic achievement on students' social relations. This is because, although academic achievement likely had a distinctive influence within school classes (Hallinan and Smith, 1989; Heidler et al., 2014), it is unlikely to have had one between classes, since students' academic reputations were determined entirely in class. Between classes, academic achievement rather became a dimension of *grand/petit*-ness, whereby, as discussed above (see p. 206), *grands* were seen *a priori* as more academically competent than *petits*. Since my focus is on the school, I therefore subsume considerations of academic achievement in discussions of *grand*/*petit*-ness.

Some additional analyses would have been useful to further test the above conclusions. Testing whether structural equivalence in the friendship network resulted in disliking ties would have helped me consider whether different forms of social position were important for negative sentiments, given that my current conception of social position is much closer to regular equivalence (Borgatti and Everett, 1992). This would add definition to my findings. Likewise, testing whether 'fault lines' (Lau

and Murnighan, 1998) had occurred in the school, for instance separating *grand* boys and *petit* girls, would have added substance to my results, especially given the unequal gender distribution by class (see Chapter III.B). This gender imbalance may even have blurred processes related to gender and *grand*-ness, and merits further analyses. I intend to carry out these investigations in the future.

Schooling for social transformation? A mixed methods social network case study of a school and its collective music education programme

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CHAPTER VII. PERFORMANCES IN THE MASS PROGRAMME

> A difficult Strings B MASS session has just ended. Even though there were only 5 students, there were many breaks due to the 'disruptive' behaviour of some of the boys. I go to see Adrian, the teacher for the session, to ask him how the lesson went for him. He says that the students are clearly progressing, and he is happy with the small group format. But, he says, he's really struggling with Zach and Francesco. "I just can't seem to get them engaged", he concludes. (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 07.03.2016)

A. Introduction

In previous chapters, we saw how 'performances'[129] were an important means for students to further their social agency in Trinité's social world. I established how it was mediated by the 'collectivity' and 'intensity' of Trinité, as well as the notion of 'becoming'. In this chapter, I will develop the view that, for the music programme to fulfil its 'social transformation' goals (i.e. to foster school-wide cohesion through creating positive communities in music groups, and to allow students' self-transformation), the music groups needed to provide opportunities for students to perform.

[129] See Appendix I.B for a definition of this and other key terms.

First, I show how the MASS programme sessions were prefigured as spaces for performances. TAP sessions emphasised *se relâcher, se défouler*, and performing. Since MASS sessions came to replace these, they were naturally apprehended as spaces for performance. I establish how performances were prevalent in the crucial first weeks of the programme, when music groups consisted of the school's classes, the *cadre* of the music sessions was not firmly established, and dancing was emphasised. Second, I present additional elements of the MASS programme that further emphasised student performances, and especially their 'becoming' aspect. I focus on the programme's promise of loaning musical instruments to students, and how instruments were seen as effective tools for performances and 'becoming'.

Third, I proceed to compare sessions in the Strings A and Strings B music groups. I lay out how the first group became a 'success story' essentially because it provided valued opportunities for students to perform. I show how this was especially important for the older boys because of the importance of 'becoming' for them (see Chapter 6). Sessions which were the least successful, I argue, were those that provided the fewest such opportunities, especially for those boys, who were particularly influential in the group (see Section Chapter VIII.D.1). Meanwhile, the Strings B group, considered a 'difficult group' throughout the year, suffered from a double disadvantage. Not only was there an unusually low concentration of friendships in the group, meaning that students had less of a 'public' to perform before. The music teachers also gave the students fewer performance opportunities, something which, I argue, influential older boys were once again particularly sensitive to. I contend that staff members' calls for these students to be agents in their own self-transformation fell on deaf ears because, essentially, the former did not provide the students with the tools that they felt they needed to 'become'. I offer that this ultimately influenced the experiences of other students, and therefore the programme's wider social transformation goals in that group, due to the boys' influence

(see Chapter VIII.D.2). Relatedly, I suggest that there was a link between this differing potential for self-realisation and the creation of social cohesion in the Strings A and Strings B music groups.

B. TAP sessions before the MASS programme: a safe space for 'performances'

MASS sessions occurred in the late afternoon, taking over TAP activities. This meant that they were thought of in connection with those sessions, especially musical TAP sessions. Yet, as it transpired, these sessions, and especially the musical one that I managed to observe, seemed to be prime spaces for students' performances.

This was enabled by the purpose of the TAP sessions to provide spaces where students could *se défouler* or *se relâcher*[130]. According to Ernest, the TAP activities that the classroom *éducateurs* organised for the non-boarders "were focused on well-being" (interview with Ernest, 25.06.2018). Likewise, for Rose, they "enabled bonding[…] that way we ended the day by having a nice time" (fieldnotes, conversation with Rose, 01.04.2016). Yet, the *éducateurs*' activities also emphasised performances. Rose's painting, drawing or collage sessions served to create 'exhibitions' that the rest of the school visited. Ernest's sessions, meanwhile, were "often centred on outdoor activities, to counter the suffocating aspect of the school, for instance team games encouraging cooperation". This was especially so before the MASS programme was implemented, when "there wasn't so much of a

[130] Although the sessions also had secondary educational goals (both vis-à-vis *instruction* and *éducation*).

need" for more relaxing activities: "in the beginning of the year they were doing pretty OK, so the period was conducive to outdoor activities. I must have done quite a lot of sports [with them]" (interview with Ernest, 25.06.2018). Thus, both of *these éducateurs'* activities, alongside the TAP sessions in the boarding houses, which centred on sports, arts, and crafts, emphasised performances through enabling displays of artistic or physical prowess.

Curtis, meanwhile, an amateur musician, organised "musical awakening" TAP sessions with his guitar, among the few music-related sessions in the school before MASS's implementation[131]. These sessions had additional goals to those described above: they also served to prepare students for the MASS programme and to accustom them to making music in groups. This meant that they were undoubtedly influential in shaping students' views of the upcoming programme[132].

My fieldnotes from one of these music sessions demonstrate the latter's musical awakening purpose well. During the session, the students were sat at desks arranged in a U formation, chosen to reflect the orchestral formation of the MASS programme. Curtis also revised the name and use of the tuning fork, and quizzed students on the names of different percussion instruments[133]. Finally, Curtis discussed the concepts of harmony and cacophony with the students, linking them to *vivre ensemble:*

> There is a dip in energy in the session as Curtis explains the concepts of cacophony, demonstrated as playing dissonant chords on his guitar, and harmony and melody,

[131] The students who had been in the school the previous year had also taken part in regular singing sessions, and Steve, an *éducateur* in the Alpine boarding house and amateur musician, sometimes set up musical sessions in the Alpine house.
[132] Although note that there were few of these, as Curtis went on sick leave shortly after the beginning of the year.
[133] Although the MASS programme never used such percussion instruments, it did certainly involve instruments.

> which are demonstrated with a clear D chord. He links these with *vivre ensemble*: "Good *vivre ensemble* is when each person is like a note, and we're in harmony. And fights are like a cacophony. But when we make efforts, we do good *vivre ensemble*, we're helpful to others, it makes a beautiful atmosphere, and that's like harmony. Learning music is like learning *vivre ensemble*. You will see more of that in the MASS programme." (Fieldnotes, Music TAP session, 15.09.2015)

The session clearly thus pre-figured elements of *instruction* and *éducation* taken up by MASS later. Yet, in doing so it also enabled performances. The U formation made all the students visible to each other, thus providing a clear 'public'. To revise the use of the tuning fork, Curtis got students to stand in front of everyone and use the fork. The instrument quiz likewise involved students standing in front of everyone and, through hearing alone, trying to guess an instrument's name, allowing displays of skill. Finally, during the 'meat' of the session – students playing percussion instruments – Ernest, through his actions, linked the session with *se lâcher* and performing:

> Curtis asks the students to each, one by one, play the percussion instruments that they've been given.[…] A few instruments in, a girl with castanets plays. Ernest, who is behind her but visible to most other students, starts dancing by shaking his chest and holding his arms outstretched. Some of the students near him start laughing. Later, after a few more instruments have played, he moves to the middle of the U formation and starts dancing again, this time also shaking his backside and bending his torso back. The students behind him laugh even harder than before. Ernest's dances get more and more emphatic, strange even, as different instruments play, until they hit an 'apex', when he exclaims "stop! I can't take it anymore!". The students' laughter also climaxes. (Fieldnotes, Music TAP session, 15.09.2015)

Through dancing in this way, Ernest not only sets the groundwork for students to 'let go', but also intimates that they could do this through performances. Later, when Curtis played a well-known song that includes a set dance, Ernest started dancing again, provoking more laughter, and inciting almost all the students to spontaneously get up and dance in different unsynchronised ways. When I asked him about the non-participating students afterwards, he said that at least one of them did not know the song, which explains why he didn't '*se lâcher*' – suggesting that the performances were specifically meant to help students 'let go'.

Equally importantly, although the session featured elements of learning, at no point were the students corrected by adults when they gave 'wrong answers'. Instead, the *éducateurs* improvised, for instance giving students second and third guesses. Likewise, the emphasis of the 'meat' of the session was not on playing music correctly: when the students played out of rhythm, the *éducateurs* did not tell them to start again. Nor were students pressured to participate: upon noticing that Justin and another student were tired, the adults allowed them to rest in an adjacent room. Thus, the session not only offered a relatively weak *cadre* which enabled more frequent and obvious performances[134]. It also gave students a 'safe space' to perform, where they could not fail. It therefore provided excellent conditions for both performances and becoming.

[134] The *cadre* remained important in these sessions, but it was weaker, given the relative lack of learning goals and emphasis on *se défouler* and *se relâcher*.

C. MASS: An emphasis on performances

MASS sessions were of course different from TAP sessions in that they were emphasised as spaces for learning, where activities were mandatory, from the very beginning. Yet, they also emphasised student performances, and from equally early on.

The students' first encounters with MASS were full of performances. During the programme's 'integration course', the main objective for each music group was to design a choreography that would represent them and that they would perform before others. To make the choreographies, MASS teachers asked students to publicly propose noises or gestures that they could include. They got students in circular or semi-circular formations, thus creating a clear 'public', and asked students to demonstrate noises and gestures, including in the middle of the formation. These formations came to be used throughout the programme, in all of the music groups. Likewise, the 'integration course' introduced musical games which soon became staples throughout the programme. These included getting students to do improvised gestures one at a time and getting the other students to copy them. The 'conductor game', which eventually spread throughout the programme, also made its first appearance during the very first 'course' session. At the beginning of the session, Jacques, a member of the national leadership of MASS, introduced two different body-clapping rhythms to the assembled students, leading them by performing the rhythm in front of them. He then split the group in two (and then three) and asked for volunteer students to lead the groups as he had done, turning them into 'conductors' (Fieldnotes, integration course, 04.11.2015).

Performances continued to be emphasised during the initial 'dancing and singing' phase of the programme, and were even encouraged by the freedom of movement that the dancing allowed. They were epitomised by the dance that the students practised and that they then performed, alongside their group's choreography, during a programme gathering in December, which was often referred to as a 'concert'[135]. And they kept being emphasised through the programme's focus on group learning and maintaining the integrity of music groups, for instance by avoiding excluding students from music sessions. These practices were related to the programme's 'social action' mission: through getting students to play complementary musical parts together, and through reminding reticent students that they were "needed", the programme's leadership hoped to help students understand that they were all critical to the achievement of the music group. This would in turn build cohesive music groups and help students 'use' the groups for their self-transformation. Yet, it also reified the music groups as unified entities and provided public events that students could take an interest in, thus inscribing MASS sessions within the collectivity and intensity of the school. This, in turn, fostered conditions that were conducive to performances (See Chapter IV.E).

1. Performances through musical instruments, singing, and the end-of-year concert

Perhaps the greatest way in which performances were underlined in the programme however was through musical instruments. Learning to play instruments was indeed a central element of the programme. Trinité and programme staff described the MASS programme to students primarily as an instrumental learning programme from very early on. Lucy for example did this when students, during the initial singing and dancing phase of MASS, asked her about when and whether they would get

[135] Several students even seemed to assume that their parents would be present during the show, even though it was only meant for programme participants and staff.

their instruments. Faced with these questions, she explained to students that "the goal is to play instruments together.[…] Right now, if you're singing and dancing, it's to prepare you for playing instruments later" (Fieldnotes, Year 6 class, 2015.11.20). The fact that the music groups were named after the families of instruments that the students were going to play, or that instruments were only loaned to students after formal instrument-lending ceremonies, no doubt also emphasised the importance of musical instruments.

From the beginning, many students in fact proved to be very keen to play or receive their instruments. During the breaks of the programme's integration course, when several professional musicians and future music teachers were present with their instruments, several students rushed to these musicians to see or try their instruments. Some musicians at the event reported getting multiple questions from students regarding when they would be able to play instruments. During the following months, students' desire for instruments was unabated. MASS music teachers reported insistent questions from students about when they would be getting their instruments from at least the second week after the Christmas break, which had concluded the initial singing and dancing period (Fieldnotes, MASS teacher meeting, 11.01.2016). In the interviews I did with them during that period and afterwards, students very often said that their favourite bit of MASS was playing instruments, regardless of gender, *grand*-ness, or music group. Likewise, when I asked them to tell imagined stories about the "worst MASS session in the world", many students invented stories where they were deprived of playing instruments or where instruments were broken.

Why were students so impatient to play instruments? It seemed that this was in large part because they saw them as excellent tools for performances and 'becoming'. Students were indeed used to using 'tools' in a broader sense (Daniels, 2001) to further their social agency and to perform (See Chapter IV.E). Yet musical instruments seemed to be a special kind of 'instrument' for students. This

was not only because they were framed as expensive and precious, and therefore all the more out of reach for students with often few financial resources and little access to such instruments. If musical instruments were such potent tools for performances, it was because of their link with 'becoming'.

Musicians provided a tangible image of what students might be able to play, and thus might 'become', when they performed the pieces that students were meant to learn. Yet these performances almost invariably attracted students' undivided attention. The importance of instruments for 'becoming' was also in part due to students' positions in the school and in wider society. Students, as children and in contrast to adults, were excluded from possessing most things, especially in Trinité, where many personal possessions (such as mobile phones) were not allowed. Thus, receiving an instrument, even if on loan, symbolically gave them a rare adult privilege: that of possessing and disposing of (valuable) objects. Instruments also gave them a legitimate means to produce sound which, as seen in chapters 4-5, was a particularly important element of performances, but which was also potentially constraining and tightly controlled by adults. Being able to produce sounds was thus a mark of power for students, and it once again brought them closer to adults, which itself enacted their 'becoming'.

The link between instruments and 'becoming' was especially evident in the story-telling interviews I did with some older students. In comparison to the "worst MASS session in the world" stories, their "best MASS session in the world" stories involved unrestricted opportunities for playing, performing, and becoming with instruments. This is most clear in Michael's story:

> "So we were playing violin, we weren't doing any pizzicato, we were playing, playing what we wanted. And then, the teacher said we could bring our instruments home. So Francesco and Alfredo, they're my bros, we go home and we say 'why don't we

> make a video to show what we did in our MASS session?'. So we make a video, and it goes viral! 30 views. No I'm joking, one billion views! We make 1 million euros, from only one video! And then we go to Micromania [a chain of consumer electronics stores], we buy all the video games, the best camera in the world, and all. And we make plenty of videos on instruments, and it's such a sensation that our house is the most expensive in the world! And we buy it. We go back to the music lesson, we play again, we learn something new, we go on the internet, we do it. And then we're rich". (Interview with Michael & Francesco, 01.03.2016)

This story is significant for several reasons. Firstly, Michael explicitly points out that they don't do any pizzicato. These were generally resented at this stage in the programme, described by Maryam as "too quiet[…] you make music but you can't hear anything" (interview Maryam & Omar, 2016.03.01) – no good, then, for proper performances. Secondly, when Michael talks about bringing instruments home (also something that was very salient for students in his group at that point, as we will see below), it is to record YouTube videos which get staggering amounts of views. His mention of YouTube is not random – at that point in the year, and in that interview, the Year 6 boys often pretended to make YouTube videos in their performative jokes. However, and thirdly, Youtube specifically links the music made in the MASS programme with financial success. This is perhaps most important, as it shows how, in Michael's ideal MASS session, instruments give him the means not only to perform his friendship with friends, but also to 'become' a future desired self. It specifically does this in ways that address three important aspects of his identity: his being a boy but not yet a man (i.e. a male breadwinner), of being a *grand* in the context of the school but not in wider society (where he would be trusted with

his possessions), and of being a (stigmatised) student with 'schooling difficulties', promised to a future of precarity[136].

Another instance where the connection between instruments and becoming was revealed was during a clarinet session just before the Woodwinds group received their instruments. At the beginning of the lesson Rob gave the students some feedback regarding the orchestral rehearsal they had had just a few days before. He said the conductor had told him that they needed to listen more. He then turned specifically to Jose, who was getting into much trouble during sessions at the time for not waiting his turn to play:

> Rob tells Jose: "you in particular need to play with others, not alone.[…] It's like with football, you can't win on your own in football". Jose: "Of course I can, even with the whole class against me I score goals. I'm awesome". Rob replies that he's just mentioning football because it will speak to him more, but the message is the same: he can't play alone. Jose protests: "but there's Messi, Ronaldinho, Neymar…". Monique then interjects: "Rob used the example of football to help you understand, but if you're not listening then I'll tell them not to give you your clarinet and send you back to your boarding house". Jose: "no, I want my instrument". Rob: "well then, you understand, you have to play with everyone, not alone". (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds sessions, 02.05.2016).

[136] Crucially, I am not arguing that instruments were always used for performances – indeed, students often seemed to be content simply playing them on their own. Rather, I argue that instruments were seen by some students, and especially those for whom becoming was most salient (i.e. *grands*), as an especially effective tool for performances.

The vignette is not only interesting because it presents a MASS teacher trying to explicitly further some of the social action goals of the programme. It is also revealing because it uncovers how, for Jose, playing on his own was just like scoring in football (see Section Chapter VI.C.1): a means to demonstrate his ability to others, or in other words, to perform. The fact that he invoked such stars in the football world also suggests that he was hoping that, through his instrument, he could become more like them and repeat their heroic feats. This reflects the dynamics above, providing yet another example of the link between musical instruments and becoming, and giving an indication for why musical instruments may have been particularly valued by *grands*, who were more concerned with 'becoming'.

Although, as suggested above, becoming was more salient for older students, it may also have been important for even the youngest students. Vito's reaction when Julie took away his cello to tune it during a Strings B session hints at this. Soon forgetting that Julie had his cello, Vito wondered aloud where it was. He tried to get up to find it but was told not to move. He then started pouting and exclaimed "3 times 1 equals 3!" (Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 24.03.2016). The fact that he seemed to be defiantly showing off his ability to carry out a mathematical operation that was beyond his age (at least in Trinité) obliquely suggests that he was affirming to everyone around (and himself) that he could still 'become', even though his instrument was gone.

Interestingly, there was evidence that singing could play a similar performative role for some girls. Singing was indeed a gendered activity in the school: while boys tended to snub it – several of them, especially older boys, saying that singing was their least favourite MASS activity, or that it wasn't "music" – girls often used it, alongside dancing, in their games and performances with and for their friends. This was evidenced by how, when I did group interviews with girls who were friends, they often sang together during the interviews, and often in a synchronised way (e.g. Interview with

Christina and Nathalie, 18.12.2015; Interview with Chloe and Laticia, 17.12.2015). Yet, an interview with Ana revealed that one of the reasons for engaging in such singing routines was to display singing ability. It happened a week after a MASS session when Ana had performed (in the primary sense of the word) a song-and-dance with Kristine. Nathalie tried to join in their routine, and Ana resented this. When I asked her why during the interview, she said:

> Ana: "It's not that she isn't my friend, it's just that, as it was Kristine and myself who invented it, I only really want to do it with Kristine, because then everyone will think that she invented it with us – even though we're the actresses, well, we're the ones who…".
>
> Me: "how come it would bother you if people thought Nathalie had invented it?"
>
> Ana: "because she didn't invent it, if she sings instead of the girl who invented it, that girl won't be happy, surely. The audience will think "oh she sings so well", even though, for all they know, the other girl sings it even better… It's not a question of showing off, it's just that the other girl invented it, so I don't see why she should be the one to sing it. (Interview with Ana, 16.12.2015)

In the passage, Ana says that what bothered her about Nathalie's intervention was not so much that she didn't consider her a friend – in fact, during the rest of the interview she told me about how her friendship with Nathalie (and the other girls in her class) was valuable to her. Rather, the problem was that Nathalie might draw attention away from her own singing skills. This was a particularly sensitive issue for her: she considered herself to be a good singer, but was less widely seen as such as Nathalie, who had received the second highest number of 'best musicianship' nominations during the first

questionnaire wave (See Appendix IV.E). For Ana, the song-and-dance was therefore clearly an opportunity to perform in the sense of shaping other people's impressions, and potentially even to 'become' through projecting an image of herself as a good singer. That it was so for her in particular was perhaps no surprise, given her precarious social position in the school. Indeed, more influential girls, such as Cristina (See Appendix IV.A), often also sang with girls, but seemed much less concerned about other students joining in or 'stealing her thunder'.

a) Instruments, singing and wall displays.

If instruments and to a lesser extent singing were so intimately linked with performance, it was also because of the programme's end-of-year concert. The concert was, of course, a prime opportunity for students to perform, including in front of their families. It was planned from the programme's inception, and although, as Lucy stressed to Trinité's staff members, it was officially not the "ultimate goal of the programme" (fieldnotes 2015.10.07, Trinité staff meeting), it was mentioned very early on to the students and emphasised to them as a goal of their musical learning. Students therefore knew from the start that their instrumental learning and singing would lead onto this great performance and potential moment of self-realization.

The programme's orchestral rehearsals acted as milestones leading to the concert, and they seemed to hold a special status in the school. In many cases, shortly after the rehearsals Lucy would pin some photographs of them, or printouts of local news stories about them, on the walls of the school's corridors. By the end of the year, these wall hangings had come to occupy most of the walls of the main corridors of the school. They thus marked out orchestral rehearsals as important events in the school's collective history, in a similar way as has been noted regarding artistic wall hangings

(Thomson et al., 2007). They also showcased students, and so acted as platforms to relay the latter's performances and achievements.

Yet, a closer look at these displays shows us that they not only represented orchestral rehearsals but also emphasised instruments and students' relationships to these. Figure VII-1 and Figure VII-2 represent a selection of seven such photographic displays. Instruments feature prominently in six of them. Four of them specifically display close-up shots of students either playing their instruments or simply alone 'with' them, suggesting a personal relationship between students and instruments.

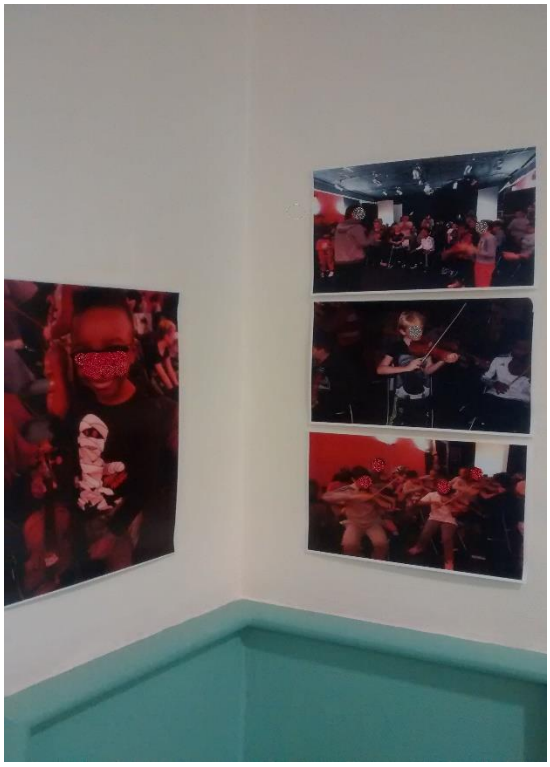

Figure VII-1 – Corner of the main corridor of the school near the Year 6 classroom with photographic displays from the MASS programme's orchestral rehearsals

Left: student posing with his violin; top right: a MASS teacher from LAS leading students in a warm-up activity (without instruments); middle right: Student focused on playing his viola; bottom right: strings students playing instruments. Photo taken on 11.03.2016.



Figure VII-2 – Photographic displays of the programme's orchestral rehearsals in the main corridor near the Year 6 classroom

Left: The orchestra conductor leading the rehearsal; middle: a student playing the flute; right: a student with her clarinet. Photo taken on 11.03.2016.

The importance of this student-instrument bond was of course emphasised by the instrument-lending ceremonies. The way these ceremonies were 'remembered' in the school – also through wall hangings – not only implies that they were given a similar place as the orchestral rehearsals in the collective memory of the school. It also further evoked the importance of the student-instrument bond. As Figure VII-3 and Figure VII-4 show, the photographs from these sessions invariably displayed students posing with their instruments, and often (though not always) with their music teachers, who, along with instruments, were students' most tangible links to 'becoming' through music.



Figure VII-3 – Photographic displays from the instrument-lending ceremony of the Woodwinds group

These were hung on one of the corridor walls near the Year 2/3 classroom. Photo taken on 13.05.2016.



Figure VII-4 – Photographic displays from the instrument-lending ceremony of the Strings B group, near the Year 6 classroom

Photo taken on 22.04.2016.

The wall displays therefore reinforced the performative potential of musical instruments for students. They indicated to students that their instrument playing was not only a crucial part of momentous occasions (such as orchestral rehearsals, and ultimately the end-of-year concert[137]), but also of the collective memory of the school. They thus acted as tangible reminders of the idea that students could transform themselves and 'become' thanks to music and instruments.

[137] Panoramic photos of the end-of-year concert were indeed put up in prominent places in the school, including in front of the school gates, for all parents, visitors, and other members of the public to see.

D. Music groups as spaces for performances

Overall, the above analyses suggest that MASS sessions were 'set up' to become spaces where performances were important, and that instruments were imbued with meanings inherited from school practices and the positions of students in society. The opportunities for performances granted by the programme served a purpose of course. The school and programme hoped that being highlighted in front of others, whether through participating in concerts or performative musical games, would give students the resources (e.g. self-confidence) to enact their self-transformation. They also hoped that it would give students a sense of belonging in their group and therefore build group cohesion.

In the following section, I will discuss performances in a concrete manner in two music groups, the Strings A and Strings B groups. I hope to show that students' opportunities for performances were paramount in how students, and especially *grands*, for whom 'becoming' was especially salient (see Chapter 6), apprehended the programme. In this way, I demonstrate how they shaped how MASS sessions unfolded, and how they were crucial in creating positive communities in music groups and in enabling students to enact their self-transformation.

1. The Strings A and Strings B groups

The two groups were starkly different. While the Strings A group was generally considered one of the 'success stories' of the programme, the Strings B group was considered a 'difficult' group for much of the year. Their friendship networks were also different. As Table VII-1 and Table VII-2 show, both

groups had less dense friendship and reciprocated friendship networks than the school's classes did at the beginning of the year, and for neither music group were within-group friendships more dense than cross-group friendships[138]. However, the Strings B group was distinctive in that its density of within-group friendships was lower than in the other music groups, and even lower than its cross-group friendship densities.

	Number of students	All friendships	Reciprocated friendships
Music Groups			
Strings A	15	0.27	0.13
Strings B	13	0.18	0.06
Woodwinds	13	0.26	0.10
Of which Flutes	6	0.17	0.07
Of which Clarinets	7	0.29	0.10
School Classes			
Year 6	13	0.43	0.25
Year 4/5	13	0.39	0.22
Year 2/3	15	0.45	0.21

Table VII-1 – Friendship densities in the different music groups and school classes at wave 1

[138] Of course, the relatively low densities of friendships within music groups was partly intentional: if the music groups were to help create cross-school cohesion, then it would make sense for them to not concentrate positive sentiments within them from the very beginning.

	Strings A	Strings B	Woodwinds
Strings A	0.27	0.24	0.27
Strings B	0.22	0.16	0.22
Woodwinds	0.29	0.28	0.26

Table VII-2 – Densities of friendship ties within and between music groups in the first wave.

Reading guide: Rows indicate groups that send ties, and columns groups that receive ties. Thus, the density of ties within the Strings B group was 0.16. The density of ties sent from the Strings A to the Woodwinds group was 0.27, while the density of ties sent from the Woodwinds to the Strings A group was 0.29.

a) The Freedom to perform – the Strings A group

Although the Strings A group had a reputation for being the group for whom MASS had 'caught on' the most, there were significant contrasts in how different lessons were received by students in that group. Lessons run by Virginia, the group's singing teacher at the beginning of the year, could be particularly laborious. Yet, this was largely because she reacted in a hostile manner to students' performances, and from the very beginning, as the following vignette from her first ever lesson in the school indicates:

> Virginia first teaches us an appropriate posture for singing: feet planted on the ground, standing up straight as if we were being pulled upwards by an invisible string. Some students spontaneously make noises imitating the invisible string, and Virginia immediately tells them off: "you have to do it silently!"[…] Later, to warm up, she asks us to copy the noises she is making with her mouth. At one point, Leander adds a noise to one of her noises and Virginia tells him off: "No, that's not allowed, in music you have to do things together, for the group and not for yourself"[…] Even later, she asks if we know what a canon is, like *Frere Jacques*?

> Several students excitedly say yes and spontaneously start singing the song. Virginia again tells them off. However, when we sing the cannon that she has introduced later, Shane gets really 'into it', and Virginia reacts: "that's great, it's becoming your song!" (Fieldnotes, Year 6 MASS session, 2015.11.12)

This vignette shows Virginia essentially 'shutting down' any performances involving 'creativity in the gaps' (See Section Chapter IV.E)– except when they went in the same direction as the musical activity that she was proposing. Although this session happened with the Year 6 class and not the Strings A group, these *grands* ended up constituting almost half of the latter music group. Likewise, Virginia kept a similar attitude in her first session with that group, for instance telling them that they could only make noises when she told them to (Fieldnotes, Strings A lesson, 2015.11.26). Eventually, all of the boys from the Jura boarding house disengaged from the lesson, the older boys claiming, when she asked them what was wrong, that they "didn't like singing", that they "didn't like the style of music", and that it "wasn't really their thing". I asked them exactly what they meant in an interview the next day:

> Dylan: "I don't like Thursdays"
>
> Me: "Is it the singing that's annoying, or is it the teacher?"
>
> Dylan: "it's the teacher[…] she makes us do things like…"
>
> Alfredo fills in by doing some "bah bah bah" noises with his mouth.
>
> Dylan: "baby stuff".
>
> Me : « And you don't like it?"

Someone: "no".

Dylan: "[I want us to do] *grands* stuff, I don't know, like hip hop[…] to listen to real music".

Alfredo or Nestor: "not listen to these "*Oh Marie, si tu savais…"* [an old but well-known romantic French pop song].

(Lunchtime interview with Dylan, Alfredo, Paul and Nestor, 2015.11.27)

It appears, from this excerpt, that Virginia stopping students' creativity in the gaps was not the only factor which disengaged students from her lessons. Nor was it just that, in this lesson, she failed to provide the Jura boys with access to musical instruments, which as mentioned above, were important 'tools' for performances. She crucially offered opportunities for performances which, for the boys, were 'baby stuff' and, as the "oh Marie" song indicates, 'girl stuff'. Instead, as they kept repeating throughout the interview, they wanted to do hip hop and similar styles of music, through which they could demonstrate their *grand*-ness and male-ness. Put differently, Virginia was providing the boys with performance opportunities, but these specifically negated their ability to perform the aspects of becoming which were important for their identity.

Why were such performances so important for these boys, and particularly Dylan, Alfredo and Paul? It may have been due to their positions in the school's social world. All three were in the most *grand* class of the school – Dylan and Paul among the tallest of their class – putting them at the 'older edge' of the *petit* world of the primary school. Although the following year they were to move on to middle school, of which they had a foretaste in their boarding house, they were still, fundamentally, *petits*[139].

[139] This may have been even more insufferable for Dylan and Paul, who had repeated a year of schooling and so should normally have been in middle school.

This may have produced a tension in these students which made performing *grand*-ness and its most important attendant aspect – manhood – especially salient. The fact that they associated more with the Year 7 students than the younger students in their boarding house, or that they were especially enthusiastic about football and video games, lends weight to this interpretation. Interestingly, the Year 6 girls reacted quite enthusiastically to Virginia's songs, often using them in their singing with friends or in front of other students. For them, as opposed to the Jura boys, the songs may therefore have been valuable tools for performances.

Interestingly, after this particularly difficult lesson, Virginia started the following lesson by stating that she would record the students' singing on her smartphone and then play it back to them. The promise of performance that this entailed seemed to particularly draw students' attention: not only was the lesson relatively successful, but students became exasperated when others made slight noises which 'polluted' the recordings (Fieldnotes, Strings A lesson, 03.12.2015). I also noticed students supporting each other far more during this session than during the previous session.

In contrast, instrumental lessons run by Genevieve and Jackie, 2 of the group's instrumental teachers, seemed to be markedly more popular, whether for the Jura boys or the other students. The boys in the above interview said they preferred these teachers' lessons because, in contrast to Virginia's lessons, there was less "talking" and waiting, and much more instrument-playing. Yet, my observations of Genevieve and Jackie's lessons indicated that it was not just the access to instruments that the students appreciated. It was also the opportunities for performances that the musicians gave them. This was clear from my first observations of one of their lessons, which I observed just after attending one of Virginia's lessons in the Strings B groups, which had been markedly more laborious:

> As I arrive in the session, the students are performing their group's choreography excitedly. Even Mario is involved, announcing the beginning of the performance by knocking on the whiteboard[…] At the end Ernest announces that they will now have some time to try out the instruments. The students cheer[…] I Ask Ernest what happened during the session. He says lots of things, so many that someone who has been paying attention should tell me, like Dylan. Ana and Lizzy also offer to tell me. They say that first they came in and did the *bise* to the music teachers, and then read out a text on the piece they were learning. Ana excitedly tells me that she read out a text from one of the female characters, and Dylan points out that he read the first text[…]. Then the musicians asked them questions, and those who answered correctly got points. (Fieldnotes, Strings A session, 01.12.2015)

This session extract not only hints at the group's enthusiasm for performances, whether through doing their group's choreography or getting the opportunity to play instruments. The students' accounts also emphasise being highlighted by the teachers, getting 'points', and doing the *bise* to the musicians. This latter action was particularly significant, as it was a very adult way of greeting which few adults did with students. Thus, Ana, Dylan and Lizzy seem to especially appreciate the opportunities that the teachers gave them to showcase their knowledge and participate in *grand*-ness – thus, to perform and become.

In future lessons Genevieve and Jackie kept proposing activities which gave students space to perform, such as rehearsals of the dance and choreography, quizzes with easy questions, or 'conductor' games (e.g. Fieldnotes, Strings A session, 19.01.2016 & 24.05.2016). Perhaps most importantly though, when the musicians were involved with particular students, they let other students play with their friends and did not shut down their performances. They even sometimes endorsed student performances: at

the end of one of their first sessions, while students were trying out instruments, they let Ana and Kristine publicly perform a dance that they had invented, without, crucially, instructing the other students to stay and watch[140] (Fieldnotes, Strings A lesson, 08.12.2016). This led Julie to call their lessons a "joyful mess" ("*un joyeux bordel*") – lessons where an effective *cadre* was present but which accomplished the programme's goal of making music "joyfully" ("*dans la joie*") (Fieldnotes, Strings B staff meeting, 25.02.2016).

b) Lack of performances – the Strings B group

Thus, in the Strings A group it seemed that the most important factor shaping whether students got positively involved in lessons was the opportunities that the lessons gave them for performances. These opportunities not only showcased students but also may have encouraged them to assist each other. Without them, students tended to withdraw and/or resist their teachers' instructions.

I observed some similar dynamics in the Strings B group. Virginia, who also taught singing to students in this group, had very contrasting lessons with them. Her first lessons, when she emphasised dancing and rehearsing the group's choreography, gave students many opportunities to perform, whether in front of others or with friends. These 'performance-heavy' lessons were generally well received and ran relatively smoothly. They even seemed to at times encourage social support and cross-class bonding, as the following episode suggests:

[140] in the event, about half of the group did so.

> While Virginia is giving instructions for the next part of the choreography rehearsal, some students suddenly notice that Omar is crying. They tell Virginia this, and Francesco comes up to him and says "do you want to take my place as one of the soloists in the choreography?"[…] Later, Omar ends up being chosen as one of the soloists, paired up with Shane, but Francesco is not chosen. Francesco's friends argue that he should also be one of the soloists, and the adults wonder aloud whether he could replace Omar. However, Shane protests, saying "Omar needs me". He shakes Omar's hand, then steps away and does a little exuberant dance on his own. (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 15.12.2015)

In this vignette, the older boys seem to use the performance opportunities of the session not only to 'show off', but also to publicly present magnanimity and care for a younger student. Yet this appears to also be a kind of performance, as indicated by Shane's exuberant dance – highlighting one possible way in which opportunities to perform could foster cross-class bonding.

However, after the initial phase of MASS, lessons became more laborious. Virginia, for instance, continued with her vocal warm-ups and started introducing French and world music songs, as she did with the Strings A group. Accordingly, Shane, during one of her later lessons, openly complained that he didn't like her warm-up "noises" – a complaint reminiscent of Dylan's words above. He equally told her that her foreign language songs were "too hard", suggesting that his problem with them was that they were depriving him of a sense of achievement (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 02.02.2016).

In other MASS sessions meanwhile, students started formulating insistent questions about when they would be able to get or play their instruments. Some students started to compare their group to the

Strings A group who, they complained, "already all have instruments"[141] or "already have sheet music" (Fieldnotes, Strings B lessons, 18.01.2016). Students seemed to be so intent on getting their instruments that, when there finally were enough instruments for every student in the group, some students, particularly older ones, leapt on the occasion. They wrote their names on instrument cases even though they had not been instructed to do so, claiming instruments as their own and forcing the *éducateurs* to concede that all students could do the same (Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 2016.01.28). This strongly hints at how enthusiastic these students were to finally have regular access to their 'own' instruments.

This was not the end of their woes however. The first instrumental lessons in the group focused on learning bow and instrument hold. They also involved plucking strings instead of using bows, which, as mentioned above, was seen to be less 'performative'. Faced with these 'non-performative' sequences, and with few or no friends to play with[142], some students disengaged from the lessons or acted 'disruptively'[143]. Francesco very much did the latter during a lesson with the other violin students of his group, none of which, crucially, he had nominated as a friend[144]. This included taunting younger students for their lack of knowledge or small stature, and thus making performances of his *grand*-ness. Compellingly, the only time when Francesco willingly took part in the lesson was when, at the very end, he was given the opportunity to play the conductor game. He even did it with gusto, earning applause from the rest of the group. This, alongside his way of acting 'disruptively', suggested that, in essence, he was 'acting up' because he had found no other way to perform in the lesson (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson 07.03.2016).

[141] This was not even true.
[142] As per my relational interviews in waves 1 and 2.
[143] Interestingly, Damon, Sammy, and Ibrahim, all three isolates in the Strings A reciprocated friendship network before the start of the music programme, had particularly apathetic and/or disruptive attitudes during their own music group's sessions.
[144] He even complained that he wanted to switch to the Strings A group where his friends were.

Thus, it seemed that lacking friends and opportunities to perform in the group could lead to disengagement or to antagonistic performances[145]. Yet, another episode shows how the denial of (otherwise legitimate) performance opportunities could even lead to conflicts:

> We (the violins and violas) have been repeating the plucked part of a musical piece four or five times already; each time students seem to be increasingly reluctant to comply. Adrian insists that we need to do it one more time before we can use our bows. Michael protests: "yeah, but we want to use our bows!", followed by other complaints[…]. After asking one last time if we want to rehearse the plucked part – the students resoundingly disagree – Adrian finally gets us to take our bows out. The room breathes a sigh of relief[…]. Adrian insists that we need to rehearse the rhythm before using our bows, and we reluctantly accept. Then, we are in position, finally ready to play, when the cellos come into the room, signalling that it's time to move onto the next activity. Shane immediately turns to Michael: "Damn it! It's all your fault!". This escalates into a physical fight between both boys, who end up needing to be separated by *éducateurs.* (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 29.02.2016).

This vignette demonstrates that the boys, who were mutual friends at the beginning of the year, were having a kind of falling out at the time. Yet, it was specifically this situation of 'performance denial' – an interpersonal constraint, effectively – that made the conflict between them 'flare up'[146]. Thus, 'non-performative' lessons could produce situations where students thought their peers were denying

[145] They could also 'sabotage' attempts at bonding (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 24.03.2016).
[146] This is interestingly reminiscent of studies suggesting that a sense of failure may lead individuals to focus on how others have caused the failure (e.g. Orehek and Kruglanski, 2018).

them of performance opportunities. They therefore appear to have been 'risk factors', potentially conducive to conflicts between students.

These processes suggest that the absence of performance opportunities, alongside already weak group cohesion, not only made students disengage from MASS sessions but also hindered the programme's ability to build student cohesion in music groups. But what of the other social transformation goal of the programme – to encourage students to become agents in their own self-transformation?

Other instances suggest that this process was also intimately tied to Strings B students' opportunities for performances, and specifically to how much they believed the programme was giving them the chance to 'become'. This was most apparent regarding the issue of when students would be able to take their instruments home. MASS staff first envisaged this to happen in December 2015, and then planned it for January 2016, to mark the end of the initial dancing and singing phase. However, logistical issues, as well as uncertainty over whether students were 'ready' for their instruments, meant that the loaning of instruments only happened from March onwards. To justify this to the students, and to further the social transformation goals mentioned above, the staff members told students that they would only receive their instruments when they, as individuals and as a group, could demonstrate that they were 'ready' for them.

Yet, this argument did not seem to encourage the older boys in the Strings B group to co-operate or improve their behaviour. This was not only because, as I have reported elsewhere, they interpreted the explanation as a lack of trust (Sarazin, 2017). It was also because these students came to express doubts as to the programme's ability to help them perform and 'become'. They expressed as much

during a lesson when Lucy confirmed to them that the Strings A group would be getting their instruments before they would:

> Lucy comes in early in the lesson, saying she has an announcement to make. In a firm voice, she says "I'm not happy with this group, I'm told that there is a problem here, I keep hearing [negative] things about you, and I would like you to be making progress." The room quietens down. Lucy says, "regarding when you will get your instruments" – students' faces brighten, namely Francesco's [male, Year 6] and Shane's – she says, "it's up to you". She says she doesn't know when they will get their instruments, but the Strings A group will be getting theirs on the 29th of March, and she would like them to progress quickly so they too can get their instruments soon. However, the second she says "29th of March", Shane, Francesco, and Leander exclaim "Come on!", flinging their arms in front of them in indignation. Shane gets up immediately and starts putting his instrument away. Lucy asks him if he will sit down with everyone else. Shane: "We aren't trusted, I'd rather focus on my future career than play an instrument"[…] Francesco gets up too and puts his violin down: "man, I'd rather play some PlayStation, this sucks, we used to have the TAP as well". (Fieldnotes, Strings B group, 2016.03.03)

One theme indeed emanating from this vignette is that at least some of the boys did not feel trusted. Yet, the things that they say they would rather be doing suggest another story. When Shane says that he would rather focus on his future career, he seems to be calling into doubt the possibility that music – that bringer of potential YouTube fame – could help him further his 'future career', or bring him the sense of becoming that working on his 'future career' would bring him. Likewise, Francesco pines after

the TAP sessions and video games – both prime spaces for performances[147] (See Chapter 6). Thus, it seemed, the adults were not only holding back the instruments – they were equally holding the students back from 'becoming'. Significantly, only when Francesco was told privately by Lucy that he might be able to get his instrument in a few weeks' time – and after he bragged about it to the group – did he recover from this upset.

This intervention did not abate tensions regarding the loaning of instruments however. They reached a climax three weeks later, when Michael and Shane categorically refused to participate in their music lesson, leading other students to do likewise. After their music teacher threatened to leave the lesson, Julie, as a last resort, intervened to ask the students why they were being so reticent to participate. The reasons that Shane, Francesco, Michael, and (to a much lesser extent) Zach gave were revealing. They complained that the Strings A students were getting their instruments before them[148]; that they couldn't switch instruments; that they doubted that they would ever get their instruments; that they weren't learning anything in their group, while the Strings A group was making much more progress; that they doubted the use of playing music in general, especially when they couldn't continue the following year; that they never got called on by their music teacher; that they were afraid of making mistakes; and that they had MASS sessions so late in the day that they were too tired to effectively participate (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 24.03.2016). Intriguingly, all of these reasons arguably are reminiscent of either a lack of performance opportunities, a fear of not being able to achieve, or a concern that they weren't being offered the conditions that they wanted for performing and becoming.

[147] For Francesco, who mentioned YouTube the most of all his peers, video games may have been even more significant as a means to become, through their link with publishing popular YouTube videos in a similar way as in Michael's story earlier (p. 257).

[148] In fact, there was another 'advantage' of being in the Strings A group, though it was perhaps less apparent to students: the intra-group musical nominations were higher in that group than in the Strings B group, meaning that students in that group had a higher potential to be musically central, even in the school in general.

This is not to say that the programme was entirely unsuccessful in pursuing 'self-transformational' goals in the Strings B group. In fact, Shane seemed to believe more than others that the programme was helping him achieve; when Michael, in the scene above, expressed doubts regarding the usefulness of music, he butted in: "no, music helps me in my learning[…] before I used to give up more, now I give up less… That's what Cécile told me". Indeed, at the time his teachers and *éducateur* were capitalising on his displayed commitment in the music lessons to pointedly emphasise that MASS was having repercussions on his attitude in class. Likewise, having identified him as a "driving force – if we lose him, we lose everyone" (Fieldnotes, Strings B meeting, 25.02.2016), Julie was having conversations with Shane at the time, asking him to help the other students and act as a leader in his group. Thus, in a music lesson two weeks before the one mentioned above, he was engaged throughout the lesson, ignoring taunts from other students, attempting to help the teacher with discipline, and flaunting himself as the leader of the group. This, then, further suggests that the programme's ability to use social dynamics in music groups to enable students to 'transform' themselves was conditioned on students' believing that the programme was helping them 'become'.

2. Evolution in friendships and dislikes in both groups

In the above, I have argued that students in the Strings A group had more opportunities to perform than those in the Strings B group, and that this could affect the ability of the music programme to fulfil its social transformation goals in both groups. So did it have an impact on the friendship and disliking networks in both groups?

Table VII-3 gives some evidence for this. While friendships and to a lesser extent reciprocated friendships increased in line with the rest of the school in the Strings A group (+23.2% and +14% respectively, compared to the school's +25.7% and 35.7% - See Section Chapter IV.D.3), they did not increase at all, and even decreased for reciprocated friendships, in the Strings B group. Likewise, while dislikes increased approximately in line with the school in the Strings A group (+56.8%, compared to the school's +42.1% - see Section Chapter V.A), they more than doubled in the Strings B group[149]. Meanwhile, reciprocated dislikes increased about as much as they did in the rest of the school in the Strings B group (+158%, to the school's +150%), whereas they increased much less in the Strings A group (+58.3%).

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		All friendships		**Reciprocated friendships**		**All Dislikes**		**Reciprocated Dislikes**	
	N. of students	*Wave 1*	*Wave 2*	*Wave 1*	*Wave 2*	*Wave 1*	*Wave 2*	*Wave 1*	*Wave 2*
Strings A	15	0.27	0.33	0.13	0.15	0.17	0.26	0.05	0.08
Strings B	13	0.18	0.18	0.06	0.03	0.15	0.31	0.06	0.14

Table VII-3 – Densities of the friendship and disliking networks in the Strings A and B music groups over time

[149] Note that the group which, by far, had the greatest increase in within-music-group friendships was the Woodwinds group. However, this group was peculiar, in that 10 of its 14 students came from the Year 2/3 class, which had a disproportionately high number of within-class friendships and students sending very high numbers of friendship ties at wave 2. Furthermore, staff members treated the music group differently from the other two groups: they subdivided it more often, such that Flutes and Clarinets had spent most of their lessons apart by Wave 2, even sometimes in groups of 2-3 students. The Strings A and B groups are therefore much easier to compare, hence why the Woodwinds group is not included in the current discussion. I hope to address it in future analyses.

These results are only partial evidence though, as the 'cohesion' aim of the programme was especially to create positive relationships across school classes. Thus, were there differences between both music groups in changes in cross-class friendships?

Table VII-4 and

Table VII-5 suggest that there were in fact marked differences in these evolutions between both groups. While the proportions of cross-class friendships in the Strings B group remained remarkably similar throughout the year, these proportions increased substantially in the Strings A group. Combining these results with Table VII-3, it even appears that the increase in friendships within the Strings A group throughout the year was more driven by cross-class friendships than within-class friendships[150].

[150] The contrast between both music groups was much smaller when it came to cross-class disliking ties however.

(a)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.55	0.04	0.00
Year 4/5	0.18	0.58	0.25
Year 2/3	0.18	0.44	0.33

(b)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.36	0.39	0.21
Year 4/5	0.25	0.33	0.25
Year 2/3	0.36	0.31	0.58

Table VII-4 – Density of friendship relations within and between classes in the Strings A group.

(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2.

Reading guide: Rows indicate groups that send ties, and columns groups that receive ties. There were seven Year 6, four Year 4/5, and four Year 2/3 students in the group.

(a)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.50	0.00	0.00
Year 4/5	0.20	0.32	0.00
Year 2/3	0.31	0.08	0.33

(b)

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.50	0.00	0.00
Year 4/5	0.25	0.28	0.10
Year 2/3	0.25	0.04	0.33

Table VII-5 – Density of friendship relations within and between classes in the Strings B group.

(a) Wave 1; (b) Wave 2.

There were four Year 6, six Year 4/5 (Ryan is included in these figures), and four Year 2/3 students in the group.

E. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have addressed performances and their importance in MASS programme sessions. I first introduced the TAP sessions that the MASS sessions came to replace, arguing that they were framed as spaces where performances were possible and students could *se défouler* and *se relâcher*. I then showed how the MASS programme also emphasised performances, whether through the end-of-year concert or staff members' practices during music lessons. I demonstrated how the musical instruments that the programme provided for students were framed as excellent tools for performances and becoming, particularly by older students.

I then discussed how performances played out in the Strings A and Strings B music groups. I established how students' engagement in music lessons in the former was conditioned on whether lessons brought opportunities for performances and becoming. This was particularly crucial for older students, for whom 'becoming' was more salient. I then illustrated how this dynamic also pertained in the

Strings B group, and how it was perhaps reinforced by the relative lack of friendships in the group. However, I also elucidated how lessons in that group additionally suggested that opportunities for performances and becoming encouraged bonding processes and enabled students to enact their self-transformation. On the contrary, lacking opportunities for performances and becoming could lead to disengagement, 'disruption', conflicts and perceptions of interpersonal constraint, and even doubts from students that music could give them the resources to 'realise themselves'. I finally displayed the results of network analyses suggesting that these divergences between both groups were linked to differences in the groups' friendship and disliking networks.

In presenting these results, I not only propose to explain the difference in reputation between the Strings A and B groups. I most of all offer that opportunities for performances and becoming were pivotal means through which the MASS programme could realise its social transformation goals.

I have discussed above how these features were related to Trinité's educational practices. However, another consideration along those lines bears mentioning here. Strings B students' complaints that they "weren't learning" are reminiscent of the "thing-ness" of learning discussed in Chapter 3 (see p. 99). While music was supposed to teach them *vivre ensemble* and perseverance, the students seemed to think that they weren't learning anything because they weren't being taught any new musical content. It may be, then, that new musical content was also pivotal in creating valued opportunities for performing and becoming, and thus involved in accomplishing the programme's goals.

It is also worth mentioning the parallel between the linking of music with self-transformation by staff members and the linking of instruments with 'becoming' by students. Both, arguably, can be seen to derive from broader developments tying music to self-realization in Western societies.

(Hesmondhalgh, 2013). This suggests in turn that, even though the discussion above foregrounds contestation and differences in perspectives between students and staff members, the same discourse may have in fact shaped the views and actions of both kinds of actors.

The results above are not an exhaustive account of whether and how the MASS programme accomplished its social transformation aims however. I have not yet discussed to whom the programme's new notion of musical competence gave resources for social transformation, or for improving their social positions in Trinité's student social world. I turn to this important issue in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII. MUSICAL COMPETENCE: A RESOURCE FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION FOR WHOM?

> "Can music really be so autonomous that it floats free of social forces?" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013: 41).

A. Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, prominent accounts of music's power for social transformation suggest that music can 'transcend' existing social structures and give individuals the resources to change their social positions. Similar arguments about the transformative power of the arts laud their ability to let people try out new identities and 'versions of themselves', for example as competent artists. As mentioned in Chapter III.C.2, a similar idea was behind the music programme in Trinité: it was hoped that the programme's new domain of musical competence, being a domain where students had not yet had experiences of 'failure', would finally give students the resources for their self-transformation.

However, there seem to be gaps in understandings about whether music in group settings can indeed give individuals the resources to transcend social structure and 'realise themselves'. While many studies examine music's effects on student self-confidence (Creech et al., 2016; Hallam, 2015), there seem to be few accounts of how music impacts peers' assessments of musical competence. Yet this is likely to be crucial: part of students changing their social positions in schools through music surely

involves convincing others of claims to musical competence and status. Furthermore, if music-making is to change students' social positions, then it should surely allocate musical status in a different way to how status is already allocated in schools.

This chapter therefore looks in more depth at peer-assessed musical competence in the MASS programme. I investigate the student 'best musicianship' network ('musical network') in the school, from which I establish measures of students' musical influence (see Chapter II.C.2.c). These measures can be seen as an indication of status with respect to MASS music-making. Indeed, the programme's focus on the concert, use of peer learning methods, and performative games (e.g. the conductor game, see Chapter 7), all meant that being seen as musically competent was tantamount to 'succeeding' in the programme, and to being an influential peer to whom one could turn for musical guidance. Furthermore, Trinité's staff members sometimes referred to students' musical achievements during other school periods, further contributing to the importance of perceived musical competence.

By investigating peer-assessed musical competence, I therefore hope to address the 'transformational' goals of the MASS programme from a new angle. I will answer two questions in this chapter: Did the new domain of musical competence promoted by the programme reproduce the same social influence dynamics that prevailed in the rest of Trinité (see Chapter 6)? And, accordingly, did it give 'resources for self-transformation' to those students who were the most peripheral in the school's student social world, who may have been particularly likely to be excluded from those resources?

I first look at the musical network before the programme was implemented. I argue that the possession of musical competence, although not very salient, was primarily a girl trait, and one that displayed a flat hierarchy with regard to age, potentially giving younger girls a space to be competent. I then address the musical network that emerged at wave 2. I examine its associations with factors that were involved in the allocation of social status in Trinité's student social world: age, gender, and social influence before the start of the MASS programme. I find the associations to be positive. I also consider the influence of MASS teachers' assessments of musical competence on musical influence, including through the above factors. I follow by investigating whether and how those factors combined or were 'triggered' to make students influential in the musical network. To carry out this investigation in depth, and to tease out the influence of different factors, I look at how the factors played out in different music groups. I pay special attention to which students became musically influential in the groups and how this happened.

B. Musical competence before the start of the MASS programme

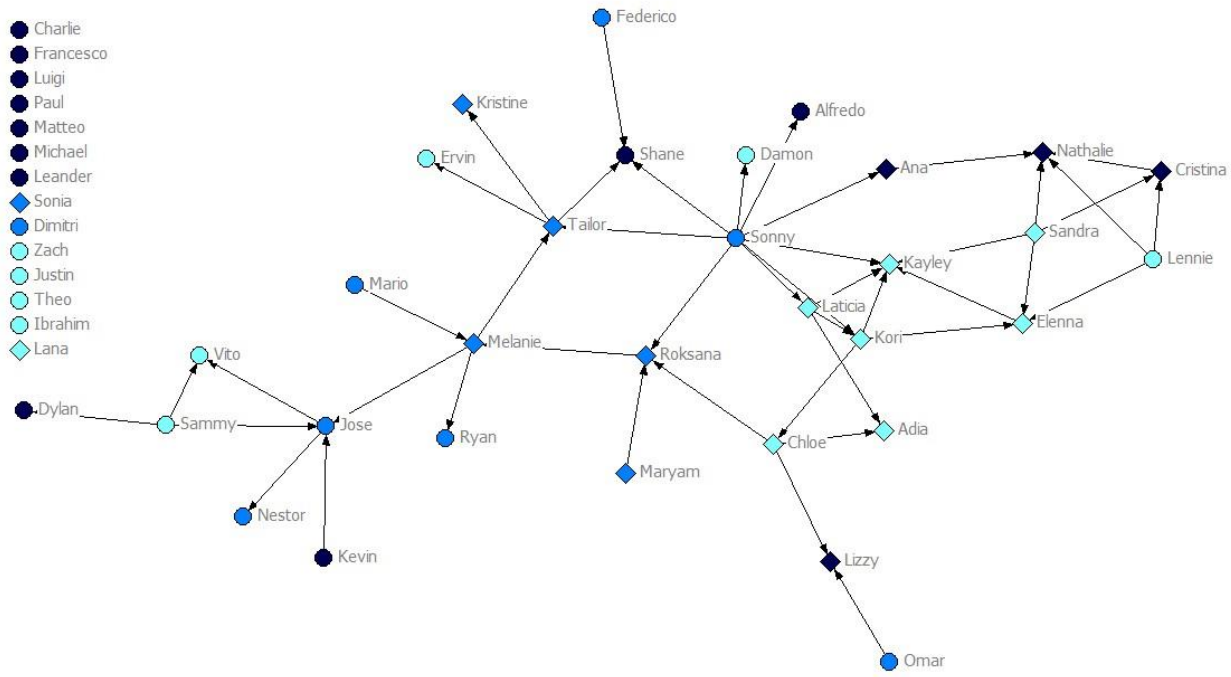
How were perceptions of musical competence attributed before the MASS programme started?

Figure VIII-1(a), displaying a visualisation of the musical network at wave 1, gives an indication of this. It shows that this network was quite heavily dominated by girls, with most boys being isolates (i.e. neither giving nor receiving any ties). Further, of those boys who are in the network, many are 'sinks', or nodes who receive ties but do not send ties. In contrast, many girls both send and receive ties (and often several ties), and seem to be involved in more complex (e.g. triadic) network substructures.

The girl-centric nature of the network is even clearer when looking at

Figure VIII-1(b), which excludes ties from Sonny, who sent many more ties than almost any other student in the school. In this figure, while only one girl is an isolate, 15 boys are isolates. Furthermore, it emphasises how girls are the most active members of the network, so as to form most of a 'backbone' of nodes from which more peripheral nodes – typically boys – receive or send single ties[151].

(a)



(b)

[151] The only boy to form a part of this 'backbone' is Jose, who came from a musical family and was known by some to play guitar.

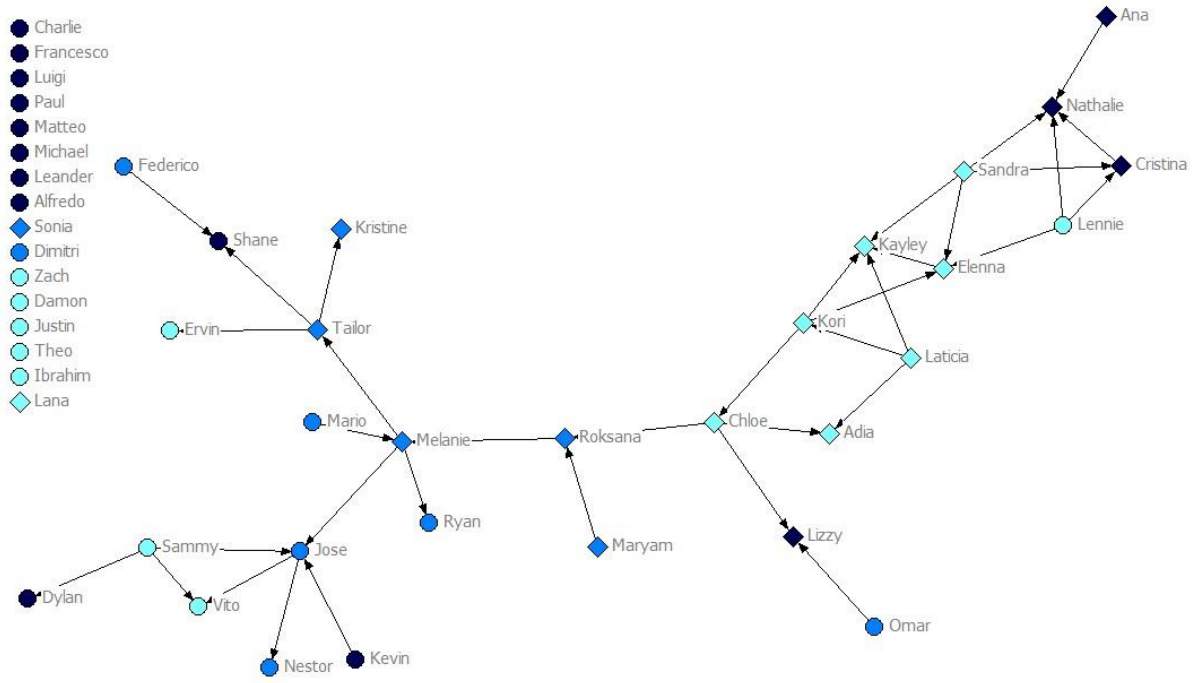


Figure VIII-1 – Visualisations of the school-wide musical network at wave 1.

(a) shows the full musical nomination network without the ties sent by Jose at the Roster stage, where he nominated the entire Year 6 class without naming a single student (which brought his number of outgoing ties to 17, a very clear outlier). (b) displays the same network while excluding Sonny, who was also an outlier in that he nominated 10 students (He received no nominations himself).

Here, as in other figures, circles represent boys and diamonds represent girls. Dark blue nodes are Year 6 students; indigo nodes are Year 4/5 students; light blue nodes are Year 2/3 students.

Table VIII-1, showing the split of within-gender and cross-gender musical ties, furthermore reveals that girls received more ties than boys, and that boys sent several more ties to girls than girls sent to boys. 'This girl-centredness' seems to be contrary to the boy-centredness of the school's student social world (see Chapter 6), and is especially significant considering that the majority of Trinité's student population was male.

	Boys	Girls
Boys	11 (0.01)	11 (0.02)
Girls	4 (0.01)	20 (0.07)

Table VIII-1 – Number (and density) of musical competence ties at wave 1 within and across genders

Reading guide: Rows indicate groups that send ties, and columns groups that receive ties

Another important feature of the network at the beginning of the year was its association with friendship ties. Thus, there was a positive (and significant) correlation between the musical and friendship networks ($r=0.120$, $P<0.001$) at wave 1[152]. Table VIII-2 furthermore uncovers that 59% of the 46 ties in the musical network were sent to friends. This suggests that perceptions of musical competence and friendship were associated before the implementation of the MASS programme.

	No friendship tie	Friendship tie	Subtotal
No musical tie	1467	467	1934
Musical tie	19	27	46
Subtotal	1486	494	

Table VIII-2 – Crosstabulation of musical by friendship ties at wave 1

Additionally, Figure VIII-1 shows that it was not just girls, but younger girls in particular, who were relatively influential in the musical nomination network. Together (along with Cristina and Nathalie) they formed a lattice-like structure (with pairs of nodes linking to each other) which composed much

[152] Despite the sparsity of the musical network, which would tend to decrease correlation values.

of the aforementioned 'backbone' of the network, whereas most of the older girls (and boys) formed a string-like structure (with single nodes linking to each other).

Looking solely at the number of received musical nominations by age (Figure VIII-2)[153], or the density of ties within and between school classes (Table VIII-3), indeed suggests that *grands* were no more likely to be considered as musically competent than *petits* (cf. Chapter 6), who were the most active in the network. Thus, the correlation between received musical nominations and age was flat (r = -0.05).

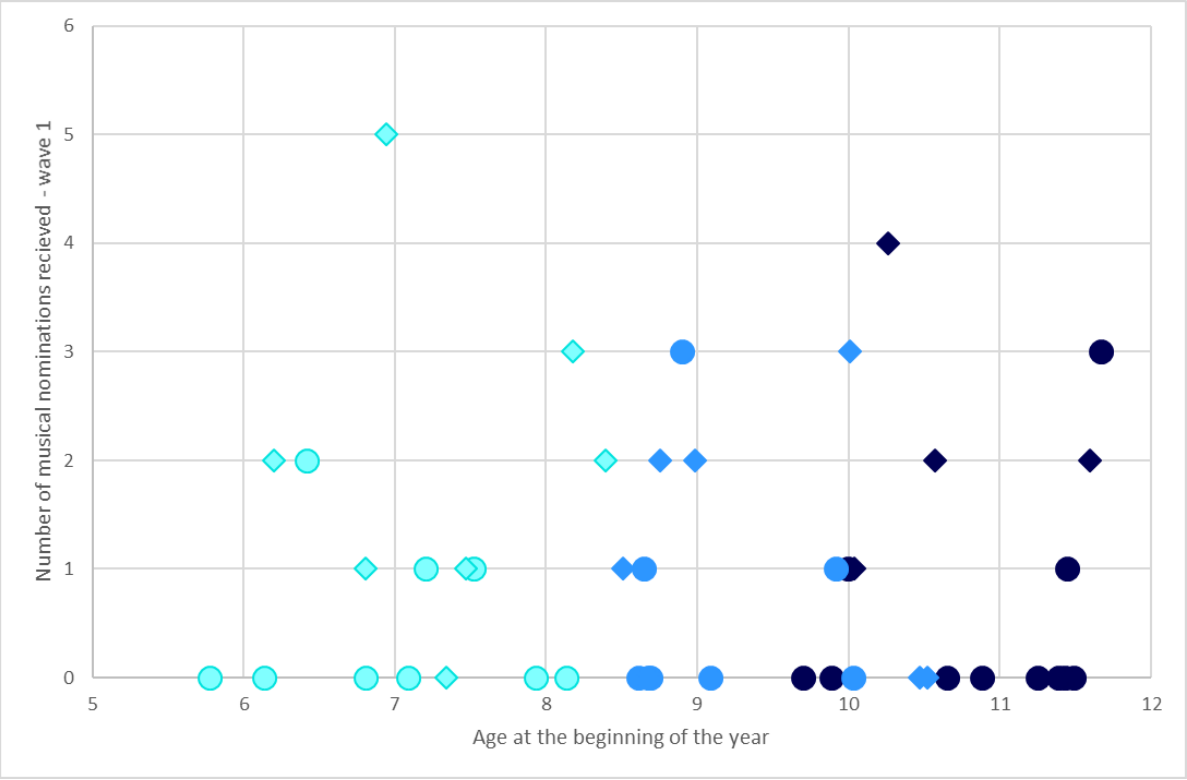


Figure VIII-2 – Numbers of musical nominations received at wave 1 according to students' age.

[153] I use musical indegree as opposed to beta centrality regarding incoming musical ties here to represent musical influence. This is because the sparsity of the network results in extreme beta values which lead to extreme differences in centrality scores (see Appendix III.A).

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.01	0.00	0.00
Year 4/5	0.03	0.05	0.03
Year 2/3	0.03	0.01	0.05

Table VIII-3 – The densities of musical nomination ties at wave 1 within and between classes

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the network at wave 1 was its low density however (of 0.03; mean nominations = 1.4). Most students who received nominations received one or two of them. Only four students received 3 nominations, one student 4 nominations, and one student 5 nominations. This, as well as the low clustering of the network (as evident in Figure VIII-1), suggests that there was little school-wide agreement as to who were the best musicians among students at wave 1. There therefore appears to have been no clear school-wide 'hierarchy' of musical competence at the beginning of the year. Rather, as well as nominating friends, many students appeared to nominate those who were 'close' to them in social space (Blau, 1977, 1974): those who were in the same or adjacent years, and/or who were of the same gender.

However, the above discussion, which only considers ties between students, belies other important aspects of students' musical nominations. Indeed, students did not only nominate other students in the school. They also sent 46 ties in total – the same number of ties as they sent to other students – to middle school students (6 ties) and members of school staff (40) – the ultimate *grands* in the school. While 15 of the latter ties were sent to Curtis and Steve, long-standing staff members who were amateur musicians and who on occasion played music in Trinité, the other 25 ties were sent to staff members who, to my knowledge, had little involvement in making music. This reveals a possible

association that students may have made between *grand*-ness and musical skill at this early point in the year[154].

C. Musical competence in the MASS programme

Did students' notions of who was musically competent in the school 6 months after the start of the MASS programme exhibit the same trends as those mentioned above? Examining a visualisation of the musical network at wave 2 (see Figure VIII-3) gives a first answer to this question. The first obvious feature of the network was that it was made up of many more ties than at wave 1. The density of the network and mean nominations of the students, of respectively 0.12 and 5.6, had quadrupled compared to their values in wave 1. Interestingly, not only is the network much denser but the profile of ties at wave 2 was very different from that at wave 1. This is reflected by the very slight and negative correlation between both networks (r = -0.01) and the very low value of their Jaccard index[155] (J = 0.02). This suggests that the notion of musical competence had changed drastically 6 months after the implementation of the MASS programme, making it possible for the dynamics presented above to be different across waves[156].

[154] This was revealed in Jose's comment when he nominated the entire Year 6 class as the best musicians in the school at wave 1: "of course, they're in Year 6!".

[155] The Jaccard index is the number of ties that are present in both networks as a proportion of the ties that are present in either network.

[156] Note that this extreme difference in the network at both waves suggests that it actually forms a different network at each wave. This makes it virtually meaningless to undertake analyses of changes in musical ties over time (see Snijders et al., 2010, section 3.1.).

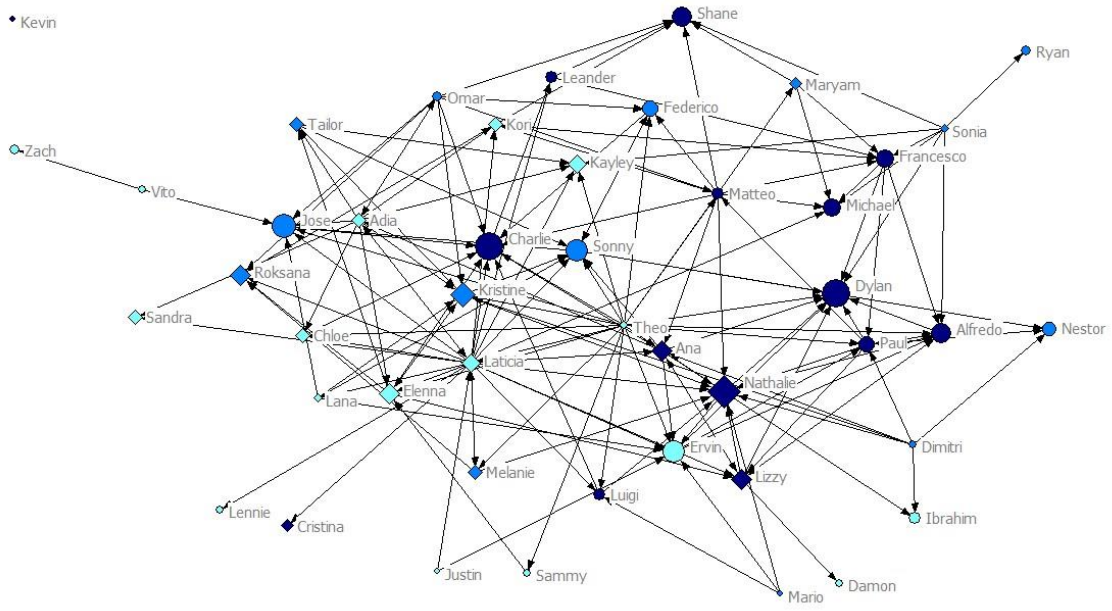


Figure VIII-3 – Visualisation of the school-wide musical nomination network at wave 2

This visualisation shows the musical nomination network without outgoing ties from Damon and Kayley, who nominated respectively 41 and 37 of the school's students. Including these ties obscures the structure of the network when it is visualised. Node size is proportional to the number of nominations received.

The network also has a much wider distribution and variability in indegrees (i.e. nominations received), with all students receiving at least one tie and an indegree distribution that skews towards the right (mean: 5.02; median: 4; Standard deviation 3.09; Maximum indegree = 13; Number receiving 0 nominations = 0). These figures suggest that all students were somehow involved in the musical network at wave 2, and that while most students still received relatively few nominations, a few actors received many nominations and were thus much more musically influential than others.

Another crucial feature of the network was its association with the friendship network in the same wave. Musical and friendship ties were indeed positively and significantly correlated ($r=0.36$, $P<0.001$) and, as per Table VIII-4, the great majority – 75.4% – of musical competence ties were sent to students

who were also nominated as friends[157]. This represents an increase from the same proportion in the first wave despite the much greater number of musical ties sent. At the same time, the table shows that only 30.2% of friends were sent a musical tie. This suggests that students did not send musical ties to most of their friends, and therefore that musical competence was not synonymous with friendship for the students. It therefore becomes relevant to look further into which factors affected whether students were nominated as best musicians, and whether those factors were those which already shaped the school's student social world.

	No friendship tie	Friendship tie	Subtotal
No musical tie	1285	411	1696
Musical tie	58	178	236
Subtotal	1343	589	

Table VIII-4 – Cross-tabulation of friendship by musical ties at wave 2

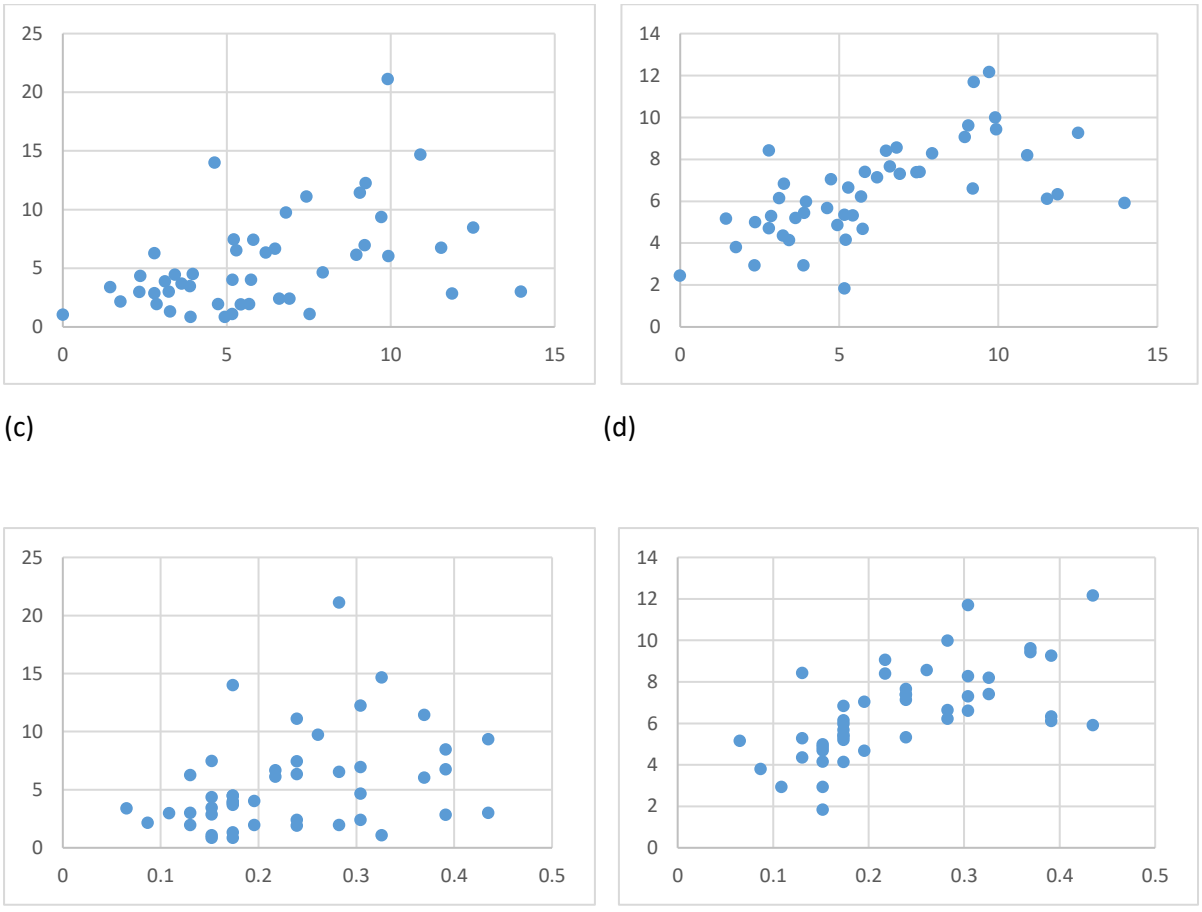
1. Associations with social influence in wave 1

First, were students who became musically central in the MASS programme already those who were socially influential in Trinité's student social world before the programme started? Figure VIII-4(a) suggests a mixed answer to this question. It asserts that social influence at wave 1 had a positive association with musical influence at wave 2 (r=0.46)[158], but that this association was not linear. Instead, it manifested a 'fan-like distribution' (see Section Chapter VI.D): while students who were peripheral regarding friendship at wave 1 were assured to become peripheral regarding musical

[157] Indeed, some students had literally told me to include all of their friends as musical ties.
[158] The same association for musical popularity (i.e. musical tie indegree) was r = 0.44.

competence at wave 2, those who were central in the friendship network at wave 1 knew a wide variety of outcomes. In contrast, social influence in the school at wave 2 (Figure VIII-4(b)) was very tightly and linearly associated with social influence before the MASS programme (r = 0.62). This contrast between musical influence and social influence is even clearer when considering friendship popularity at wave 1 (figures (c) and (d)): while the association with musical influence 'fans out' even more (r = 0.35), the association with social influence is slightly more linear (r = 0.65).

(a) (b)



(c) (d)

Figure VIII-4 – Associations between musical or social influence at wave 2 and social influence or friendship popularity at wave 1

(a): musical influence at wave 2 by social influence at wave 1. (b) social influence at wave 2 by social influence at wave 1. (c) musical influence at wave 2 by friendship popularity at wave 1. (d) social influence at wave 2 by friendship popularity at wave 1.

These figures suggest that social influence before the MASS programme started could be described as an 'enabling' factor for musical influence in MASS – in other words, a factor which 'enabled' students to become influential in the musical network but which was not always 'activated'.

2. Associations with gender, *grand*-ness, and musician-assessed skill

Which other factors were associated with musical influence in MASS, and were they the same factors which shaped students' social influence in the school even before the programme started, i.e. age and gender (see Chapter 6)?

While another look at Figure VIII-3 suggests that the most musically influential students tended to be boys, looking at within- and cross-gender musical competence ties at wave 2 (

Table VIII-5(a)), as well as the reciprocity of these ties (

Table VIII-5(b)) suggests a more balanced picture of how gender intersected with musical competence. Girls on average sent more musical ties than boys did (7.25 for girls vs. 4.62 for boys). Furthermore, ties sent by girls to girls were more likely to be reciprocated than ties sent by boys to boys, even when considering the differing densities of within-boy and -girl ties, suggesting that girl-girl ties were more reciprocated than would be expected at random[159]. This suggests that musical competence was a more salient factor for girls, and thus that girls were more 'invested' in the musical life of the school, for instance through mutual recognitions of musical competence, which may themselves have indicated bonding processes (See Section Chapter VII.C.1.a))[160]. Furthermore, the densities of ties sent

[159] See Chapter II.C.2.c) for a discussion of this notion of 'expected at random'.

[160] As far as I know, mutual recognition of musical competence has not been previously established as a mechanism involved in bonding processes. However, if sending musical competence and friendship ties can both

to girls was higher than that of ties sent to boys, reflecting the fact that girls received slightly more ties on average than boys (respectively 5.22 versus 4.90 of such ties received).

However, looking at the density and reciprocity of cross-gender ties tells a different story. Not only did girls send more ties to boys than boys to girls, even when taking into account the higher number of boys in the school, but they actually sent more ties to boys than they did to other girls. Furthermore, boys' ties to girls were more likely to be reciprocated than girls' ties to boys, especially when comparing with densities of cross-gender ties. This suggests that girls, on average, recognised boys' musical competence more than boys recognised theirs, despite the fact that music teachers did not seem to recognise differences in musical skill between boys and girls (see below). Further, it hints at how girls may have been more likely to respond to boys' musical competence nominations than boys did to girls' nominations. These factors, in turn, may have contributed to explaining why boys' average musical influence scores (5.54) ended up being slightly larger than girls' average musical influence scores (5.24).

(a) (b)

	Boys	**Girls**
Boys	3.00 (0.11)	1.62 (0.09)
Girls	4.00 (0.14)	3.25 (0.19)

be seen as conferring status, and if reciprocating friendships also signifies recognising others as status equals (Ball and Newman, 2013), then it may also be that reciprocating musical competence ties is also involved in conferring status. Note however that, despite the above differences in reciprocity rates between genders, there was little difference between within-boy and within-girl ties in correlations between musical and friendship ties (respectively r = 0.298 and r = 0.310) and the proportions of friends that were sent musical ties (respectively 79.5% and 78.8%).

	Boys	Girls
Boys	0.05	0.13
Girls	0.08	0.26

Table VIII-5 – (a) Number (and density) of musical ties within and across genders. (b) Reciprocity rates of musical ties within and across genders

Did patterns in musical influence at wave 2 also mirror patterns in social influence with regard to age and *grand*-ness? In other words, were *grands* more musically influential than *petits*? And did the effects of *grand*-ness intersect with gender?

Analyses of musical influence in Trinité and its music groups confirm a trend suggested by Figure VIII-3: By and large, *grands* were more musically influential than *petits*. Figure VIII-5 indeed shows that there was a positive association between musical centrality and age (r = 0.35), but that musical centrality also displayed a 'fan-like' distribution when plotted against age. This once again meant that, while older students were by no means guaranteed to be musically influential, younger students were almost certain not to be. Looking at the gender split in the figure suggests that, in contrast to wave 1, girls were not particularly likely to be very musically influential in the school. If anything, boys may have been slightly over-represented as musically influential students, with 7 boys versus 3 girls being in the top quintile in terms of musical centrality, as compared to a 38% proportion of girls in the school.

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.13	0.25	0.20
Year 4/5	0.05	0.14	0.57
Year 2/3	0.02	0.09	0.17

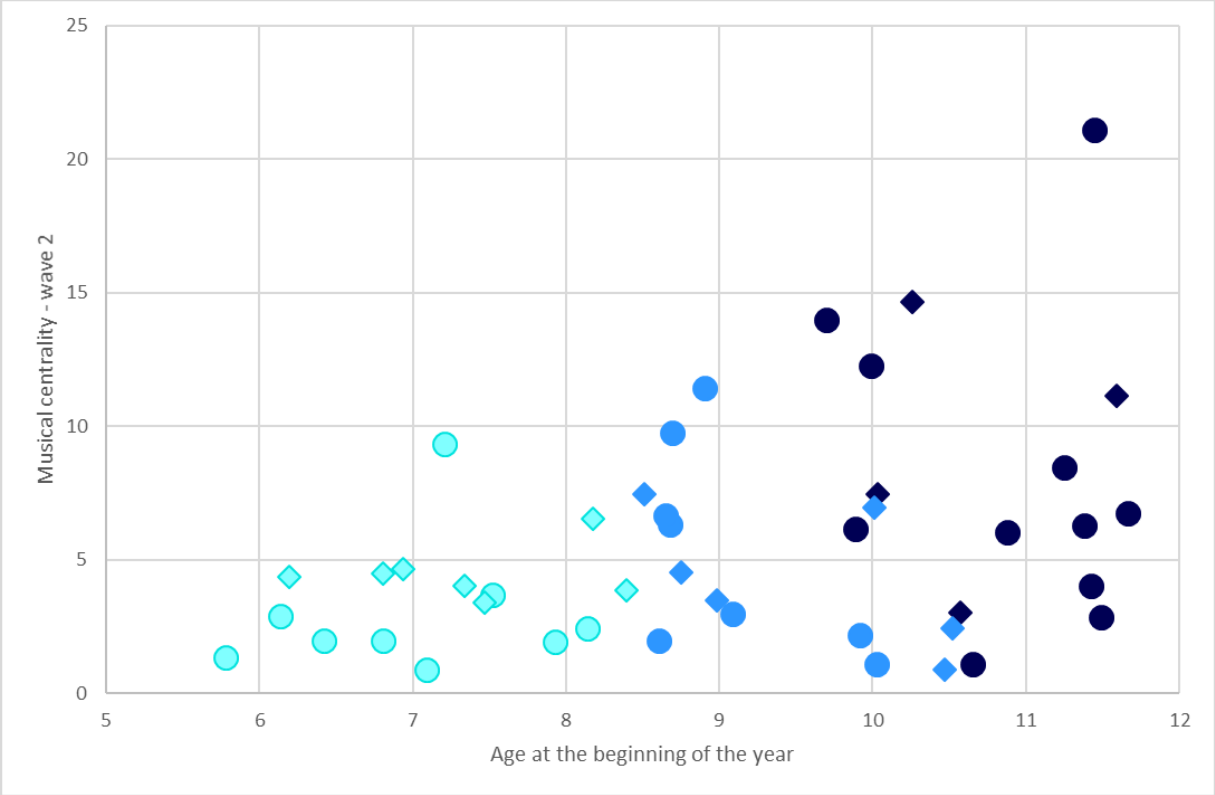


Figure VIII-5 – Scatterplot of normalised Beta Centrality values in the musical network at wave 2 by age

Looking at the density and reciprocity of musical nominations within and between classes (

Table VIII-6) suggests that musical nominations were distributed in a similar way to friendship ties or disliking ties at wave 1 across classes (see Section Chapter VI.D). Overall, while students sent at least as many ties to students in older classes as they sent to students in their own class, they sent fewer ties to students in younger classes. Accordingly,

Table VIII-6(b) establishes that ties were more likely to be reciprocated when they were sent by *grands* than by *petits*. These results suggest that older students were not only more likely to be musically influential, but also less sensitive to peer assessments of musical competence coming from younger

students. In contrast, younger students seemed to be more sensitive to older students' assessments of their musical competence. In other words, musical competence assessments may have been easier to 'ignore' when they came from younger students.

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.13	0.25	0.20
Year 4/5	0.05	0.14	0.57
Year 2/3	0.02	0.09	0.17

	Year 6	Year 4/5	Year 2/3
Year 6	0.18	0.02	0.02
Year 4/5	0.11	0.08	0.03
Year 2/3	0.21	0.21	0.20

Table VIII-6 – (a) Density of ties within and across classes. (b) Reciprocity of ties within and across classes

The pattern of older students being more musically influential was also reflected in the music groups. As Table VIII-7 points out, in each music group, as well as within the Flutes and Clarinets subgroups[161], the correlations between musical influence and age were all positive and moderate or large. Further, in all cases they are larger than the school-wide correlation between musical influence and age, suggesting that the age hierarchy regarding student-perceived musical competence was especially prevalent within music groups[162].

[161] I consider these instrument subgroups separately since, as mentioned in Chapter 7, they spent many music sessions apart. This meant that in some ways they were *de facto* different music groups.
[162] Although this statement must be treated with caution, as the sample sizes are small in the music groups.

	Entire school (a)	Strings A (a)	Strings B	Woodwinds	Flutes	Clarinets
Age and musical influence	0.37	0.55	0.52	0.47	0.81	0.41
N	47	15	14	13	7	7
Age and musician-assessed skill	0.31	0.01	0.04	0.45	0.45	0.38
Musical influence and musician-assessed skill	0.36	0.31	0.06	0.64	0.67	0.86
N	38	10	14	13	7	7

Table VIII-7 – Correlations between age and musical factors in Trinité and its music groups at wave 2

The measure of correlation used was Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient. The musical influence measures used were Beta Centrality for the Strings A and Woodwind groups, and indegree centrality for the Strings B, Flutes and Clarinets groups (due to extreme Beta values). (a) The correlation between age and musician-assessed skill does not include Sammy, a very young student with a very low musician-assessed skill score. I excluded him as he was a clear outlier and due to missing data in the Strings A group relating to younger students. Including him in the analyses produces a correlation of 0.41 for the entire school and 0.51 for the Strings A group

The students may have broadly considered older students to be more musically influential, and boys' musical competence to be more 'noticeable' than girls', but was this because boys and older students were more musically competent, at least according to the MASS music teachers? Table VIII-7 indeed shows that there were positive and moderate to large associations between musician-assessed competence and musical influence both in the school and in most music groups. Plotting MASS teachers' responses regarding students' musical competence against students' age and gender (see Figure VIII-6) suggests that they did not particularly favour boys over girls. Indeed, the mean competence scores of girls and boys were respectively 4.72 and 4.89[163]. The figure does suggest that they assessed older students as being more musically competent, but Figure VIII-6 and Table VIII-7

[163] The mean score of boys is likely to be slightly inflated, and the mean score of girls slightly deflated. Indeed, 2 of the 4 students for whom music teacher data is missing were boys who had low musical centrality scores, and the other two students were Kristine, a relatively musically influential girl, and Nestor, of middling musical influence. If the relationship between musical centrality and musician-assessed skill described below holds for these students, then the scores of these boys may have brought down the mean score for boys, while Kristine's score might have increased the average girl score.

suggest important differences between student-assessed musical influence and musician-assessed musical competence. While the school-wide associations between the two variables and age displayed correlations of similar sizes, they had different shapes. The association between musician-assessed skill and age did not display the same kind of 'fan-like' distribution as the association between musical influence and age. Furthermore, in almost every music group and subgroup the association between musical competence and age was larger when assessed by students than it was when assessed by musicians.

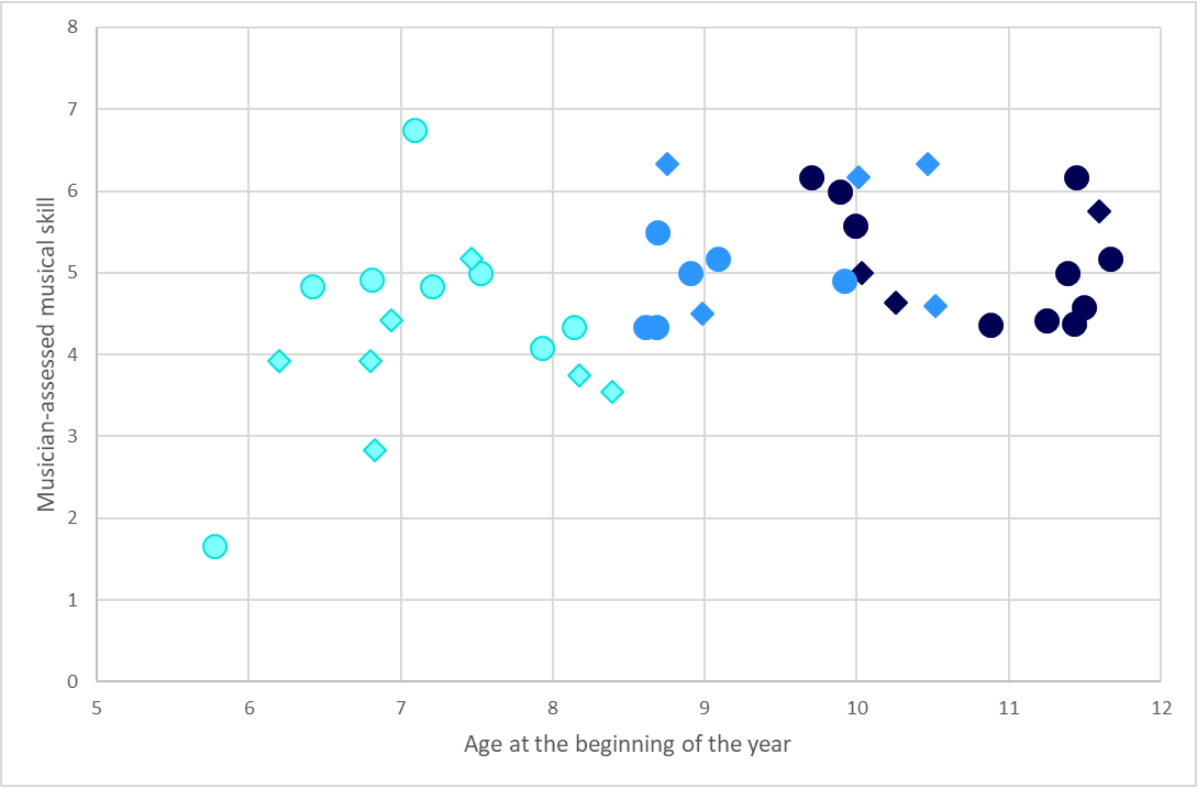


Figure VIII-6 – Scatterplot of musician-assessed musical skill by students' ages

Together, these results indicate two things regarding age. First, they suggest that, on the whole, younger students – who tended to be peripheral in Trinité's student social world before MASS started - were not particularly able to 'use' MASS's new notion of musical competence to become musically

influential. Secondly, this happened only partially in conjunction with adult musicians' assessments of older students as more musically competent. Indeed, in some music groups, musicians' assessments could be relatively generous towards younger students, for instance in the Strings B group (see Table VIII-7)[164]. Likewise, the results suggest that it may have been easier for boys to be viewed as among the more musically influential students, something that was possibly related to their greater 'visibility' in Trinité.

In addition, looking more closely at the association between musical influence and musician-assessed competence at wave 2 (Figure VIII-7), it emerges that it was also characterised by a fan-like distribution. This indicates that while those students who were not considered musically competent by music teachers were relatively certain to be peripheral in the musical network, those who were considered competent did not automatically become musically influential[165].

[164] This happened despite the stronger association between musical influence and musician-assessed musical skill (r = 0.36) compared to the association between musical influence and musician-assessed overall behaviour in music lessons (r = 0.14). This differential suggests that, when making musical nominations, students may have been discriminating other students more according to their musical competence than to their behaviour in music lessons.

[165] I do not claim causality here; however, this comment still implies that musical influence among peers did not significantly influence MASS teachers' assessments of musical competence. Though I do not believe that I can soundly prove this, it seems plausible, given that MASS staff members were the authorities on music in Trinité, and given that they likely had much longer-standing ideas about musical competence than Trinité's students did.

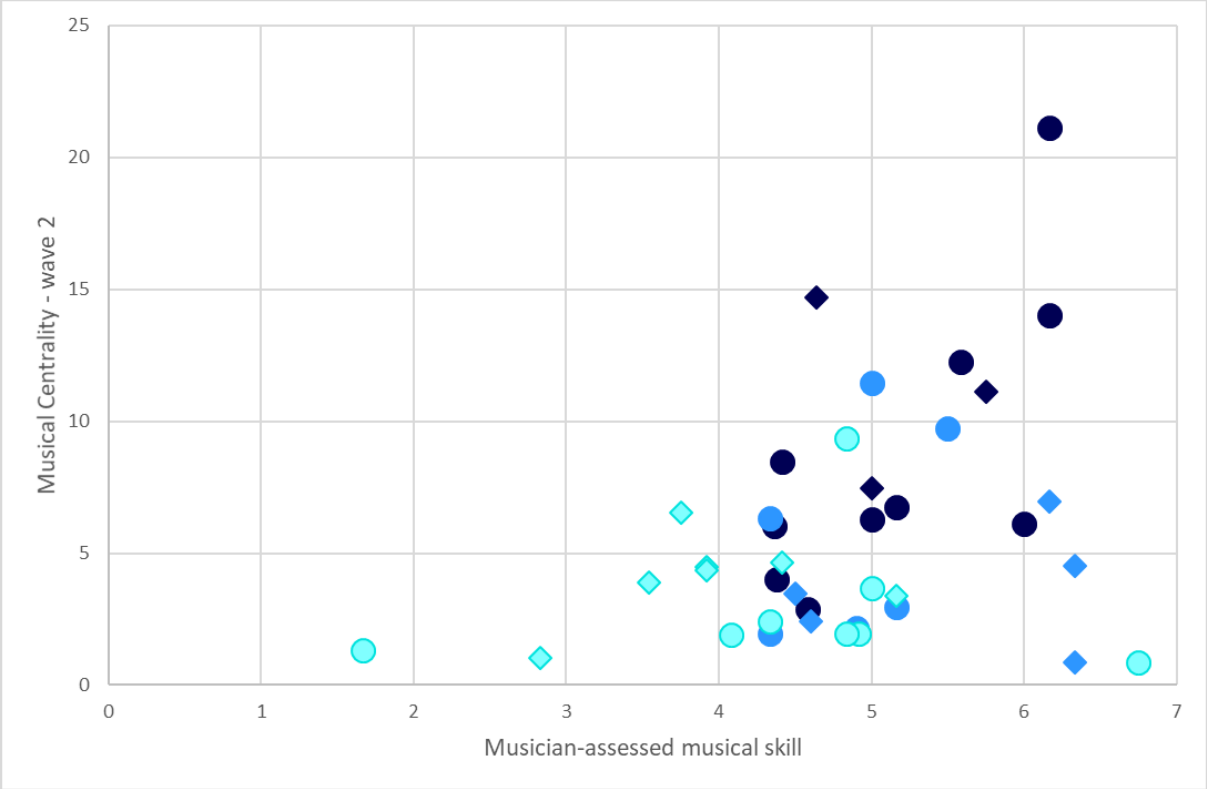


Figure VIII-7 – Centrality in the musical network at wave 2 by musician-assessed musical competence

D. Becoming musically competent in the music groups

To summarise, the above findings suggest that social influence before the programme started, *grand*-ness, and musicians' assessments of musical competence were all potential 'enablers' of musical influence. While those who lacked them were consistently peripheral regarding musical influence in MASS, being endowed with them did not guarantee that a student would become musically influential. Rather, they carried with them a potential which, in different circumstances, was either realised or not. The above results also suggest that musical competence went from being a girl-dominated

domain to one that may have slightly favoured boys, especially when it came to being relatively musically influential.

This begs some important questions. What made students who were endowed with these enabling factors musically competent or not (or, what 'triggered' those factors)? How did the factors intertwine to make some students musically influential and not others? And finally, how was it that boys could 'take over' the 'scene' of musical influence from girls?

I would argue that looking within music groups provides the best chances of answering these questions. Given how MASS was set up, music groups were the main places where musical competence could be displayed and appraised. As Table VIII-8 asserts, musical ties were accordingly concentrated within music groups: 47.5% of musical ties were sent within groups, a number which rose to 56.1% when excluding the ties from the two outliers mentioned above. Music groups were also among the places where musical competence was the most consequential for students, for instance due to MASS teachers' use of 'games' involving musical performances (See Chapter 7). They are therefore key places to investigate to answer these questions.

	Strings A	Strings B	Woodwinds
Strings A	0.20	0.09	0.11
Strings B	0.04	0.10	0.04
Woodwinds	0.18	0.11	0.26

Table VIII-8 – Density of musical competence ties within and between music groups at wave 2

1. Strings A: Age and bonding

Examining Figure VIII-8, it seems that the Strings A group faithfully reproduced the pattern of age and musical influence presented above. While the older students had a wide variety of influence outcomes, the youngest students were almost all musically peripheral. What dynamics in the group could have favoured this state of affairs?

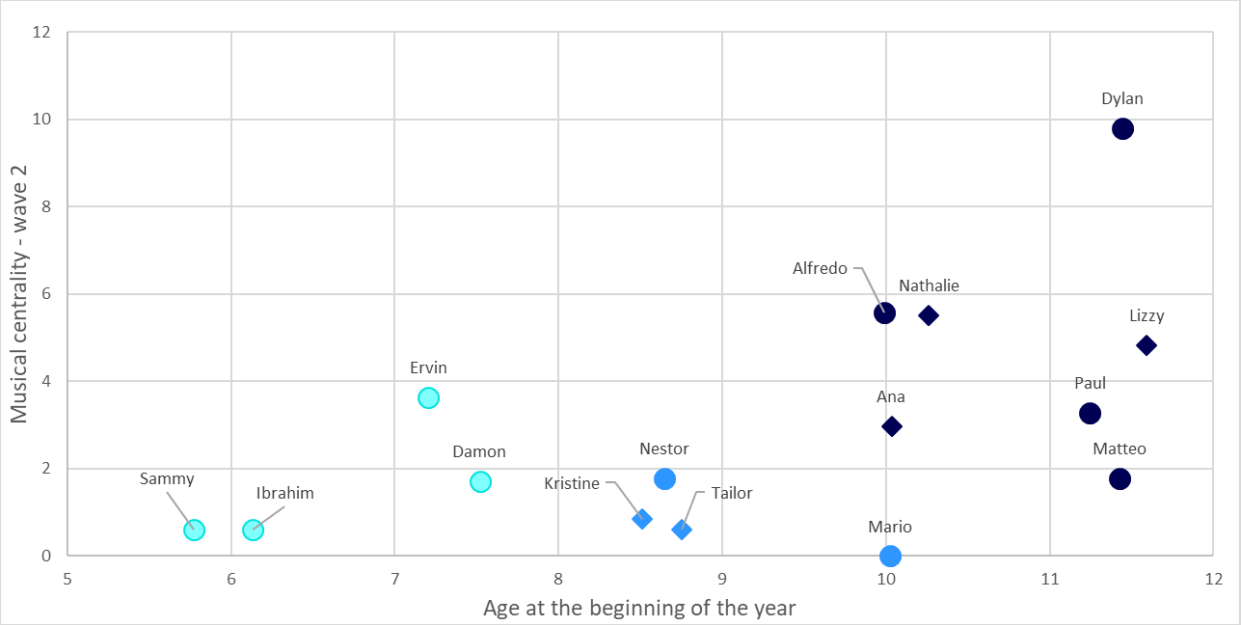


Figure VIII-8 – Musical centrality values by students' ages in the Strings A group

As it transpired, staff members in the Strings A group particularly highlighted the group's *grands*, and particularly the Year 6 students. For instance, in the sessions I observed, Year 6 students were almost always chosen by adults to conduct other musical learners in the group's 'conductor games'. I also observed them teaching Trinité staff members, some of whom were especially eager to solicit students in this way, especially because, as Tracy said, "a student that gives me advice[…] when it comes to self-esteem, developing a relationship of trust, it's priceless" (Interview with Tracy, 01.07.2016).

Some of this may have been because, as older students, they were seen *a priori* as more musically skilled, and so more able to 'conduct' or teach others. However, the practically flat correlation between musician-assessed competence and age in wave 2 does not corroborate this explanation[166]. It may also have been due to the staff members' beliefs that *grands* could serve as points of reference (*repères*) for *petits*. Ernest, who was the dedicated *éducateur* for the Strings A group and who played an instrumental role in its functioning, for instance told me he "like[d] to use *grands* as examples" (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016).

However, this does not explain the variability in musical influence values among the Year 6 students. Four of these students – Lizzy, Nathalie, Alfredo, and Dylan – appear to be particularly musically influential, whereas Ana and Matteo seem to be relatively peripheral. Paul was also somewhat peripheral, but he later became known as the most skilled cellist in the Strings A group, and indeed in the school.

In the event, Ernest spent much of his time during MASS sessions encouraging Paul, Alfredo and Dylan. When at the end of the year I asked him to comment on this, he replied:

> At first it was so that they could act as examples [for other students][…] but they never really managed to pick up that role, at least not all of them[…] and then it was because I could see them malfunction [sic], I told myself: "man, if *this* doesn't work, then what will be left for them to make it, and to get some satisfaction out of

[166] Although it was established without the scores for a third of the group's students, especially without those of the most *petit* students in the group, whose inclusion may have produced a positive correlation.

> [music]. So for me it was absolutely crucial that they, who were the most at risk of giving up, that they hold on, because I could feel that music was their last chance to change the perceptions that their parents and others had of them, and that they had of themselves. (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016)

For Ernest then, it was particularly important that he highlight these boys because they were the most at risk of 'giving up', not only in music but also in school. Being their classroom *éducateur*, he knew only too well that they had difficult relationships with academic learning. He particularly mentioned Dylan, who in class was an able student but who (according to Ernest) often "gave up" and was unable to concentrate for longer than a few minutes. He said that in MASS he saw him "holding on, holding on. And that's where I supported him the most so he could hold on" (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016). This included highlighting him in front of others: for instance, when the Strings A students were first given the chance to play the instruments that would then be theirs, he said that Dylan could have 'his' instrument first, because he was the "most well-behaved" (Fieldnotes, Strings A session, 11.01.2016). Ernest also encouraged him particularly to serve as an 'example' and lead the group, sensing that he, more than the other older boys, was well-disposed to taking up this mantle. This may, in turn, have contributed to Dylan's outsized musical centrality, both in the group and in the school.

Ernest also seemed to pay special attention to Nathalie, who could also have very variable attitudes during MASS sessions. At times she was very involved, but at other moments she sulked or played with other students. It seemed to be especially important for him that she also 'hold on', as the following vignette suggests:

> The music teachers are spending time with small groups of students, teaching them how to hold their instruments and bows. Meanwhile, Ibrahim, Ervin and Sammy are playing under the tables on the side of the room. Damon, who is talking to Nathalie, goes to play with them. Nathalie starts following him, but Ernest reacts: "Not you too!". She looks at Ernest pleadingly but does not follow Damon under the tables. (Fieldnotes, Strings A lesson, 19.01.2016)

These observations suggest that, for pedagogical reasons, staff members paid particular attention to certain *grands* in the group, especially those who they felt were able to act as leaders or examples, or who were at risk of 'giving up'. In fact, these two elements were likely related: if staff members saw students as 'sponges' (see Section Chapter V.C.2), and if students who could act as examples could also transmit more negative behaviour to other students, then it would be especially important to make sure these students were engaged and didn't 'give up'. Yet, common strategies to keep students engaged included giving them more opportunities to perform, which may in turn have given them more opportunities to showcase their musical talent.

But why did Ernest and other staff members believe that these *grands* could act as examples and not others, or that their non-participation was more consequential than others? And how did Alfredo and Dylan (and later Paul) end up becoming more musically central than Nathalie, Lizzy, and Ana, even though these girls featured much more prominently in the school's musical network at wave 1 (See Figure VIII-1)?

I would suggest that this may have been encouraged by the informal social structure in the group. Figure VIII-9 indeed divulges how the three boys formed a central part of the main component[167] of the group's reciprocated friendship network at wave 1. Meanwhile, Nathalie and Lizzy – not to mention all of the more *petit* students – appear more peripheral. Figure VIII-10, in turn, unveils that the three boys remained central at wave 2, and formed a tight clique[168] along with Nestor, while the three girls, and especially Ana (alongside Matteo) became more peripheral.

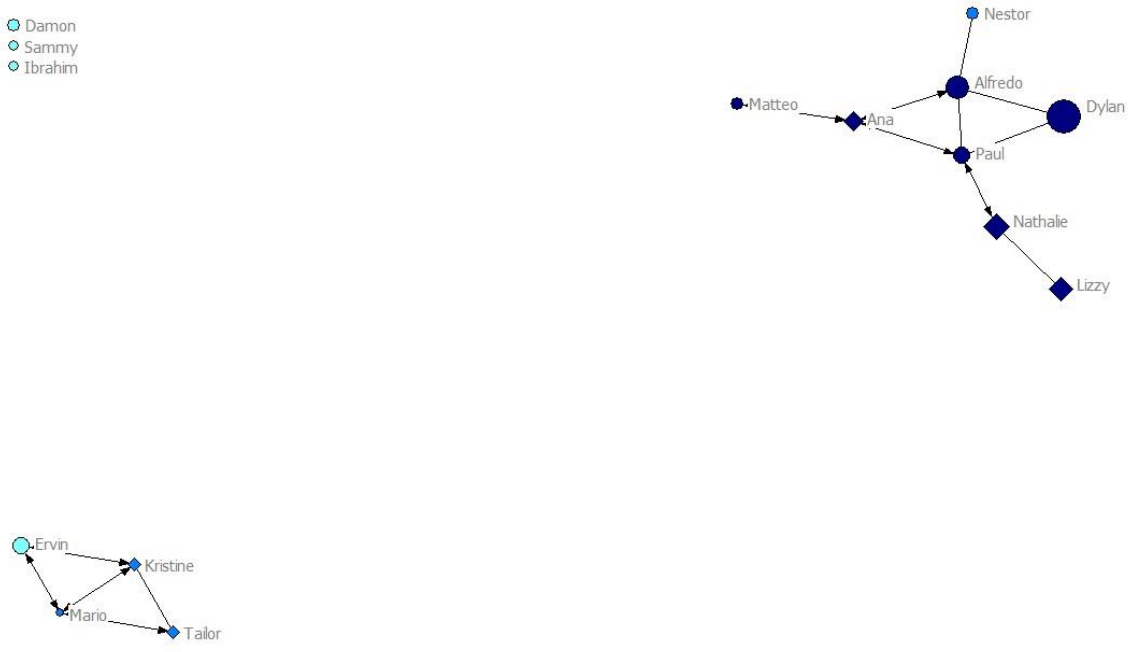


Figure VIII-9 – Reciprocated friendship network of the Strings A group, wave 1

Colours and shapes are as above; the size of nodes is proportional to students' musical centrality in wave 2

[167] Components are separate parts of a network – groups of actors where actors are connected to each other but not to actors that are not in the component.
[168] A clique is a part of a network where each node is connected to every other node (Luce and Perry, 1949).

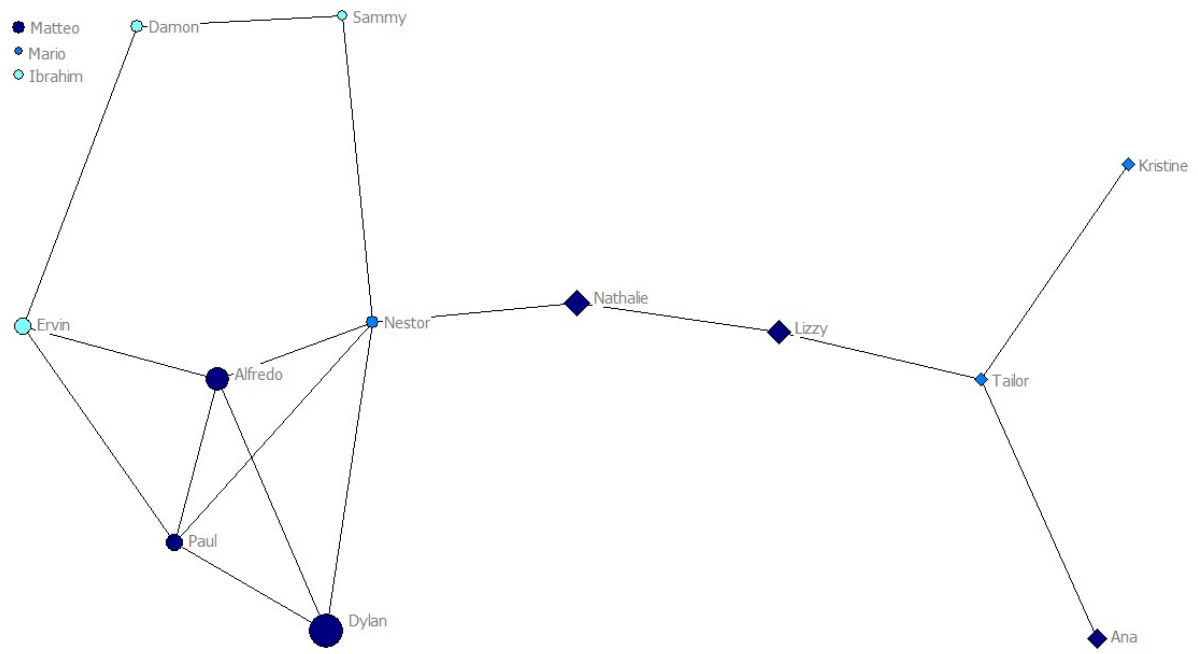


Figure VIII-10 – Reciprocated friendship network of the Strings A group, wave 2

The boys' cohesion was reflected in their behaviour in the Strings A lessons. As Ernest expressed to me, "the solidarity between the Jura boys is incredible! As soon as one of them quits, or there's a beef between two of them, they all quit" (Fieldnotes, Strings A session, 01.03.2016). Ernest was referring to Dylan, Alfredo, Paul, and Nestor, and when I asked him whether the same effect would hold for Sammy, the last member of the Jura house in the group, he said he wasn't sure that it would. This is crucial, as Figure VIII-9 and Figure VIII-10 suggest that indeed Sammy was not included in the cohesive subgroup of Jura boys at either questionnaire wave. And indeed, on at least three occasions I observed instances where Paul, Alfredo or Dylan stopped participating in a lesson, and where their 'non-participation' spread to at least some of the other boys in their house (Fieldnotes, Strings A lesson, 26.11.2015, 07.12.2015, & 01.03.2016). This effect seemed to be less pronounced for Nestor who, as

per my ethnographic observations, was less close to the other three boys and who was in fact an ambivalent friend with Paul at wave 2[169].

These dynamics suggest that it was especially important to ensure that Alfredo, Dylan, and Paul were involved in the lesson, as one of them 'quitting' could diffuse to the other boys, and potentially also, due to their central position, to other students as well. The focused attention on them, in turn, could explain why they were nominated by several other students, including the Year 6 girls, as best musicians, even though, importantly, the latter did not nominate them as friends and the boys did not nominate the girls back.

The fact that Nestor did not 'benefit' in the same way from his social position may be attributable to him not being a *grand* and not being as close to the Year 6 boys[170]. As for Nathalie, her brokering position between the Jura boys and the girls of the group may have made her important to manage for staff members, for instance to avoid similar diffusion processes. This, as well as her *grand*-ness and previous musical influence, may tentatively explain why she was much more musically influential than Tailor, who was considered by music teachers as the most musically-skilled student in the group, or Kristine, who received as many friendship nominations in the group at wave 2 as Nathalie and Dylan.

[169] Meaning that he sent Paul both a friendship and disliking tie. Indeed, the "beef" referred to earlier concerned these two students.

[170] Ervin's 'shift' from being friends with girls in the Year 4/5 class to being friends with the Year 6 boys, on the other hand, may contribute to explaining his outsized musical centrality given his *petit*-ness – although it can also be explained by the fact that he received the most friendship nominations of any student in the group.

2. Strings B: *Grand*-ness and a lack of cohesion

As discussed in Chapter 7, the Strings A and Strings B groups had starkly different reputations in the school, and lessons went very differently in both. Yet, Figure VIII-11 shows that the age dynamics presented above occurred even more strongly in the Strings B group than in the Strings A group.

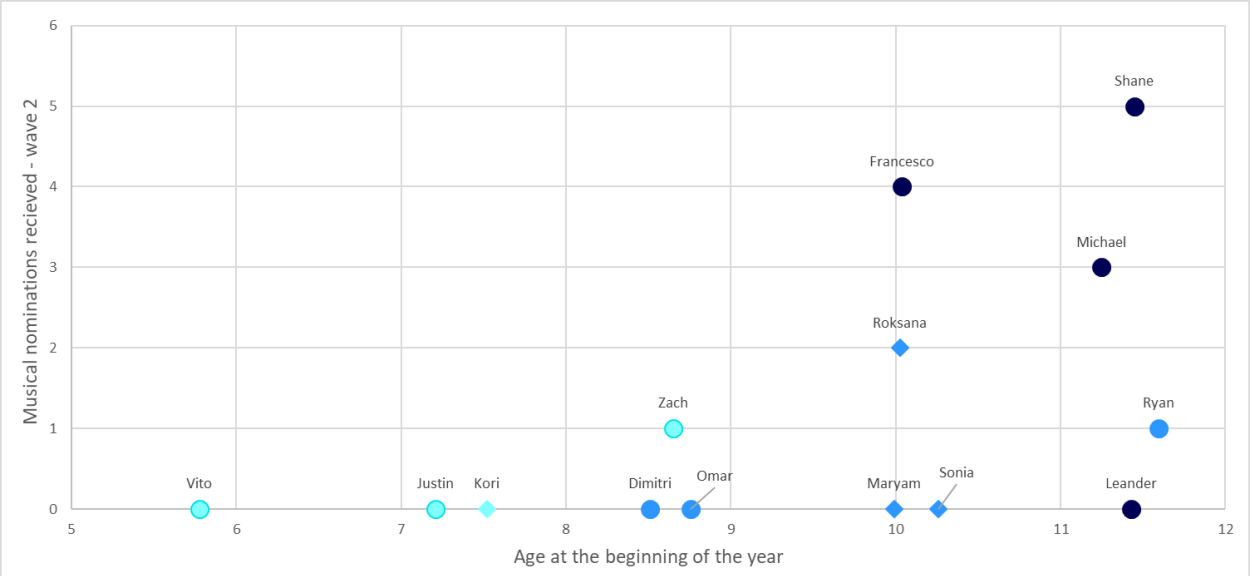


Figure VIII-11 – Musical centrality values by students' ages in the Strings B group

What is furthermore remarkable is that the reciprocated friendship network of the group was very different to that of the Strings A group. As Figure VIII-12 elucidates, although the group was also composed of two components before the programme started, they were much smaller than in the Strings A group. Only one of them – the component of girls from the Year 4/5 class – featured a (single) closed triad. Further, Figure VIII-13 reveals that the friendship network of the group had not changed substantially, and had even become sparser, by wave 2. It also implies that the group's most musically influential student, Shane, did not even have reciprocated friendships in the group. Further, bucking the trend of every other music group, Strings B students sent fewer musical nomination ties to their within-group friends in wave 2 than in wave 1 (the proportions were respectively 37.5% and 43.8%).

How did so many musical nomination ties end up in the hands of so few students then, and in the absence of clear dynamics related to cohesion?

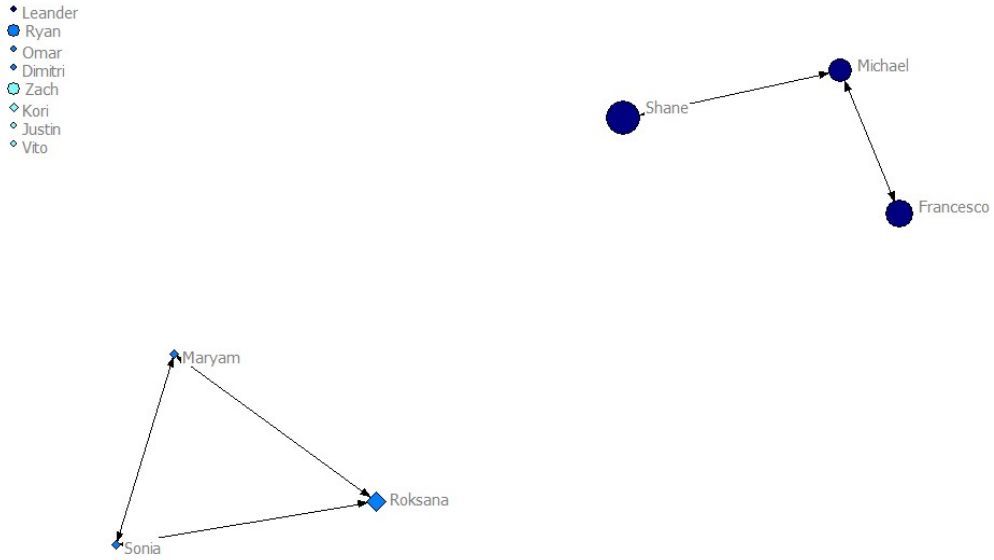


Figure VIII-12 – Reciprocated friendship network in the Strings B group at wave 1

The size of nodes is proportional to the number of musical ties received by students in wave 2.

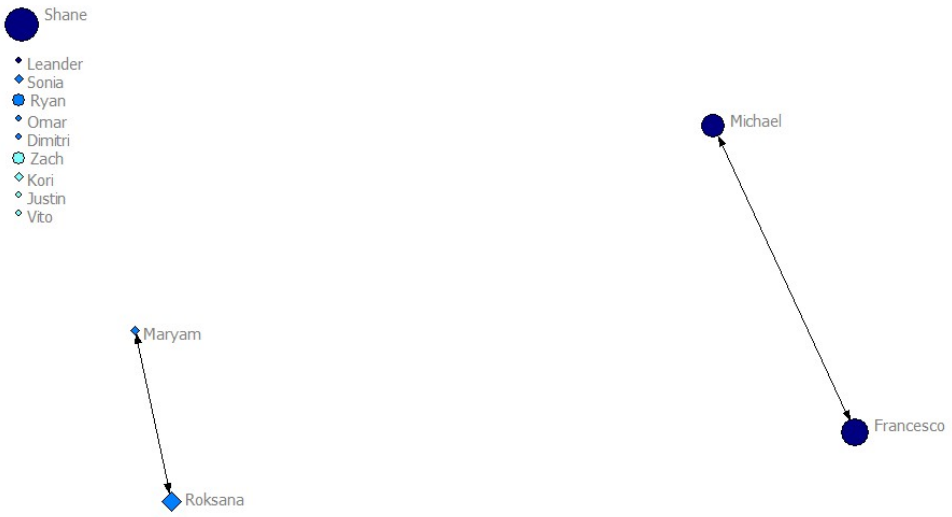


Figure VIII-13 – Reciprocated friendship network in the Strings B group at wave 2

The size of nodes is arranged as above.

It transpired that in the group, the Year 6 boys, and especially Michael, Shane, and Francesco, gave many more performances than the other students. This was the case in virtually all of the 20 Strings B sessions I observed before or during the 2nd questionnaire round. The boys were solicited more often by MASS teachers, whether to answer questions, demonstrate elements of musical learning to the rest of the group, or to be 'conductors' in conductor games.

Could this have been because the boys were assessed as being the most musically competent? The MASS teachers' responses to the musical competence scale would not suggest so: the boys' mean musical competence score was 5.17, while the group's mean score was 5.10. Further, none of the boys were among the top three students in terms of musician-assessed competence. Likewise, the correlation between age and musician-assessed skill in the group was flat (r=0.03), suggesting that the

music teachers did not favour them because they felt that, as *grands*, they would naturally be more musically skilled.

Rather, the attention that they commanded from MASS teachers was directly related to their 'disruptive' behaviours. These often included engaging in banter together, talking about video games, and taunting other students, for instance for being *petit*. They were therefore, in many cases, performances of the boys' *grand*-ness, masculinity, and friendship. They encouraged music teachers to pay attention to the boys and find solutions to stem their 'disruptiveness' – solutions which included giving the boys opportunities to perform.

Other assessments may have contributed to the boys being considered particularly influential in the music group. Julie, in an effort to improve the running of the group's sessions, which were getting increasingly laborious, had assessed that Michael and Shane were driving forces ("*moteurs"*) in the group. She told this to staff members and to Michael and Shane themselves, emphasising that they needed to help lead others, just a few days earlier (Fieldnotes, Post-Strings B lesson, 22.02.2016). She even described the falling out between them, suggested by Figure VIII-12 and Figure VIII-13, as a process of Michael trying to become the alpha male of the group, which was itself becoming a "wolf pack" (Fieldnotes, Strings B meeting, 29.02.2016).

Julie's assessment was, in a sense, borne out by the boys' positions in Trinité's student social world. Indeed, Figure VIII-14 unveils how the three boys were the group's most socially influential students in the school before the MASS programme started. It even shows that the students who received musical nominations in the group at wave 2 were, in almost all cases, the group's most socially influential students in Trinité at wave 1.

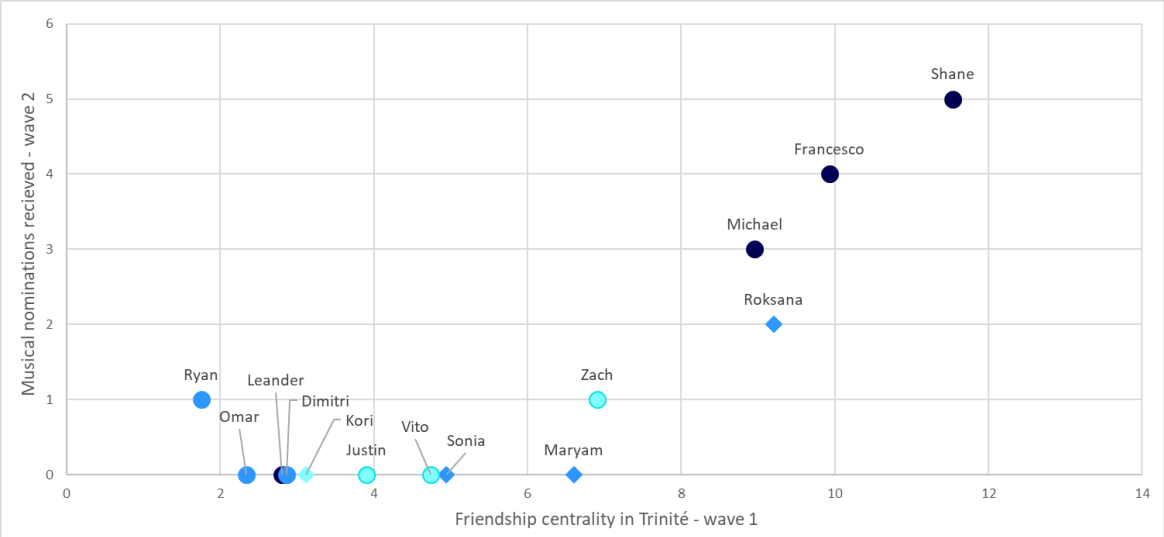


Figure VIII-14 – Musical nominations received at wave 2 in the Strings B group by friendship centrality at wave 1 in Trinité

This discussion suggests that bonding processes were less important than positions in the school, whether in Trinité's friendship network or with regard to members of staff, in determining the Year 6 boys' musical influence. Their positions may have led staff members to perceive their involvement in MASS as particularly critical.

The predominance of the boys' performances does however suggest another story regarding cohesion: the importance of having other friendships in a group to balance the influence of particular students, as well as the importance of gendered expectations. Roksana, Sonia, and Maryam were almost in Year 6, and were even older than Michael. Roksana had a similar level of social influence in the school as Michael in wave 1, and the three girls formed the only triad in the group in that wave. So why did they not counter the boys' dominance?

This may have been because of the falling out of Sonia with the other two girls throughout the year, and because of gendered expectations of being well-behaved female students (see also Section Chapter VI.C.2). This prevented them from acting cohesively and from engaging in the same performances as the boys, which would have directed staff members' attentions towards them and away from the boys. Likewise, the lack of cohesion between the other students in the group, alongside their more peripheral positions in Trinité, may have also contributed to the three Year 6 boys dominating the group in terms of musical influence. This was despite some of these younger students being assessed by teachers as being more musically competent.

3. Clarinets: Seniority and musician-assessed skill

The above discussion suggests some of the processes through which boys could 'take over' the music programme from girls. It also suggests that one important way through which some of the school's more senior students (i.e. *grands*) became musically influential was through being part of cohesive and influential friendship groups or being influential in the school before the programme started. It finally indicates that these processes happened in large part independently of musicians' assessments of students' musical skills.

Two questions remain unanswered then: how did musician-assessed competence act as an 'enabling factor' for musical influence? And was it possible for *grands* to become musically influential in their music groups without being socially influential in the school before the programme started?

Examining the Clarinets subgroup may help answer these questions. As Figure VIII-15, Figure VIII-16, and Table VIII-7 reveal, although the relationship between age and musical influence in the group was

similar to that in the other music groups, the association between musician-assessed competence and musical influence was much stronger, and the association between musical influence and social influence in Trinité before the programme started was essentially flat (r = 0.02). Further, the clarinet group is remarkable because its most musically influential student at wave 2 by far, Charlie, received no friendship nominations in the group (nor in the Woodwinds group) at Wave 1. This was despite him being in Year 6 and therefore a clear *grand in* the group.

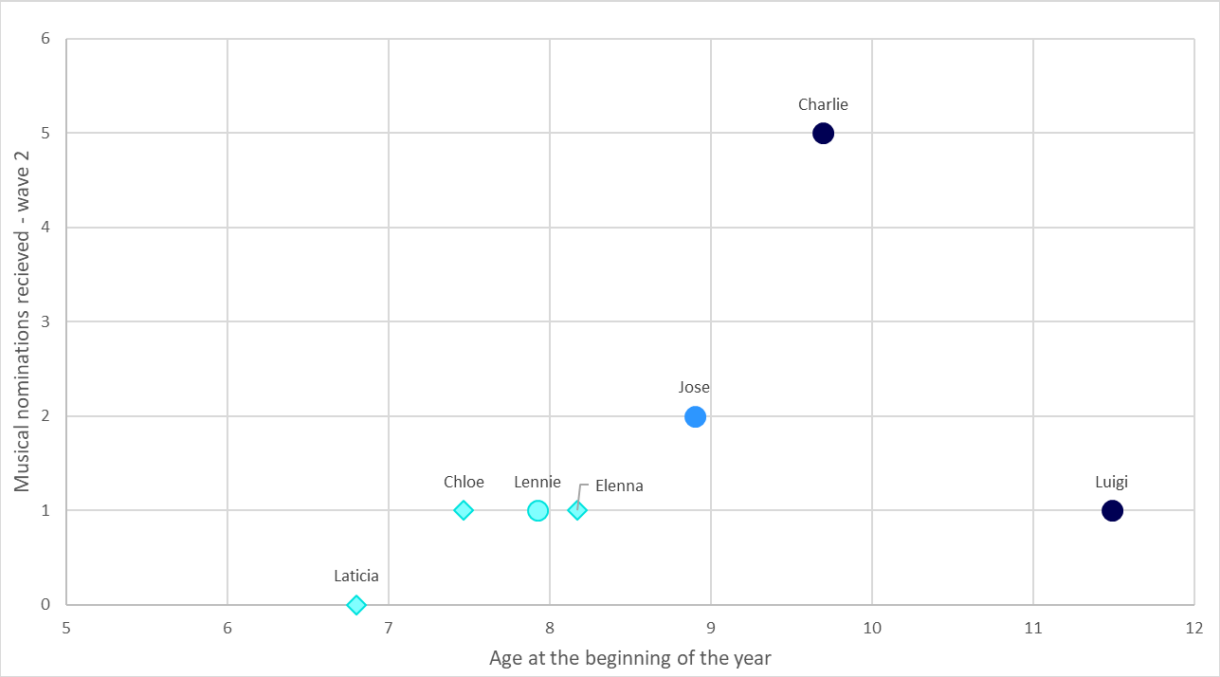


Figure VIII-15 – Musical influence in the Clarinets groups at wave 2 by students' age

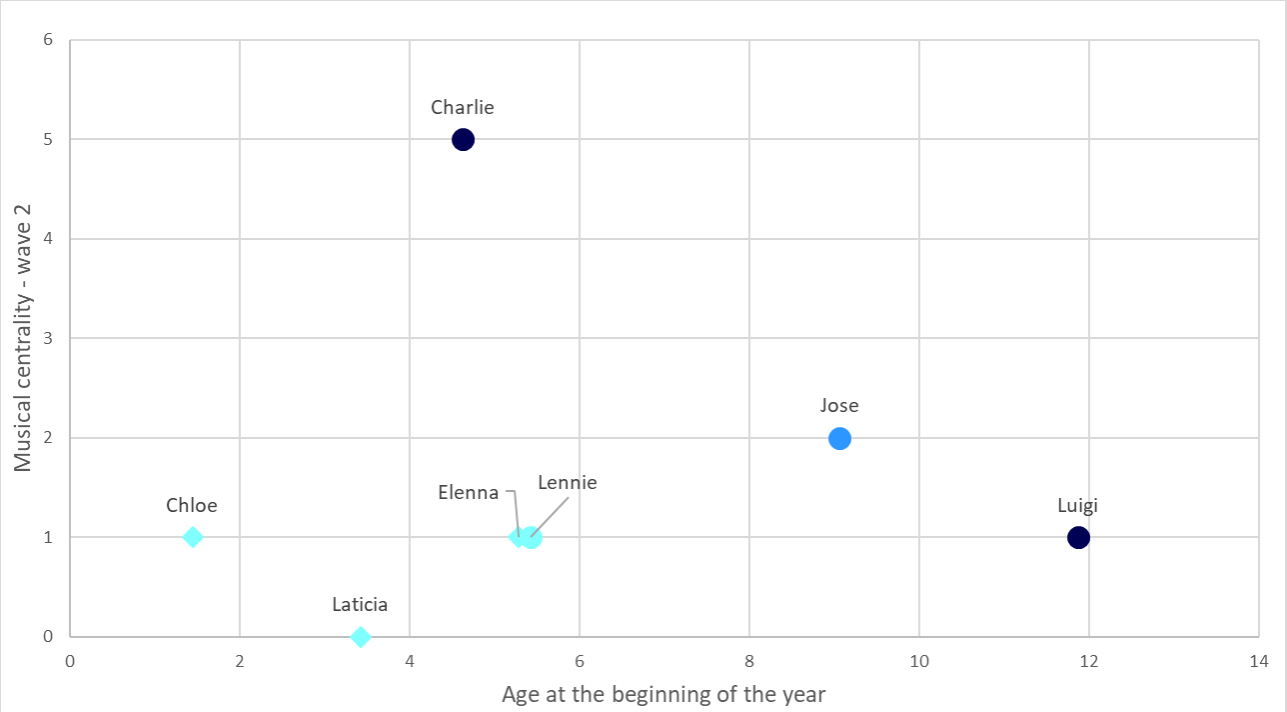


Figure VIII-16 – Musical influence in the clarinets group at wave 2 by social influence in Trinité at wave 1

Early on in the Woodwinds sessions he seemed to be unable to use his *grand*-ness to impose his authority upon younger students. On an occasion when I had been trying to say something to the Woodwinds group, Charlie had tried to complement Curtis's efforts to get silence by yelling "stop!" – to no effect (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds lesson, 21.01.2016). He particularly had a hard time asserting his *grand* authority with Sonny, who was in Year 5 and so could contend to *grand*-ness. During a lesson which Rob had started by asking students to copy Charlie's gestures, and where Elenna had asked why we weren't copying me (who was more of a *grand* than Charlie), Sonny called Charlie's gestures into question by claiming he was "always doing the same thing" (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds lesson, 12.01.2016). The targeted complaint seemed to suggest that Sonny had difficulties accepting that

Charlie had more authority than he. In turn, the context of the lesson hints that this may have been related to contests around *grand*-ness[171].

However, these dynamics were different in sessions with only the Clarinets subgroup, which came to dominate the MASS sessions spent by Clarinets students. Separated from Sonny, this smaller group became an excellent space for Charlie to show off his musical ability. Perhaps aided by his previous knowledge of guitar, he proved to be particularly quick at learning new musical sequences, such that Rob used him to demonstrate them to the other students. This quickly led to certain students comparing themselves with him, as the following vignette illustrates:

> Rob asks Luigi to play the sequence that they are practicing. Jose plays while Luigi is playing, to Rob's annoyance – although I notice that Jose can actually play the sequence quite well. Luigi stumbles on one of the notes and Rob tells him that he is leaning too far forwards into his clarinet. He fetches a piece of tape and puts it on Luigi's mouthpiece, inviting the other students to watch. As he does this, Jose asks "am I going to need [a piece of tape]?". Rob, after a short pause, answers "we'll see". Then, Jose asks "and will Charlie need one?" (Fieldnotes, Clarinets session, 15.03.2016)

In the vignette, Jose seems to compare himself, even 'measure himself up', against Charlie (and Luigi, the other *grand* of the group). That he would do this is significant, considering the link he made between music and becoming (see p. 258). In fact, his playing out of turn in the vignette may have

[171] Rob may have asked students to copy Charlie because he was *grand*. However, I do not know this as I was not in the lesson when he gave his initial instructions.

been among his efforts to assert his musical skill, as addressed in the last chapter – a not entirely unsuccessful strategy, given that he was considered both by other students and by Rob as being among the best Clarinet players.

Luigi, who was in fact older than Charlie, and who was asked by MASS teachers to demonstrate elements to other students at least once earlier in the programme (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds lesson, 30.11.2015) also compared himself with Charlie. However, this had markedly different effects, as the following vignette uncovers:

> Luigi comes in a little late to the session. Charlie goes to him and asks him to come sit with the rest of us, with a soft but commanding voice. Luigi says he doesn't want to, and Charlie repeats his instruction. Luigi again refuses and Charlie gives up, going to sit back down. Luigi starts colouring in a colouring page [an activity which staff members found for him whenever he was reticent to participate]. Meanwhile, as the students set up their clarinets, Rob plays a CD with a musical piece involving, he explains, a large Persian drum. He demonstrates what the drum looks like with his hands, and Jose comments: "It's like Charlie with his glasses".[…] Much later, I go check up on Luigi. He rambles, as he usually does when he is upset, saying "I won't be a dog for other people. Charlie can already play notes all the way down the clarinet, I can only get to here [showing me], is that normal?" (Fieldnotes, Clarinets session, 02.05.2016)

In this vignette, Jose not only makes fun of Charlie, therefore seemingly questioning his status. Charlie also tries to use his authority with Luigi, which Luigi appears to interpret as particularly humiliating.

Further, Luigi's comments suggest that he is especially afflicted to see that Charlie is much more musically successful than him. Finally, his last comment – "is that normal?" – hints at how he may have seen himself as being 'entitled' to musical achievement, potentially because of his *grand*-ness. In fact, Rob himself explained that he thought Luigi was sulking because "he sees that he's a *grand* and that he's not achieving like he wants to". He equally noted that telling Luigi that he was counting on him to be the 2nd clarinet in the group did not seem to engage him (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds staff meeting, 18.04.2016)[172].

These vignettes suggest that Rob's efforts to showcase Charlie created situations where students compared themselves with him. This emphasised Charlie's musical competence and ultimately influence, establishing him as the best musician in the group, at the expense of Jose and Luigi. Meanwhile, Jose's strategy to resist this situation and become the 2nd most musically influential student in the group – playing at every opportunity and questioning Charlie's authority – seems to have been more 'successful' than Luigi's strategy of disinvolvement.

Charlie's musical influence in the Clarinets and Woodwinds groups (where he was also the most musically influential student) may have contributed to him becoming more socially influential in the school. Whereas at Wave 1 he was decidedly socially peripheral in the Woodwinds group, at Wave 2 he received 6 friendship nominations from the group's students. These included, crucially, not only nominations from Luigi and Jose, but also from Sonny and Federico, who were especially influential in the Flutes subgroup and were friends with Jose. These nominations ended up constituting more than

[172] Luigi argued at that time that he wanted to switch instruments and play the viola – an instrument that was played by almost all of the musically influential boys of the Year 6 class. This may have been related to his desire to be one of the *grands* who had 'succeeded' in music.

half of his 11 received friendship nominations in Trinité at wave 2, therefore contributing significantly to his newfound (relative) social influence.

E. Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to determine whether the MASS programme's new domain of musical competence transcended existing social dynamics in Trinité, and whether it acted as a resource for social transformation for students who tended to be marginal in the school's student social world. In the main, I have shown that this was not the case. With the programme, musical competence went from being the preserve of relatively peripheral students in the school – girls and younger students – to being largely dominated by older students and, to a (much) lesser extent, boys. In answering this question, I discovered that the factors attributing social influence in Trinité were not guarantees but rather 'enablers' of musical influence in the school[173]. This led me to investigate how those enabling factors were 'triggered' to make students musically influential in their music groups.

I essentially conclude that *grands* became musically influential when they were highlighted by staff members, whether due to their cohesion and central positions in their music group, social influence in Trinité as a whole, or simply outstanding musical abilities. This dynamic was perhaps best summarised by Julie who, after visiting the school's different music groups shortly after her arrival in

[173] One can argue that my measure of musical influence (beta centrality) could have exacerbated the 'fan-like distribution' that I observed if there were homophily effects with regard to musical influence. However, I observed very similar distributions when using number of musical ties received as a measure of musical influence.

the programme, concluded to her surprise that, in the school, "the *petits* seem to be managing just fine. They're normally the ones who take up adults' attention" (Fieldnotes, MASS teacher meeting, 18.01.2016). It was also reflected in Monique's comment, at the end of the fieldwork year, that among the Woodwinds students it was Jose and Sonny - not the many Year 2/3 students – whose dispositions had changed significantly through the MASS programme (Interview with Monique, 01.07.2016). The importance of enabling factors 'combining' to produce musical influence suggests two conclusions: that the programme reproduced existing social dynamics in Trinité, and that it did not provide resources for self-transformation to those students who most lacked them.

These conclusions, when considered alongside results of previous chapters, also have other implications. We previously saw how 'becoming' could be especially important for older students, including in how they apprehended the MASS programme. Yet, in this chapter I have demonstrated how the potential to become musically influential was essentially the preserve of these students. This further reinforces the interpretation that the MASS programme, at least during my fieldwork year, was especially used by *grands* in their efforts to 'become'. This, for the purposes of the programme, may not have been a negative thing. Indeed, from Trinité's perspective, most if not all students in the school, whether *grands* or *petits*, needed resources to help them overcome their 'difficulties'. Likewise, boys tended to struggle more academically than girls, and were less likely besides to take part in music. These features notwithstanding, my results still soundly reject the idea that group music-making, as implemented here and in a context similar to mine, could transcend existing social dynamics. This conclusion will be relevant for wider musical scholarship.

While I have carried out an in-depth analysis of students' peer assessments of musical influence, some will wonder how consequential these assessments may be for other outcomes of interest, such as students' self-efficacy regarding music. Indeed, it may be that peer assessments should translate into changes in students' self-concept if they are to help students enact their self-transformation.

Although this avenue of thought will need to be explored more fully in future research, my data suggest that there may have been a positive association between changes in older students' musical self-concept between waves 1 and 2 and their musical influence at wave 2[174]. Figure VIII-17 suggests this, with more musically influential students gaining more in musical self-efficacy (r = 0.18). However, there were 3 students who were very musically influential but who saw little or no gains in musical self-efficacy. These three students were Dylan, Alfredo, and Nathalie – key students indeed, whom I have specifically addressed earlier, and whose cases invalidate the idea that musical influence automatically translates into musical self-concept[175]. Among the other students, the association was much stronger (r = 0.57); thus, further research is necessary to understand why it could be that the most musically influential students were also those who 'bucked the trend' that applied to others.

[174] The scale was much reduced for younger students. Thus, looking at only older students' responses gives a much more fine-grained measure of musical self-efficacy, while keeping two thirds of the school's students.
[175] Their low change scores were not due to them having already high initial self-efficacy scores: their average score was 3.48 at wave 1, lower than the overall average score among older students at that wave (which was 3.95).

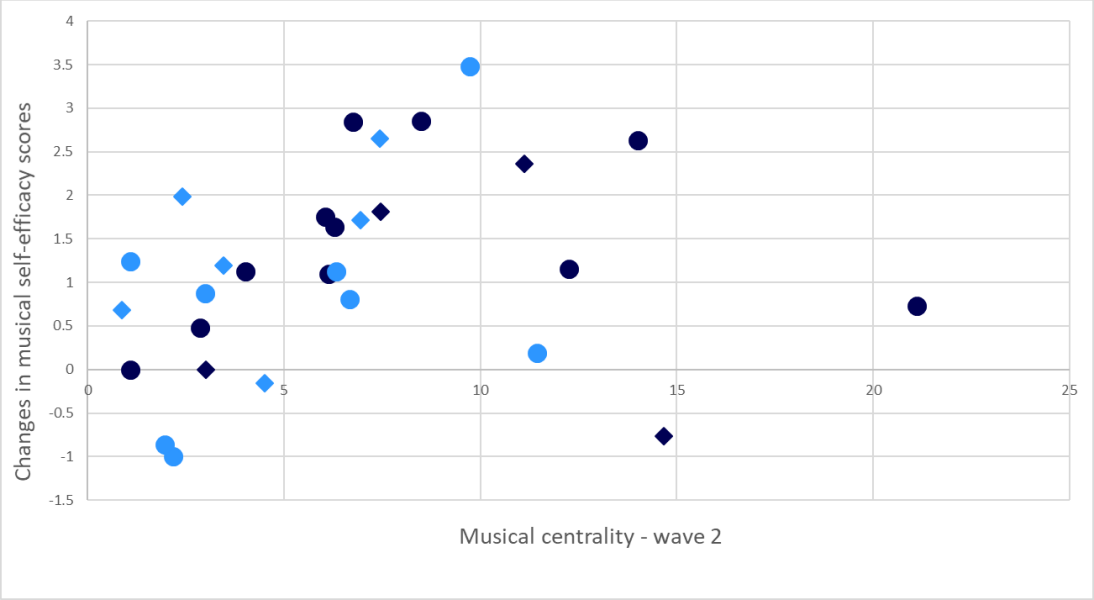


Figure VIII-17 – Changes in older students' (Year 4 upwards) musical self-efficacy between waves 1 and 2 according to their musical influence in the school at wave 2.

Note that the figure uses the same colour and shape scheme as above, and that, given the fundamental differences in the musical network between waves 1 and 2, measures of change in musical influence are not meaningful.

CHAPTER IX. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

> "Whether, like the orchestra, [social organization] gives forth harmony may be a matter of dispute, but that its sound, pleasing or otherwise, is the expression of a vital cooperation, cannot well be denied" (Cooley, 1962: 4).

> "The value of detailed, individual case studies is[…] enhanced if they are seen as tools for generalization rather than items for a catalogue" (Gould, 2003: 12).

A. Introduction & summary of the preceding chapters

Young people in many parts of the world have been spending much of their waking hours in schools for centuries, in part on the proviso that schools, as either microcosms of society or societies in themselves, can help students better their social positions and become the kinds of citizens (or learn the skills) that can improve society at large. Most recently, these social transformation goals have been taken up in force by advocates of group music-making. As in the quote by C. H. Cooley above, they emphasise the special status of music as a social activity. They argue that, in music-making ensembles, participants "[model] the ideal civic relationship"(Booth, 2011: 25), or that ensembles are "ideal setting[s] to nurture a number of essential values toward better community life" (Majno, 2012: 58). This has inspired a recent upsurge in music-making programmes, which have also come to claim that music-making enables the social transformation of individuals and communities.

Yet, remarkably little seems to be known about how educational practices, whether in schools or music programmes, impact on students' relationships – even though these are pivotal in considerations of social transformation. This is especially true for practices which specifically try to achieve social transformation goals. This leaves many open questions revolving around how to create social environments in schools and music programmes that can best achieve social transformation goals.

This thesis has sought to help fill these gaps in understanding through an in-depth case study of a day and boarding school ('Trinité') and its music programme ('MASS'), which both employed educational practices that emphasised using social processes to help achieve social transformation goals. This makes the school and its programme a relatively 'extreme' case (Yin, 2014), ideally-suited to furthering the thesis's research aims.

My investigation has brought to light some important phenomena. First, I have presented how Trinité's educational practices led to students' social lives being characterised by states that I call 'collectivity' and 'intensity'. I argued that these increased friendships and, to a lesser extent, disliking ties within school groups. I also offered that they dampened processes which would normally have prevented disliking ties from appearing between students who shared friends. I used this finding to offer a novel explanation for how negative ties and positive ties could both be so prevalent in the school. I then showed how age and gender played a role in the school's educational practices. I argue that this, alongside wider conceptions of childhood, essentially made older students and boys particularly strong recipients of both positive and negative sentiment ties.

Having identified these key elements of Trinité's social environment, I have elucidated how they powerfully influenced the MASS programme's ability to achieve its social transformation goals. Among other practices, the 'intensity' and 'collectivity' of the school (alongside students' doubly marginalised position in society as 'children with schooling difficulties'), meant that students' involvement in MASS was heavily mediated by the opportunities for performances and 'becoming' that they saw in the programme. I uncovered how this was reflected in the extent to which social cohesion appeared in two music groups, and to which students in those groups appropriated the programme for their own self-transformation. Finally, I found that the notion of musical competence introduced by the programme was powerfully shaped by the prevailing social dynamics of Trinité, such that those attributes that made students socially influential in the school (age, gender, and friendship centrality) before the programme started enabled students to become musically influential. I illustrated how this process led to similar results in different music groups despite its playing out differently in each.

B. Limitations of my analysis

Hindsight is always twenty-twenty – Billy Wilder

How significant are the above findings however, and how do they shed light on the research problem set out above and in Chapter 1? Before I address these questions, I will outline the limitations of my analysis, in order to ground any claims I then make.

As outlined in Chapter 2, my analysis was significantly shaped by the role and sampling decisions that I took in the field. In Chapter 4, I claim to present the aspects of Trinité's educational practices that most significantly shaped students' social lives in the school. Yet, one can question whether I could truly understand what practices these were without being a student myself. One can also wonder whether, through spending more time in the courtyard than in classrooms, I might have neglected some core practices.

In part, the former criticism is inevitable. As much as I would have liked (see Appendix II), I could not turn myself into a student. Yet, while I certainly cannot claim to speak for students, my focus on the implications of educational practices on social relations makes students' views less critical for my analysis – although I tried at every opportunity to elicit these views[176]. Likewise, while I may have missed certain classroom practices that affected students' social lives, the practices that I did identify (i.e. those related to 'collectivity' and 'intensity') were fundamental to the school's mission and present in different school spaces. Likewise, the fact that I could relate these practices with staff members' views lends some weight to their importance.

One might also contend that I have overrepresented the views of a small number of Trinité's staff members, especially Cécile and Ernest. However, their views were reflected and voiced by other staff members as well. If I report the views of these two individuals more than others, it was because of their outsized importance in the school. Cécile, as mentioned in Chapter 2, was the headteacher of the school and leader of its MASS programme, and Ernest was a long-standing and particularly competent *éducateur* in Trinité. He was effective at incarnating the school *cadre* and other practices

[176] This was often difficult, as other adults in the school very rarely elicited students' views in this way, making it very unfamiliar for students. Thus, many of my results regarding students' experiences consist more in my own interpretations than I would have liked.

and therefore key for understanding them. Further, as the only classroom *éducateur* to have stayed during the entire school year, he was among those adults who were the most consistently involved with the school's students. This makes his views perhaps more influential than those of most other staff members in the school. Nonetheless, this slight bias favouring Ernest and Cécile is something I hope to address in further analyses (see below).

Similarly, one can regret the disproportionate attention I seem to give to older students in the school. While this is in part justified by the focus of some of my chapters (chapters 6-8), it is also a result of my sampling strategy of spending more time with the Year 6 class. This may, for example, have impacted my analysis in chapters 4-5. However, many (though not all) of the processes and practices that I present in that class, for instance relating to performances, I found in other classes as well, with some possible differences in the *cadre* and importance of becoming. Furthermore, I would argue that, as my analysis demonstrates, many of the processes that seemed to apply particularly to older students were not due to these students' age but rather their social positions in the school. Thus, I hope that, by specifying which factors led to these processes playing out differently for students of different ages, I have given a more useful account of the potential generalisability of my results to students of various ages.

My analysis may also be criticised for focusing more on male than female students. Indeed, when discussing performances in Chapter 4 or 7 and constraints in Chapter 5, my vignettes seem to mostly involve boys. However, I hope to have shown in Chapters 6 and 7 why boys' performances were more visible and perhaps more consequential in Trinité's student social world, and thus why I prioritise addressing them in this thesis. My apparent focus on them is also a result of sheer numbers: approximately two-thirds of the school's students were boys. I of course accounted for this imbalance in obtaining girls' views. Accordingly, the proportion of girls that I interviewed was almost the same

as the proportion of girls in the school[177]. Nonetheless, I aim to extend my analysis of girls' experiences in future.

One important social dimension that I have certainly not addressed in this thesis however is ethnicity. This is not due to my ignorance of it; several studies emphasise that it can be an important driver of negative and positive sentiments in schools (Boda and Néray, 2015; Moody, 2001; Stark and Flache, 2012), including in primary schools (Connolly, 1998; Jelinek and Brittan, 1975; Leszczensky and Pink, 2015). The principal reason why I have not investigated it here is because it was not addressed by most of the school's educational practices, beyond a school-wide policy against ethnic discrimination and prejudice. Although the terrorist attacks occurring in Paris two months into my fieldwork led to a session discussing issues of tolerance with students, the discussion centred much more on religion and *laicité* (French secularism) than on ethnicity (Fieldnotes, civic education session, 13.01.2016). This no doubt reflects a wider trend in French public discourse de-emphasising ethnicity[178] and emphasising religion and "cultural background"[179]. The second reason for this lack of focus on ethnicity was that it was not as emphasised by students as the other social dimensions investigated here (*grand*-ness and gender). When students did refer to it, they tended to refer to their own identity rather than the ethnicity of other students, although conflicts relating to ethnicity (e.g. due to taunting) did occasionally occur. Finally, the school's extremely heterogenous population of students meant that there was no clear numerical majority ethnic group in the school. Each group, at least as far as I could tell (and with reference to students' categorisations), contained at most a handful of students, thus preventing many ethnic minority/majority effects[180].

[177] Some girls' perspectives were indeed very influential in shaping my analysis.
[178] There is a long-standing ban on recording ethnicity in the country's censuses; this, alongside other anti-racist state policies, may have influenced Trinité's practices.
[179] Although these of course are often emmeshed with ethnicity.
[180] The city in which the school was located had a long history of immigration, and had a reputation for de-emphasising ethnicity through fostering a strong local identity.

Another dimension that was more linked to the school's practices and that I have not addressed was religion. This is more problematic, given that Trinité was run by a religious (Catholic) foundation, often received visits from members of the clergy, and even had a chapel and sacristy in its grounds. Although this blind spot is regrettable, it does not call into question my results, mainly as Trinité's religious practices were separate from its educational practices[181]. As such, the school did not recruit students based on religion, and many of its students did not profess to be catholic. Although it offered a few hours of religious education each month, and had a member of staff who sometimes offered pastoral care to students, these practices were not mandatory, and many if not most students did not take part in them. Although the educational mission of the school was undoubtedly influenced by a Christian worldview, this is not a necessary part of my analysis, since I am more concerned with the effects of practices than where they came from. Thus, my analysis of Trinité's educational practices stands separately from an analysis of the school's religious practices.

My quantitative social network data collection and analysis can also be critiqued. Although friendship is a widespread notion and commonly-studied relation, it is understood in many ways. The fact that I did not limit the nominations that students could make has probably widened the range of definitions of friendship that students took (Berndt and McCandless, 2009). This is reflected in the very wide range of outdegrees in the friendship network in both waves (see Appendix IX). Although this is less problematic for the analyses of chapters 6 and 8, it is more so for the analysis of Chapter 5, since, in both waves, so many students had friends in common[182]. In light of this, it would have been useful to also ask students a more restricted measure of friendship, such as best friendship. Or, based on

[181] This may be related to the fact that the school was 'under contract' with the (secular) French state, meaning that it had to follow the national curriculum and some of the practices of public schools.

[182] Although I partially solved this problem by using reciprocated friendships to establish social distance, this is not an ideal solution, as reciprocated friendships lose the notion of directionality which is important for a relational perspective properly accounting for actors' agency.

arguments that friendship is multidimensional and often includes giving and receiving help (Hruschka, 2010), I could have asked students a question related to this. A similar point stands regarding negative sentiments; it would have been useful to ask students at least another question related to these, or, to better address Gould's (2003) hypothesis (see Section Chapter VI.E), a question relating to conflict. These would have added to my workload, but I could have compensated for this by only using the recall nomination method on select relations, or by only asking for outside-school friends (and not outside-school party relations).

Relatedly, my analyses of the friendship, disliking, and musical networks would have been more complete if I had additionally used methods which could disentangle the influence of different factors on tie formation processes. This is one of my plans for future analyses, where I intend to use cross-sectional and longitudinal Stochastic Actor-Oriented Models (SAOM) (Block et al., 2018; Snijders et al., 2010; Snijders and Steglich, 2015). These models are particularly helpful due to their explicit treatment of actor agency (Block et al., 2016) and methods which can specify the relative influence of different factors (Indlekofer and Brandes, 2013). In particular, I plan to extend my analysis of Chapter 5 by comparing the prevalence and influence of different kinds of multiplex triads over time, since the appearance of disliking ties between friends of friends is a form of multiplex closure. I also plan to look at the overall level of clustering (Davis, 1967) of the school networks to investigate balance theory at a network-wide level, for example to see if the networks became ‘jammed’ (Van De Rijt, 2011).

C. Import of my findings

It is also useful to bear in mind what my study is not. As a single case study, its findings cannot be straightforwardly generalized to the entire population of schools or in-school collective music education programmes. Likewise, it was not designed as an evaluation, and should not be viewed as a report validating or indicting the MASS programme, especially since the programme was designed to last longer than my fieldwork year.

Rather, notwithstanding the above limitations, and in line with my case study approach (Crossley and Edwards, 2016; Yin, 2014), I would argue that my study illuminates important theoretical processes which themselves may be generalisable. They may be transferable to contexts with similar salient characteristics, such as schools with similar educational practices to the one studied, or whose practices have similar practical consequences for students, whether in France or elsewhere (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; LeCompte and Goetz, 1982). This may include schools whose members and associated actors hold similar views of children as in Trinité, where discourses on childhood heavily borrowed from 'pre-sociological' models of childhood (James et al., 1998). More broadly, I would argue that the theoretical processes I uncovered may be generalisable to potentially any social context where they are likely to hold (see Ragin and Becker, 1992). Just which contexts these might be can be ascertained through naturalistic generalizations (Stake, 1995) enabled by my extensive use of vignettes and description of the case. Taking a relational perspective, they may even include social contexts different from schools but where similar sets of relations obtain.

Finally, my study sheds some crucial light on the research problems set out in Chapter 1. I now turn to these research problems, as well as the theoretical processes mentioned above, to discuss the import of my findings.

1. For SNA and educational scholarship

In Chapter 1, I set forth that, despite the belief that school social environments could help promote social transformation, little was known about how educational practices trying to achieve such transformation affect the relationships that make up school social environments. In response to this, this thesis not only found that Trinité's educational practices had a powerful effect on these relationships. It also found that key practices related to the school's 'social transformation' goals produced effects which could act against these goals. I found that practices emphasising the importance of school groups could not only foster positive sentiments (Allport, 1954; Feld, 1981), but also negative sentiments. This potential for creating antipathy has been insufficiently addressed in previous studies, something which may have hindered understandings of why schools can be such antagonistic places. In contrast, my study offers a new theoretical process which may contribute to explaining this phenomenon, which may be of great interest to scholars of school violence. It also demonstrated how school practices related to age and gender could have a powerful impact on how resources for self-transformation were distributed to students. This will equally be of interest to scholars of school social environments and how the latter can promote social transformation, for instance in the school climate, sense of community, and educational effectiveness traditions.

My findings will also interest SNA scholars. Current theories hold that dense positive sentiment networks should generally not co-occur with dense negative sentiment networks (Labianca and Brass,

2006). Drawing on theories that are less familiar for SNA scholars, I hope to have revealed how dense positive tie networks can produce constraints which can also foster numerous negative ties, resulting in an extension of Feld's (1981) (more familiar) foci theory. Interestingly, this speaks to previous studies on 'overembeddedness' in networks, which find that turning the attention of individuals inside a social group can lead to feuding (Uzzi, 1997). It also speaks to literature on the 'dark side of social capital' (Portes, 1998), finding that too numerous positive ties can constrain individual freedoms (Portes and Landolt, 1996). As such, the fact that many students were 'forced to' have friends in common with students whom they disliked is reminiscent of how certain settings make it difficult for actors to change their ties and wider networks (Gargiulo and Benassi, 1999). I shall continue this line of analysis by investigating properly ambivalent ties, consisting in the co-occurrence of disliking and friendship or 'party' relations.

I hope that, by bringing to light how educational practices influence social relationships, I have also demonstrated how context matters significantly for social networks, and to have situated my study within SNA (e.g. McFarland et al., 2014) and broader social scientific (e.g. Blatchford and Webster, 2018; Bronfenbrenner, 1979) scholarship addressing the influence of contexts. Likewise, through focusing on processes that arose from educational practices – i.e. due to Trinité's nature as a school – I hope to have clarified how schools can be distinctive social environments[183]. While school networks present many significant advantages for network researchers, such as having relatively obvious 'boundaries' (Laumann et al., 1983) and being relatively accessible, my findings suggest that processes within them may not necessarily be applicable elsewhere. Thus, scholars attempting to use school networks to make wide-ranging claims about social systems should at least acknowledge that they are

[183] While bearing in mind the significant variation between schools (e.g. in terms of demographics, pedagogical principles, relations with educational systems…).

making theoretical assumptions about the non-specificity of school networks, or the similarity of sets of relations in schools with sets of relations elsewhere.

Through my analysis I hope to have also demonstrated the usefulness of applying the New Sociology of Childhood to understanding school social environments, including the influence of age and gender on social ties. My treatment unveiled how these attributes, in combination with the positions of children in wider society, could have distinctive effects on friendship and disliking ties. Crucially, the patterns of cross-group ties brought about by the influence of these factors were not easily explained by theories of focal organisation (Feld, 1982, 1981) and homophily (McPherson et al., 2001). This indicates the importance of looking beyond individual-level and cognitive factors usually invoked to explain how individual attributes shape tie formation[184]. My findings also suggest that previously-observed friendship patterns by grade (e.g. in Moody, 2001) may not only be due to focal organisation, but also to historical constructions of aging as increasing competence. Such explanations help put cultural and historical processes at their rightful place in network analysis (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994; McLean, 2017).

At the same time, I hope that, by defining 'collectivity' and 'intensity' in a relatively abstract way, I have specified new theoretical notions which can help combat criticisms regarding the theoretical under-specification of SNA scholarship (see Section Chapter I.B.3). The concepts are assuredly incomplete. A properly contextual approach for example demands that they also be investigated in other settings. This should be the subject of further research, applying the notions and investigating their consequences in other schools and closed social environments. However, in the meantime, I

[184] For example, McPherson et al.'s (2001) classic review of homophily finds many more individual-level factors explaining homophily than factors related to individuals' social positions.

hope that they will serve as useful theoretical starting points which, in combination with other works (e.g. Boissevain, 1974), can help create wider theories characterising different social environments.

My analysis also furnishes other ways of thinking about negative sentiment ties that seem to be relatively new in the SNA field. Drawing on literature on ambivalence, I set out how positive sentiment ties could sometimes encourage the formation of negative ties. This suggests a view of positive and negative sentiment ties as different facets of a common relation, more in line with literature on sociometric status groups (Coie and Dodge, 1983; Newcomb and Bukowski, 1983). Future research investigating how positive and negative ties can relate to each other would fruitfully extend this line of analysis.

2. For investigations of music programmes

The thesis results also illuminate important questions regarding music programmes. In Chapter 1, I argued that scholarship on group music-making programmes was not clear on how social contexts influence programmes' capacities for social transformation. In my study, I found that the school context powerfully influenced the MASS programme, and specifically in its ability to accomplish its transformative goals. Scholars may find that in other schools which emphasise 'collectivity' and 'intensity', students may also look for performance opportunities in group music-making settings. Further, the involvement of students in other collective music education programmes may similarly depend on the opportunities for performances that programmes give. Both tendencies may be reinforced in programmes that are implemented with populations of students for whom 'becoming' is important. This may concern many 'social action' music-making programmes that target students who are excluded from a sense of achievement.

My findings echo other scholarship advancing a link between performances and 'becoming' in young people (Holzman, 2009). They will also interest researchers who have argued that arts programmes can help marginalised students develop more positive identities for themselves (e.g. Daniels and Downes, 2015; Hampshire and Matthijsse, 2010; Thompson and Tawell, 2017). My study found that 'performances' were pivotal in Trinité students' appropriation of their music programme. However, it goes further than this in arguing that, without performance opportunities, similar music programmes may be unlikely to promote processes of 'resignification' and re-imagination of identities (Cooper, 1993; Holland et al., 1998).

In Chapter 1, I equally put forth that little is known about which social set-ups best promote music-making's transformative potential, and for whom. In response to this, I have presented a thoroughly relational and (to my knowledge) unique analysis of the distribution of music's enabling resources to students. For seemingly the first time, I not only tentatively indicate that peer-assessed musical competence may have an important influence on students' own musical self-efficacy, and one which may potentially be greater than that of musicians' same assessments. I also demonstrate how peer-assessed musical competence was shaped by the wider social context. It follows from this that, far from being able to transcend wider social dynamics, the programme's transformative potential ended up being substantially shaped by these. This thesis therefore disproves the idea that the 'socially transformative potential' of music programmes necessarily acts independently of context, and that it gives students equal resources for envisaging different identities for themselves. This implies that the school context influenced the programme more than the reverse, indicating that 'transfers of skills' explanations may not be so important for such programmes (Coulangeon, 2018).

My discussion of the 'fan-like distribution' also seems to be relatively new. It suggests that, although existing social dynamics might exclude 'low-status' students from using music to their benefit, more 'advantaged' students may not be guaranteed to be able to use music in this way. It is reminiscent of other studies finding heteroscedasticity in associations between predictor and outcome variables (Schenke et al., 2018). I hope that it will inform discussions of the potential impact of social interventions and their differential effects for different participants. I also hope that the concept of the 'fan-like distribution' will help further understandings of social stratification processes more broadly.

Above all, through undertaking a properly relational analysis, I hope to have produced an account which has steered clear of either hagiographic or doomsaying affirmations about the transformative or reproductive powers of music. As many have noted, these are anything but helpful (Baker, 2016a; Boeskov, 2017; Born, 2012; Bowman, 2010; Henley, 2018; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Kertz-Welzel, 2016). On the contrary, I hope that my thesis will be a part of a growing movement of scholarship emphasising the complex effects of music on individuals and the social settings in which they are embedded (Baker, 2016b; Boeskov, 2018; Boia and Boal-Palheiros, 2017; Clarke, 2012; Clarke et al., 2015; O'Neill, 2017; Turino, 2016). I hope that it will help add nuance to understandings of the effects of music programmes and other educational interventions, as well as contribute to existing scholarship taking a situated, contextual approach to such programmes (Kenny, 2016, 2014; Sarazin, 2017). I equally hope that it will stimulate a line of research looking at how different processes can promote or inhibit the potential impacts of music, and lead to a new way of conceiving of music as 'sociological' (Roy and Dowd, 2010).

3. For practitioners

Finally, my results will be of interest to practitioners. Schools with missions, target populations, and educational practices similar to those of Trinité could use my findings to reflect on the effects of their practices. They could, for instance, reflect on whether their practices advantage older students, and whether they should compensate for this with policies that also empower younger students. They could also consider the extent to which students constrain each other and offer spaces for students to experience some relief from these constraints. Likewise, they could ponder over whether the 'disruptive' behaviour they observe is actually a reflection of students' desire to 'perform', and offer students curricular or extra-curricular opportunities that satisfy these desires. My vignettes should be particularly helpful in enabling these reflections.

My results should also be highly relevant to practitioners involved in setting up or implementing group music-making programmes. According to my analysis, the contexts of such programmes can be so impactful that they should be considered carefully in programme design. If programmes are implemented in contexts featuring 'collectivity' and 'intensity', or targeting students with previous experiences of failure, then the staff members implementing them should think hard about whether their students will see opportunities for performances in the programmes. This will particularly be so if their programmes are mandatory, as the MASS programme was. Likewise, music programmes should take into account the factors already shaping the social dynamics of their settings to maximise their chances of achieving social transformation aims.

D. Outstanding questions, provisional and future analyses

I have not yet thoroughly addressed some issues that are tangential to my analysis but still relevant to my research problem. In the main, these relate to the influence and roles of actors and institutions in the social world of Trinité. Looking into them is important, given my theoretical framework and use of the 'social world' concept.

The voices and perspectives of some crucial actors in Trinité's social world are indeed missing in my analysis. Although I discuss the relationship between school staff and students' parents obliquely, I do not discuss how the latter saw their place vis-à-vis Trinité. I also give short shrift to music teachers' views of their own practices and place within the school. Nor do I discuss the relations between Trinité and the French education system or society in any detail. Finally, although I examine changes in students' views of each other when discussing social transformation through the MASS programme, I have not yet treated changes in staff members' views of students in any significant depth. This is despite the fact that these views are likely to be determinant in students' schooling experiences, as indicated long ago by the identification of the classic 'Pygmalion effect' (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968).

Thankfully, I have carried out several interviews with parents, guardians, and MASS teachers, and their perspectives will be the subject of future analyses. Likewise, I will treat ties between wider school actors going forward, to be consistent with my use of the 'social world' concept. I will provisionally treat the other two topics below.

1. The influence of the wider social world of Trinité

Meuret (2016: 70-71), in discussing the French public's trust in France's education system, argues that "it is part of the model on which lies the French educational tradition[…] that schools act against the deep tendencies of students and of society[.][…] [Thus,] teachers (and headteachers) are, more than elsewhere, justified to be wary of the former and to think that the latter does not appreciate them" (see also Meuret, 2013). As we saw in chapters 3 and 4, Trinité's practices related to the *cadre* left little leeway for students to influence the conduct of the school day. This, alongside the description of students as not 'responsible', suggests, in turn, that the school's staff members had little trust in students' ability to manage themselves. Yet, Meuret indicates that this lack of faith in students may not be specific to Trinité, but rather may be a wider feature of the French educational system. It is interesting, then, to reflect on where this feature might have come from.

One of the most influential texts to have shaped education systems even today is the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile, ou de l'Education* (Rousseau, 1762a). It was, according to its author, to be read alongside another heavily influential text published in the same year, *Du Contrat Social* (Rousseau, 1762b). In the latter, Rousseau expounds on the relationship between the public and the 'legislator' in the realm of politics, arguing that, the public being unable to know what is in its best interests, it needs to delegate its powers to a benign legislator making decisions on its behalf. This, scholars have argued, sheds light on the first book, and specifically on the peculiar relationship between Emile and his tutor, who effectively acts as a 'legislator' for his young protégé (Shklar, 2001, 1964).

This discussion is important for two reasons. First, it illuminates a recurrent phenomenon in Trinité which seems to have made its way into the MASS programme: negotiations between students and staff members. An excellent example of one of these occurred at the end of students' last orchestral rehearsal before the end-of-year concert. The rehearsal had lasted almost two hours and had taken place after a long morning and afternoon of activities and waiting. At the end of the rehearsal, students' concentration seemed to be waning. The conductor, sensing that students had reached their limit, told them: "[…]you've done a great job today. I'm just asking you for 5 more minutes of concentration […] then you will be able to rest". The national MASS programme director, present that day, then added sternly, "you have to make a last effort, we really need this effort!". When I asked him just afterwards about this intervention, he told me: "I felt that they had reached breaking point, so I decided to intervene, although I wouldn't normally do so" (Fieldnotes, last orchestral rehearsal, 23.06.2016).

In this vignette, the adults, foremost among which the conductor and MASS programme director, decide what's best for students on their behalf, as the legislator would in the *contrat social*. Yet, students appear to have one effective way of modulating their decisions: making noise, or acting 'disruptively'[185]. Their engagement in such negotiations suggests that another kind of contract existed between students and staff members, one which is closer to Denise Rousseau's (1989) psychological contract. The latter contract is defined as "an individual's belief regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between that focal person and another party" (Rousseau, 1989: 123). Although staff-student relations were not particularly reciprocal (see Appendix II), I would argue that some elements of the psychological contract may be applicable to students in Trinité. Not only did students seem to hold expectations about staff members' behaviours (see Section Chapter V.B.3),

[185] This lack of control given to students was related to the school's notion of the *cadre*, which itself was likely shaped by 'pre-sociological' models of childhood – some of which in fact come from Jean-Jacques Rousseau himself (James et al., 1998).

but they also engaged in negotiations when they felt that adults were not keeping to their obligations[186].

I invoke these 'contracts' as they may explain the importance of performances. Students' concern that the music programme and school give them opportunities to 'become' and achieve may, for instance, be seen to indicate that these opportunities were a part of the 'terms and conditions' of the staff-student 'psychological contract'. This would make sense in a school context, and particularly in Trinité, which promised to give students an education (both in *éducation* and *instruction)* and to put them 'back on track' with regards to schooling. Likewise, students' active resistance when these 'terms' were broken can be interpreted as a reaction to the staff members (students' 'legislators') not otherwise giving students a means to voice their concerns[187]. This, then, indicates the presence of what I would call an 'educational contract', which consisted in students giving up their power to staff members in exchange for the latter giving them the means to realize their 'becoming'. If this analysis is correct, then it would suggest a powerful influence of the wider French educational system on the social dynamics prevailing in Trinité.

2. Staff members seeing students in a different light

The above discussion of the *contrat social* is also important as it illustrates just how central staff members' actions were perceived to be. If they, acting as 'legislators', had all the power, then it stands to reason that their actions should be viewed as particularly important in promoting students' social transformation. This, in turn, would explain why Trinité's staff members seemed to be so invested in

[186] Interestingly, recent research has even found network effects with regard to attitudes towards psychological contracts (Dabos and Rousseau, 2013).
[187] Although Year 6 students could raise concerns in their class council sessions, these were uncommon occasions, and similar events were less developed in most other school groups.

trying to help students 'reinvent' themselves thanks to music, thus accounting for their role in shaping which students became musically influential.

Yet, I would argue that a different process was also at play when it came to staff members' eagerness to construct alternative 'educational histories' for students: a process related to Trinité's singular position in the French educational landscape. As suggested in the opening quote to Chapter 3, being a staff member in Trinité was a difficult job. It was seldom rewarding and could easily make staff members feel inadequate. Further, Trinité's status as a school for students from 'difficult backgrounds' sometimes gave staff members the impression of not being in control of key events. This was most evident when the instruction came to send Cristina and Sandra into foster care. The decision came from the courts, and within a few days the school had to make arrangements for the students' departure. As Allison told me, the saddest part for staff members was feeling that they were being forced to accept a bad solution without being able to do anything about it (Interview with Allison, 08.01.2016).

The fact that students were often struggling academically, or that their behaviour rarely seemed to be 'improving', also gave staff members the impression of a lack of progress, which they said was particularly discouraging (e.g. Interview with Tracy, 22.08.2018). Yet, this eagerness to see signs of progress seemed to frame how staff members interpreted the MASS programme's action. Cécile, for example, told me at the end of the fieldwork year that it was easy to have the impression that things hadn't improved, but that she had had a glimmer of hope upon witnessing students listening attentively during a concert. This, for her, clearly demonstrated that students had in fact learned how to adopt a 'correct posture' (Interview with Cécile, 08.06.2016). Monique also said as much regarding the end of year concert. She was particularly touched to see that, even though the Woodwinds students had acted disruptively all year, they were able to concentrate for the entire concert on the

day, showing that they too had clearly learned something (Interview with Monique, 30.06.2016). Ernest likewise expressed that the programme helped him see some students "in a different light" (Interview with Ernest, 30.06.2016). For him, as with Tracy (Interview with Tracy, 01.07.2016) or Juliette (conversation with Juliette, 22.06.2018), one of the main take-aways from MASS was how it helped them have a different view and relationship with students.

Therefore, Trinité's place in the French educational system put a premium on being able to establish a narrative of progress regarding the school's students. In turn, the programme seemed to be able to provide this resource, even though it was perhaps not originally intended. This seemed to have a positive impact on staff members' abilities to encourage the social transformation of their students. This avenue of thought is one I shall pursue in future analyses, where I shall give much more attention to student-staff ties.

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APPENDIX I. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

A. French and local terms

Term	Type of word	Definition
Agitation	Noun	Literally "agitation". In Trinité, it referred to the extent to which children were in a state of 'disruptiveness', or to an atmosphere of 'disruptiveness' and excitation in the school.
Agité	Adjective	The adjectival form of the word 'agitation'. Used to refer to individual children who were in a state of 'disruptiveness'.
Ancien	Noun	Literally "ancients". Designates students who had been in the school before the fieldwork year.
Cadre	Noun	Literally "framework", or "frame". Refers to an ensemble of rules and limits imposed by adults on students (and children) to help them in their development and to help them feel 'safe' and 'secured', and thus not act disruptively. It has wider relevance in the French educational sphere. See p. 94 for a fuller treatment of it.
Clashé	Verb (past participle)	Literally "clashed". Designates two individuals getting into a confrontation.
Débordements	Noun	Literally "overflowings". In Trinité it was used to refer to situations where student behaviours that were not disruptive 'escalated' so as to become disruptive, and especially when they escalated so as to potentially become hazardous.
Déborder	Verb	The verb form of *'débordement'*. Often used to refer to situations that had 'overflowed'.
Dégénérer	Verb	Literally "degenerated". Similar to 'déborder', it refered to situations that had 'turned sour' and, in many cases, required the intervention of adults.
Educateur	Noun	A person who is charged with the *éducation* of young people or vulnerable individuals. I discuss these in more depth in Chapter 4.
Éducation	Noun	An aspect of education that broadly concerns the non-academic aspects of learning, or 'know-how to be' (*savoir-être*). It is contrasted with 'instruction', although it also sometimes is seen to include 'instruction'. For the purposes of this thesis I see the two kinds of education as different.
Éxcitation	Noun	Literally "excitation". Very similar to 'agitation', it refers to a state of excitation and attendant disruptiveness in students. I personally am not certain that its signification was meaningfully different from that of *agitation.*
Faire sa belle	Verb	Literally "to do as if one is beautiful". Typically used as an accusation by girls, to refer to other girls who were 'acting beautiful' and, in so doing, suggesting that other girls were not as beautiful as they were.
Gêne	Noun	Warnings that were given by the (student) "presidents" of the Year 6 class's class councils. They were directed at students who were acting 'disruptively' and therefore hindering the councils.

Grand	Noun and adjective	Literally "tall/grand/great". In common parlance it is used as an adjective to mean tall, grand, or great, or to concepts with similar meanings. However, it can also mean someone who is older, especially when referring to children, or when contrasting children with older individuals (e.g. by calling as adult a 'grand' in relation to a child). It is in this latter sense that I mean to use it in this thesis. It is the opposite of the term *petit.*
Instruction	Noun	Literally "instruction". It referred to the academic aspects of learning, or "know-how-to-do" (*savoir-faire*). Typically would refer to the curricular instruction dispensed by Trinité.
Intense	Adjective	Literally "intense". The adjectival form of 'intensité'.
Intensité	Noun	Literally "intensity". A word that Ernest used to refer to how intense the school day was and how much time the students spent in groups without being able to be alone. It inspired my use and development of the concept of 'intensity'.
Nouveau	Noun	Literally "new". Designates students who were 'new' to the school, i.e. who had arrived in the school just before or during the fielwork year
Petit	Noun and adjective	Literally "small/little". As with the word 'grand', it is mostly used as an adjective to mean small or little in everyday speech. However, it can also refer to younger individuals, especially children, and even more prominently younger children. It is this meaning of *petit* that I deploy here. It is the opposite of *grand*.
Posture	Noun	Refers to a student's physical posture as well as a figurative mental posture that could be conducive or not conducive to learning. I emphasise this latter meaning in this thesis.
Rang	Noun	Literally "rank". Refers to the lines that students would get into when they lined up in pairs between activities
Récré	Noun	Short for "récréation". It is used to refer to the short break periods in the morning and afternoon in Trinité (and many other French schools besides).
Repère	Noun	Literally "landmarks" or "points of reference". Essential elements of an effective *cadre*, as they relayed the *cadre* and its rules, or more generally made students feel secure, for instance because they were familiar and "reassuring". They could consist in people, places, or obejcts.
Se défouler	Verb (reflexive)	Literally "letting go" or "letting off steam". Described activities that students engaged in to unwind and to expend energy, and that tended to be physically active. It was seen as crucial to counterbalance the intensity and constraints of academic learning.
Se relâcher	Verb (reflexive)	Literally "letting go" or "relaxing". A less physically active version of *se défouler.*
Stade	Noun	Literally "stadium". Refers to the multi-use sports ground that was located very near Trinité.
TAP	Noun	Stands for "Temps d'Activitié périscolaires". Refers to extra-curricular activities that were enabled by a national French reform that was recent at the time of fieldwork (and that has since been reformed again).

Temps Calme	Noun	Literally "calm period". A short (10-15 minute) period at the beginning of lessons when teachers would let students do certain activities autonomously, as long as they were "calm".
Veillée	Noun	The period after dinner in boarding houses, where boarding house *éducateurs* would organise relaxing or fun activities for students.
Vivre Ensemble	Noun and verb	Literally "living together". Refers to both a positive atmosphere in a group setting and a capacity that students could learn, similar to the notion of 'social skills'. It had (and still has) a complex set of meanings during the fieldwork year, some of which were political and beyond the scope of Trinité. I discuss the term on p. 95.
Voyou	Noun	Broadly, a thug, lout, or person of dubious character. Can also refer more specifically to a criminal (e.g. bandit, gangster) or to aggressive or mischeivous children (e.g. rascal).

B. Social Network Analysis and other key terms

Term	Definition
Actor	Term used to refer to an individual in a network that sends or recieves ties. In my case it is synonymous with 'node'
Alter	In the context of relations between people, refers to the other people that focal individuals ('egos') can send or receive ties from (i.e. have relationships with)
Becoming	Practices whereby students project themselves into desired future identities, affirming these identities in the process. Inherently linked to performances (see below).
Beta Centrality	Refers to the extent to which students receive ties in a network, with each tie weighted according to how many ties the students who send these ties receive. In other words, a student's beta centrality will increase with each tie that the student recieves, and it will increase when the alters that send ties to it also recieve many ties. A student with high beta centrality can be considered as recieving many ties from students who are themselves popular (i.e. who themselves recieve many ties). The importance of the popularity of alters is weighted according to a chosen beta value for the network, which are specified in Appendix III.A.
Density	The density of friendships is defined as the number of friendships divided by the possible number of friendships in a group.
Ego	In the context of relations between people, refers to the focal individual sending or receiving ties.
Geodesic distance	The length of the shortest path between two nodes, where a path is a sequence of nodes connected by ties in a network. In other words, it refers to the smallest number of 'steps' that would need to be taken to reach one node from another node. Can also be thought of as the 'degrees of separation' of two nodes in a network.
Indegree	Refers to the amount of ties that a node recieves in a network.
Isolate	Refers to a node which neither receives nor sends any ties in a network.
Node	Term used to refer to an entity in a network that sends or recieves ties. In my case it is synonymous with 'actor'
Outdegree	Refers to the amount of ties that a node sends in a network.
Perform-ances	Performances are expressions of students' agency. They project a definition of the situation which is preferable to the performing student. I see them as a relational counterpart to individual 'creativity', which has been emphasised in other studies of students in schools. However, I also add that performances allow students to eventually 'interiorise' identities and dispositions that they see as helpful in their lives. This latter aspect of performances makes them essential parts of students' projections of themselves into desired future identities, which I call acts of 'becoming'.
Sink	A node that recieves one or more ties but does not send any ties.
Self-transform-ation, self-realisation	I refer to these terms interchangeably. They refer to the social transformation of individuals by the individuals themselves.
Social Position	My definition of 'social position' is inspired by (White et al., 1976); it consists in the position occupied by individuals in a social setting as a result of their relationships with other individuals in the setting. It can refer to the notions of structural or regular equivalence, although I tend to refer to the latter (cf. Borgatti and Everett, 1992).

Social Transform-ation	I use this notion because, even though it is not the most theoretically established, it summarises important concepts which have wider relevance in accounts of music-making, schooling, and 'social' deprivation. As such, I take it to include both the 'transformation' of social environments (e.g. schools, societies), and the 'transformation' of individuals (e.g. students). While the former meaning refers to the improvement in some way of social relations in social environments, the latter meaning refers to individuals improving their social positions in these environments. I use the latter synonymously with the expressions "self-transformation" and "self-realisation".
Small World Index	The extent to which a network features low average path lengths and high transitivity or clustering coefficient values (in this thesis I use the latter to calculate small world values, although both measures are ultimately similar (Borgatti et al 2013)). It is calculated by comparing the network's observed path lengths and transitivity/clustering coefficient values with those expected in random networks (See Watts 1999).
Transitivity	Refers to the extent to which, in triangles (i.e. sets of three) actors, whenever two ties exist, the third tie which 'closes' the triangle exists as well. In directed networks (i.e. networks where the direction of ties is important, as in most of the networks in this thesis), it more specifically refers to the extent to which, when an actor A sends ties to two other actors B and C, there is a tie between actors B and C. In this thesis, I calculate transitivity as the number of 'closed' triples as a proportion of the total number of triples that could be closed by the addition of just another tie.

APPENDIX II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MY ROLE IN TRINITÉ

A. Initial conceptions of my role

By the time of my Transfer of Status (or PhD Upgrade; see Appendix VII.E.3), I had envisioned that I would adopt a "helpful adult" role in the school (Sarazin, 2014: 40). I thought I would take a "participant-as-observer" role (Gold, 1958) that would help me build rapport with various school members while giving me relative freedom to carry out my research (an important factor highlighted by Roy (1970)). I crucially also believed that this role would help me "introduc[e] as little bias in the context as possible" (Sarazin, 2014: 40) – which I feared would arise from a student role as I was quantitatively measuring the school community and social relations in my study (cf. Section II.C) – without "shut[ting] me off from various student understandings" arising from having a position of authority. I therefore decided to adopt an unobtrusive role (Stake, 1995), to "access the meanings and language of students, without being considered as a student". As such, I told students in the beginning of the year that I was a 'researcher' and 'scientist of schools', here to find out how schools and music programmes work and to understand students' experiences to create better schools.

The contradictions in my thinking became all too apparent in the first weeks of fieldwork. I quickly found that being a (mostly observer and not participant) helpful adult made me particularly easy to ignore for students. My role was thus not getting me the "involvement" (Woods, 1986:38) I needed with my research participants. This alarmed me as I knew that I would need to build rapport quickly if I was to carry out interviews after my quantitative measurements. I also realised that I had somehow

assumed that I would be able to build rapport purely through 'being there', as suggested in Moreland & Beach's famous experiment (1992). My pilot fieldwork experiences had in particular led me to believe that, as an adult with a rather friendly disposition, I would naturally progress in my rapport with students[188]. In effect, I found that my 'natural rapport building' was very unequal among students. It appeared strongest with students who had relatively few friends and/or who already spent much time with adults. I therefore concluded after two weeks of fieldwork that I wasn't spending enough time with students, and that I needed to 'get out of my comfort zone' (Fieldwork journal, 29.09.2015). I envisioned a student-like "older brother" role, consisting in playing and joking with the students, giving them advice without judging their actions or behaviour (Fieldwork journal, 01.10.2015).

Adopting a more student-like role created more tensions than expected however. My approach to observations and writing up notes (outlined below) meant that it was difficult to observe for longer than a few hours at a time in the school. Yet, I figured that acting like a student meant being subjected to the same rhythm as them. As such, the desk that I requested to adopt in the Year 6 classroom soon proved to be mostly empty, busy as I often was writing up notes elsewhere. My student-like role became even more difficult to maintain as I carried out structured interviews and administered questionnaires.

Several incidents also helped me understand that, though I wanted to be treated as a student, other school members were not necessarily willing to grant me a dispensation of adult-ness. Students would for instance frequently turn to me to tell other students to stop 'bothering' them, or to obtain the

[188] Some music programme teachers in my study in fact shared this belief.

necessary adult permission to go to the lavatory[189]. These requests were surprisingly persistent given that I consistently told students that I was neither a teacher nor an *éducateur* and did not have their authority. It seemed that students sometimes actually *wanted* me to 'act like an adult', as the following piece of advice suggested:

> Maryam asks me "Why don't you spend more time with adults?" Me: "because then I wouldn't know kids' perspectives!"[…]. Maryam replies "you should spend more time with adults. Like Laura [a boarding house éducateur] for example, when she's with adults, the kids stop bothering her, but when she's playing with kids she gets bothered. You should do more like Laura[…] if the kids start seeing you more like a child, then they will do things like steal your notebook". (Fieldnotes, lunchtime break, 17.11.2015)

The mention of my notebook being stolen was not trivial: from the beginning I had insisted greatly on the confidentiality of my fieldnotes (see below), and yet a few weeks earlier a student had playfully taken my field notebook from the back pocket of my jeans. I had reacted angrily and had quickly snatched the notebook back. Therefore, Maryam was not only giving me a piece of general advice but also reminding me that I would find it easier to fulfil my confidentiality commitments 'as' an adult.

Similarly, when fights erupted between students, some comments from adults and students suggested that, as an adult, I was responsible for intervening. One day Shane even claimed that he "wasn't

[189] Their perception of me as an authority-wielding adult was of course perfectly appropriate, if only because of how some teachers introduced me: as someone who would "observe their behaviour" and check if they learned well in music lessons (Fieldnotes, Year 6 class, 15.09.2015).

speaking to me anymore" after I did not interrupt a fight between himself and Michael (Fieldnotes, Strings B lesson, 02.02.2016). This suggested that he considered our relationship in ways which put me in the role of a (responsible) adult[190]. Likewise, one boarding house *éducateur*, after a particularly difficult music session, complained to the music programme administrative lead that she didn't understand why I had not intervened (Fieldnotes, morning, 27.11.2015). She did this even though I insisted during my introductions that I wouldn't be adopting a disciplinary role.

At other times, students were confused about my role. Just before the vignette above, as I was playing basketball with Maryam, other students asked me to help them get their football unstuck. Maryam, noting this mixture of adult and child behaviours, asked me what exactly my role was. I told her I was not like other adults, neither like a teacher nor an *éducateur*. then Charlie interjected: "actually, you're like other adults except that you're nice", and Maryam asked "actually, are you like a child?" (Fieldnotes, lunchtime break, 17.11.2015). The fact that these two students still disagreed about my role by this point suggested that it was difficult for me to adopt a clear student role.

All in all, students' reactions to my 'student' role often suggested that my adult-ness was too salient to ignore. This was painfully evident one afternoon breaktime in mid-January, when my student-like role was living its final days. The headteacher had instructed students to keep their coats on that afternoon, it being the heart of winter, threatening to punish those who didn't do so. I started playing a game of tag with several students, but soon began to overheat under my winter coat, as it was a relatively warm, sunny day. I complained of this to Dylan, who told me to take my coat off. I told him

[190] Indeed, only members of staff had intervened in their fight.

I couldn't, or I would get punished. He then looked at me and flatly said "but she's not going to punish you"[191].

The tensions between my adult-ness and semi-desire to be a student came to a head a few days before the previous incident, on my first day back from the Christmas holidays. I had come to school in time for the traditional yearly *"galette des rois"* ('King Cake') celebrations, involving some food and soft drinks inside the school cafeteria. The following extract from my fieldnotes (quoted verbatim) demonstrates the tensions I felt regarding my role:

> I catch up with the head of the boarding houses inside the building, where I feel 'safe' as there are only adults and it seems that no kids are watching. However, I see Paul and Michael [both Year 6 boys] at the window, looking in, seeing me, with wide eyes. I fear that they may have 'caught' me! […] I am generally uneasy as […] I desperately don't want to be seen as a member of school staff or somehow associated with them [by students]. I go outside and bump into Nathalie. She says nothing so I ask "You don't say hello?" (Doh! So adult![192]). I don't hear her response, not sure there is any. I go to the Year 6 boys, fist-bump 5 of them. I feel more at ease with them, as if I have just found my class again. (Fieldnotes, late morning, 05.01.2016)

[191] Although I remember this scene vividly – due to my embarrassment – and wrote it out shortly after coming back from my fieldwork, I have not managed to find records of it in my fieldnotes. This explains why I do not quote a fieldnote entry.

[192] This was an extremely "adult-like" reaction, as adults (but not students) in the school systematically greeted each other and were sometimes offended when students didn't do the same.

I relived this uneasiness at being seen as an adult almost every day, due to adults' habit in the school of greeting each other on a daily basis by doing the "bise" (cheek kissing). This was an act that children seldom did, and if so overwhelmingly with adults (or maybe adolescents). I therefore saw it as a daily reminder of my adult-ness. Yet, I felt even more uneasy asking adults not to do the "bise" with me. I felt this would be offensive – after all, I wanted to build rapport with them as well – and a potential liability for my fieldwork, since adults were ultimately my gatekeepers in the schools.

B. Conceiving of the 'third adult' role

It thus seems that the role framework that I had used before my fieldwork – conceiving of roles as varying along a continuum of participation and observation (Gold, 1958) – did not prepare me adequately for role dilemmas in the school setting. I would argue that this would also have been the case of other role frameworks advanced by anthropological, sociological, and educational researchers. For Adler and Adler (1987), who differentiate between "peripheral", "active", and "complete" membership roles, roles vary according to whether researchers adopt "functional" roles in the group or are "status equals" with participants. However, this framework struggles to fit a setting where there are several groups of participants of unequal status ('adults' and 'students' in the case of schools). Does a 'functional role' for students signify a functional role for adults? Adler and Adler (1998: 19) themselves argue for the "parents-as-researcher" role, whereby researchers "capitalize on [their] 'complete membership role' (Adler and Adler, 1987) by 'opportunistically' (Riemer, 1977) making the community of youth to which their children belong a focus of study". Although this role is ecologically valid and offers great potential advantages in terms of access to informants and data settings, it is

unavailable to researchers without children, may be undesirable for those wishing to study certain settings, and can create conflicting commitments between parental and researcher roles.

On the contrary, other researchers, noting that power imbalances between adults and students can plague research with children (Fargas-Malet et al., 2010; Kirk, 2007), have tried to build rapport with children by minimising their "adult-ness" and being as much like children as possible. Mandell (1988: 435), drawing on Mead (1938), argues that creating mutual understandings with children means engaging in joint action with them. She recommends actively "suspending the ontological terms of 'adult' and 'child'[… and] all adult-like characteristics except physical size". Corsaro (2003), on the other hand, noticing how adults tended to act with children, chose to adopt a "reactive entry strategy" (p. 10) when gaining entry to children's worlds. This meant that he would observe the children, attempt to act like them, and let children come to him.

These methods for getting close to children by minimising 'adultness' provide very helpful strategies for participating alongside children, and indeed informed my own behaviour when participating in children's activities. However, they can also be problematic. Firstly, they can lack ecological validity, especially in a primary school setting where the adult-child distinction is a critical aspect of the school's functioning. Further, as experienced by Sim (2016), participating like a child can lead to one "being taken for a fool" (Waksler, 1986: 71) by school adults, as the following extract demonstrates:

> The end of the dance lesson with the Woodwinds music group is havoc. Many students are jumping and rolling on the mats of the sports room. I see Theo's excited expression and I join in briefly, telling myself "I want to see how it feels to do like him!". After a minute, I look up and see Monique and Emma looking straight

> at me, Monique with an exasperated look on her face, seeming to say to Emma "look, even he's doing it". I later apologise to her. (Fieldnotes, Woodwinds lesson, 30.11.2015)

As in the 'bise' example cited earlier, I knew that the school staff guaranteed my access to the school, and were otherwise important informants with whom I wanted to build rapport. This meant that I was hesitant to act in ways that they perceived as illegitimate.

On the other hand, other ethnographers have argued that students themselves may regard the ethnographer's "attempts to pass as a child[…] as a ploy" (Christensen, 1999: 103; see also Fine & Sandstrom, 1988), as the incident with Dylan earlier suggested. Yet other researchers argue that focusing on reducing social difference between children and adults can have more pernicious consequences. Raffety (2015) argues that it can reinforce power differentials between children and researchers, as it tends to reify that same dimension which the researcher tries to eschew. She argues that it puts emphasis on what the researcher (and not the participants) can do to control his identity, and "tends to place ethical concerns and decisions beyond the scope of the research relationship" (p. 413). Instead, she argues for a strategy of 'minimising social distance' which recognises the difference between children and researchers but situates it squarely within participant-researcher relationships.

Raffety's (2015) recommendations were reflected in the role I finally decided to adopt, which solved many of my previous role dilemmas. I progressively realised that, from a pragmatist perspective, it was perhaps more useful to think of my role according to which pre-existing group of individuals students and adults would assimilate me with – in short, to be willing to "go along with their

perceptions of my role" (Woods 1986: 38). I also realised that it was more useful to think of my role in terms of the involvement and "relationships entered into with staff and pupils" (Woods 1986: 38).

More specifically, I discerned that the closest role in Trinité to the one I had been cultivating was the non-teacher, non-*éducateur* school staff role. I came to conceptualise these individuals as 'third adults' – neither parents of the students nor teachers or other adults holding formal authority over them, and yet playing a role in students' lives. After a conversation with Cécile, I realised that there were many such third adults in the school (Fieldnotes, 08.01.2016) – in other words, that students already knew people who did not fit into the stereotypical image of an adult (Sim, 2016). I therefore decided to view myself as a third adult and to anchor my behaviour to this role type. In classrooms, I sometimes helped students. During break times and in boarding houses I tended to engage in common activities with students, for instance chatting or participating in games with them, although on some occasions I helped adults with various tasks for short periods. Finally, in situations when I was participating as a learner, such as in music lessons, I subjected myself to the same rules as other learners.

Conceiving of my role as an adult role had several benefits. It was certainly more honest than trying to pass off as a student. Indeed, although I had forfeited my rights to certain adult privileges (cf. Walford, 2001), I still made use of others, such as that of unrestricted movement, or of access to the roster of students in the school. It also eased my relationships and rapport-building with adults, as I no longer felt uncomfortable engaging in 'adult' interactions with them. It also meant that I could start picturing myself as a member of staff. There had already been several indications that the school staff viewed me as such. One early indication was the fact that they would include me in their routine discussions about important school events and students' home lives, signalling that I was a part of the routine adult gossip in the school (see also Chapter 4). As I started being invited to lunches and

meetings with the management of the MASS programme, I progressively saw myself as the “thinking arm” of MASS in Trinité and LAS, responsible for using my research skills to ‘think’ on behalf of practitioners who were too busy ‘acting’. This helped me feel legitimate in the field.

My inclusion as a member of school staff was also clear when I was opposed to another research team that came to study the cognitive and neuroscientific benefits of the MASS programme. 2 weeks after the beginning of my fieldwork, this team was invited to the last quarter of a meeting of organisations implementing the MASS programme. I was grouped with these individuals as a “researcher”; yet, I had been invited for the whole meeting, suggesting I that I was already a part of the programme staff (Fieldnotes, MASS organisation meeting, 01.10.2015). When they formally presented their proposed research to the teachers of Trinité 7 weeks later, mentioning that they would need to see each child individually for 90 minutes, one teacher exclaimed “am I the only one who cares about what goes on in class?”. This brought into relief the access that teachers had graciously given me, and by extension how much I had been accepted as a member of school staff (Fieldnotes, Staff meeting, 18.11.2015).

That students saw me as part of the school, despite being a researcher, was also brought out at several moments. Before the above researchers began their study, I offered to introduce them to a few students. One of them accepted, and I called for a couple of students to come near. I introduced Sonia to the researcher, telling her that the researcher did “the same job that I do”. Sonia responded: “Yes but it’s not the same, you’ve been here since the beginning of the year !”, shyly looking away (Fieldnotes, afternoon break, 13.11.2015). As the year went by, I found myself becoming more and more comfortable in Trinité – whereas 9 days after the start of fieldwork I noted, after attending an academic seminar, that I felt much more comfortable there than in school, when I did the same later in the year I found the return to Trinité to be a sort of homecoming (Field journal, 18.04.2016).

C. Reciprocating with students

The gradual shift towards giving first importance to the relations I was building with school members led me to pay increasing attention to my interactions with them. This meant adopting the behaviours and values of students (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988) - including their vocabulary - or trying to interact with students as other students might.

In observing such student interactions, I progressively realised that they were often reciprocal, as opposed to adult-student interactions which were often non-reciprocal. Indeed, not only did staff members give mandatory instructions to students, but this power relationship was often expressed in non-reciprocal ways. The following vignette, from a morning towards the end of my second round of structured interviews, demonstrates how this played out well:

> I go towards the Year 2/3 class to pick up my next interviewee. On the way, I see Damon being told off in the corridor by Jenny [his classroom *éducateur* at the time]. She is telling him off for his behaviour in class. He sees me as I walk by and comes towards me, saying he's coming with me. Jenny says no, he doesn't get to decide. Damon says that I told him I wanted him to come with me; Jenny says I have work to do, I'm the one who decides, he's not the one who gets to decide everything. he

answers “yes I am!” in a contrarian way (Fieldnotes, structured interviews, 25.03.2016)

Through this episode of dealing with a disruptive student, Jenny rehearses the principle of non-reciprocal interactions between students and adults: as she says so clearly, adults get to decide for students, not the other way around. That this should be the case in a school setting is not surprising; however, the way in which Jenny expressed it – as a general rule which could apply across any and all situations – indicates just how entrenched the rule was, or at least how much herself and other staff members were trying to enforce it upon students.

This non-reciprocity expressed itself in other ways as well. Whenever students would respond ‘out of turn’ to adults, staff members would accuse them of “talking back” *(répondre)*. Similarly, on some occasions when staff members felt that students had truly ‘gone over the line’ by lacking respect towards them, they could reprimand students by telling them that they “were not their friends” (Fieldnotes, Strings B session, 10.12.2015; Year 6 Class council, 26.02.2015). Thus, not only did adults seem to have a right to “talk” to students without the students being able to reciprocate the “talking”. They also sometimes specifically reminded students of the non-reciprocity of their relationship, especially when they felt that students were effectively acting ‘reciprocally’ with them. In fact, while several students nominated staff members as their friends during my network interviews, the notion that the latter could be students’ “friends” seemed to be nearly inconceivable for at least some of them (e.g. Interview with Tracy, 2018.06.22).

These non-reciprocal relations and interactions stood out from interactions between students, which were much more reciprocal. This was evident in the games that students played. ‘Tag’ (or ‘chasing’),

as several other games, had a reciprocal structure: if a student tagged another student, then that student had to tag them back (Thorne, 1993). Students' banter also had a reciprocal structure: when one student poked fun at another student, it was *de rigueur* for that student to respond with a similar, witty taunt. I even saw reciprocity in students' negative interactions. Students often responded to an insult by repeating the insult back, or simply saying "yourself". Similarly, invasions of personal space were often reciprocated exactly in kind. The following vignette in fact shows how students could creatively use reciprocity as a resource in their negative interactions, to potentially great effect:

> I am in the courtyard observing. As Mario and Melanie (two "lovers") come out for the morning break, I hear them have an oral fight. Melanie comes towards me and accuses Mario by saying 'Mario + [female name]'. After a few seconds, Mario answers: 'Melanie & Marc!', and repeats it several times. Melanie is visibly affected by this – she storms back over to him and the conflict continues. (Fieldnotes, morning break, 30.11.2016)

Thus, from this episode it seems that retaliation – i.e. like-for-like reciprocation of conflictual interactions – was a potentially highly effective way to negotiate a conflict.

The way in which some students used copying to cement or reinforce friendships can relatedly be seen as an instance of the importance of reciprocation for them. The following vignette suggests this:

> I am observing a fight between some boys when Elenna comes up to me, telling me that I have betrayed her. Earlier I indeed had gone along with a joke of the Year 6

girls who had made Elenna believe that Ana's name was actually Olivia. Elenna is sulking, with arms crossed and a pouting face. Then, suddenly, she says "just kidding!", hugs me and runs around me. I keep watching the conflict. Elenna notices that I'm not paying attention to her, frowns, and walks away. I come after her and apologise. Again, she says "just kidding!". Then she tells me to copy what she's doing, adopts a robotic gait, and starts walking. I copy her gait and we, two robots, walk away from the scene of the conflict. I then stop and ask her why she's asking me to copy her. She stops, hesitates – probably this is a strange question – and answers: "because you're my friend!". She then tells me "now you do something and I'll copy you". I acquiesce and Elenna copies me. Suddenly, Lennie comes and tries to join in. Elenna yells "get out of here!" at him. Careful not to exclude or offend anybody, I tell her that Lennie is allowed to join us. So he stays with us, and we copy each other's actions in turn for some time. (Fieldnotes, After class, 13.11.2015)

In this extract, copying was not only a means of playing but also one of signalling allegiance: Elenna, who displayed an affinity towards me from very early on in the year, asked me to copy her as a reaction to my perceived rejection of her. When Lennie, who had named Elenna as a friend just a month earlier during his structured interview, but whom Elenna had not named as a friend, wanted to join in, Elenna told him to go away. After some reflection, this episode not only suggested to me that reciprocation could be an essential part of building relationships with students. It also hinted to me that some students were actively *looking* for me to reciprocate with them.

I therefore increasingly decided to interact in reciprocal ways with students[193]. This included offering rewards and gifts (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988) to those who had done the same or who had helped me, such as offering tokens of my appreciation after interviews or giving drawings to students when they gave some to me. Since I had noticed that students often gave each other sweets or drawings and reciprocated in kind, this became a way of entering into their culture. Since they even sometimes gave me gifts for no apparent reason, or simply because I was a 'friend', I sometimes did the same to them, without expecting reciprocation.

Reciprocating with students also included using my 'adult priviledges' to grant favours to students (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). This included reaching for out-of-reach objects, helping students temporarily avoid class on account of interviews, or accompanying a student claiming to be ill to use the adult-only school lift to go up three floors (Fieldnotes, after school, 21.01.2016). It also included changing my method of questionnaire administration (cf. Chapter II.C.2.b)) to make it more reciprocal. It also, as a by-product, led me to think about more ways that I could reciprocate with adults, namely by pro-actively trying to help them as and when possible.

D. Final thoughts: 'giving up' some of myself

Relatedly, making my involvement with research participants the crux of my role brought me to consider how much I was investing in my relationships with them, or 'giving up some of myself'. On

[193] This also seemed ethical as a way of giving back to students for their contributions to my research.

one occasion I thus missed a part of a planned observation to tune a guitar that Nathalie had specially brought into the school and that had been de-tuned by other students (Fieldnotes, after lunch, 29.01.2016). On another occasion I spoke in front of the Year 6 class when Kevin was leaving the school, sharing my own life experiences of moving cities (Fieldnotes, Kevin's leaving celebration, 13.11.2016). However, there were also times when I found that 'giving up some of my self' for the sake of my participants was more difficult. When I noticed that the students were trading and playing with Pokemon cards, I decided to bring some cards that I had collected at their age. However, I found that I was reluctant to give or trade these cards away. On another occasion, a middle school boarding student asked me to read him a story before bedtime. I agreed to read him a chapter of a book, but soon realised that one chapter was quite long. Afraid as I was that I would miss observation events involving Trinité students, who were much more key to my study, I ended up reading only part of the chapter (Fieldnotes, Veillée in Jura boarding house, 01.03.2016).

These incidents led me to reflect on two aspects of my ethnography. Firstly, like many other ethnographers, my purpose in the field – to write notes and render a written account of it – was at odds with the purpose of my research participants (Emerson et al., 1995), who were simply living their lives. This induced me to try to "live" a bit more, as opposed to being obsessed with observing and carrying out my study. However, it was difficult to 'let go' in that way without feeling that my ethnography was stalling. I was therefore often directive in trying to find answers to my research issues, prompting Matteo to tell me, near the end of my fieldwork, "you want me to tell you the problem with you? You're like the school psychologist, you ask too many questions, and they're hard to answer"[194] (Interview with Matteo, 20.06.2016).

[194] This was despite being aware of the advice that 'Doc' gave to William Foote Whyte (1993) to not 'ask too many questions'.

Secondly, I realised that my ethnography was personal (Coffey, 1999), not only due to my social position but also my seemingly benign dispositions. I was aware that my age, gender and social class affected my role significantly. I realised that female students demanded my attention and affection more than male students, and that male students' attitudes towards me were different from their attitudes towards friendly female adults. I knew that when Jose asked me if I or anyone in my family had ever been to jail, or when Sonny assumed that I would already have children at my age, or the fact that I did not dress in footballers' clothes, that these suggested some important differences in class dispositions. I even speculated on whether me coming from a different city in France, and studying in England, had an impact on how participants saw me. Yet, I did not expect to be confronted with resistance from my own personal, idiosyncratic convictions or childhood memories. Members of staff in Trinité often talked about how children "took us back" to certain aspects of our youth and childhood insecurities. In my case, perhaps it was no surprise that I was reluctant to give up trading cards that I had held dear as a child, or that I felt uneasy when witnessing students experiencing difficult social experiences, or that I was even studying children's social experiences in the first place.

Nonetheless, these reflections incited me to "give up" more of myself, especially after the second round of questionnaires. I relaxed my principle of not teaching students anything – teaching some students how to draw a cube or Vito to tell his right from his left (Fieldnotes, Pre-dinner in Pyrenees house, 07.06.2016) – which brought me great personal satisfaction. I also decided to get involved in children's relationships – trying to stop fights, offering to mediate in the long-lasting conflict between Sonia and Maryam and Roksana (see Chapter 6), and even being somewhat bullied by students myself (Fieldnotes, Pyrenees dinner, 21.06.2016). In the end this had the added benefit of giving me embodied experiences and pieces of data which brought me closer to the meaning-making of students, therefore fulfilling my initial research objective.

APPENDIX III. VISUALISATIONS OF TRINITÉ'S NETWORKS & BETA VALUES

Note: in the networks that follow, as elsewhere in this thesis, light blue nodes are Year 2/3 students; indigo nodes are Year 4/5 students; and dark blue nodes are Year 6 students. Circles are boys and diamonds are girls. In the friendship networks, node size is proportional to friendship beta centrality regarding incoming ties in the same wave; In the dislike networks and musical network at wave 2, it is proportional to the number of same ties received. In the musical network at wave 1 all nodes are the same size.

The musical network at wave 1, as in Chapter 8, excludes the ties that Jose sent to all students in the Year 6 class.

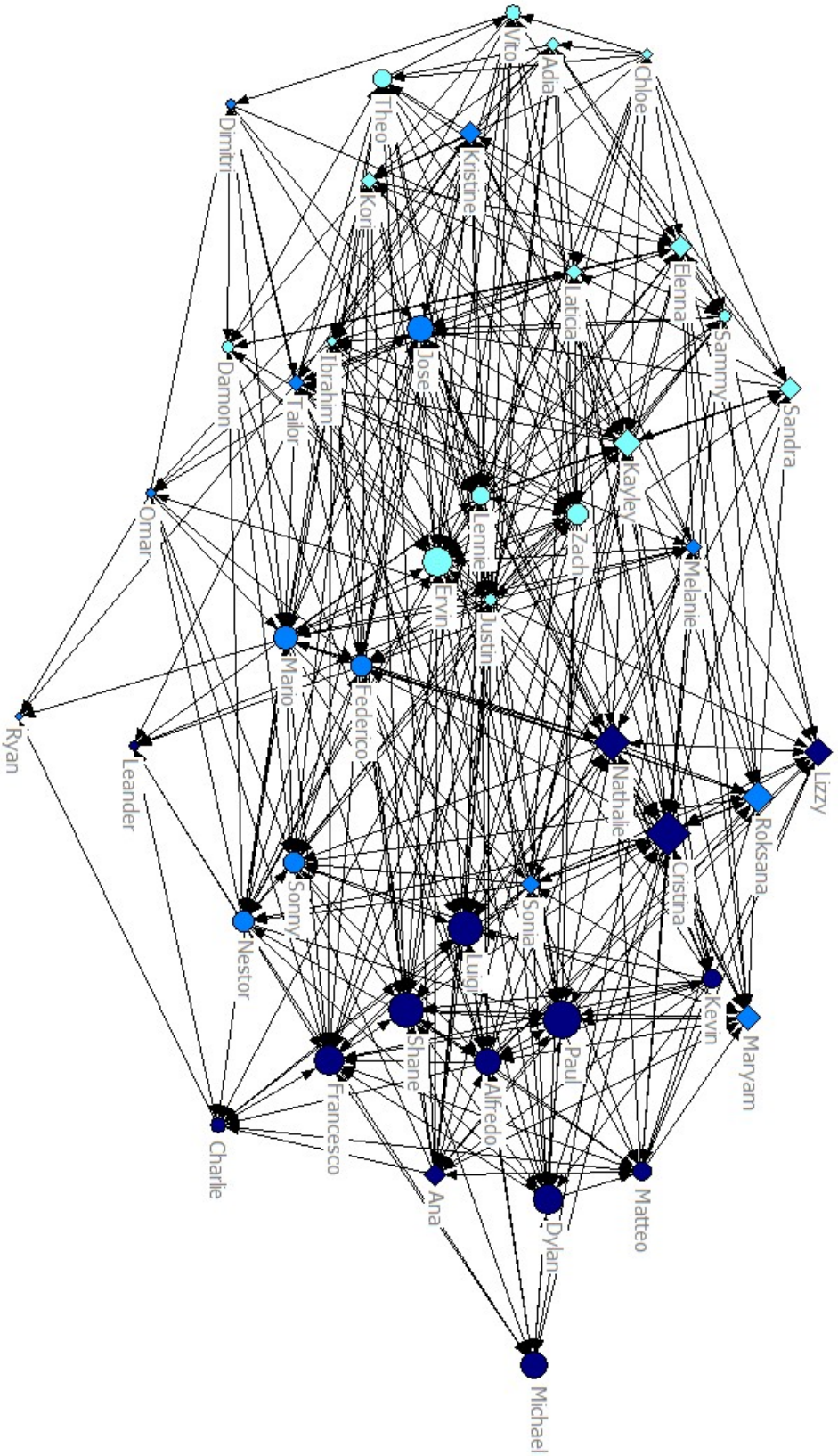
A. Beta values

Note: the beta values below are the largest permissible values of beta for each network (i.e. the values that are closest to the reciprocal of the largest eigenvalue of the adjacency matrices of each network (Borgatti et al., 2013)). I choose these values to give maximum weight to the centrality of alters, in order to contrast this measure as much as possible with indegree centrality (i.e. centrality as calculated by the number of ties received). I consider that this is broadly consistent with the 'intensity' of the school (see Chapter 4) – except when extreme beta values produce heavily skewed distributions of centrality values.

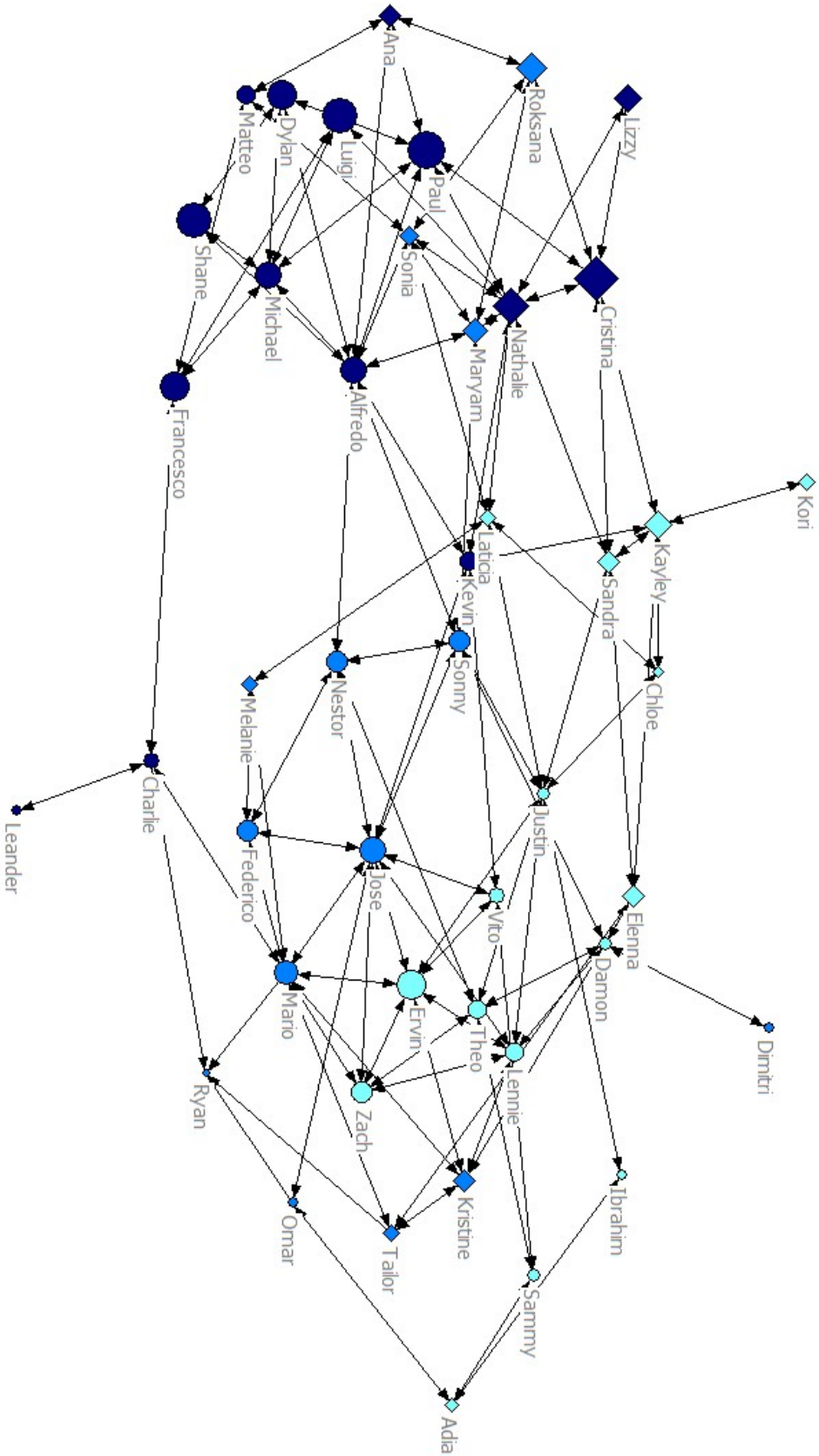
Network	Beta value
Friendship - wave 1	0.0945
Friendship - wave 2	0.0767
Musical - wave 2	0.2332
Musical (Strings A group)	0.3545
Musical (Woodwinds)	0.4230

Figure III-1 – Beta values used for calculating beta centrality for relevant networks in Trinité

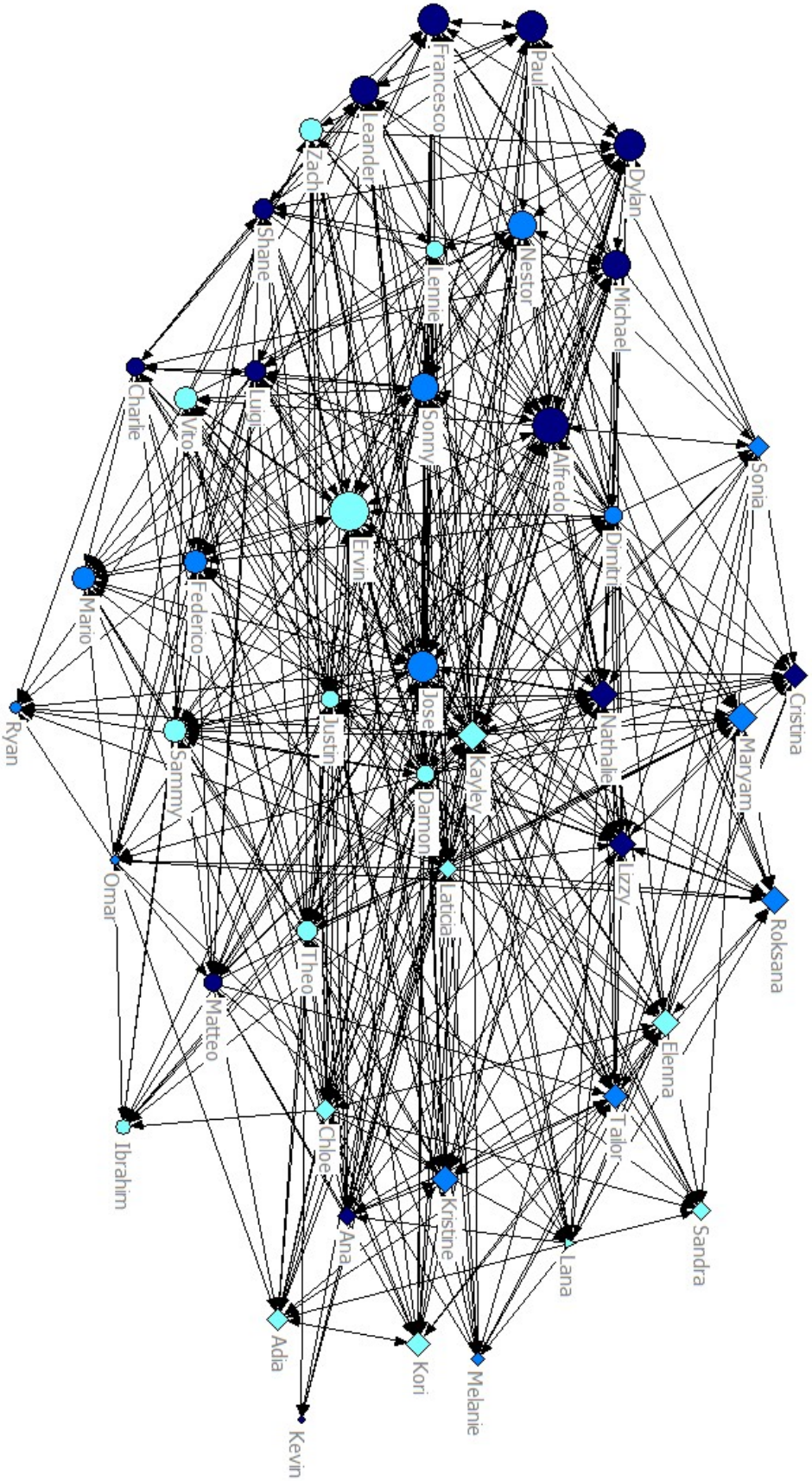
B. Friendship network – wave 1



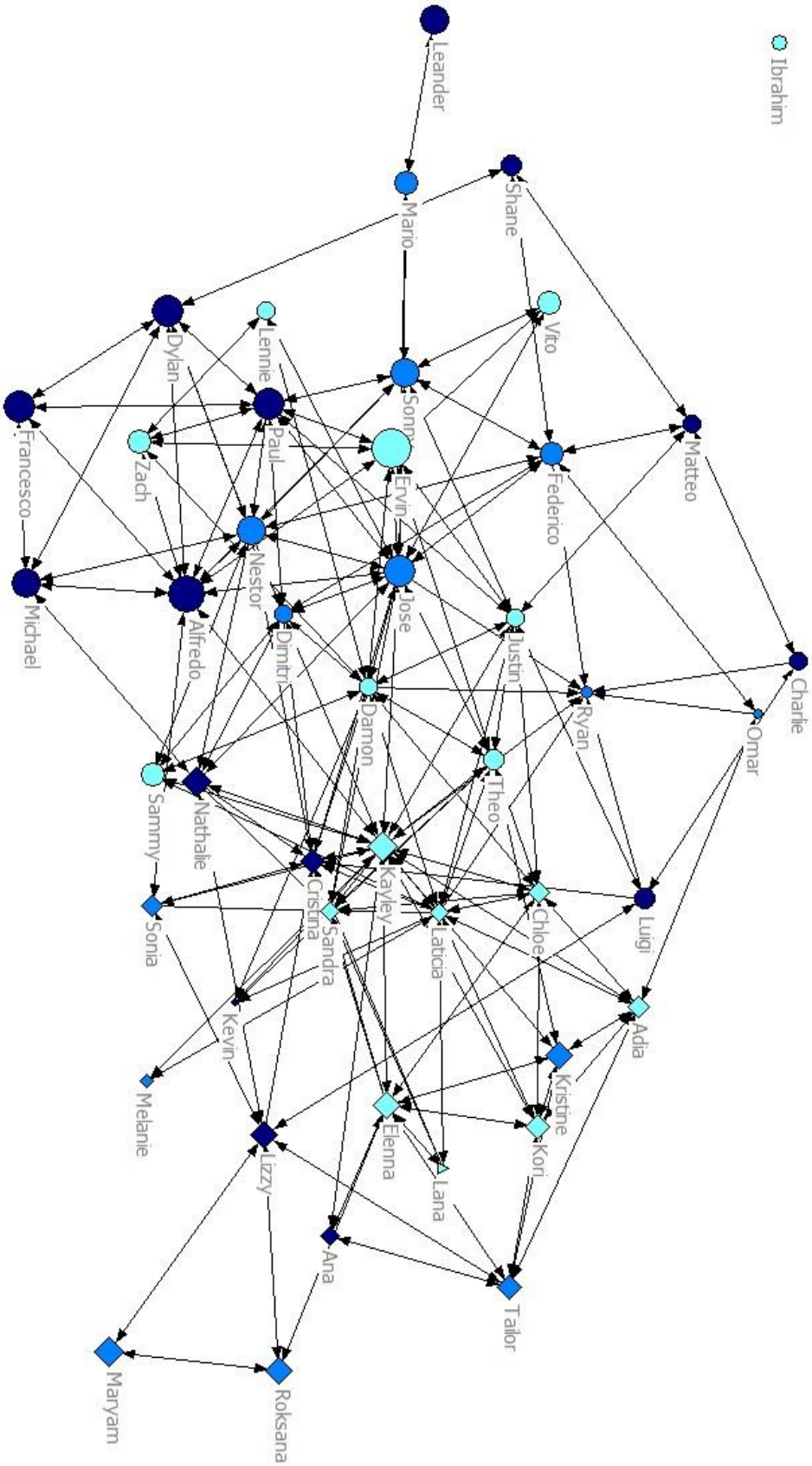
C. Reciprocated friendship network – wave 1



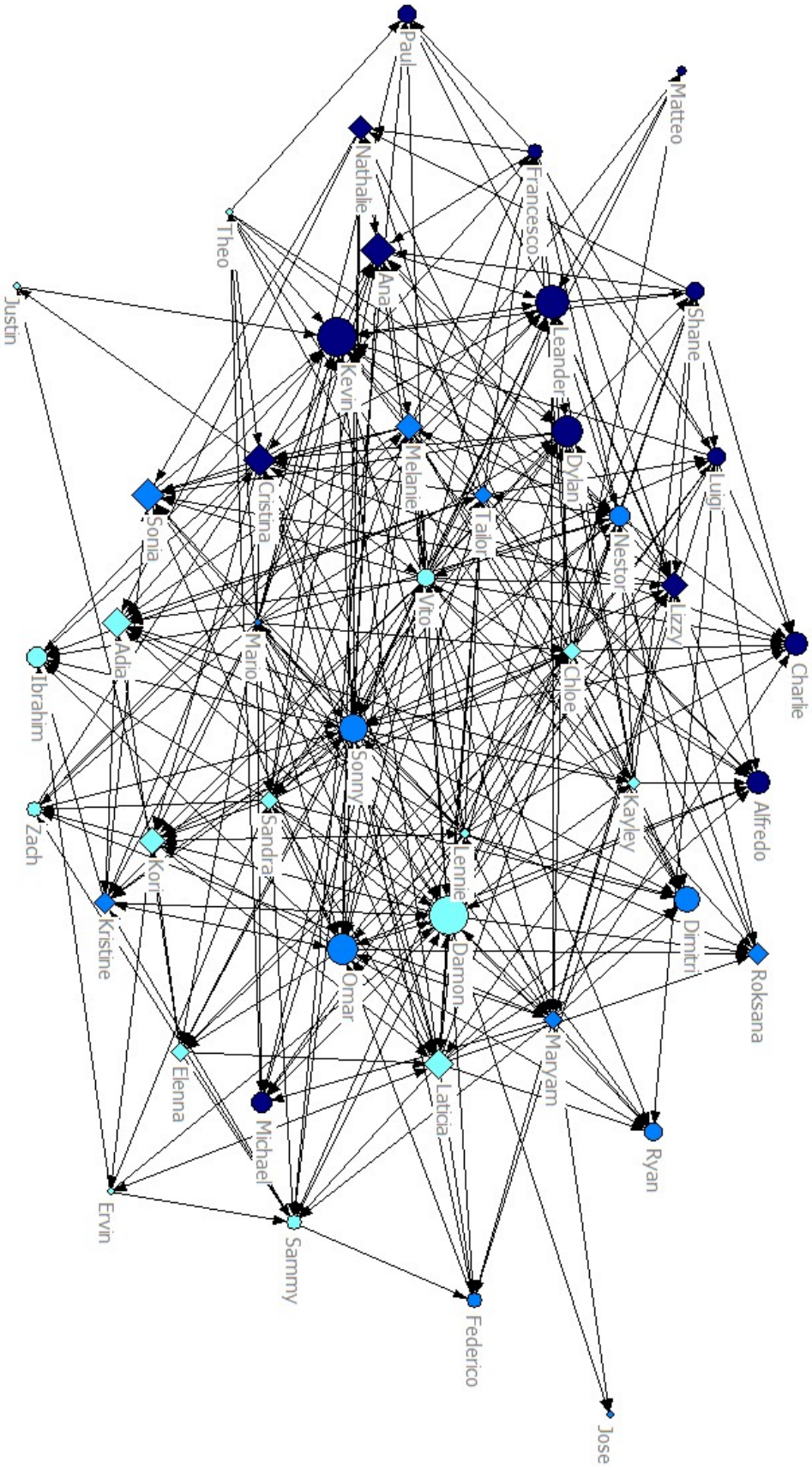
D. Friendship network – wave 2



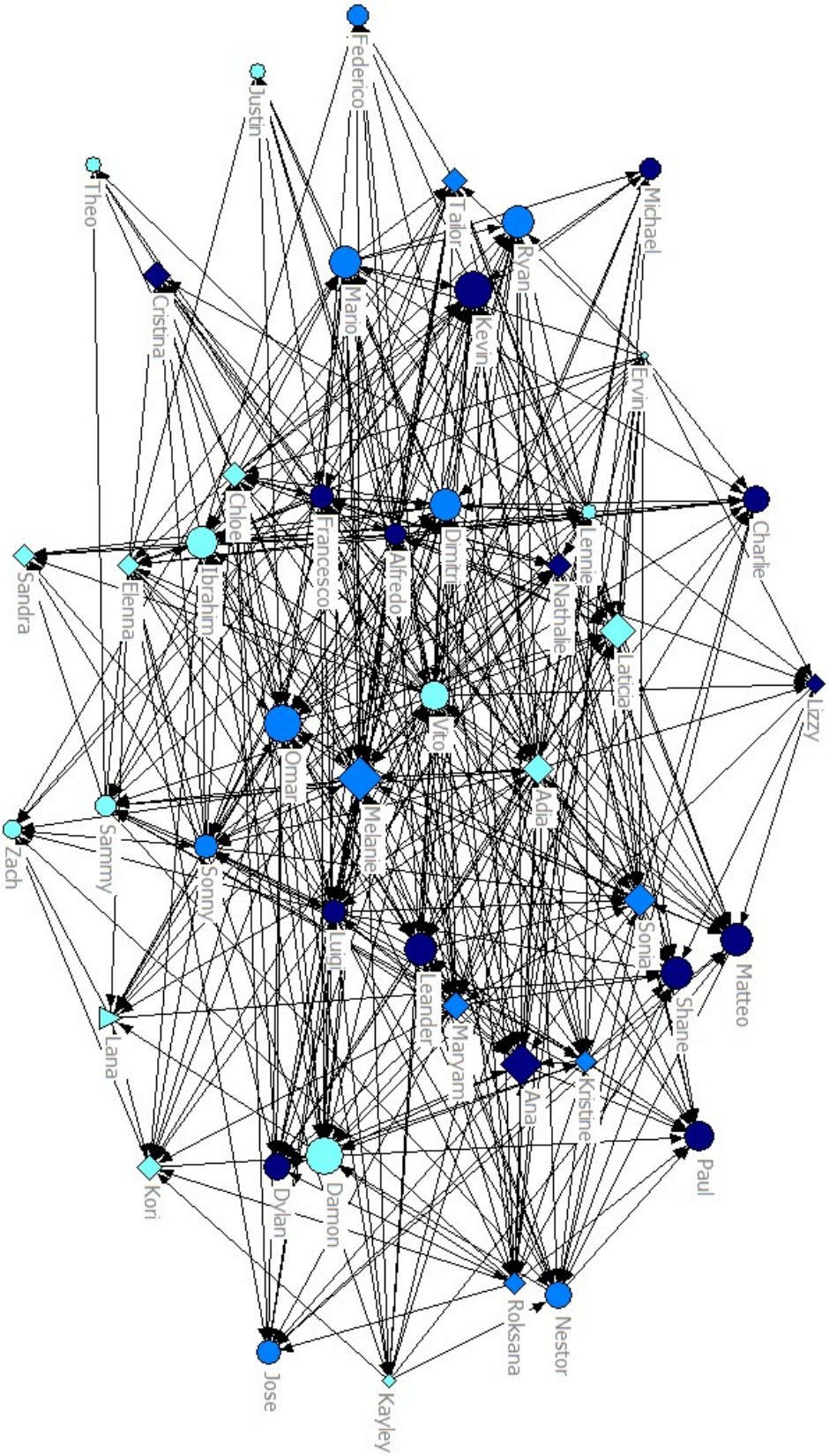
E. Reciprocated friendship network – wave 2



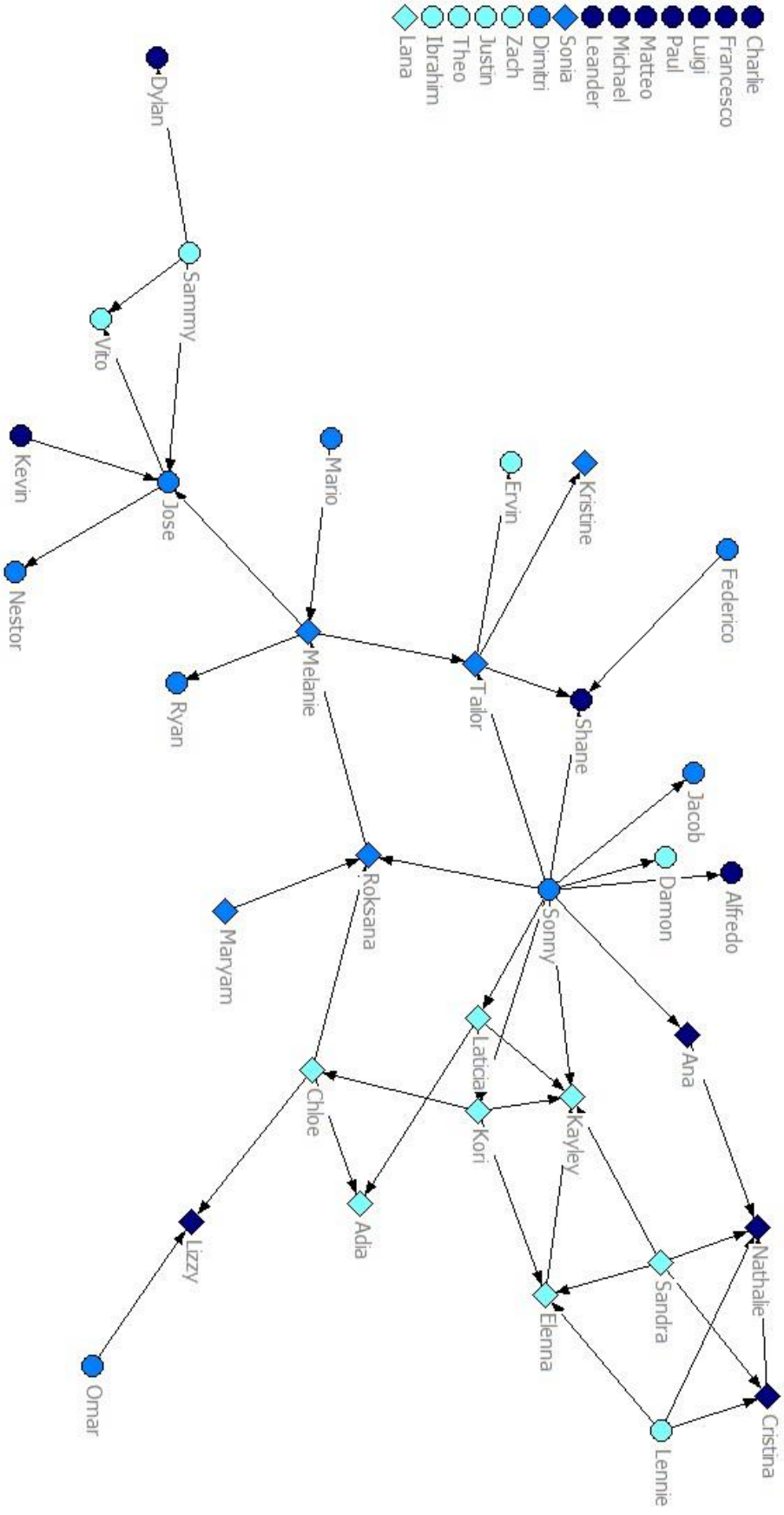
F. Disliking network – wave 1



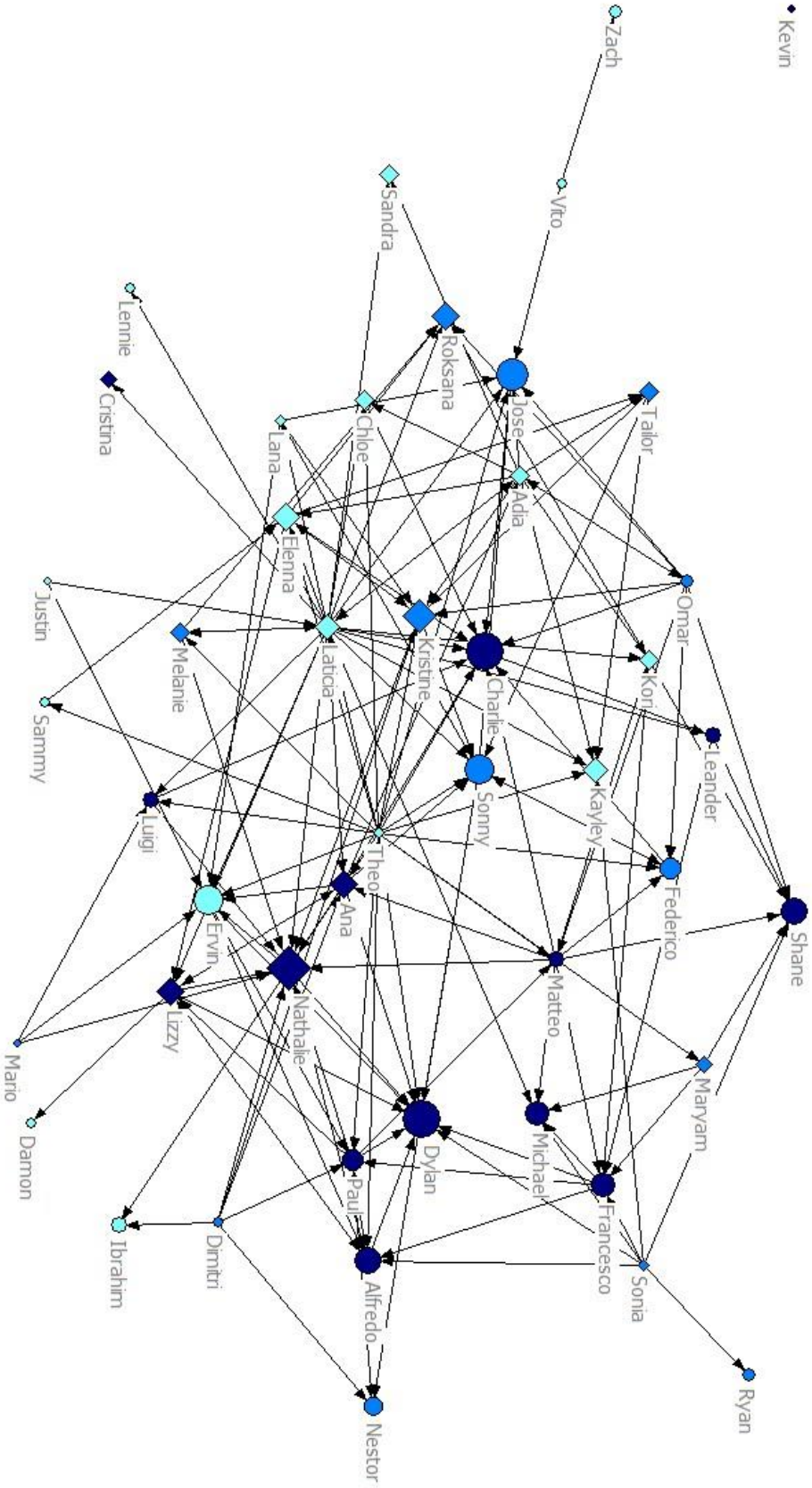
G. Disliking network – wave 2



H. Musical network – wave 1



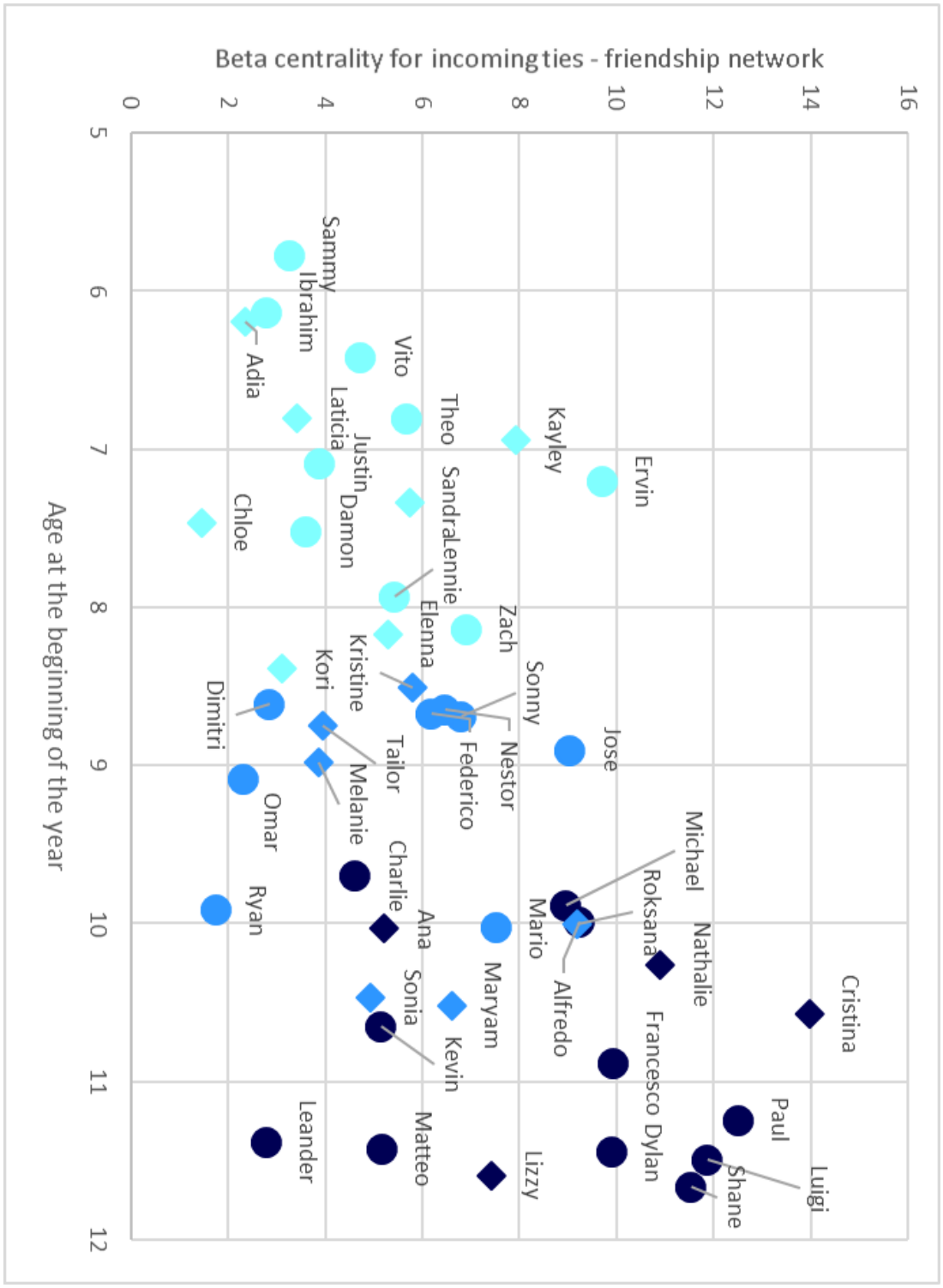
I. Musical network – wave 2



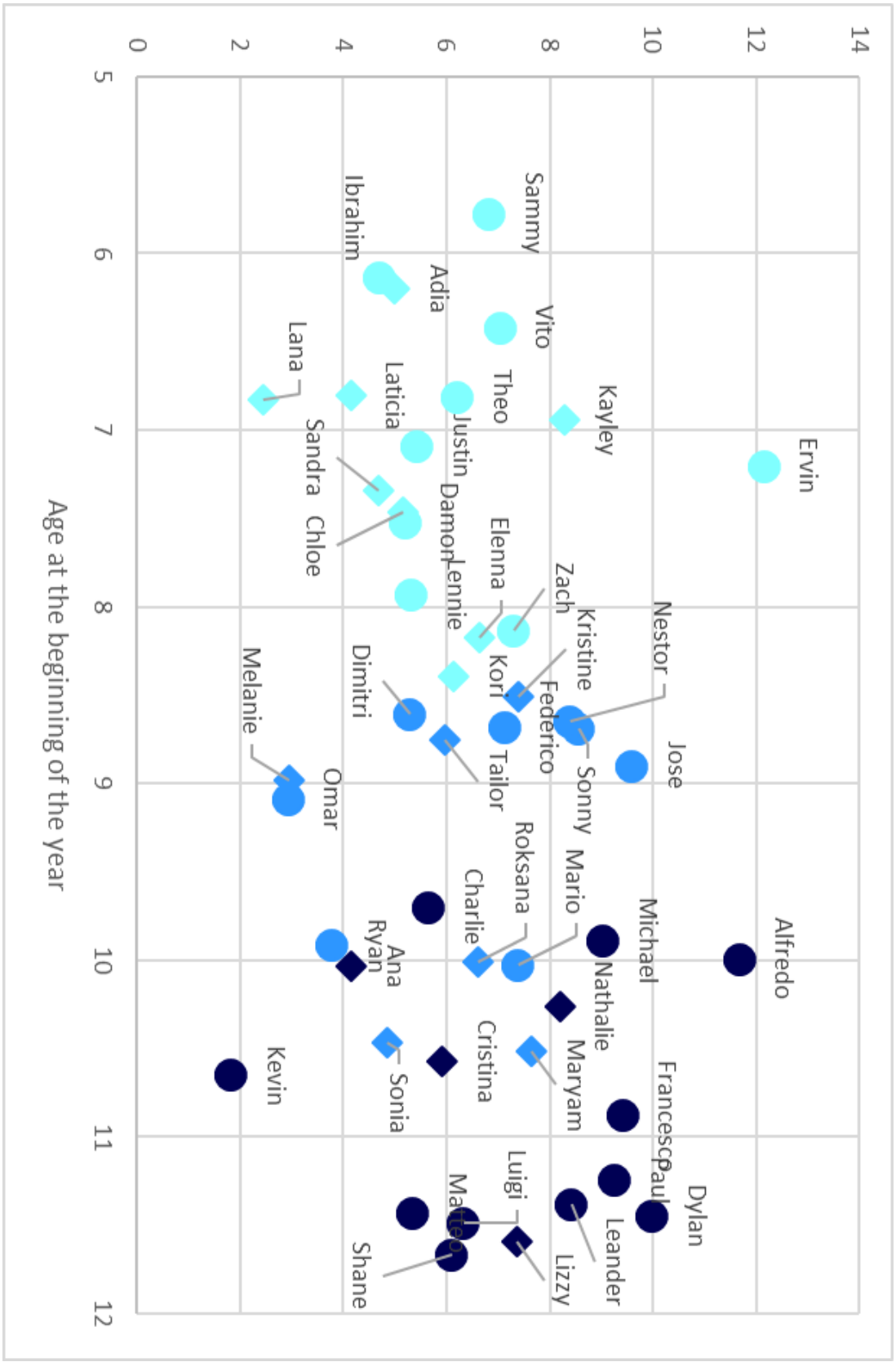
APPENDIX IV. DISTRIBUTIONS OF TIES RECEIVED AND INFLUENCE VALUES

Note: in all of the graphs presented here and in the rest of this thesis, boys are designated with circles and girls with diamonds, and students are colour-coded by class. Year 6 students are dark blue, Year 4/5 students are a dull blue, and Year 2/3 students are a very bright blue.

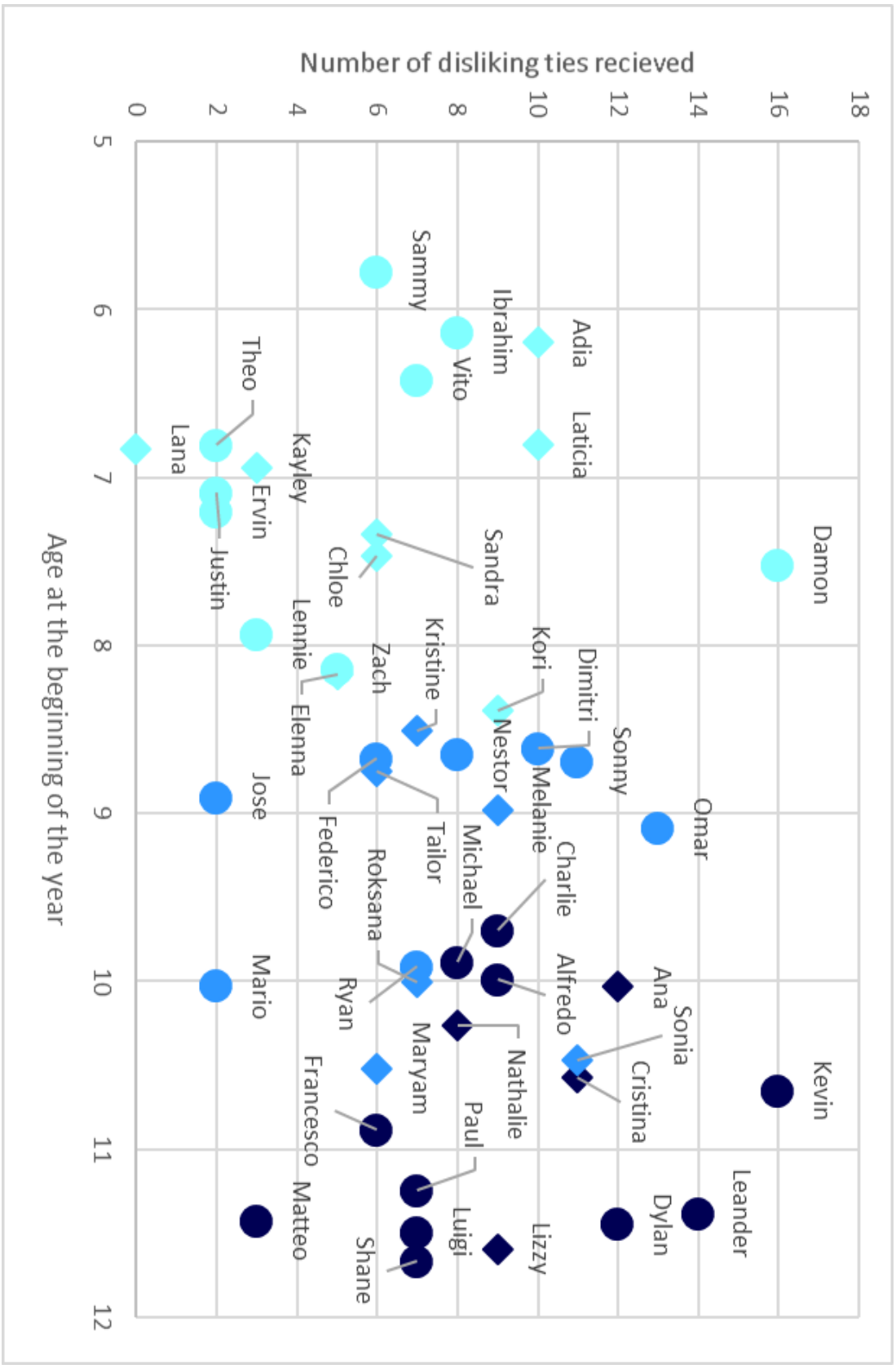
A. Friendship (Beta Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 1



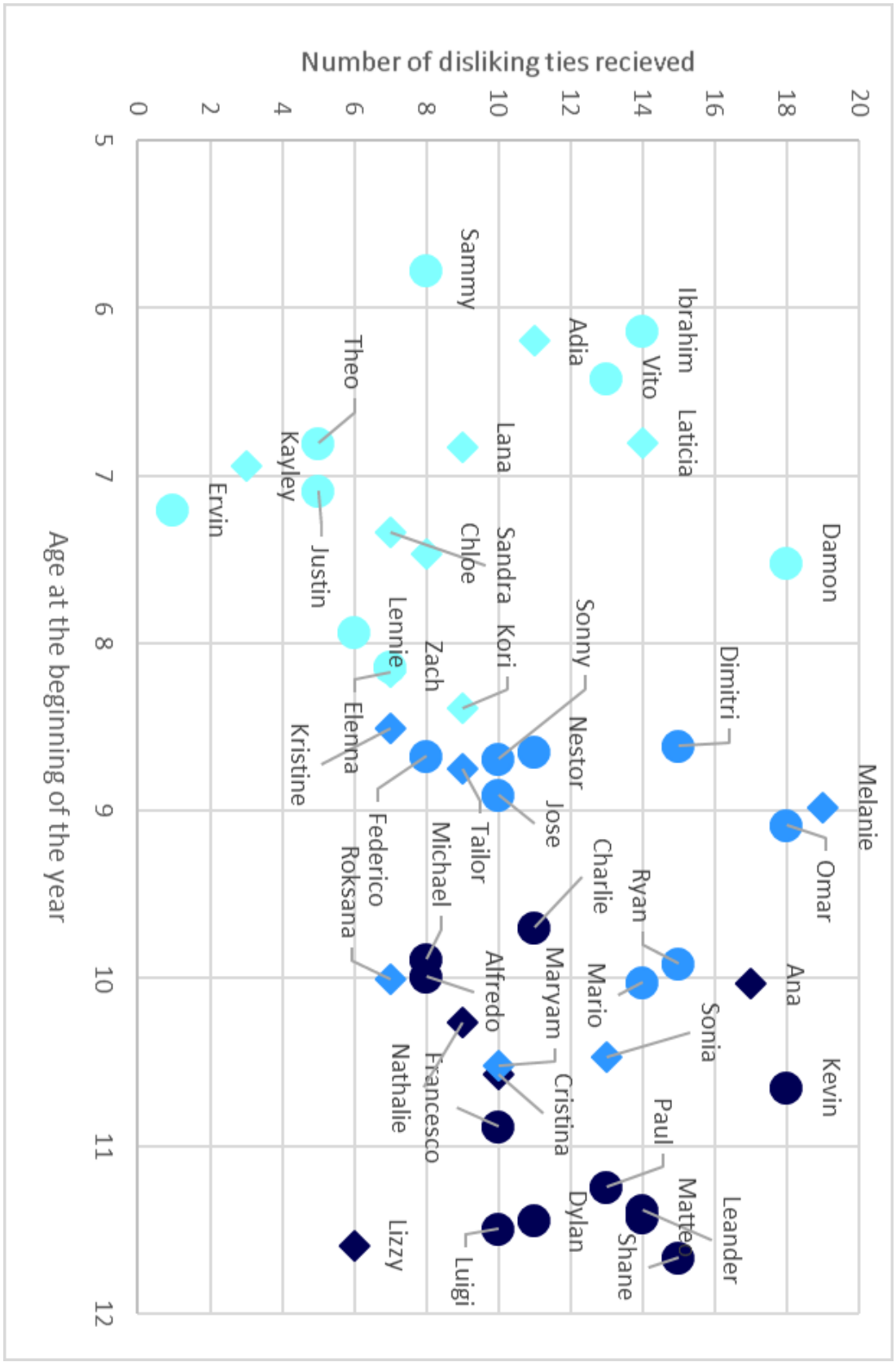
B. Friendship (Beta Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 2



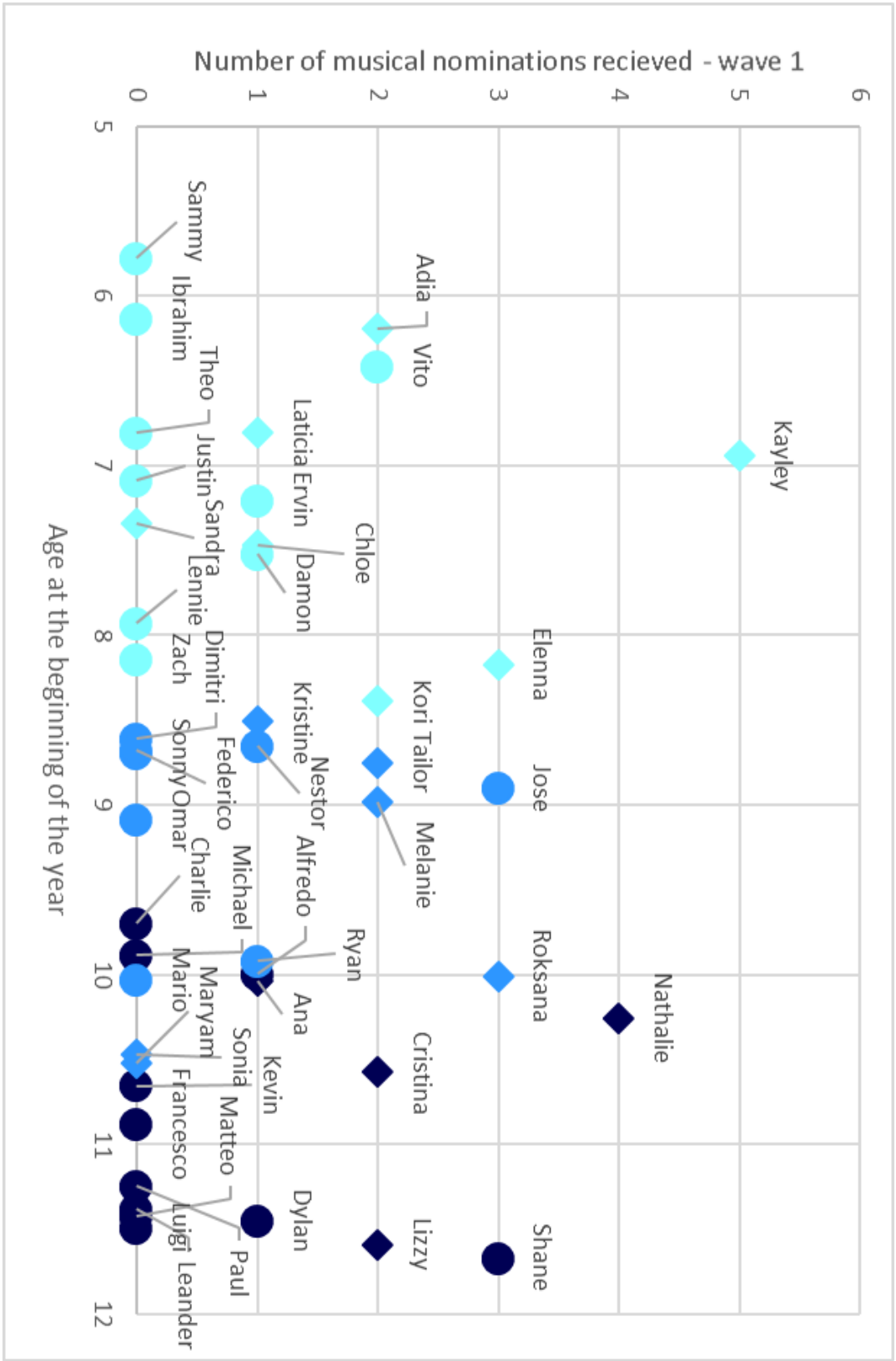
C. Disliking ties (Degree Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 1



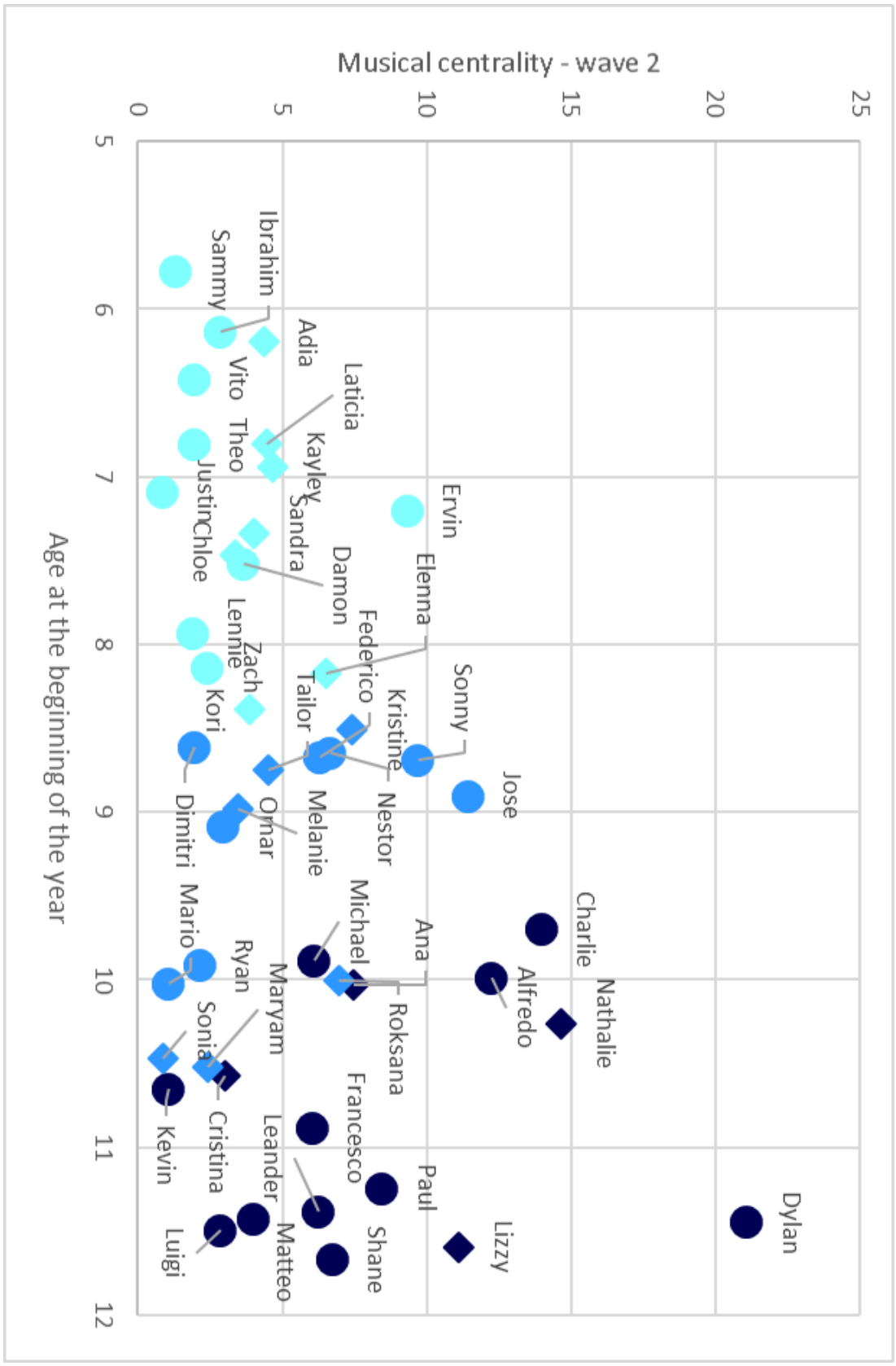
D. Disliking ties (Degree Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 2



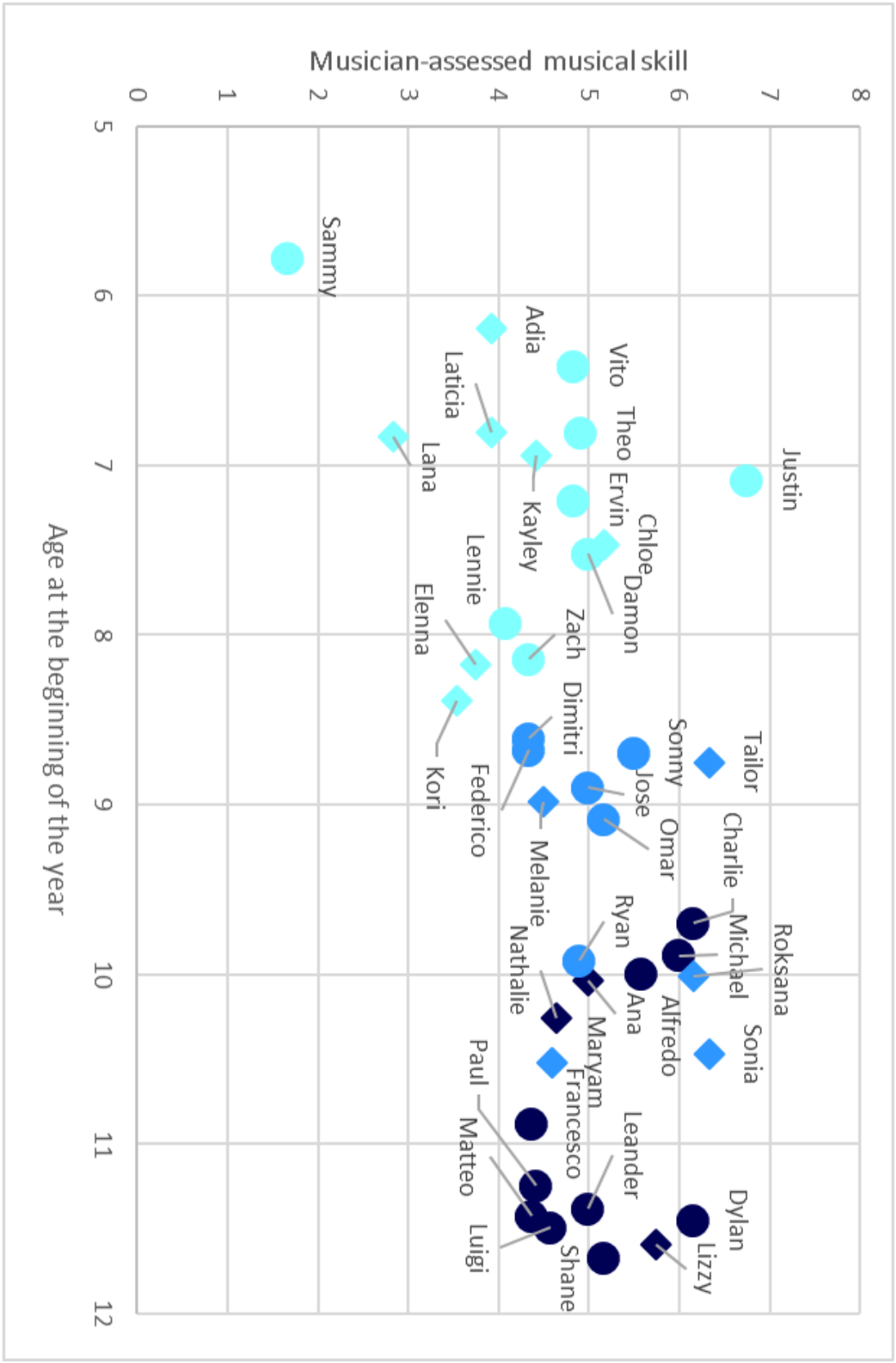
E. Musical nominations (Degree Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 1



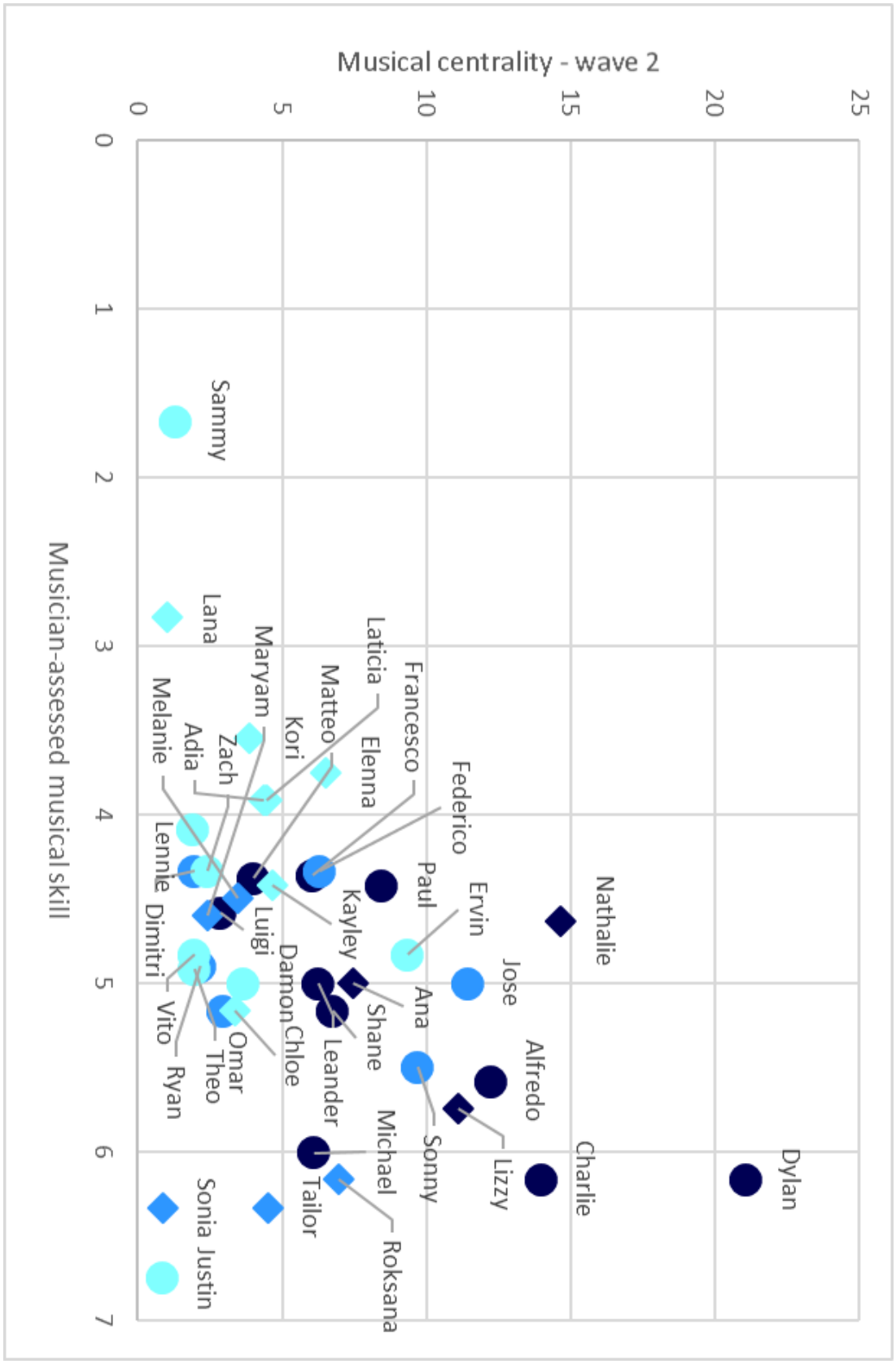
F. Musical centrality (Beta Centrality, incoming ties) by age – wave 2



G. Musician-assessed musical skill by age – wave 2



H. Musical centrality (Degree Centrality, incoming ties) by musician-assessed skill – wave 2



APPENDIX V. MUSIC TEACHER QUESTIONS & RESPONSE FORMAT (ENGLISH VERSION)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1. The pupil listens to music with concentration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. The pupil's comments demonstrate an understanding of the music played	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. The pupil is able to recognise/discriminate between musical elements (e.g. pitch, rhythm, dynamics)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. The pupil is able to recognise when melodic or rhythmic patterns were repeated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. The pupil is able to adopt an appropriate posture for playing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Using their voice, the pupil is able to produce sounds that were musical (e.g. tone quality, intonation)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Using their instrument, the pupil is able to produce sounds that were musical (e.g. tone quality, intonation)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. The pupil demonstrates physical co-ordination in relation to instrument specific skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. The pupil is able to repeat *melodic* phrases on their instrument by memory	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. The pupil is able to repeat *rhythmic* phrases on their instrument by memory	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. The pupil is able to sing back a heard melodic phrase	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. The pupil is able to listen, watch and respond appropriately to the playing of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Note : Literally translated, the response scale ranges from "not at all true" to "very true"

APPENDIX VI. TRINITE STAFF MEMBER QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION)

Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire

For each item, please mark the box for Not True, Somewhat True or Certainly True. It would help us if you answered all items as best you can even if you are not absolutely certain or the item seems daft! Please give your answers on the basis of the child's behaviour over the last six months or this school year.

Child's Name ..... Male/Female

Date of Birth.....

	Not True	Somewhat True	Certainly True
Considerate of other people's feelings	☐	☐	☐
Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long	☐	☐	☐
Often complains of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness	☐	☐	☐
Shares readily with other children (treats, toys, pencils etc.)	☐	☐	☐
Often has temper tantrums or hot tempers	☐	☐	☐
Rather solitary, tends to play alone	☐	☐	☐
Generally obedient, usually does what adults request	☐	☐	☐
Many worries, often seems worried	☐	☐	☐
Helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill	☐	☐	☐
Constantly fidgeting or squirming	☐	☐	☐
Has at least one good friend	☐	☐	☐
Often fights with other children or bullies them	☐	☐	☐
Often unhappy, down-hearted or tearful	☐	☐	☐
Generally liked by other children	☐	☐	☐
Easily distracted, concentration wanders	☐	☐	☐
Nervous or clingy in new situations, easily loses confidence	☐	☐	☐
Kind to younger children	☐	☐	☐
Often lies or cheats	☐	☐	☐
Picked on or bullied by other children	☐	☐	☐
Often volunteers to help others (parents, teachers, other children)	☐	☐	☐
Thinks things out before acting	☐	☐	☐
Steals from home, school or elsewhere	☐	☐	☐
Gets on better with adults than with other children	☐	☐	☐
Many fears, easily scared	☐	☐	☐
Sees tasks through to the end, good attention span	☐	☐	☐

Signature ..... Date .....

Parent/Teacher/Other (please specify:)

Thank you very much for your help

© Robert Goodman, 2005

APPENDIX VII. TRANSFER OF STATUS (FIRST UPGRADE) DOCUMENT

***Who* is transformed? Social networks and relational factors associated with Sense of Community and associated outcomes in an El-Sistema Inspired Music Education Intervention.**

"Aspiring to artistic excellence is an inseparable part of building orchestral community… The process of human interaction through music learning is not a means to an end; it is the all-important end in itself". (Tunstall, 2012:175)

A. Context & gaps in the literature

1. Collective Music education for social benefits: El Sistema programmes

The idea that collective music-making can provide non-musical benefits has become increasingly popular. This is concomitant with the 2010 Seoul Agenda which argues that arts education can "make a direct contribution to resolving the social and cultural challenges facing the world today" (UNESCO, 2010). Similarly, the UK Department for Education's 'National Plan for Music Education' makes a case for the national provision of high-quality music education through music's alleged social value (DfE, 2011). There has been special interest in musical interventions and programmes as vectors for non-musical benefits. For instance, not only is there a significant prevalence of choral singing in America

(Chorus America, 2009), there is some evidence that an increasing number of choirs explicitly refer to the well-being benefits of singing as a reason for participation (Clift, 2012). Such musical interventions are also the object of policy attention (NEA, 2011).

Many such interventions focus on music-making and music education in collective settings as a means for non-musical benefits. Programmes inspired or based on the Venezuelan *El Sistema* model (henceforth El Sistema programmes) are exemplars of such interventions. They have enjoyed a level of popularity and growth that few similar initiatives have benefitted from. First appearing in Venezuela in 1975, they may serve today over 370,000 children in Venezuela alone, and have known significant international growth in recent years. A recent review of research on El Sistema (ES) programmes by Creech et al (2013) found that, amongst 214 identified programmes with known start dates, 73% had been founded between 2006 and 2013[195]. The conductor Sir Simon Rattle has called the Sistema mouvement "the most important thing happening in music anywhere in the world" (cited in Baker, 2014: p.3)

ES programmes indeed take social outcomes through collective music education as their central tenant. Alleviating poverty and creating transformational change in students, families and communities is the explicit goal of the original Venezuelan Sistema. Accordingly, in Creech et al.'s (2013) review, all of the programmes with information available reported various forms of well-being and personal development as their explicit goal. ES programmes characteristically strive for musical excellence through intensive, frequent ensemble learning as a means for achieving social change. They commonly espouse peer teaching as a method to achieve both musical and social goals. Their open

[195] This figure does not take into account programmes that were founded since the review was published or written, of which I know at least 2 personally.

access policy of accepting every student in their intended catchment area, regardless of ability or circumstances, and providing them with free music tuition and instruments, situates ES programmes squarely as social action programmes[196].

2. Theories of change

Many accounts of the mechanisms through which collective music-making achieve social outcomes revolve around notions of the 'power of music'. For instance, MacDonald et al. (2012) explain music's implication in such a large number of interventions for health and well-being as a sign that "being moved or touched by music cannot be held purely as a metaphor" (MacDonald, Kreutz, & Mitchell, 2012: 4). In their terms, music is "emotional", "engaging" and "social" (MacDonald et al., 2012: 4-5). Furthermore, some researchers working on the evolutionary functions of music focus on music-making's propensity to trigger physiological responses, such as endorphin releases. They use this mechanism as a justification for seeing music-making as a means of building community (Dunbar et al., 2012b).

The theme of the 'power of music' is reflected in the core ES principle of social transformation through the pursuit of musical excellence. Jose Antonio Abreu, the founder of the Venezuelan El Sistema, argues that music is "a source for developing the dimensions of the human being, thus elevating the spirit and leading man to a full development of his personality", and that "the huge spiritual world that music produces in itself… ends up overcoming material poverty" (Abreu, 2009). This makes music "the number one prevention against prostitution, violence, bad habits, and everything degrading in

[196] There is no international body which regulates or accredits programmes wishing to call themselves 'El Sistema' programmes. However, ES programmes tend to share a number of common features. The ones cited here have been reported by Creech et al (2013) and Govias (2011). They also conform to a set of principles espoused by Sistema Europe (Marcus, 2012).

the life of a child" (Abreu 2009), an instrument to raise students' aspirations (Billaux, 2011), or a vehicle to embark on "a path of empowerment" (Majno, 2012: 57).

This belief in the 'power of music' is also implicitly voiced in accounts of the other core characteristics of ES programmes. For instance, claiming that "regularity and intensity of training are indispensable ingredients when the aim is to provide a compelling alternative to dangerous occupations" (Majno, 2012: 58), without explaining why collective music-making constitutes such a compelling alternative, implies that collective music-making is inherently more compelling than these 'dangerous occupations'. Similarly, claiming that an ensemble is "conducive to an atmosphere of shared passion and enthusiasm… the ideal setting to nurture a number of essential values toward better community life" (Majno, 2012: 58) without explaining the social processes behind these amounts to arguing for the 'power' of collective music-making. Such an argument is exemplified by Booth (2011), who claims that the intensive and collective experience of musical beauty "begets the impulse to create beauty" and to model the "ideal civic relationship" which allows personal development in ES programmes (Booth, 2011: 24-25).

Though theories of the 'power of music' are helpful in understanding how music-making differs from other activities, they are incomplete when considering music-making in a collective setting. Critically, they do not consider the social interactions that inevitably arise when people are brought together for any purpose, including music-making. For instance, the endorphin-release hypothesis gives only a partial account of social interactions during collective music-making. It argues that music creates social bonding by producing emotions that are felt simultaneously by several individuals, but does not specify which specific musical interactions create these emotions, or address the interactions arising between participants around their music-making. Arguably, the hypothesis would predict benefits in

circumstances where individuals randomly happen to be located near one another and be singing the same song.

This theoretical shortcoming is especially significant when making sense of the impact of ES programmes for three reasons. Firstly, the development of social skills is often cited as an outcome of ES programmes. In Creech et al.'s (2013) review, the second most widely cited goal of the surveyed programmes is developing social skills[197]. Abreu (2009) himself mentions that Sistema students develop "leadership", "dedication to others", and become "role models" for others in their family and orchestra. Accordingly, a large number of the reviewed studies claim a positive impact of ES programmes on teamwork, pro-social behaviour, and students' relationships. Yet, these 'social skills' are likely to have an impact on students' social interactions within the programmes.

Secondly, and relatedly, the communities created in the programmes themselves are often viewed as the means for achieving programme outcomes. The ES community is variously represented as a "model of community" (Tunstall, 2012: 70), "a microcosm of an ideal society" (Ceretti, & Cornelli, 2013: 219), or the principal factor contributing to students' psychological and spiritual development through enabling "ego and relationship development" (Slevin & Slevin, 2013: 133). Similarly, in Govias's (2011) popular account of the core characteristics of ES programmes, pursuing musical excellence allows students to develop "discipline and emotional bonds", and frequent ensemble learning creates ideal conditions to develop "peer groups of like-minded individuals" and "model the cooperative attributes of a healthy symbiotic community" (Govias, 2011: 22). Therefore, understanding social relationships and communities in ES settings is an important part of understanding the impact of ES programmes.

[197] after the goal of striving for musical quality and building orchestras

Thirdly, critical studies in classical music suggest that interactions in classical music may not be entirely positive. Riiser's (2010) study of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which officially brings Israeli and muslim children together under the banner of music in Israel, found numerous power dynamics and unhealthy identity-related interactions at play in the programme. Bergh and Sloboda's (2010) review finds that power dynamics in classical music programmes are generally ignored, and that ordinary participants' views are often ignored to favour statements about the 'power of music'. Finally, Baker's (2014) ethnography of the original Venezuelan Sistema found a general climate of fear and clientelism in the programme, which he argues even to instances of sexual abuse not being reported.

Investigating social dynamics and interactions in ES settings is crucial for two further reasons. Firstly, social interactions and social relations are important (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). A recent review of quantitative studies on the relationship between the quality and quantity of social relationships and mortality found an average 50% increased likelihood of survival for study participants with stronger social relationships (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010). Though the mean age of participants in the review was 64 years, social relationships are well-established as an important factor for children's development (Asher, Brechwald-Guerry, & McDonald, 2014). Furthermore, social interactions and relationships may specifically matter for decisions to participation in collective music-making interventions (Clift, 2012). Hampshire and Matthijsse (2010) found that social relationships were a prevailing theme in children's accounts of their participation, but also in their decision not to participate, in UK Sing Up programme.

Secondly, considering social relations in ES programmes furthers understandings of which individuals benefit more or less from collective music-making activities. Currently few studies address differences

in experiences of collective music-making across individuals[198], but those that do suggest that this 'who' question is essential. Though Clift's (2012) recent review of studies on singing and health and well-being found only three related studies, these consistently suggested that women express more positive experiences than men in collective music-making. Similarly, Hampshire & Matthijsse (2010) argue that though participating in Sing Up programmes could be a source of social capital for children, they could also present risks to students' social capital through various processes of alienation from the students' own social networks. This was especially a risk for students from backgrounds with less cultural capital. Understanding *who* benefits may there be a key to understanding *how* ES programme produce benefits.

Furthermore, even though these findings are informative, even they do not address the 'collective' element differentiating ES programmes, from traditional music education with a much stronger focus on individual learning (Hallam, 2012). Given this importance of 'community' in ES programmes, it is not only critical to understand how programme communities might influence the particular outcomes that are attributed to ES programmes. It is also important to consider how the programmes change the social network structures of the areas they are located in, and whether they do indeed create a healthy 'community'. Finally, it is crucial to better understand which individuals benefit more or less from ES programmes

Resisting the capacity of El Sistema to "repel rational analysis" (Baker, 2014: 4), my study aims to answer these questions. It will investigate changes in the overall network structures of a school, as well as the network positions of students within it, arising from the implementation of an ES programme inside the school. It will investigate a variety of students' perceptions and experiences of

[198] Perhaps since theories on the 'power of music' do not make explicit views on which individuals are most likely to perceive this 'power'.

the programme and examine whether any changes in the sense of community expressed by students are associated with student outcomes that are commonly claimed by various programmes, such as academic achievement and well-being (as taken from Creech et al., 2013).

B. Pilot study and findings

In order to understand the impact of ES communities it is important to understand what such communities consist of. Particularly, it is important to understand practitioners' views of these communities and how they attempt to build them. The previously-mentioned accounts give no precise indication of the kinds of communities that practitioners strive for, nor how they go about bringing them into existence or how they link programme communities with social outcomes.

Therefore, I undertook a small-scale study to answer these questions. The study consisted mostly in semi-structured interviews carried out by myself, as well as field notes in two ES programmes and in 2 concert events organised by various European ES programmes (See Appendix #).

The study found four distinct themes that defined ES communities amongst practitioners. The communities were locations where programme participants, be they students or others, were connected, usually as friends. They were locations where participants felt like they belonged to 'something bigger', often through music-making itself. In the communities, practitioners stressed that everyone was important and had a measure of influence. Finally, ES communities were 'safe places' in which students' needs were fulfilled (for a more detailed account of the findings, see Appendix #). These findings allowed me to focus my theoretical framework considerably, and especially to make

links between psychological theories of community, sociological theories of social relations, and educational theories of social learning.

C. Theoretical Framework

In the following I take a theoretical framework to be a set of ways of representing the world which informs decisions and actions in research. This definition informed by Becker's (1998) and Walford's (2001) views on theory.

1. Psychological Sense of Community

The four themes identified in the pilot study – connection, membership, influence and needs fulfilment – are core features of having a psychological sense of community (SoC) according to McMillan & Chavis (1986). Though their theory of SoC was originally devised for adults, Osterman (2000) argues that SoC is just as important for children and young people as it is for adults. Drawing on Baumeister & Leary's (1995) conceptualisation of belonging[199], she finds both theoretical mechanisms and wide empirical support for the fact that SoC matters for children and young people, especially in school settings. Given that schools bear core similarities to ES programmes - both are characterised, among other things, by frequent collective education – I would argue that this concept of SoC is also applicable to ES programmes.

[199] According to which the need to experience belonging through "frequent, affectively pleasant interaction with a few other people… in the context of a temporally stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other's welfare" (p. 497) is a fundamental human motive.

Applying SoC to ES programmes can also help us understand some of the claimed 'impact' of ES programmes. Indeed, several of the outcomes that have been associated with having community belonging have also been claimed as positive outcomes of ES programmes. For instance, Walker & Greene (2009) and Furrer & Skinner (2003) have found that belonging and relatedness in school were associated with students' academic engagement. Battistich et al. (1995) also found that sense of school community was associated with positive academic attitudes and motivations, academic self-efficacy, and pro-social attitudes. Yet, all of these have been assessed by various evaluations of ES programmes, which have often claimed positive impacts of the programme on these constructs (See Creech et al., 2013). SoC may also lead to improvements in health and well-being through its propensity to produce feelings of social support (Wills and Shinar, 2000). Osterman's (2000) review finally found that a number of developmentally-important outcomes, such as self-concept and parental autonomy, were associated with aspects of SoC. Various evaluations and advocates of ES programmes have likewise claimed that self-concept and parent/child relations were impacted by the programmes (Abreu, 2009; Creech et al., 2013). As such, SoC may mediate many of the claimed outcomes of ES programmes, making it potentially critical for filling the gap in understanding how ES programmes have an impact.

Though SoC may be a useful theoretical tool for making sense of the impact of ES programmes, it does not make clear predictions about the relationships between individuals in ES communities and how these create SoC. Osterman (2000) indeed points out that there are "noticeable gaps in the literature… deal[ing] with the development and incidence of [SoC], particularly with respect to peer relationships" (p. 343). Despite the long history of research on children's peer relations (Asher et al., 2014), little of this research addresses SoC. Although Baumeister & Leary's (1995) theory of sense of belonging, which underlies Osterman's (2000) theory of SoC, argues that belonging arises from a 'few, significant

relationships', Other theories predict that weaker ties and wider social networks of individuals may also impact on SoC.

2. Social capital & Social Network Theory

Developments in social capital theory are particularly helpful in understanding *how* social relationships and social structures more generally[200] affect students in ES programmes, so as to influence SoC and other outcomes. Social capital theory draws attention to the resources that individuals have access to by virtue of their social positions and relationships, and the ways that these 'enable and constrain' individuals. Most famously developed by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990) and Putnam (2000) – although first used by Hanifan (1916) and 'reinvented' several times thereafter (Woolcock, 2010) - it has, through its development in several academic fields and in mainstream discourse, become an 'essentially contested concept' (Woolcock, 2010) - "the proper use of which inevitably involves endless disputes about [its] proper uses on the part of [its] users" (Gallie, 1955: 169)[201]. This means I will need to carefully choose theories of social capital that are "more precisely suited to the task" of my study, i.e. to understanding relationships in ES communities (Woolcock, 2010: p.471).

Lin's (2001) social network theory of social capital is especially helpful for this. It aligns the concept with its conceptual ancestors - economic capital and human capital – by defining social capital as a "social asset by virtue of actors' connections and access to resources in the network or group of which

[200] Social structures are defined as "regularities in the patterns of relations among concrete entities" such as individuals (White, Boorman, & Breiger, 1976: 733-4).
[201] the concept continues to be used in policy and academic circles (see. e.g. McPherson et al., 2014), despite a variety of trenchant and justified critiques (see e.g. Fine, 2010; Portes, 1998)

they are members" (Lin, 2001: 19)[202]. It clearly situates social capital as a resource inherent in social relationships, as opposed to a cause or product of social relationships, which can lead to tautological formulations (Portes, 1998). Lin (2001) argues that social capital enhances the outcomes of actors through four principle means: (1) It facilitates the flow of information; (2) It exerts influence on individuals who play a critical role in decisions involving the actors; (3) It gives social credentials, or reliable signals of actors' access to other resources; (4) It reinforces identity and recognition as an individual and member of a social group, providing both emotional support and public acknowledgement of entitlement to resources.

Furthermore, I would argue that Lin's (2001) theory is consistent with viewing SoC and sense of belonging more generally as an outcome of social capital. Studies suggest that people go to significant lengths to mobilise their social networks in order to feel belonging when this is lacking (Williams, 2007). They are prone to forming one-sided social attachments with TV characters as 'social surrogates' (Knowles, 2013) and to attributing human qualities to non-human objects (Waytz, 2013). Furthermore, there is evidence of negative consequences when belonging is lacking, such as stressful reactions (Dickerson and Zoccola, 2013), emotional sensitivity (Borsook and MacDonald, 2013), and sensations akin to physical pain (Eisenberger et al., 2003). As such, I would expect people to engage in "instrumental action" (Lin, 2001: 46) when they are in need of gaining feelings of belonging. Mechanisms (1), (2) and (4) described above may be particularly important when it comes to SoC, as they may conceivably impact on McMillan & Chavis's (1986) conditions of influence, membership, connection, and needs fulfilment.

[202] While this theory situates social capital closely to other forms of capital, it does not resolve all of the disputes, for instance around using the term 'capital'. As such, it does not specify how social capital is 'spent' or what the rate of return for social capital might be (Fischer, 2005)

A crucial advantage of Lin's (2001) theory of social capital is that it draws on Social Network Theory[203] (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011; Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). This theory extends the insight that social structures 'matter' to claim that individuals are specifically enabled and constrained by the structure of their entire social networks as well as their positions in these networks[204]. It posits that network structure and position can influence individuals in two crucial ways. First, 'flow' processes allow certain elements, such as resources, to spread between connected individuals in the network. They predict that network structures impact on whether and how resources are able to 'flow' between individuals. Second, 'bond' processes allow connected individuals to align and co-ordinate action and therefore act 'as a single (more powerful) unit'. These processes predict that individuals' network positions impact on the extent to which they can co-ordinate action, and that individuals in similar positions have similar characteristics regardless of the network due to structural equivalence (Lorrain and White, 1971)[205]. These processes also predict that individuals can exclude others from access to resources by 'combining forces'.

Applying these principles to understanding how relationships in ES communities can contribute to SoC gives some novel predictions:

1. The extent to which students perceive SoC may depend on the SoC of their immediate or more distant connections.
2. Students that are connected may become more homogenous in SoC over time.

[203] It is important to note that social network theory was formalised after Lin's (2001) publication, meaning that Lin did not explicitly refer to 'social network theory' itself. This is partly due to long-standing disagreements about whether social network analysis forms a theoretical paradigm in itself, or whether it is simply a particularly useful 'relational' approach to social phenomena (Scott, 2013). However, given that Lin's (2001) theory is based on ideas that would later be formalised as social network theory, as well as my understanding of theory and the pragmatist premise of my study, I believe it is justified to say that his theory is based on social network theory.
[204] i.e. where exactly they are located amongst these connections
[205] Structural Equivalence posits that such individuals are interchangeable with regards to activities within the network and have similar experiences and opportunities. This may for instance be due to a tendency of individuals to adapt to their social environment (Borgatti et al., 2009).

3. The way in which students perceive their ES community, including the extent to which they perceive SoC, may depend on their network positions.
4. The ‘cliques’ (Luce and Perry, 1949) – or densely-connected groups of individuals - that students belong to may impact on their SoC

Using these social network premises, social capital theory can use its insights on how individuals use their social relationships to predict which individuals may perceive the most SoC. The social capital theory of structural holes (Burt, 2004, 2002, 1992) suggests that when individuals are connected to densely connected groups which are not well connected themselves, they can use their ‘broker’ position to their advantage. Aral and Van Alstyne's (2011) findings similarly suggest that individuals with not only strong but diverse ties can gain more ‘influence’ in their community through seeking privileged access to information and enhanced control. Williams's (2006) often-used scales for online/offline social capital are based on theoretical developments that suggest that trusting in reciprocity norms and belonging to a larger group are a feature of ‘bridging’ social capital. Yet bridging social capital arises from weaker, more diverse relationships, suggesting that these contribute to McMillan & Chavis's (1986) ‘membership’ and ‘needs fulfillment’. Likewise, a recent study found that on-line social networks with one or several densely-connected ‘cores’ may be negatively associated with the extent to which relationships are perceived to fulfil needs (Brooks et al., 2014). In sum, social capital theory and social network theory make novel predictions about which social networks and relationships contribute most to SoC.

An oft-cited criticism of theories of social networks is that their focus on social structure leads them to under-emphasise, or even ignore, the agency of individuals (Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994). Furthermore, many studies of children’s social capital do not give attention to children’s own goals and mobilisation of their own network (Allan and Catts, 2012; Morrow, 1999; Schaefer-McDaniel,

2004; Weller, 2010). To give proper consideration to children's agency, I will conceptualise children's social capital from the perspective of the 'new sociology of childhood' (James and Prout, 1997) which sees children as agents as well as products of social processes. According to this perspective, children themselves are crucial actors in shaping their social networks and in mobilising them as social capital in order to further their own outcomes (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004).

To summarise, Social Network Theory, Lin's (2001) theory of social capital and James & Prout's (1997) new sociology of childhood will inform my perspective on the impact of students' social relationships in ES programmes.

3. Peer relations in childhood & pre-adolescence

The extensive literature on the importance of peer relations in childhood can also inform understandings of students' social networks in ES programmes. Key studies using sociometric methods have not only found that peer acceptance contributes independently of friendship to various important outcomes such as school adjustment (Ladd et al., 1997) and loneliness (Parker and Asher, 1993). They have also found that peer acceptance and rejection can be conceptualised together as a form of sociometric status, and that students can be categorised into 5 groups according to their sociometric status: average, popular, neglected, rejected, and controversial (Coie et al., 1982). Crucially I would argue that these status categories can be conceptualised as distinct social positions in peer social networks. Therefore, the extent to which students are positively affected by ES programmes, in terms of SoC and other outcomes, may differ according to their sociometric status group.

Recent advances in this field also suggest that connected peers can influence each other to a significant extent, and that this may be important in the ES setting. A recent review found that peer influence was pervasive throughout adolescence (Brechwald and Prinstein, 2011), and that it occurred not only for deviant behaviours but also for liking and engagement at school (Ryan, 2001) and for pro-social behaviour (Barry and Wentzel, 2006). Though the review was primarily concerned with adolescents, the mechanisms that it found for peer influence – such as increased frequency in peer interactions, new social roles, and the desire to develop a stable sense of identity – seem to also be present in middle and especially late childhood (Harter, 2012). The review found that peer influence particularly happens for high-sociometric-status behaviours, for behaviours that are norm-consistent with a valued group, and for behaviours which contribute to a positive self-identity.

Likewise, studies on peer relations have found that peers select each other as friends according to such behaviours. A review by Hartup (1996) found general support for the idea that friends are similar to each other on traits that have reputational salience. Though this could not solely be attributed to peer selection - it has been notoriously difficult to disentangle selection from influence processes – more recent studies attest to the importance of peer selection. Using advances in statistical modelling which have made it possible to disentangle these effects (Snijders et al., 2010), a recent study found support for peer selection but not peer influence for delinquency over a 4-year period (Knecht et al., 2010). Though this study concerned young adolescents between 10-15 years, studies have found similar effects for children also (e.g. Mercer & DeRosier, 2010), suggesting that peer selection for status-related behaviours should not be underestimated for youth of all ages.

Brechwald and Prinstein's (2011) review also found a number of recent studies acknowledging the important role of entire peer groups for peer influence, stemming from the recognition that even the best friendships occur within larger groups. Concurrently, a recent study found that identification with

particular peer groups increase group-norm-consistent deviant behaviour, but also that identification with multiple peer groups could reduce normative behaviour if these different groups had norms that were inconsistent with each other (Verkooijen et al., 2007). This attests to the importance of both clique norms and the way in which peer selection and influence can have compounding effects.

In sum, peer relations studies suggest that with the implementation of an ES programme, student cliques will become increasingly similar in terms of behaviours that are relevant to sociometric status and positive self-identity in the programme, leading to distinct cliques with established, programme-related norms.

4. Communities of practice and legitimate peripheral participation

The question remains as to whether the implementation of an ES programme would change behaviours that are considered relevant for sociometric status, positive self-identity, and peer group norms. The theoretical lens of Communities of Practice (CoP) (Wenger, 1998) and Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP) (Lave and Wenger, 1991) may be helpful for answering this question. These theories consider what happens when individuals are brought together in common practice featuring social learning, and specifically where individuals engage in 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise' and 'joint repertoire' (Wenger, 1998). They conceive that knowing means participating and being competent in valued enterprises. Therefore, learning changes who we are by changing our participation in socially meaningful activities, and specifically "changing our ability to participate, to belong, to negotiate meaning" (Wenger, 1998: 226).

In learning, individuals take part in legitimate peripheral participation. Their roles in the mutual engagement and joint enterprise of the community, as well as their mastery of its joint repertoire, determine the extent to which they are 'legitimate' and 'central' in their community. Members that are legitimate and central are competent according to "locally negotiated regimes of competence" (Wenger, 1998: 137) which privilege certain meanings and practices based on the mutual engagement and joint enterprises and repertoire. They have increased opportunities to belong and negotiate meaning in the community. From the point of view of McMillan & Chavis's (1986) SoC theory, these students may experience increased SoC.

Yet one crucial aspect of sociometric status is that status evaluations vary by context (Berndt and McCandless, 2009; Boivin et al., 1995; Wright et al., 1986). In a community of practice setting, sociometric status is likely to be heavily influenced by the community's regime of competence so as to favour central and competent individuals. Therefore, competent individuals are likely to hold relatively high sociometric status in the programme setting, which would further increase the importance of competence in peer selection and influence dynamics amongst students. Finally, being perceived as competent could conceivably be an important determinant of positive self-identity in CoPs, further compounding the importance of competence for status.

Similarly to other studies in music education (Barrett, 2005; Kenny, 2014) I would argue that ES programmes may produce CoPs. Specifically, they produce 'mutual engagement' – a common endeavour and the sets of relations and interactions that form it – 'joint enterprise' – the processes that form the common endeavour and the interactions, shared goals and interactions that the processes entail – and 'shared repertoire' – shared resources and ways of doing that are used to negotiate meaning and competence. Indeed, in ES programmes students are brought together to learn music collectively for several hours per week, meaning that they are engaged in a common endeavour

which comprises regular interactions. Furthermore, ES programmes involve teaching a musical repertoire and instrumental techniques, and thus learning a 'shared repertoire'.

In a community of practice whose core components revolve around music-making, competence is likely to be closely linked to students' making-music skills. Thus, programme members may see musically skilled students, as well as students who embrace the values espoused by the programme, as particularly competent and central in the programme. This would endow them with high sociometric status, or a favourable network position, which would further increase their likelihood to have a high SoC. Furthermore, the instrument that students play may be important as they are a defining component of practice. Finally, students who teach peers may also be viewed as having high status over and beyond their musical competence, as being allowed to teach is a reliable signal of centrality (Lave and Wenger, 1991)[206].

This picture is not entirely straightforward, however. As stated above, peer selection and influence may especially occur with behaviours that are consistent with the norms of valued groups. Yet, not every student may adhere to the norms and meanings espoused by an ES programme, especially where participation in the programme is compulsory: one ES programme evaluation with compulsory participation found that as many as 30% of participating students felt like they were forced to participate (El Sistema France, 2014). Using Bernstein's (1975) conceptualisation, these students may be 'alienated' by the fact that they reject or are not able to meet the demands of the programme's instructional and regulatory orders.

[206] The results of the pilot study further suggest this – see Appendix A.

For these students however I would argue that different kinds of CoPs may arise. Though some conceptualisations of CoPs, including in musical education, emphasise that membership needs to be voluntary (Barrett, 2005; Wenger et al., 2002), I would argue that voluntary participation is equivalent to *wanting* to participate when participation is non-voluntary. Thus, students who espouse the values of the ES programme – who are 'committed' because they understand the programme's instructional and regulatory orders (Bernstein, 1975) – can be considered as voluntary participants. Students who are not committed – be they alienated, detached or estranged – may create another kind of community of practice, with resistance to the ES programme at the core of its practice. Indeed, "even when the community arises in response to some outside mandate, the practice evolves into the community's own response to that mandate" (Wenger, 1998: 80). Thus, students who are 'committed' and 'not committed' to their programme may form distinct cliques within the programme with different norms. Likewise, students who are 'estranged', 'detached', or 'alienated' may find themselves to be sociometrically 'rejected', 'neglected', or 'controversial' in the overall programme - though they may be relatively well-integrated in their immediate peer group.

D. Research Aims and questions

In light of the theoretical framework established above, as well as the pilot study, the present study will focus on the two following broad themes:

I. How do network structures and social interactions in the ES programme and wider community (henceforth the 'site') change as the programme unfolds?

II. What characterises students in different social positions in the network of the site at different time points?

III. How do students' perceptions of the site and of other students change over time?

IV. Do changes in Sense of Community (SoC) observed through the questions above predict changes in associated outcomes?

For an enumeration of all the research questions which fall under these themes, see Appendix #

E. Methodology

I will strive to answer the above questions through an 'embedded' case study (Yin, 2014) of a 'critical' case (Flyvbjerg, 2006)[207]. This case will consist of an ES programme located in a school based in Europe.

1. Case Study Design

There are many reasons for this case study approach. Firstly, it is more feasible and ultimately more theoretically useful than studying a random sample of ES programme participants. This latter strategy could also provide an answer to my study's research questions. However, the great variability in ES programmes and the lack of a formal definition of ES programmes would make it difficult to define the population under study, and therefore the random sample for the study itself. In such conditions I would need to sample such a large variety of programmes that it would be unclear what ideal-type of the 'ES programme' they would be representative of. In order to limit the population, I would need to know which features of ES programmes are relevant to my research questions and which ones are not. This would imply a better understanding of ES programme cases than is currently available, since

[207] For the purposes of this study, I define a 'case' as an empirical entity, whether pre-defined or established in the course of research, where a particular theoretically-established phenomenon operates. This pragmatist view of cases, inspired from Yin (2014) and Ragin & Becker (1992), takes as a basic premise that cases only exist insofar as they can inform theory. Thus, I have chosen my particular case so as to maximise its potential theoretical usefulness.

"the concept of 'the case' is logically prior… to the concept of 'the population'" (Ragin & Becker, 1992: 7). Therefore, an in-depth case study of a theoretically interesting case, with a view to "expanding and generalising theories" (Yin, 2014: 21) is more appropriate, especially for understanding 'how' and 'why' ES programmes 'work (Shavelson and Towne, 2002)'

I believe indeed that the case study that I have chosen for my doctoral study is a theoretically 'critical case', which can help determine whether the predictions of my theory are correct or whether alternative explanations are more relevant (Yin, 2014). This is partly due to the characteristics of the ES programme under study. It is being implemented by an umbrella organisation which tries to closely replicate the original Venezuelan ES model. It has appropriated many of the core characteristics that are attributed to the original Venezuelan Sistema, for instance by Govias (2011)[208], including some of which are rarely found outside Venezuela, such as the presence of a national network with a central administrative unit. Furthermore, the organisation places special emphasis on intensive ensemble learning, having committed to 10 hours of weekly rehearsals for its students, which is a relatively high level of commitment[209]. Yet this is particularly important in viewing the ES programme as a 'community of practice', as stated above, making it an interesting case for the study at hand.

[208] For the sake of anonymity I cannot reveal which organisation this is.

[209] Creech et al.'s (2013) review finds that only 17.7% of surveyed programmes hold rehearsals five or more times per week. Furthermore, though this may average to 10 or more hours per week – the umbrella organisation mentioned above splits its 10 hours into five weekly sessions for one of its programmes – it may equally average to fewer hours. Although the frequency of contact was unknown for most – 56.7% - of the programmes in the review, the proportion of programmes with 5 or more weekly rehearsals still only represented 40.9% of surveyed programmes. Finally, I would argue that programmes without 'known' timetables may be particularly likely to have few contact hours, given the cost of offering intensive tuition. They may indeed be concealing their paucity of contact hours given the desirability of being called an 'ES programme' (Baker, 2014) and the importance of 'intensity' as an ES programme characteristic. In conclusion, committing to a minimum of 10 hours/week tuition is likely to make this programme relatively exceptional in the realm of ES programmes.

Furthermore, the school in which the ES programme will be implemented is particularly interesting. It is specially intended for students who have various kinds of behavioural and academic difficulties and includes students that have been school-excluded. As such, it is an excellent example of an environment where ES programmes can intervene to provide a 'way out' of disadvantage. Furthermore, a 2-year longitudinal study of school-excluded children in the UK found that school exclusion can in certain conditions be a precursor for social exclusion, including the development of relational difficulties (Daniels, Cole, Sellman, Visser, & Bedward, 2003). Accordingly, a conversation with the organisation's national director of programmes about another programme happening in a similar school suggests that relational difficulties were very problematic in the school before the ES programme was implemented. These conditions suggest that creating an ES community in this school may be particularly difficult, especially where this involves creating connections amongst groups that do not ordinarily get along in the wider community.

Two further characteristics make the programme under study a particularly interesting case. Firstly, the school has a relatively large proportion of boarding students, which therefore spend a very large proportion of their time in the school. This implies that having a sense of community may be particularly important in this school, especially for those students who are away from their families. Accordingly, the aforementioned study of school-excluded children found that supportive relationships with not only family but also trusted adults in post-school exclusion services were crucial in turning school exclusion into a short-term setback as opposed to deep exclusion (Daniels & Cole, 2010). Therefore, if the ES programme was successful in creating a healthy ES community, then the benefits should be particularly evident in this school.

Secondly, a low-commitment choir has already been in place in the school for several months. This suggests that one of the 'alternative explanations' that has previously been associated with benefiting

from Sistema-like programmes - namely knowledge of music and music-making (see e.g. Hampshire & Matthijsse, 2010) - may be relatively homogenous amongst these students. It may therefore be easier to attribute the effects of the ES programme to any changes in relationships that are observed. This presence of this choir will also make it possible to explore students' perceptions of the particularities of ES programmes compared to other kinds of musical initiatives.

In sum, the chosen programme is a site where the development of a 'Sistema community' may be particularly difficult to develop, but also where it may be particularly beneficial. As such, it can be seen as a 'critical' case for testing the hypothesis that the implementation of an ES programme changes relationships in such a way as to create a distinct programme community. It is also an 'extreme' case with regards to the hypothesis that the programme community mediates the claimed benefits of ES programmes[210].

There are also practical reasons why this particular site is a good case study. The 'nucleo' of the programme – the centre in which the programme is run – is located in the school itself, and participation is limited to a fixed subsection of the students of the school. This means that the 'programme community' is likely to remain stable, insofar as relatively few students are likely to join or leave the school. This minimises concerns about missing data and about extrinsic changes impacting on the community. More importantly however, the nucleo's location creates a clear 'wider community' that the programme is embedded in - the community of 'all students in the school'[211] - which has clear and relatively fixed boundaries. This is particularly helpful as 'bounding' a network, or

[210] The present study may also illuminate the influence of community in collective music education programmes in general, provided that ES programmes are interesting cases in the realm of collective music education interventions.

[211] Though some would argue that the school does not constitute a 'genuine' community, there is no reason to believe that the communities that are usually targeted by ES programmes – namely disadvantaged neighbourhoods – are any more 'genuine' than are schools, especially given that schools structure their members' daily activities far more than neighbourhoods do.

deciding what the limits of a network are, can be one of the most problematic aspects of research design for social network studies (Borgatti et al., 2013). Clear boundaries may therefore greatly improve the validity of my findings.

The structure and bounded nature of the chosen site are also important in the context of research on the impact of ES programmes. It lends itself well to investigating the impact of the programme on the 'wider community', given the artificial boundaries that the school imposes on the 'programme community' and 'wider community'. Yet, Abreu (2009) states that ES programmes have an impact on students, their families and their communities. In addition, the fact that most students are boarders means that any observed effects of the programme on students' familial relationships would provide quite strong evidence that ES programmes have an impact on families. Therefore, the site lends itself well to testing the assertion that ES programmes impact on students, their families, and their communities.

2. Overall sample and nature of the case study

Given that it is unclear where the 'impact' of the ES programme will be felt, I will consider both the programme and the wider school as part of the same overall case study. More specifically, they will form an 'embedded' case study (Yin, 2014), with the programme - a particular case in the universe of cases of ES programme - 'embedded' within the school - a particular case in the universe of cases of 'wider communities'. This means that my overall sample includes students in both the programme and the wider school. This includes approximately 45 Primary school-aged children who will be taking part in the programme and approximately 45 secondary-aged students who will not be taking part in the programme. My sample will also include students in a control school. Both schools will be located

in a European country and data will be collected in a language that is not English but that I master well.

The specific methods that I will be implementing may include the entire sample or only part of the sample. For a detailed account of my various methods and the samples for which they will be applied, see Appendix #.

3. Research Methods

In order to accomplish the case study's goals, I will apply a mixed-methods research design that is based on a philosophically pragmatist premise. This premise means that my study is geared towards having practical consequences for "deliberate, self-controlled conduct" (Pierce, 1905: 494), and for "organising future observations and experiences" (Dewey, 1931: 32-3). This premise also means that I will choose my methods according to how much they can further my understanding of the particular case that I have chosen to study, as well as their ability to produce findings that are transferable (Lincoln, and Guba, 1985; Morgan, 2007). This latter point is especially important given that the lack of generalizability has been a key criticism of case study research (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

According to this pragmatist approach, a mixed-methods research design will best allow me to answer my research questions. The strengths of this design is that it recognises that different methods, whether qualitative or quantitative, have complementary strengths and weaknesses (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

In the context of my study, quantitative methods are particularly well-suited to understanding the composition and general characteristics of students' social networks. Indeed, scholars in peer relations and social network analysis have developed sophisticated understandings regarding how to obtain such information for a large number of individuals at relatively little time and energy cost (Berndt and McCandless, 2009). Furthermore, the field of social network analysis in particular has developed sophisticated methods[212] to get at important characteristics of a network with such quantitative information, ranging from individuals' social positions to the cliques in the network, or its β-centrality (Bonacich, 1987; Freeman, 2011, 2004; Lorrain and White, 1971). Likewise, in the field of psychology a number of psychometric scales have been developed to assess the key individual-level constructs that are of interest to my study, such as SoC and well-being, which are also relatively cost- and energy-efficient. This efficiency is important given that the nature of my case study requires that I assess these constructs for a large number of students and that these be directly comparable across time.

Therefore I will employ quantitative methods to assess these constructs. I will administer a structured survey to all students in the school at 3 time points, once before and twice after the implementation of the ES programme (See appendix #). The survey will be administered personally to children under 10 and in a whole-class setting to those that are 10 and above. The aim of the survey will be to assess any changes in the constructs of interest with the implementation of the programme. In order to help attribute any observed changes to the implementation of the programme, I will obtain the same quantitative measures in a control school. This will help me disentangle the impact of the programme from the simple effects of time. The control school will be as similar as possible to the programme school, given the purposive sampling inherent in the design of the study. In addition, in order to disentangle the impact of changes in students' relationships from the effects of changes in student-

[212] Based on mathematical modelling

teacher relationships, I will use the surveys to ask students about their relationships with their teachers.

In order to increase the validity of my survey findings, I will need to find a way to control for interviewer bias in my findings. This may be especially high for the sociometric questions in my survey (Marsden, 2003; Van Tilburg, 1998), and due to the fact that I am interviewing children, who are especially sensitive to interviewer effects (Saywitz and Camparo, 2014). Structured observations are an effective means of controlling for such interviewer bias (Corman and Scott, 1994). I will therefore observe pupil behaviour in ES programme settings and free interaction settings, focusing on students' interactions (see Appendix # for my observation schedule and Appendix # for my sampling technique).

At the same time, quantitative methods are not well-suited to other aspects of my study. For instance, a key component of case study research involves understanding the case study in such depth as to understand exactly whether and how particular findings can be transferred to other contexts (Yin, 2014). Yet, the complexities inherent in any case study mean that it is difficult to glean such information simply from testing hypotheses that are already formed. To a certain extent my research will involve generating new ideas and hypotheses along the way which are grounded in the site of my study, namely about "what is important to those being studied" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 15). For this purpose, qualitative methods are particularly well-suited, as they rest on the assumption that not all is known about the setting under study (Richards, 2009) and have flexible research designs that take ongoing discoveries into account (Burgess, 1984). Furthermore, some of my research aims involve developing grounded understandings of how different students in different social positions make sense of their ES programme and especially of the community in the programme.

In order to gain such grounded understandings of my case, I will undertake a 6-month period of ethnographic fieldwork in the site. It will start right after the implementation of the first survey measure and will end shortly after the last survey measure. Through this fieldwork I hope to arrive at the subjective meanings that students assign to their programme. In particular, my aim will be to understand how interpretations of various practices and events in the programme differ according to students' social positions. Through participant observation as a 'participant-as-observer'[213] (Gold, 1958), I will develop detailed accounts of natural settings in which students interact, and I will be able to understand the language that students use themselves to make sense of these settings, and how this language differs between students (Burgess, 1984).

As part of this fieldwork I will adopt the role of a helpful adult in the programme. My aim in adopting this particular role of 'participant-as-observer' will be to develop relationships with various programme participants – a variety of students but also other stakeholders in the project, such as music teachers – whilst still being relatively free to do my research (Roy, 1970) and introducing as little bias in the context as possible. I will inevitably need to adopt a role in the programme in order to access the meanings that I want to access. The key will be for me to develop a strong rapport with participants although not as a student or as a teaching adult. The former role would be problematic for the sociometric measurements as I could then (legitimately) be included in students' peer nominations. Given that my presence in the network would be far more important after the programme's implementation than before it, it might introduce much potential bias in figures of network change across time. The latter role would equally be problematic as it might shut me off from various student understandings and it might get me into situations where I am obliged to take on a role which compromises my ability to observe. Therefore I will negotiate a role with the gatekeeper

[213] Note that due to the fact that I will be undertaking direct, systematic observations alongside participant observation, I will have to sometimes take part as an 'observer-as-participant'.

of my site that will normalise my presence and give me a sufficient amount of contact as to build rapport (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973) and to access the meanings and language of students, without being considered as a student. For this, I will need to be flexible regarding the role that I adopt whilst staying within the limits of roles that I can adopt, which will involve constant monitoring and memos on the perceptions that participants hold of my role and on the potential bias introduced by the role (Polsky, 1969)[214].

I will guide my ethnographic research and conversations using variants of judgement sampling (Burgess, 1984) and theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The former strategy means that I will be selecting events, locations, and informants based on my theoretical framework and the extent to which I believe the characteristics of students endow them with 'special knowledge' (Burgess, 1984: 55). I will specifically focus on older students in various social status positions as determined through previous sociometric measurement. The latter strategy means that I will jointly collect, code and analyse data throughout my research and let my emerging findings tell me what I should sample next. I will namely use theoretical sampling to extend my understanding of who has knowledge or specialised interests and concerns in the setting (Van Maanen, 1981), which may include school staff or music teachers. Through my overall sampling strategy I will hope to make familiar what is strange and strange what is both familiar at the outset but also what becomes familiar throughout the course of the fieldwork (Burgess, 1984)

At the same time, my mixed-methods approach is well-suited to looking for consistent findings, inconsistent findings, and "useful points of connection" between methods (Morgan, 2007: 71) so as to achieve triangulation. Yet triangulation is, once again, particularly important in case studies given

[214] I will use Janes's (1961) framework of 'Newcomer', 'Provisional Acceptance', 'Categorical Acceptance', 'Personal Acceptance', and 'Imminent Migrant' for this.

the need to precisely and extensively understand the studied case (Yin, 2014). Semi-structured interviews will be particularly helpful in triangulating the network data that emerges from sociometric measurement (Arksey and Knight, 1999). They will allow me to explore the meanings that students make of their ES communities and to find out whether students' accounts are consistent with the direction of the quantitative findings and with my theoretical framework. More importantly they will allow me to arrive at interpretations of students' social networks and at the diverse meanings of particular relationships which appear important in the network – information which is difficult to quantify (Hollstein, 2011).

To collect this information I will be interviewing students both one-to-one and in groups. I will use Howard's (2002) network ethnography approach to guide my interview sampling strategy: I will sample students based on the quantitative findings and especially of my initial network map, which will highlight 'critical issues' to be followed up qualitatively (Martínez et al., 2003). I will namely sample students in a variety of social positions, with a special focus on students in 'extreme' social positions, including students with profiles that are typical of the five sociometric status groups (Coie et al., 1982). I will thereafter use theoretical sampling to guide future interviews, for which I may extend the sample to students outside the programme or to school staff or Sistema teachers.

Individual semi-structured interviews will help me understand particular students' perspectives of their ego-networks, whereas group interviews will allow me to assess group dynamics within carefully chosen groups of students. These latter interviews will allow me to assess whether students do indeed belong to a same clique, through taking note of students' interactions during the interview. Accordingly, I will be able to note intra-clique and intra-network dynamics – e.g. of consensus formation and power dynamics (Arksey and Knight, 1999) - as well as uncover some common discourses within cliques regarding other groups of students.

I will adopt Rubin and Rubin's (2005) Responsive Interviewing approach during my qualitative interviews. This approach aims for "depth and detail, vivid and nuanced answers [which are] rich with thematic material" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 129). It acknowledges that such interviews are extensions of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and recognises the interviewee as a conversation partner. It acknowledges that the beliefs of the interviewer matter. Therefore, to obtain the genuine views of interviewees, it stipulates that the interviewer should ask broad questions, adapt the course of the interview to what he is hearing, and keep any personal reactions that might inhibit disclosure to himself. It also states that I should adapt my interviews according to the knowledge and experiences of interviewees. As such, this method is particularly well-suited to interviewing children given their sensitivity to interviewer bias (Saywitz and Camparo, 2014).

For these interviews, I will split my interview questions into main, follow-up, and probe questions. 'Main' questions "translate the research topic into terms that the conversational partner can relate to and discuss" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 135). They are pre-determined and kept on a written record, and guide interviews. On the other hand, follow-up questions are improvised[215] and follow-up on themes and ideas introduced by the conversation partner so as to ground his/her account. Finally, probes are questions to maintain conversational flow and to combat "the tendency people have to not go into detail, instead encouraging people to offer a variety of answers and do so in detail" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 137). If I deem that a conversation prompt is necessary, or to focus the discussion, I may show interviewees an anonymised network map of their programme, similar to Lubbers et al. (2010). Students' reactions to these networks would indeed be interesting results in themselves.

[215] This does not imply that they are completely unprepared – my theoretical framework and previous analyses will prepare them.

Finally, I will use the qualitative results of my study to inform its quantitative methods, and namely to modify my systematic observation schedule and potentially upcoming surveys[216], thus applying the principle of 'abduction' (Morgan, 2007). This will allow me to quantitatively test hypotheses about my case study that I have inductively developed through my qualitative, grounded findings. Again, this is important in case study research as the complexities of my case are only likely to become clear after some exposure. Furthermore, changing frames of reference between the grounded knowledge produced by in-depth qualitative research and the wider, more superficial findings of quantitative research will help me understand and assess the generalizability of my research (Morgan, 2007).

[216] It may be difficult to establish valid and reliable change figures for such newly introduced constructs as recall questions in surveys have generally low reliability. The methodological implications of such an option will therefore have to be carefully weighed against the theoretical importance of the new construct.

APPENDIX VIII. STAFF MEMBER INDEX

A. Trinité staff members

Pseudonym	Description
Alison	An éducateur in the Pyrénées boarding house.
Cécile	Trinité's headteacher and part-time teacher of the Year 6 class. One of the key informants of my study.
Claudia	The part-time teacher of the Year 6 class during most of the year.
Curtis	A Classroom éducateur in the Year 2/3 class. Went on sick leave early on during my fieldwork, and only came back intermittently throughout the year.
Emma	A classroom éducateur in the Year 2/3 class for part of the year.
Ernest	The classroom éducateur of the Year 6 class. The only classroom éducateur that stayed during the entire fieldwork year and one of the key informants of my study.
Farhad	An éducateur in the Pyrénées boarding house.
Fiona	An éducateur in the Alpine boarding house.
Jenny	A classroom éducateur in the Year 2/3 class for part of the year.
Juliette	One of the two part-time teachers of the Year 2/3 class.
Karen	An éducateur in the Pyrénées boarding house.
Karim	An éducateur in the Pyrénées boarding house.
Laura	An éducateur in the Jura boarding house.
Lucy	The administrative lead of the MASS programme in Trinité.
Maggie	An éducateur in the Alpine boarding house.
Mathilde	The part-time teacher of the Year 6 class at the beginning of the year.
Monique	One of the two part-time teachers of the Year 2/3 class.
Natasha	The manager of the Pyrenées boarding house.
Roger	An éducateur in the Jura boarding house.
Rose	The classroom éducateur of the Year 4/5 class. Left the school from April onwards.
Steve	An éducateur in the Alpine boarding house.
Susan	An éducateur in the Jura boarding house.
Tracy	The teacher of the Year 4/5 class.

B. MASS staff members

Pseudonym	Description
Adrian	One of the instrumental teachers of the Strings B group.
Ciara	One of the instrumental teachers of the Strings B group.
Emilie	One of the instrumental teachers of the Strings B group.
Genevieve	One of the instrumental teachers of the Strings A group.
Jackie	One of the instrumental teachers of the Strings A group.
Jacques	A member of the national leadership of MASS.
Julie	MASS's pedagogical lead in Trinité.
Mark	A member of the national leadership of MASS.
Rob	The clarinet teacher in Trinité.
Virginia	A singing teacher in MASS who taught both the Strings A and Strings B groups during the first months of the programme.

APPENDIX IX. STUDENT INDEX

Note: This appendix was created for examination purposes only and has been redacted to preserve the confidentiality of participants.