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Policy, Practice and Scholarship in Higher Education

New Vistas | Policy, Practice and Scholarship in Higher Education

EDITOR'S NOTE

Volume 3 | Issue 1

The spring issue of *New Vistas* provides insights into the research of academics in a modern university. All contributors are from the University of West London; their research offers the reader a reflection on contemporary issues, propositions to change work practices, and/or a commentary on taken-for-granted assumptions.

Issue 3.1 of *New Vistas* includes articles that challenge practices in the health sector, examine implications of political and policy decisions, and explore work- and labour-oriented matters from a variety of discipline perspectives.

Barley and Hughes are concerned with problems of mental health and well-being. The former explores the over-use of restrictive practices in the process of caring for individuals with mental health conditions, and discusses the use of alternative reflective methods to deal with those patients. Hughes reflects on an educational initiative rooted in the work of the University of West London aimed at enhancing the well-being of children at risk of developing mental problems. The Pyramid programme has impacted some 30,000 children in the past 20 years, focusing on the development of those identified as vulnerable to mental health issues.

The work of Kozubovska and colleagues, and Rushchenko's article are anchored in highly contemporary concerns – Brexit and its implications for the City of London as a global financial centre, for the former; and Britain's judicial responses to terrorist threats, particularly in relation to terrorist-initiated recruitment strategies, for the latter.

Cachia and Sholl focus on work and practice. Cachia's article explores the motivations of employees when applying to work with a particular employer, and the impact of the work environment on their decisions to subsequently stay or leave. Myers discusses the challenges faced by individuals based in professional practice when they take the decision to work as educators in higher education. Sholl explores the strategies of the therapist Moshé Feldenkrais to change a patient's self-image and the resulting applications to the work of contemporary creative practitioners.

Finally, Hester offers a reflection on the feminised nature of digital assistants (such as Siri), and the relation of the history of workplace technologies to women's participation in the labour force.

Professor Joelle Fanghanel
New Vistas Editor

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The spring edition of New Vistas *provides insights into the research of academics in a modern university, and offers the reader a reflection on contemporary issues*

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New Vistas | Policy, Practice and Scholarship in Higher Education

CONTENTS

Volume 3 | Issue 1

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IMPROVING MENTAL HEALTHCARE

How stigma and over-use of restrictive practices affect the wellbeing of those with severe mental illness

Mental health-related stigma and the over-use of restrictive practices, such as seclusion and restraint, impact negatively on the wellbeing of those who have been diagnosed with severe mental illness. Positive and proactive interventions such as de-escalation and positive behavioural support have been designed to reduce the need for restrictive practices. In this article, I discuss these issues and describe the research evidence for improving mental healthcare. I will start with a definition of the term 'severe mental illness' (SMI).

Though this term is used inconsistently in research, policy and clinical practice, definitions of SMI usually combine significant duration of mental health service use and impairment of functioning. Psychotic and major depressive disorders are commonly classified as SMI. For the purpose of this article, I will also include another group of mental health conditions, personality disorders (PD), since people with these diagnoses are highly impacted by stigma and the use of restrictive practices. Ignorance and misunderstanding of SMI and PD are common, the following brief overview may help facilitate comprehension of the care needs of those affected. More detailed information about causes, symptoms and treatment are available on the MIND www.Mind.org.uk and the Royal College of Psychiatry health advice www.rcpsych.ac.uk/healthadvice websites.

Psychotic disorders and major depressive disorder

Psychotic disorders cause disordered thinking and perceptions. They are associated with several mental illness diagnoses such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder (previously known as manic-depressive illness), puerperal psychosis (a severe episode of psychosis which begins suddenly following childbirth), major depressive disorder, and sometimes also with drug and alcohol misuse. Psychotic disorders most commonly appear between the ages of 15 and 35 years. Prevalence estimates for psychosis vary according to how it is defined and measured, but total population-based annual prevalence rates are commonly reported to be approximately one to four per thousand. Common symptoms include 'delusions' which are false beliefs or impressions which are held despite evidence to the contrary and 'hallucinations' which are sensory experiences of things which do not exist outside the person's mind.

People with schizophrenia may also develop blunting or incongruity of emotional responses, apathy and paucity of speech. These 'negative symptoms' can result in reduced quality of social interaction. Bipolar disorder is characterised by repeated episodes during which the individual's mood and activity are substantially disturbed, alternating between elevated mood and activity and decreased energy and activity. Some, but not all, people with a diagnosis of bipolar disorder also experience psychotic symptoms. The type and severity of symptoms varies greatly between individuals with the same diagnosis.

A minority of people diagnosed with major depressive disorder may also experience psychotic episodes. However, the main symptoms of major depression are persistent depressed mood and a loss of pleasure or interest in things which the person previously enjoyed. Depressed people commonly experience low self-esteem and feelings of self-blame. Depression is the commonest mental illness; lifetime prevalence estimates range from three to seventeen per cent.
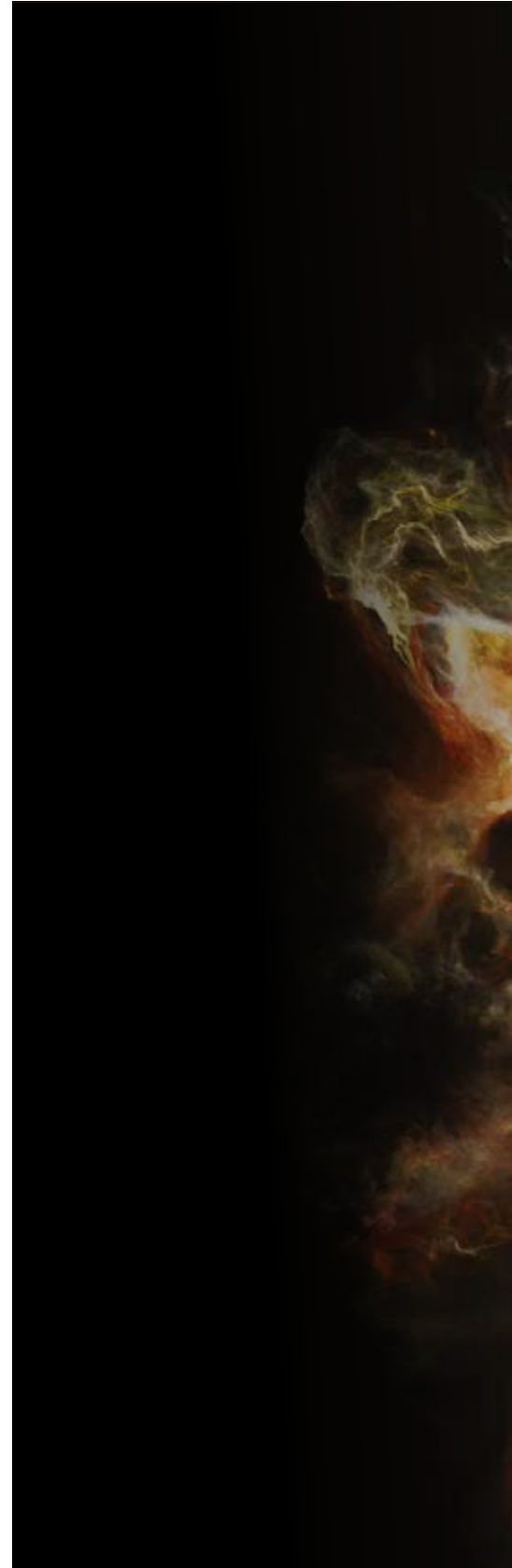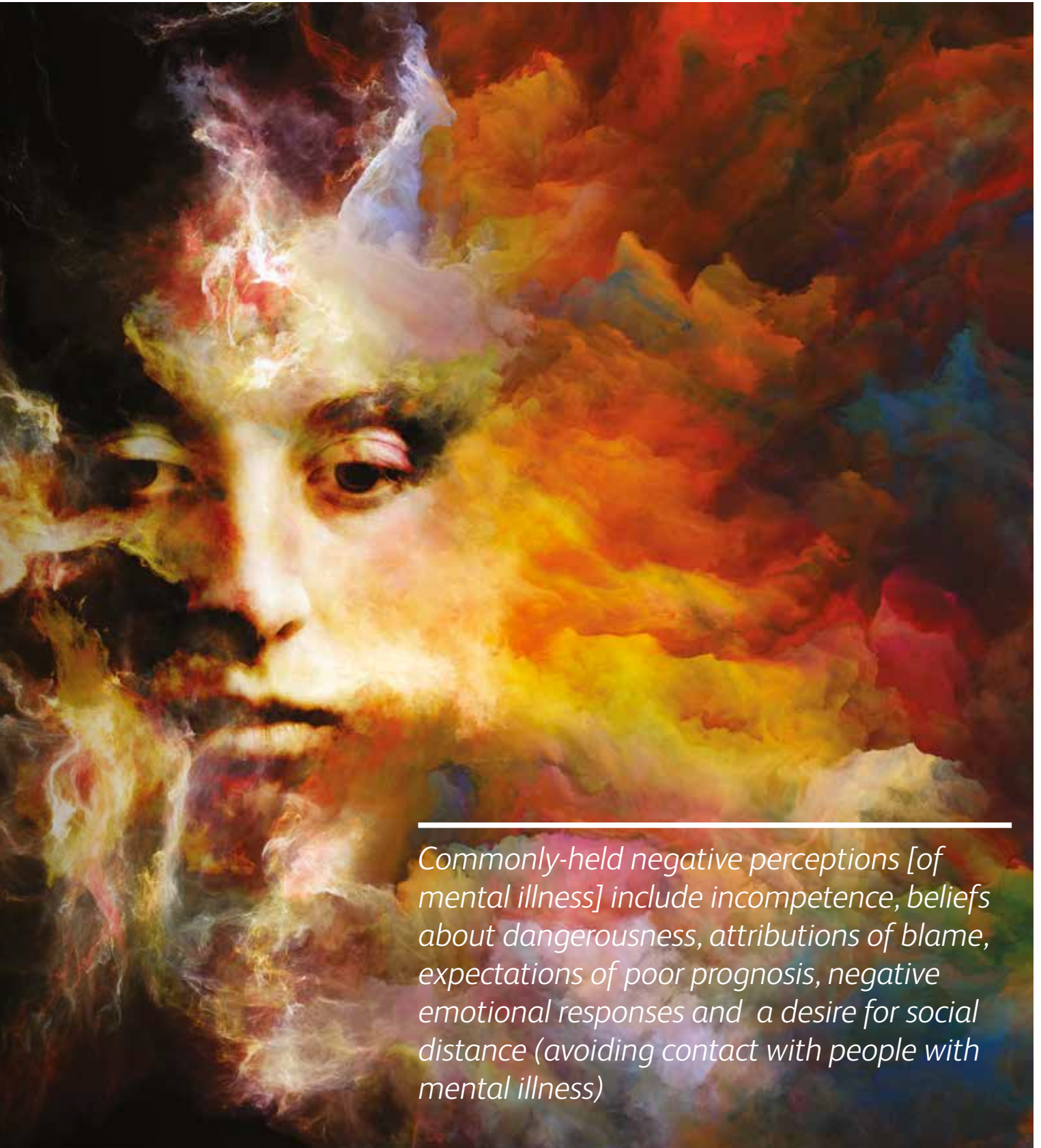
Commonly-held negative perceptions [of mental illness] include incompetence, beliefs about dangerousness, attributions of blame, expectations of poor prognosis, negative emotional responses and a desire for social distance (avoiding contact with people with mental illness)

Personality disorders

Personality disorders (PD) are characterised by patterns of behaviour, cognition, and inner experience which differ from societal norms and expectations. People diagnosed with a personality disorder may experience difficulties in cognition (understanding), controlling or expressing emotions, relating to other people and in controlling their impulses. There are several types of personality disorder, each with their own diagnostic criteria. At any one time, it is thought that about one in twenty people will have some kind of personality disorder. Living with any personality disorder makes life harder and people with these diagnoses often experience other mental health problems such as depression or anxiety disorders or substance abuse.

A lack of understanding of SMI is associated with mental health-related stigma which in turn has a range of negative consequences for those affected. I discuss this next.

Mental health-related stigma

A well-established and accepted model of mental health-related stigma is that proposed by Thornicroft (Thornicroft *et al.*, 2007). It proposes three important components: ignorance (lack of knowledge), prejudice (stigmatising attitudes) and discrimination (treating people unfairly). Components proposed by other models vary, but most agree that negative stereotype endorsement is important. Commonly-held negative perceptions include incompetence, beliefs about dangerousness, attributions of blame, expectations of poor prognosis, negative emotional responses and a desire for social distance (avoiding contact with people with SMI or PD).

Mental health-related stigma is generally acknowledged to be widespread. One method of studying this is to test public reactions to case descriptions of people with schizophrenia and major depressive disorder. Studies using this methodology worldwide have found large percentages of the public reporting being unwilling to work closely, or even to socialise, with people with schizophrenia or depression. Similarly, across countries, a high

percentage of people with schizophrenia report negative discrimination from friends and family members, and in finding or keeping a job; and in intimate or sexual relationships (Thornicroft *et al.*, 2009).

Arguably, people with a diagnosis of a PD experience the worst stigma. A recent review (Sheehan *et al.*, 2016) found that public knowledge of these conditions is poor, and that people with PD are often seen as purposefully misbehaving rather than experiencing an illness. In addition, people with SMI and those with PD often come from, or end up in, as a result of their illness, other groups or situations which also face stigma such as black and ethnic minority groups, being lesbian or gay, asylum seeking, homeless or in poverty.

Stigma has a major adverse effect on the lives and wellbeing of those living with SMI or PD. This includes receipt of poorer physical healthcare than the general public. It is well-established that people with SMI on average die 15 to 20 years younger than the general population. The reasons are complex, but there have been many reports by people with SMI of poor relationships with healthcare professionals, including GPs, which reduces their access to and engagement with health services. For instance, people with SMI have an approximately 30 % higher fatality rate from cancer compare with the general population; partly this is due to late presentation by those with SMI (Kisely *et al.*, 2013). In qualitative work conducted by myself and others (Clifton *et al.*, 2016) stigmatising attitudes and behaviour by health professionals were cited as one barrier which prevents access to national screening programmes which can provide early detection of cancer. The situation may be even worse for those with PD as health provider stigma has been found to be particularly high, resulting in people with PD being treated less compassionately, even by mental health professionals, than those with SMI (Sheehan *et al.*, 2016).

Discrimination and prejudice can also result in 'self-stigma' where people with SMI or PD feel negatively about themselves and behave in self-sabotaging ways. For instance, people may use strategies of avoidance and concealment,

At any one time, it is thought that about one in twenty people will have some kind of personality disorder. Living with any personality disorder makes life harder and people with these diagnoses often experience other mental health problems such as depression or anxiety disorders or substance abuse

which may further contribute to social exclusion and poor quality of life. In a systematic review (n=48 studies) which I conducted with colleagues (Brohan *et al*.,2012) expectation or experience of discrimination was a factor in non-disclosure of mental health problems in the workplace. Whereas the decision to disclose is personal, under the Equality Act 2010, protection from discrimination is dependent upon the employer knowing about the disability. So fear of the negative consequences believed to be associated with disclosure can result in individuals missing out on the help they need.

In addition, families and others close to a person with SMI or PD can experience 'courtesy stigma' or 'stigma by association'. Society is damaged by mental health-related stigma when communities are deprived of the contributions that people with SMI or PD could make if they were unimpaired by stigma. Societal-level stigma also contributes to a lack of 'parity of esteem' between mental and physical health as highlighted by the previous government's Minister for Care Services, Norman Lamb (Department of Health, 2013). This applies to the resources allocated to mental health services and to research. For instance, approximately four times the amount of funding is provided for cancer research compared with mental health research. Whereas huge advances have been made in the field of cancer, few have been made in terms of understanding and treatment of mental illness. Finally, mental health-related stigma also contributes to prevent help-seeking by those experiencing mental health problems and accounts for the reduced potential for early intervention and prevention of mental illness. Negative media reporting compounds this by promoting a perceived association between mental illness and violence or aggression which I discuss next.

Violence and restrictive practices

Media stories of violent assaults by those with mental illness are impactful since they often appear motiveless and the consequences may be devastating. Sensationalised coverage helps to promote a strong association in the public mind between violence and SMI. However, in reality such incidences are rare and people with SMI are considerably more likely to be a victim of an assault than members of the general public (Varshney *et al.*, 2016). Nevertheless, in a minority of people diagnosed with SMI, symptoms may include a reduced ability to manage emotions, including aggression, which sometimes escalate into violent behaviour. Violent behaviour may be towards others, such as carers, but is most often directed towards the patient themselves in the form of self-harm, including suicide attempts. It is worth noting that suicide is among the three leading causes of death among those aged 15 to 44 years, and of those who die from suicide, more than 90 per cent are found to have a diagnosable mental disorder (Bertolote and Fleischmann, 2002). Violence, including self-harm, is an important driver for hospital admission and an important care outcome is the safety of both patients and carers.

Interventions used in the management of disruptive and violent behaviours in psychiatry include a range of 'restrictive practices'. These are defined as 'making someone do something they don't want to do or stopping someone doing something they want to do' (Department of Health, 2014). Interventions range from simple acts such as only allowing cups of tea at certain times or restrictions regarding leave under the Mental Health Act, to the use of physical restraint or seclusion. The term 'restraint' has no standardised definition but 'involves measures designed to confine a patient's bodily movements' (Sailas and Fenton, 2012: 2). Seclusion is 'the placement and retention of an inpatient in a bare room for containing a clinical situation that may result in a state of emergency' (Sailas and Fenton, 2012: 2).

De-escalation techniques involve the use of verbal and non-verbal techniques, such as personal space, body language, and listening skills, to help the person exhibiting disruptive behaviour to calm themselves

Restraint and seclusion are sometimes necessary to prevent injury and reduce agitation. However, they can have deleterious physical or psychological effects. For instance, positional asphyxia during restraint may occur as a result of alcohol, substances or medication (Mind, 2013). The higher incidence of physical health problems, such as heart disease or diabetes, in people with mental illness increases this risk. Experience of restraint may trigger recall of previous traumatic experiences and thereby exacerbate anxiety symptoms. Family members or carers who witness restrictive practices may also experience distress.

It is accepted policy that restrictive practices should only be used as a 'last resort'. However, there exists a lack of clarity around this term which may contribute to the fact that seclusion and restraint have been overused. A report by Mind (Mind, 2013) and investigation by the UK Department of Health in 2012 into abuses at Winterbourne View Hospital (a private hospital in Gloucestershire where evidence of abuse had been exposed by a BBC programme) showed that these terms have been used to inflict pain, humiliate or punish. The scale of the problem is unclear, but in 2012, there were almost 1,000 incidents of injury following restraint (Mind, 2013). There is huge variation in restraint use across England with one National Health Service (NHS) reporting 38 incidents while another reported over 3,000 in the same year (Mind, 2013). This suggests that there are differences between NHS Organisations in their approach to managing violent incidences and that some approaches may be more effective. Accordingly, interventions to reduce the use of and need for restrictive practices have been developed in an effort to improve patient and carer safety. Two such interventions are 'de-escalation' and 'positive and proactive care'.

De-escalation

Sometimes people with SMI or PD who are experiencing an acute episode and healthcare staff may disagree over how necessary it is for the person to be in hospital. People with SMI or PD may sometimes therefore be kept in wards, which may be noisy and frightening, against their will. This can lead to arguments and aggression, including self-harm and suicide attempts. How staff talk to patients who are experiencing distress can influence whether or not behaviour escalates into violence. NHS mental healthcare staff have mandatory training in effective communication and in calming strategies known as 'de-escalation techniques'. De-escalation techniques involve the use of verbal and non-verbal techniques, such as personal space, body language, and listening skills, to help the person exhibiting disruptive behaviour to calm themselves.

De-escalation techniques should be the first-line intervention for imminent violence in mental health settings. However, this is not always the case and, even when used, de-escalation techniques may not always be successful. Factors which contribute to the use and success of de-escalation include the severity of the threat; staff experience and training; staff attitudes to restrictive practices and accountability for their use; staff emotional regulation skills; and ward culture and procedures. For instance, incidences of violence are reduced where ward culture promotes respect for patients by promoting psychological understanding of behaviour and by reducing power inequalities and social distance between staff and patients. Nevertheless, it is not fully understood what techniques work best for which patients in which situations. At the time of writing, the National Institute for Health Research (NIHR) is calling for bids for funding for research to determine this and to develop an evidence-based staff training for roll out across the NHS.

Positive and proactive care

Positive and proactive care is a means of reducing the need for restrictive practices as well as providing a template for their safe, compassionate, ethical and lawful application. The safe and effective use of de-escalation techniques is part of this, but a further key principle is positive behaviour support (PBS). This is a behavior management system used to understand what maintains an individual's challenging behaviour. Disruptive behaviours are difficult to change because they generally serve a purpose for the individual. Once nurses understand the individual's needs, they can be dealt with before behaviour becomes challenging. There is a range of initiatives in the UK to promote PBS - Skills for Care guide, Tizard Centre service specification on the use of PBS, National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) quality standards on preventing and managing violence and aggression, and NHS England is currently working to improve the quality of the data reported on the use of restrictive practices. There is a lack evidence for the effectiveness of PBS interventions in mental healthcare settings.

Recommended positive behavioural support interventions include having a lead for restrictive practice within each NHS Trust, ward 'champions' and the use of 'Positive Behaviour Support Plans' (PBSPs). A PBSP can be used by nurses to identify how and when to intervene to prevent an episode of disruptive behaviour and to promote good physical and mental wellbeing. The UK's Department of Health guidance is that PBSPs should be 'person-centred' and include primary, secondary and tertiary strategies. A comprehensive assessment of each individual's biological, psychological and social needs will be necessary to ensure that the care planned is fully holistic. However, though more common in learning disability environments, few studies have been conducted to support the use of positive behavioural support interventions in mental health settings. Furthermore, there are no agreed standards for the content or implementation of PBSPs.

Working in partnership with West London Mental Health Trust (the organisation providing services in West London on behalf of the NHS), I have recently received funding from the General Nursing Council Trust (a charitable organisation) to develop and evaluate the positive behavioural support work implemented by the Trust lead for Restrictive Practice. This research will examine mental health nurse training in the use of PBSPs in order to understand how training may best be designed to affect nurse behaviour change. We will also ask staff and carers of patients admitted with a mental illness crisis which aspects of the PBSPs they find helpful and unhelpful. The findings of this work will help inform future changes to training and the use of the PBSPs.

Conclusion

A large body of research exists which demonstrates the extent and negative consequences of mental health-related stigma. This stigma can contribute to people missing out on the good quality care they deserve. There are many challenges for professionals working in mental health services including well-documented shortages in funding and staffing. Positive and proactive approaches to care designed to keep patients and carers safe have been developed. However, considerably more investment in mental health research is needed before we can understand what works for whom in what situation so that professionals are able to deliver the best possible care. True 'parity of esteem' for physical and mental health will only be achieved with significant investment in mental health services.

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Bronach Hughes | University of West London, UK

BUILDING FRIENDSHIPS, CREATING CONFIDENCE

How a school-based intervention, delivered by students, can have a life-changing effect on children and young people

Background to the Pyramid project

Pyramid clubs meet two quite different but complementary goals: they offer a potentially life-changing experience for children at risk of developing mental health problems and they give University students who deliver the programme, a professionally rewarding work experience. At the University of West London (UWL), the Pyramid project is managed by staff and volunteers who train psychology students to plan and deliver a club in local schools. This article explores this initiative from the perspective of both the children who receive the intervention and those delivering it.

What are Pyramid clubs?

Pyramid clubs offer a low-key, therapeutic, group-work intervention for children aged 7 to 14; they are specifically aimed at those children who are shy, quiet, withdrawn, anxious, and struggling with friendships. Very often these children are overlooked in a school context as they internalise their difficulties, in contrast to the children who might externalise them and get attention because of the disruption they cause in the classroom. In her 1997 book, *The Invisible Children*, Virginia Makins describes their vulnerability in the following way:

> Such children do not require special educational provision... but their inability to relate to others or their social isolation and unhappiness gives teachers cause for concern. Unless preventive action is taken quickly, there is a real danger that these vulnerable children will flounder in secondary schools. ...without intervention of some kind, many children will end up as educational and social failures, with all the costs to themselves, and to the health and socials services, that this entails.

(Makins, 1994: viii)

Not all children who are quiet, or even shy, are a cause of concern, but many of the children the project works with, face considerable challenges in their lives. Issues such as poverty, physical or mental ill-health (of the child or other family members), bereavement, social isolation, domestic violence and discrimination appear on a regular basis. The government's own figures suggest that 10% of children suffer from a diagnosable mental health condition, with perhaps twice that number displaying some worrying symptoms. During the last couple of years attenders to the clubs have included children with illness in their family, with learning difficulties, young carers, disabled and sick children, and recently arrived immigrants.

Pyramid clubs offer a low-key, therapeutic, group-work intervention for children aged 7 to 14

How Pyramid Clubs operate

Pyramid clubs benefit children from a wide range of abilities, ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds, gender and sexual orientation. Clubs can be run for mixed gender or single-sex groups of up to twelve children, supported by three or four club leaders. The activities include art and craft, games, food preparation and circle time. In addition, refreshments are provided each week so that the children and adults can share food and drink together in a sociable and culturally sensitive manner. These activities support the ethos of the clubs which were developed in line with the work of Mia Kelmer Pringle (1975), first director of the National Children's Bureau. That ethos is to provide 'raise and recognition; love and security; new experiences; responsibility' in order to support the social and emotional development of the children.

Children are identified by their schools through the use of the Goodman's Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, 1997) - a screening tool that is widely used in clinical and other settings to identify children who display abnormal behaviours in comparison to their peers in five key areas: emotional symptoms, peer relationships, conduct, hyperactivity and pro-social skills. Those likely to benefit from participating in Pyramid clubs usually display difficulties on the emotional, peer and pro-social scales of the diagnostic test.

Children and young people from a single year group, or no more than two adjacent year groups, are invited to join the club. It generally runs as an after-school activity in order to reduce the stigma surrounding interventions that support children who might be perceived to be failing in some way. There are several reasons for running the clubs in schools. Firstly, schools can be very lonely places if children do not have friends; so it offers an opportunity to make friends with children they will see each day. Secondly, as children are attending the school, attendance at the clubs is high and not dependent on parents getting the child to a clinic. Thirdly, schools have a duty to support the social and emotional development of their pupils, and they generally welcome an intervention which enables them to do that. Finally, offering a club in a safe, known environment is likely to reduce the anxiety of those selected to attend and therefore encourages attendance.

The origins of Pyramid clubs

Kay Fitzherbert, an educational social worker in the London borough of Hounslow, obtained Social Science Research Council funding from 1978-82 to develop an intervention in primary schools that would help to make children ready for the transfer to secondary school. It was recognised at the time that some children were failing at that point of transition but that teachers in primary schools did not have tools to support them. Fitzherbert felt that schools should be reaching out to other professionals, and to the wider community, in order to maximise the support that could be provided to children; she therefore set out to create multi-professional teams that would identify 'at-risk' children.

Being familiar with the research carried out in Newcastle in the 1970s and by Yalom (1975) in New York, and the many articles based on the work of Schiffer and Slavson from the 1940s to the 1980s, also in New York, she believed that some sort of group work would be the best way to support these 'invisible' children, providing support that would be 'low cost, easily accessible to all children... non-stigmatising and, in contrast to most other therapies, of proven effectiveness.' (Fitzherbert, 2005: 28). The first groups using the model that Fitzherbert developed were called 'Muppet Clubs', and they took place mainly in community centres close to schools, using an eclectic range of volunteers, including many students from education and social work courses.

Following the pilot work at three primary schools in Hounslow, and a name change from 'Muppet' to 'Pyramid', Fitzherbert went on to obtain funding to run a larger pilot in the London borough of Hillingdon,

and in Bristol and Cardiff, leading to the establishment in 1992 of 'The National Pyramid Trust', a charity dedicated to promoting the Pyramid model of group work. In each area students were recruited from the local universities, alongside paid staff in the schools and community volunteers, in order to deliver clubs to children in primary schools. With the arrival of a Labour government in 1997 in the UK, ring-fenced money was made available to local authorities under the 'Children's Fund' and later the 'Targeted Mental Health in Schools' schemes. These schemes were supporting early interventions with children aged 5-13, allowing the Pyramid model to spread to around forty local authority areas across England. At the same time it expanded across Wales and to Northern Ireland where the National Pyramid Trust worked in partnership with the charity Barnardo's. By 2006, around 650 clubs were running nationally, supporting about 6,500 children and run by 1,400 Club Leaders. The National Pyramid Trust did not run the clubs directly, but rather they licensed the model to local statutory or voluntary groups and ran a national network of Pyramid schemes using the same model and materials.

The National Pyramid Trust became part of a larger charity, 'ContinYou', in 2007, and the work was expanded to encompass children in secondary schools. However, by 2011, following the withdrawal of specific funding in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, many of the successful local projects started to close and the project as a whole was under threat. A UWL PhD student had begun to evaluate the impact of Pyramid clubs in

One of the key roles of the Pyramid club leader is to act as a role model for the children, modelling the sorts of behaviours that they want to encourage in the children

secondary schools and, rather than risk the entire practitioner base disappearing, the University offered a home for the project and began to look for new ways make it available to as many children and young people as possible.

The research base

From the start, Fitzherbert was adamant that the work needed academic research to demonstrate its effectiveness. Some promising initial research was carried out when Fitzherbert worked at the West London Institute for Higher Education, and this led to other positive evaluations, mainly around improvements in self-esteem, social skills, self-concept, mathematics and writing skills. However, these were all very small scale studies and the methodology used was often not robust enough – most were not peer reviewed or published.

Organisations such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Green, 2003) and Barnardo's (Anderson and Healy, 2006) produced reports of a high standard, covering their work in the London borough of Wandsworth and Northern Ireland respectively, carrying both monitoring data and stories about the impact of the project on the children, their parents and their schools, and also on the volunteers who helped to deliver clubs. A Barnardo's report covering the period 2003-2006 includes quotations from children such as 'I love the Pyramid club: it taught people to play and make friends with other people' (Anderson and Healy, 2006: 14); from parents 'She is a different girl. More lively and friendly and always has something to say which before she would have said very little' (Anderson and Healy, 2006; 14); and from volunteers 'I felt I made a difference to the children's lives' (Anderson and Healy, 2006: 18).

In Buckinghamshire a local 'Educational Psychology Service' carried out evaluations from 2002-2005, basing their conclusions mainly on data from teachers. They found statistically significant reductions in peer and emotional difficulties and statistically significant improvements in pro-social skills across the entire group, although the results varied across schools, leading them to question the factors that led to more or less successful clubs, an issue that would be examined in more detail in later research (Jayman, 2017).

What was missing, however, was a robustly designed, quasi-experimental study that would lead to peer-reviewed publications. The University had encouraged students to volunteer at its local Pyramid project in Ealing since 2004 and one of those students wrote her undergraduate dissertation, and later on a PhD, on her experience as a Pyramid club leader.

Her thesis (Ohl, 2009) examined Pyramid's impact on the socio-emotional health and wellbeing of children in middle childhood. With data gathered in Ealing schools on children aged 7-8, both those receiving the intervention and a matched control group, Ohl used the SDQ to take measures prior to, immediately after clubs, and 12 months after the intervention. Ealing is a diverse borough, both ethnically and economically, and this diversity gave her the opportunity to examine how Pyramid impacted differently on different national and linguistic groups.

A number of papers have since been published in peer-reviewed journals based on Ohl's thesis (Ohl *et al.,* 2008, 2012 and 2013), prompting similar structured research at Ulster University (McKenna *et al.,* 2014) based on the clubs run by Barnardo's in schools across Northern Ireland. The University of Manchester (Lyons and Wood, 2012) looked in more detail at a Pyramid transition club to try to understand which elements of the club actually resulted in the impact. This theme has been taken up by a current UWL PhD student, who has used focus groups with young people who attended Pyramid clubs in secondary schools and the leaders who ran the clubs, to examine what effective ingredients in Pyramid trigger change. Having completed her data collection (pre- and post-club, and 12 months after the club), using both the SDQ and a measure of children's perception of their wellbeing, Jayman has found that young people who attended clubs made significant improvements in their socio-emotional well-being in the short-term that was maintained in the longer-term, while the control group did not change over time. Her findings indicate that Pyramid clubs offer protection against the dip that normally occurs in adolescents' academic performance in the early years of secondary school education.

How students benefit from running Pyramid clubs

Like the children who attend Pyramid clubs, the club leaders come from a variety of backgrounds. In areas without access to a higher education establishment, club leaders are often teaching assistants in the schools, or community volunteers. However, the use of students provides a new source of supply for schools and the students themselves bring enthusiasm and a fresh perspective to the clubs. At UWL the students who volunteer are mainly, but not exclusively, final year psychology students.

One of the key roles of the Pyramid club leader is to act as a role model for the children, modelling the sorts of behaviours that they want to encourage in the children. It is important that they do not project an authority figure, out of touch with the concerns that affect the children concerned. Being closer in

age to the children than most teachers or parents, they represent something that those children can aspire to become in a not too distant future. Warm and relaxed relationships are quickly established between children and club leaders, allowing for a therapeutic environment to develop. For the club leaders it offers the opportunity to build their own self-esteem and sense of self-efficacy, as they see the positive changes that take place in the children.

This is a well-organised enterprise underpinned by solid logic. All club leaders receive training in group work theory and practice, behaviour management, strategies for supporting self-esteem and building resilience, safeguarding, and planning activities for specific groups based on observations of practice. Pyramid clubs have been developed using theoretical concepts from two key psychological models: cognitive psychology and positive psychology. The interventions thus include solution focused brief therapy; cognitive behavioural therapy; attachment theory; risk and resilience models; and play.

The clubs offer children and young people an experiential model of learning about and developing strategies for managing their thoughts and feelings in a supportive environment. For students, seeing how theories operate in the real world and the different aspects of psychology they have studied during their course (cognitive, developmental, social, individual differences, health etc.) impact on children, can provide a life-changing experience. Students are encouraged to reflect on the experience, and to consider not just the child's needs and experience, but the interplay between their own character, skills and attitudes, and the child's. Inevitably, some students achieve this better than others, so the Pyramid team carefully matches up students in their club leader groups to try and maximise the benefits to all concerned.

Each year the Pyramid clubs are evaluated. In 2016, when interviewed about their own self-knowledge, students stated – 'I am not so bad at team work'; 'I'm a bossy leader and I'm quite good at organising things'; 'I am better at expressing my ideas than I thought'; 'I can communicate well with children'; or 'I'm more confident than I thought'. These comments show the impact of the intervention and the development of skills that some were not aware that they had. When asked how the club would help them in the future they identified key issues such as learning about early intervention for mental health for young children, helping them to communicate better with children, and gaining valuable and transferrable skills such as team leading, planning, and organisational skills.

The clubs offer children and young people an experiential model of learning about and developing strategies for managing their thoughts and feelings in a supportive environment

The future of Pyramid

Having been supported for the last three years by the John Lyon's Charity while the project embedded itself in the University, alternative sources of funding are now being pursued to expand the project, so that every child who could potentially benefit from Pyramid can have access to it. Schools in west London pay UWL to run clubs for a moderate fee. Other partners across England, Wales and Northern Ireland contribute to the University's costs through licence fees, training charges and sales of materials. The University does not currently receive any government funding, although an application has been made for a grant to expand to selected areas of England through partnerships with other universities, local authorities and schools.

The research evidence supporting the Pyramid clubs model of working in primary schools has now been externally evaluated by the Early Intervention Foundation (EIF) and will be included in the EIF guidebook for commissioners on interventions known to support children's social and emotional learning. The EIF also examined the costs associated with implementing Pyramid clubs and has put them in the lowest cost bracket (1 on a scale of 1-5), confirming that it is a low-cost evidence-based intervention. An evaluation of the model in secondary schools will follow later in 2017.

Kay Fitzherbert celebrated her 80th birthday last year and she received an honorary doctorate from the University. She is grateful that the project she started all those years ago is still thriving. In an article she wrote for *Young Mind*s magazine in 2005 she expressed her frustration that successful and cost-effective interventions were not being nationally rolled out. With its proven track record and an emergent research base, the Pyramid model is in a good position to support children and young people in the future. It has shown itself to be resilient to the changing political and economic environment and has played a positive role in the lives of over 30,000 children in the past 20 years. This provides a good platform for its sustainability in future years.

For more information see our website www. uwl.ac.uk/pyramid, or email pyramid@uwl.ac.uk.

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POST-BREXIT PROSPECTS FOR BRITAIN

Even if a comprehensible deal could be achieved, for example if the UK could negotiate some privileges similar to the privileges currently enjoyed by Norway, the effect will be a decline of around 2 % to 3 % of GDP

The global community has witnessed game changing events in 2016. The shocking 51.8 % vote to leave the European Union (EU) in the UK (the so-called Brexit), with a turnout of 72 %, the highest since 1992 in any national contest, and the victory of Donald Trump in the United States. Both events have triggered a new wave of uncertainty on both sides of the Atlantic. These outcomes, which are indicative of rising populism across the world, have severe implications for these countries' future economic growth. In this article, we discuss the economic consequences of the Brexit vote for the UK and the implications of Brexit on the UK's legal system.

Economic growth in 2017-2019

UK's GDP growth will remain fragile in the period 2017 to 2019 as the country's exit from Europe is being negotiated with its former economic partners. The drag in economic growth will mainly come from foreign investment in commercial property, and in sectors aimed at accessing the EU single market, such as automotive and financial services (PwC, 2016). Decline in business investment is mainly driven by the uncertainty about the UK's future trading relationship with the European block. Brexit vote is likely to have severe long-term economic implications for multinationals around the world which use the UK as a base for their operations. Financial firms in the UK will not be able to keep passporting rights if UK chooses a 'hard' Brexit and leaves the single market altogether. If these firms lose 'single passport' to operate in the EU, it may threaten the future of London as the centre of financial services and largest recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI), which is a vital component of the UK's financial health with an estimated stock value of £1 trillion, half of which coming from EU countries. The impact of Brexit is likely to cause at least 22 % fall in FDI, according to Dhingra *et al.* (2016). Consequences of this will eventually cascade to the wider economy, damaging UK's productivity and lowering income levels.

Even if a comprehensible deal could be achieved, for example if the UK could negotiate some privileges similar to the privileges currently enjoyed by Norway – Norway is in the European Economic Area (EEA) but not in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) – the effect will be a decline of around 2 % to 3 % of GDP (CEP, 2016). If on the other hand, the UK opts for a 'Switzerland scenario' and joins EFTA, the negative effects of Brexit are unlikely to be significantly reduced either. It is in fact extremely unlikely that the UK will opt for the Swiss or Norwegian model because it would have to allow free movement of labour.

Passporting rights

With regards to the passporting rights, Booth and Scarpetta (2016) note that financial services 'passport' is not a single issue. There are sectors where the passport is more important than in others. For instance, the passport is crucial to the wholesale and investment banking as almost 20 % of the banking sector's annual revenue is estimated to be linked to the passport (for example, Deutsche Bank gets a fifth of its revenue in the UK). Passport is however less important for funds as EU clients' assets are already kept in funds domiciled in Ireland and Luxembourg and are simply managed from the UK. Only approximately 7 % of assets managed in the UK would be under direct threat from the loss of the passport, according to the estimations in Booth and Scarpetta (2016). In their study, the researchers also add that insurance business is unlikely to be significantly affected if UK loses passporting rights because insurance is a global industry and there is no single market in insurance in the EU. They indicate that 'up to 87 % of insurers operating across borders in the EU do so via subsidiaries rather than branches, which are reliant on the passport' (Booth and Scarpetta, 2016: 48).

Access to the single market and free movement of labour

The vote to leave the EU was triggered to a large extent by the desire of the British voters to limit the free movement of EU citizens into the UK. The following migration statistics do not justify the vote of the British people to leave the EU.

During the twelve months up until March 2015, net migration was estimated to be 330,000, which exceeded the previous highest level estimated for June 2005 of 320,000. In respect of the issue of EU vs non-EU migration, the data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) shows that net migration for EU citizens was estimated to be 184,000 in December 2015 compared with 174,000 in December 2014. The apparent increase in EU net migration was in fact largely due to the increase in net migration of EU2 citizens (comprising Romania and Bulgaria), while net migration of EU15 (comprising Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, the Irish Republic, Italy (including The Vatican), Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden) and EU8 citizens (comprising Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) remained relatively stable. As for the non-EU citizens, in December 2015, the net migration number was 188,000, a level in line with the 194,000 non-EU immigrants in the previous year (ONS, 2016).

It is important to note that although inflows from the EU have increased much more rapidly compared to the non-EU migration, migrants from non-EU countries account for the larger share of the migration (see Figure 1 adapted from the ONS). Furthermore, EU migration is primarily work-related and, according to Dustmann and Frattini (2014), has contributed £20bn to UK public finance between 2000 and 2011 as tax payments by European migrants far outweigh the cost of welfare.

Although it is early days to assess the consequences of leaving the single market, it is clear that the economic advantages of participating in free movement of people will be lost. Firms may lose access to the wider supply of skills which would damage productivity. The tax revenues collected by the UK government may decrease if some jobs remain unoccupied. Finally, innovation and spread of ideas may slow down. It is also clear that costs will be borne disproportionately across the UK. For example, restrictions on the freedom of movement will be felt more heavily in Scotland which is already facing demographic challenges as its population ages.

Could the UK choose Norway and Switzerland as a potential exit models?

Immigration and lack of border controls are increasingly cited as the main reasons for leaving the EU. It is highly unlikely that Norway or Switzerland could serve as models for the UK after an EU exit. Although these countries do operate under slightly different legal arrangements from the UK's when it comes to EU migration, in practice, these countries are fully integrated into the EU's free movement rules.
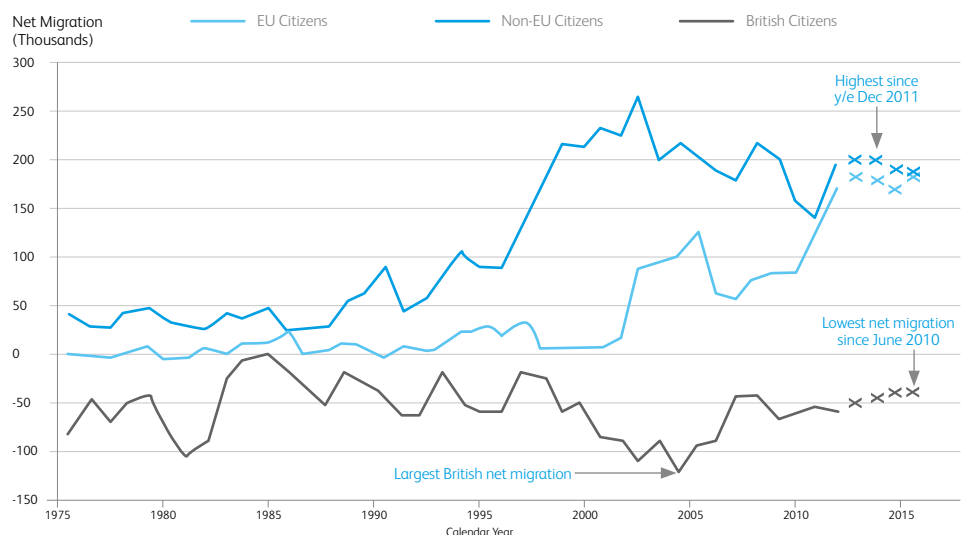

FIGURE 1: Net Long-Term International Migration by citizenship, United Kingdom, 1975 to 2015. *Source: ONS*

Confusion persists on three main issues: the fragile and complex constitutional settlement of the UK; what kind of country the UK wants to be post-Brexit; and what future relations it wants to secure with the EU

Furthermore, if the UK chooses the Switzerland scenario to enjoy tariff-free access to the EU in goods, it will still have no passporting rights to operate in the EU; Swiss financial firms still require special permissions to operate in the EU. Thus, the Swiss model is unlikely to be a solution London would want. Those models would not address the issue of EU immigration, as both Switzerland and Norway have far higher levels of EU immigration than the UK as a proportion of their populations. For the UK had the same net EU immigration rate as Switzerland, it would mean nearly 400,000 more EU migrants a year (Eurostat, 2012).

Uncertainty persists

The terms of the UK's departure from the EU will be the most important topic for the UK in 2017-2019. Questions will be raised about the precise nature of the separation. Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty – the legal mechanism that triggers a country's exit from the EU – has never been triggered before, and it is unclear how it is supposed to work in practice. Confusion therefore persists on three main issues: the fragile and complex constitutional settlement of the UK; what kind of country the UK wants to be post-Brexit; and what future relations it wants to secure with the EU. More certainty is required, especially for the City of London because the financial sector dislikes uncertainty as investors are looking to shift investments away from UK to continental Europe and major financial firms (e.g. HSBC, J.P.Morgan) are considering relocating their activities in anticipation of a 'hard Brexit.'

What does Brexit mean for the international commercial world?

Brexit has shaken up the international commercial world in a manner that has yet to be fully understood. A regulation of European financial market law prohibits providers of financial service from the third countries (countries outside the EU) from agreeing a place of jurisdiction or arbitration procedure in third countries. Any agreement with London as the place of jurisdiction or arbitration should be amended in favour of other countries where distinct official powers have the authority to make legal decisions and judgments. This has an immediate effect on the market segments of banking, capital market and insurance law, where London courts are a hub for the majority of disputes in the European judicial area (Hess, 2016). Moreover, judgments in the British courts will no longer be automatically enforceable in the European Union after Brexit, as Article 36 of the Regulation (EU) number 1215/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 December 2012 on Jurisdiction and the Recognition and Enforcement of Judgments in Civil and Commercial Matters (Recast) (Brussels I Regulation 1215/2012) only applies to 'a judgment given by the courts of a Member State'.

Furthermore, Brexit means a loss in European legal culture. Civil law tradition and legal practice, *inter alia,* of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), are faced with the concept of common law. These judgments to a great extent are based upon previous court rulings whilst common law is developed through judicial interpretation unlike the civil law tradition of continental Europe. This means that 'the power of argument of British lawyers will represent a loss, and the dogmatic but equally pragmatic approach of common law for achieving feasible solutions will leave gaps' (Hess, 2016: 2).

What does Brexit mean for international commercial arbitration?

International arbitration is safe from the legal uncertainty created by Brexit as EU legislation does not apply to international arbitration; this aspect has never been regulated or harmonized at the EU level. Brussels I Regulation on jurisdiction, recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters has excluded arbitration from its scope of application. The New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Awards remains in place even within the EU. The most important advantage of arbitration is its enforceability, whereas enforcement of court judgments abroad may not be straightforward

In the long run, however, London as a preferred place of arbitration may be affected by any decline in London's position as a global business centre post-Brexit

in the absence of a specific enforcement treaty. Jurisprudence of the CJEU has impact on international arbitration in the EU. After Brexit, English courts will not be bound by CJEU's case law (Murray, 2016); anti-suit injunctions that prevent a party from pursuing abusive court proceedings in an EU Member State will be dispensed by English courts (see Allianz SpA and Others v West Tankers Inc, Case C-185/07). However, some argue that injunctions are already permissible under the Brussels I Regulation (Cannon, 2016). And like Swiss courts, English courts will not be bound to sanction an arbitration award that is contrary to EU public policy. English law is usually chosen for reasons unconnected with the UK's present membership in the EU; English law is used because of its well developed and reputable case-law, and its transparency and predictability, providing freedom of contract, and a pro-business approach.

In summary, the impact of Brexit on international arbitration practices will be minimal. In the short-term, it is unlikely that the use of arbitration and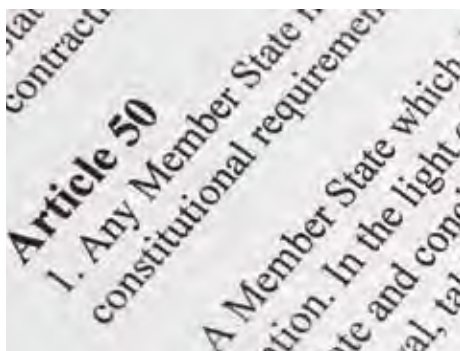 of London as a preferred place of business will change. In the long run, however, London as a preferred place of arbitration may be affected by any decline in London's position as a global business centre post-Brexit.

Conclusion

Britain's exit from the EU will constitute a significant loss for the EU, and although there are certain areas which will not be affected by the Brexit vote – such as international commercial arbitration – Brexit will also have serious consequences for the UK's economy, especially for the City of London, as mentioned in this article. The Centre for Economic Performance (2016) and the National Institute of Economic and Social Research (2016) estimates that the UK economy will be between 1% and 3% smaller by 2020, and between 2% and 8% smaller by 2030, than if the UK has chosen to stay in the EU (Dhingra *et al.* 2016; Ebell and Warren, 2016). A 1% drop in GDP is a fall of £19 billion, equivalent to £720 for each household currently in the UK. Although it is possible that losses for the UK might be mitigated (e.g. if EU leaders negotiate a good deal for the City of London recognising the risk to financial stability across the EU as a whole) – it is clear that the risk to economic growth of an exit strategy driven by immigration control are serious.

If the EU does not offer the UK favorable exit terms, it is difficult in the current global macroeconomic and political climate to predict what leverage Britain will have with its European neighbours. Indeed, the strong reluctance on the part of continental Europe to acknowledge the crises of immigration facing the EU may be driving the desire to be harsh on the UK in order to deter other EU exits. If this is the case, the UK economic model may change. As suggested by the British Prime Minister Theresa May, Britain may aggressively cut taxes and red tape, if it does not secure favourable fast-track trade deals with the EU (FT, 2017).

At the time of writing, it appears that Britain will not seek continued single market membership but will rather try to negotiate a free-trade agreement with the EU. This 'smart' Brexit approach has already generated a negative reaction from some EU leaders who are invoking European values, and the indissoluble link between free movement and trade agreements. The UK will need to exert outstanding negotiating skills – and possibly a degree of luck - to secure its ambitious Brexit plan.

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Keywords

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COUNTERTERRORISM, FOREIGN FIGHTERS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSES IN EUROPE

Foreign fighters are individuals who, for a variety of different reasons, join an armed conflict abroad. The reasons for joining a far-away armed conflict could range from marginalisation in their own countries, bullying, peer-pressure, a desire to get married, a need to acquire the sense of belonging or simply for the so-called 'thrill-seeking'

This paper discusses the effectiveness of criminal justice responses in deterring recruitment of citizens as foreign fighters in places of conflict. Although there is no consensus on the definition of terrorism among national laws, this term is usually used to point to politically motivated violence or a threat of violence perpetrated by non-state actors against civilian targets. Counterterrorism encompasses a broad range of actions aimed at deterring, preventing and pre-empting terrorist acts which change according to the nature of security threats. Because terrorism threats constantly evolve, it is important to continue reviewing, strengthening and adapting counterterrorism responses.

While the overall threat to European security has increased over recent years, one of the main concerns continues to be transnational Islamist terrorism based on the ideology of 'Salafi Jihadism' (Europol, 2016). Salafism refers to a strictly orthodox Sunni Muslim sect advocating a return to early Islam. The concepts of violent 'jihad' ('struggle') and return to 'pure' Islam are embodied in the ideological constructs of both Al-Qaeda and the so-called ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). There are some differences between these two groups with regards to their recruitment strategies, organisational dynamics, reliance on new media and depictions of violence, membership rules and their practice of governance. While Al-Qaeda is portrayed as an elite group and 'rather an idea than an organisation' (Cockburn, 2015: 54), ISIS is known for its pragmatism and strategic approach, including successful use of social media to appeal to mass audiences that facilitate recruitment.

This paper focuses on the issue of recruitment and addresses the problem of the closely related phenomenon of foreign fighters traveling to and from conflict zones. Specifically, it aims to examine criminal justice responses that tackle the issue of foreign fighters who participate in the conflict in both fighting and non-combat capacities such as spiritual leaders or family members.

Recruitment strategies

Foreign fighters are individuals who, for a variety of different reasons, join an armed conflict abroad. In this paper, foreign fighters are defined as nationals of countries that are not Syria or Iraq. The reasons for joining a far-away armed conflict could range from marginalisation in their own countries, bullying, peer-pressure, a desire to get married, a need to acquire the sense of belonging or simply for the so-called 'thrill-seeking'. Sometimes all the abovementioned sociological and psychological reasons overlap as the decision-making process takes place. There is no single profile of a foreign fighter, and there could be many external and internal factors that influence a person's decision to travel to the conflict zone. At the same time, it is believed that a typical 'jihadi' foreign fighter is male, and aged between 18 and 29 years old, although there are many exceptions (Stern and Berger, 2015). Moreover, a disproportionate number of people who convert to Islam can also be found among foreign fighters, and they are believed to be particularly vulnerable to fundamentalist rhetoric (Barrett, 2014).

Foreign recruitment has been an important component of Al-Qaeda's tactics. However, while most of Al-Qaeda's foreign fighters originated from the Middle East and Asia, ISIS relies on recruitment from the West. Moreover, Stern and Berger (2015) argue that ISIS propaganda is disproportionately slanted towards foreign nationals, as their messages are released simultaneously in English, French and German, and later translated into other languages, such as Urdu, Indonesian and Russian. The perpetrators who publicly executed the American journalists Steven Sotloff and James Foley had British accents. Migration to the so-called caliphate (or 'hijra') has also been described as a religious duty by the ISIS leader Abu-Bakr al Baghdadi in his sermons which encourage Muslims worldwide to travel to Syria and Iraq (Cockburn, 2015).

Foreign recruitment is directed not just at those soldiers who join Islamic militants on the battlefront, but also at women who are recruited to fulfill other functions in the Islamic State or overseas. The term 'jihadi bride' denotes women who are believed to have fled their homes to marry ISIS militants and live in accordance with the principles of Sharia law. A significant percentage of all foreign travelers in Syria and Iraq are now female (Europol, 2016). Most of those who travel to join ISIS marry fighters soon after arrival and give birth to children. Women are not actively taking part in frontline combat, although they generally have been trained in the use of weapons. However, their roles may change in the future, and they might be used as suicide bombers, as suggested by Europol (2016).

The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) estimates that approximately 20,000 foreign fighters have joined the group (Neumann, 2015). According to recent reports, approximately 500 British citizens were affiliated with ISIS in Syria and Iraq as of August 2016 (Stern and Berger, 2015), although other sources claim that this number is higher, possibly around 850 individuals (BBC, 2016). There is growing concern about what these individuals will do once they leave the Middle East and a risk of the foreign fighters returning to their home countries further radicalised and equipped with contacts, status and military and/or explosive training. Having witnessed violence and brutality in Syria, they might adopt even more extremist ideas and decide to inspire or direct new attacks.

Prevention measures

Considering the large number of foreign fighters in Syria and the abovementioned threat to security they could pose, many countries have started to adopt new measures in the framework of counterterrorism responses. In 2013 four priority areas were agreed by the European Union (EU) member states: prevention, information exchange on identification and detection of travel, criminal justice response, and cooperation with third countries (European Council, 2015). The following year member states called for the accelerated implementation of measures in these four priority areas emphasising the need to improve the judicial response and checks at the external borders (European Council, 2015). Moreover, in the wake of the Paris attacks European states announced strengthening of their security services and border controls.

However, security measures recently imposed by many nations to prevent foreign fighters from joining ISIS have reportedly increased the variety of routes to the so-called 'caliphate' via air, land and sea (Masi and Sender, 2015), including offering new opportunities to organised crime groups to smuggle people from Turkey to Syria. Besides travel bans, work with community leaders and de-radicalisation programmes, how can European states prevent their nationals from travelling to Syria?

Some European states are currently proposing to revoke the nationality of combatants fighting with ISIS. Twenty Britons with dual nationality were stripped of their citizenship in 2013 while they were in Syria (Swinford, 2014). Germany and the Netherlands are also currently considering amending the Nationality Acts to allow revocation of nationality but it is not clear how soon these changes will come into effect. On the one hand, denationalisation policies would make it easier to prevent potentially radicalised individuals from returning to their home countries. On the other hand, in the case of a person with only one nationality, the international law prohibits the revocation of citizenship unless certain exceptions to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness are satisfied. Significant legal obstacles enshrined in international law treaties might prevent states from fully implementing plans to strip suspected terrorists of citizenship (Jayaraman, 2016).

Further proposed measures to stop individuals from joining ISIS include providing police with the powers to confiscate the passports of suspected foreign fighters and blocking their return to their home countries. Among other possible options would be to introduce certain changes to the domestic criminal justice arrangements, making it more risky for the Western supporters of ISIS to travel overseas. Will prosecuting foreign fighters and applying harsh punishments deter more individuals from taking part into somebody else's conflict?

Will prosecuting foreign fighters and applying harsh punishments deter more individuals from taking part into somebody else's conflict?

Judicial responses

France and Russia exemplify punitive criminal justice responses that include jail sentences, fines and restriction on civil liberties. The French Criminal Code considers conspiracy with a terrorist enterprise as a crime punishable by ten years of incarceration and a fine of €225,000, or by up to twenty years of incarceration and a fine of €500,000 for those individuals found to be in a leadership role (Criminal Code of France, 2014). In Russia current criminal law provides a five to ten year term of imprisonment followed by a two-year restriction on civil liberties for joining ISIS (Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, 1996). This article has recently been applied to the case of Varvara Karaulova, a 20-year-old philosophy student from Moscow who reportedly fell in love with an ISIS fighter and tried crossing the border after marrying him in a secret online ceremony. She was arrested in Turkey and sentenced to four and a half years of imprisonment in December 2016 (Titko, 2016).

At the same time, the solution of criminalising all foreign fighters presents certain weaknesses. It is crucial to distinguish between the foreign fighters who wage violent 'jihad' in the Middle East and those individuals who venture to the battlefield fighting with the coalition forces against the Islamic State such as the Kurdish 'Peshmerga' battalions. Joanna Palani, a Danish citizen of a Kurdish origin who fought against ISIS in Syria with the 'Peshmerga' unit, currently faces a jail sentence in Copenhagen. She had previously been issued a travel ban for 12 months. Besides a failure to distinguish between volunteers who fight against ISIS as Joanna Palani, and radicalised individuals who join extremist organisations abroad, criminalisation of foreign fighters and deliberate application of punitive policies might impede those fighters who become disillusioned by ISIS ideology and their life in the so-called 'caliphate' to return to Europe.

While the issue of radicalisation and extremism in Europe continues to pose an important security concern, it is essential to agree on a clear definition of a 'foreign fighter' and use it consistently in order to facilitate a more effective counterterrorist strategy, ensure coherence of policies and data collection, and adequately address the threats of ISIS foreign recruitment in Europe.

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THE FELDENKRAIS METHOD

The Feldenkrais Method seeks to provide the ideal learning conditions through which the motor cortex of the individual can be re-wired

In this short article I discuss some strategies in the educational method focused on learning and movement known as the Feldenkrais Method. This was created by the engineer and physicist (also a judo teacher), Mosche Feldenkrais (1904-1984). I will show how this Method can impact upon creative practice referring to the ways in which this was articulated at two conferences held at the University of West London in 2016 and 2017.

Who was Feldenkrais?

In Volume 1 of his new magisterial biography, which only covers the period up to 1951, Mark Reese, a practitioner of the method, chronicles Feldenkrais's youth, his learning to fight on the streets of Palestine, his studies in judo and in mechanical and electrical engineering in Paris, and his work in the laboratories of Joliot-Curie and on the Van de Graaff generator (used in atomic fission experiments). He details Feldenkrais's escape from the Nazis in 1940, his work for the British admiralty, and his move to the new state of Israel. There he later famously trained the first Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. After the publication of a picture of Ben-Gurion on the beach at Tel-Aviv, the journalist Meyer Levin published an article about Feldenkrais in The *Jerusalem Post* entitled 'The Man who stood the Prime Minister on his head'. Ben-Gurion and Feldenkrais were lifelong friends, and he even tried to found a University in Israel that would specifically study Feldenkrais's work.

Reese's book contains many details and insights gleaned from students and colleagues of Feldenkrais, some anthropology of the method (Feldenkrais's extensive reading of Freud, for example), and the way his ideas on early childhood development parallel those of Esther Thelen and Linda Smith's 'Dynamic Systems Approach' to infant human development. Feldenkrais' s work with such luminaries as Yehudi Menuhin, Narciso Yepes, Igor Markevitch, Peter Brook, and his engagements with Margaret Mead and Karl Pribram would come later.

Feldenkrais's first five books were on judo, 'grounded', as Reese states, 'in physics, biology, psychology, and neuroscience' (Reese, 2015: 231). These areas feed into the method, but I have chosen to define Feldenkrais as a somatic educationalist. The reasons for this are manifold. Firstly, all of Feldenkrais's other activities culminate in one profound activity, the creation of what has come to be known as The Feldenkrais Method. Secondly, Feldenkrais's work with ordinary people as well as those with profound disabilities such as cerebral palsy (Feldenkrais, 2007) or stroke victims (Feldenkrais, 1993) addresses their human potential and their neuroplastic ability to change and heal themselves through their body.

Top:
Mosche Feldenkrais Judo throw sequence
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Middle:
Ben Gurion headstand © Paul Goldman
Right:
Moshe Feldenkrais Circa 1957
© International Feldenkrais® Federation Archive

Above and below:
Mosche Feldenkrais at Amhers © International Feldenkrais® Federation Archive

Thirdly, the method that he created seeks to provide the ideal learning conditions through which the motor cortex of the individual can be re-wired. It is 'not' a set of 'exercises' or 'something you repeat until you get tired' as Feldenkrais opined. This is why Feldenkrais always said that he was not a teacher but someone who provided conditions for learning.

The Feldenkrais Method

Through his method, Feldenkrais was able to achieve remarkable things, most recently beautifully documented in Norman Doidge's bestselling book *The Brain's Way of Healing*. Doidge (2015) tells the story of Elizabeth, a girl missing a third of her cerebellum, a part of the brain at the base of the skull that is intimately involved in motor control, attention and language. Feldenkrais worked with her from the age of 13 months. From a prognosis of 'profound retardation', Feldenkrais, aware of her potential and progress, eventually told her father: 'She will dance at her wedding'. Today, Elizabeth has two graduate degrees… and yes, she danced at her wedding (Doidge, 2015: 188-95).

At the heart of this method are many strategies and I will only refer to a few of them here. The design of these strategies is to facilitate effortless movement and a range, choice and comfort in movement through an organic learning. The purpose of this learning, as with the case of Elizabeth, is to change a person's self-image, an image formed perhaps by injury, but in 'healthy' people by habit, one's awareness of oneself in space and with relation to gravity, and of course to what the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan called 'the big Other' – that is, the unspoken desires and prohibitions of society that form the crucible of human development. In a utopian vein, Feldenkrais believed that if he could change a person's self-image, and this could change the world.

So, what is the self-image? Feldenkrais defines it through the body but goes on to show that it not just the unique identification of oneself in gravity, in proprioceptive space, but most importantly in the sense in which we feel that our own particular way of doing something – walking, speaking, thinking, or playing a musical instrument for example – is sensed as uniquely our own and unchangeable (Feldenkrais, 2010: 3). Therein lies the difficulty of

Feldenkrais defines the self-image through the body but goes on to show that it not just the unique identification of oneself in gravity, in proprioceptive space, but most importantly in the sense in which we feel that our own particular way of doing something – walking, speaking, thinking, or playing a musical instrument for example

changing habit and the feeling that it was formed by accident (Feldenkrais, 1977: 20).

What does Feldenkrais mean in practice

The significance of this idea can be shown by examining the method through an ordinary activity. Think about how you brush your teeth. Do you always do this in the same place and at the same time? Do you always use your dominant hand? Do you scrub them hard and lean towards the bathroom mirror? Do you contract the muscles around your eyes, and neck as if doing something really hard? Does brushing your teeth forcefully give you some kind of perverse sense of reward? What this example shows is something that Feldenkrais stressed in his teaching: not only are learning and comfort necessary for progress, but as a precursor to this, humans need to learn to be comfortable and kind to themselves. This is why, after Freud, Feldenkrais wrote that one should not follow the religious, 'superego' injunction to 'love one's neighbor as oneself'; what he meant, rather, was that one needs to learn how to love oneself first, and only then can love for another be uncompromised (Feldenkrais, 1985, xxxvii-xl).

So, returning to the bathroom… Do you change your breathing in brushing your teeth? Next time you do this, pay attention to yourself: is this the only way to brush your teeth? If you had to brush someone else's teeth, would you treat them in the same way, or would you be nicer to them (nicer than you are to yourself)? Even in this activity, the physical and psychological are grounded in the embodied experience. One of the profound lessons to be learnt from this is that just by paying attention to what one does with one's body, or 'listening' as Feldenkrais stated, one can not only make a profound change in the tonus (the level of muscular excitation) of one's body (and therefore in the quality of movement), but to the sense of quality (and enjoyment) that van be experienced through any activity.

In brushing their teeth, most people use one side of themselves; Feldenkrais was fascinated with bodily asymmetry and many of his individual and group lessons – which is the way the method is taught – worked with one side to reveal the difference that can be created. This has also become a major source of research (McManus, 2004). Feldenkrais worked

with one side of the body to show the difference between the two sides, and this then allowed that learning to be absorbed or 'integrated' by the other side. Using one side of the body involves one side of the spine more than the other, breathing with one lung more than the other, and using one eye more than the other.

To notice such a difference, and to make a change in habitual behaviour, Feldenkrais made use of the Weber-Fechner law. This law relates the amount of effort in an activity to sensitivity. So, in an example given by Feldenkrais's himself that dramatises this law, he explains this in the following way: 'If I lifted a bull, I would have to contract my muscles so much and use so much effort that I would not be able to tell the difference between whether the bull had peed or not. However, if I lifted a feather and a fly landed on it, I might be able to sense the difference in weight'. To make such a differentiation in brushing one's teeth is to realise that this activity requires perhaps less effort than one might give it. Feldenkrais's (Feldenkrais, 2013) readings of Émile Coué (Coué, 2006) also brought him to understand the uselessness of effort and willpower and the importance of awareness.

To pay attention and notice a difference, to become aware, is to make a differentiation that leads to learning. When asked what good teaching was, in what is probably the last book of conversations, the great French composer and conductor Pierre Boulez stated that it 'must have the function of a detonation, and for this to happen, there must be a detonator, but also an explosive charge' (Archimbaud, 2016: 99). Feldenkrais's teaching provides a means of creating the gentlest but also the most potent 'detonation' — the surprise that one does not have to live in the same way, do things in the same way, or be the same person. There is a choice, and this choice, Feldenkrais maintained, is a basic human right.

For musicians and creative artists, people who 'practise' their art, the process of this essentially auto-didactic activity of differentiation is encapsulated by one of Feldenkrais's favourite statements. He often stated that his method was 'to make the impossible possible, the possible easy and comfortable, and the comfortable aesthetically pleasurable' (Feldenkrais, 1975). This is what creative people do every day.

One of Feldenkrais's favourite statements about his method was 'to make the impossible possible, the possible easy and comfortable, and the comfortable aesthetically pleasurable'

Contemporary applications of the Feldenkrais method

In this context, I have now co-organised two conferences with a UWL colleague Marcia Carr, on the Feldenkrais Method, but I will here chiefly refer to the event in 2016. The conference was entitled *'Making the Impossible Possible': The Feldenkrais Method in Music, Dance, Movement and the Creative Practice.* Speakers came from around the world – North and South America, Australia, Europe as well as colleagues from the University. This in itself is testament to the spread of Feldenkrais's thought, but what was most pleasing, and what in many ways represents a great continuity of Feldenkraisian thought, was the welcome unorthodoxy of the approaches discussed. This, I think, shows something profoundly potent about Feldenkrais's thought; it is intellectually malleable, durable and is a hinge for the advancement of thought and practice for the mutual benefit of those who use it.

One of the pleasures of forming a Feldenkrais event is in the non-homogeneity, diversity, and a sense of 'going with the flow' that could come both from the presenters and from the audience. Feldenkrais gives permission for a certain kind of rigorous sensitivity to occur. This was demonstrated in the first session where Paolo Maccagno showed how the idea of a constriction or a barrier (like a whiteout) provides a form of educational impetus to find another educational path. The three presenters of the second session, Iaci Moraes Lomonaco, Larissa Padula Ribeiro da Fonseca and Beatriz Kaysel, had a little trouble with the technology. They had come along way, so after a break to allow these problems to be sorted out, the audience, came back to a startling performance that applied the idea of restriction, of stopping and changing direction (one of Feldenkrais's strategies is that of making a constriction which forces the body to do less, or create an alternative, or non-habitual, form of action). This demonstration of constriction (and its overcoming) was followed by a presentation of Ingrid Weisfelt's film *Intimacy*. This film documents how the limitations of a dancer suffering of multiple sclerosis can actually become the enabling properties of great expressive movement.

Libby Worth's keynote discussed how the Feldenkrais Method can ease and enhance cross-disciplinary communication through an investigation of stability, a shift in self-image and the re-direction of focus from 'correction' of, to curiosity about one's movements. So often education can be about judgment rather than being a safe space for exploring possibilities, learning through trial and error and staying focused through inquisitive interaction with material. Feldenkrais brings with it a salutary reminder of the curious mindset and the need, for novice and the experienced alike, to begin again.

Corinna Eikmeier is a cellist who is partially sighted, and her work explores precisely this possibility through improvisation. She reported on some enlivening research that facilitates musicianship and expression through quasi-controlled experiments in improvisation. Her work therefore focuses on the dialectic between inner sensation and action, between an inner attitude while playing music, and the perception, listening, and the willingness to completely embrace the present situation. This is important because in mainstream education, judgment often means that too much of the focus in assessing learning is on the result rather than the process, or even in the incremental improvement made by students. Marilla Homes, a lyric soprano who teaches at the Victorian College of the Arts in Melbourne, then gave a lively and amusing account of exactly how students can think through the process of self-judgment and come to appreciate the uniqueness and malleability of their own gifts. Lisa Burrell then gave a memorable demonstration (with video evidence) of how the Feldenkrais Method can be a lifeline for the health of artists, and how it can change bodies and lives.

In the final session, Marcia Carr gave an entertaining exposition of how Feldenkrais can be used in a collaborative teaching environment for the training of the actors/singers at the University. She showed how the method provides a hinge for the development of the reflective (or 'self-thinking') performer, a performer who is ready for the challenges and spontaneity required in the 'marketplace'. Finally Jessica M. Beck emphasised the cultivation of a state of perpetual readiness offered by the method, challenging fixed notions of self-image in the rehearsal processes of performing artists.

Responses to the conference

We had very positive feedback from delegates, including some undergraduate students. The event was, in the words of a delegate: 'wide-ranging, stimulating and very encouraging.' Central to the day according another attendee was:

> Performing and narrating the self, and the place of awareness in an actor's self-development as a person in parallel to their development as a performer. To borrow ideas from Laban, much of the training of a performer is to promote the free flow of inspiration and skill. But what happens when actors meet their limit, professionally or personally – when that flow is broken or at least bound? The excellent presentations from the musicianship side of things addressed this in fascinating ways for me and made the link to the performing-arts medicine world.

The March 2017 conference invited creative practitioners in music, dance and drama to consider how the method provides a means and an educational impetus to find new, alternative and engaging beginnings for research, teaching and practice.

The keynote speaker was the pianist and practitioner Alan Fraser from Canada who has published several books applying the Feldenkrais Method to piano technique and who works with pianists and other musicians, both those who are healthy and those suffering from focal dystonia, tendonitis, carpal tunnel syndrome and other pain issues. His research shows that improved physical organisation can enhance every aspect of musical performance, from sonority, agility, phrase shaping and emotional expression to the quick resolution of most pain problems. These conferences show that this is a research area ripe for development. Feldenkrais was proud of his achievement, but he was always open to the idea that other people could improve upon what he did. He often said: 'there is no end to improvement', and these conferences fully endorse this optimistic stance.

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Feldenkrais, music, creative practices, body, self-image

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THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN THE CHOICE OF EMPLOYMENT

Identity theory at work

An important aspect of identity theory that has been widely acknowledged is the need for human beings to categorise themselves as forming part of a social group. For instance, in his hierarchy of needs, Maslow (1968) considered the need to belong as one of human beings' primary drives (coming after satisfaction of hunger and safety but before the need for esteem). Research carried out in the 1970s and 1980s recognised that individual behaviour is not just a product of personal identity and individual differences but also influenced by groups which people belong to. Tajfel's (1981) social identity approach explains how through the principles of self-esteem (a feeling of personal self-worth) and distinctiveness (the need to feel unique), individuals seek to become attached to a social group that allows them to experience these elements. Individuals define themselves as part of a group so as to enhance their identity through that group's function, image and achievements. Self-categorisation with the group develops – a cognitive mechanism involving the 'switching on' of social identity which results in behaviours that are aligned with the group's goals and norms (Turner, 1982).

Building on the social identity approach, Breakwell (1986) adds two other guiding principles which influence behaviour – temporal continuity (between the past, present and future), and self-efficacy (denoting the belief in one's capabilities). Essentially, individuals choose to take part in activities that uphold the four identity principles of self-esteem, distinctiveness, temporal continuity and self-efficacy, and avoid threats to their existing state. Such threats can be internal, caused by a situation which creates conflict between the prime principles, or external to the individual, mainly because a situation they face is incongruent with the present value they attribute to the identity principles. Once threats become conscious, the individual seeks to apply a coping strategy at an intrapersonal, interpersonal and/or intergroup level. An individual may resolve the threat by altering his or her identity structure both in terms of content and value and/or in relation to the priority given to any of the identity principles. Otherwise he or she might decide to move away from the present social context that is creating the threat.

Developing a social identity at the workplace

Belonging to an employment organisation is a form of social identity, referred to as organisational identity (Cornelissen *et al*., 2007). An individual internalises his or her own membership and role within this specialised social group to become established as part of his or her self-concept (the individual's image of him- or herself), taking on the organisational values, interests and norms as his or her own. From a subjective point of view, 'a career is about the meaning of self in connection with the world of work' (Millward and Kyriakidou, 2004: 14), where the individual continuously negotiates his or her identity, aiming to sustain an affirmative, consistent evaluation of the self. The crucial question of *who am I?* is defined by individual attributes and roles. People choose what affiliations and roles they decide to engage in, opting for situations that are congruent with their identity. In this respect, it seems plausible to suggest that an individual chooses to become involved with an organisation that complements his or her present identity rather than one that might generate an identity threat. An individual's interaction with an employing organisation, both in terms of the occupation and the social group in which it pertains, becomes part of this self-definition.

In this context, this paper considers what potential applicants look for when accepting a position within an organisation; why they decide to join one organisation over another, even if both offer the same objective conditions; and why employees choose to stay with a particular organisation.

The crucial question of who am I? *is defined by individual attributes and roles. People choose what affiliations and roles they decide to engage in, opting for situations that are congruent with their identity*
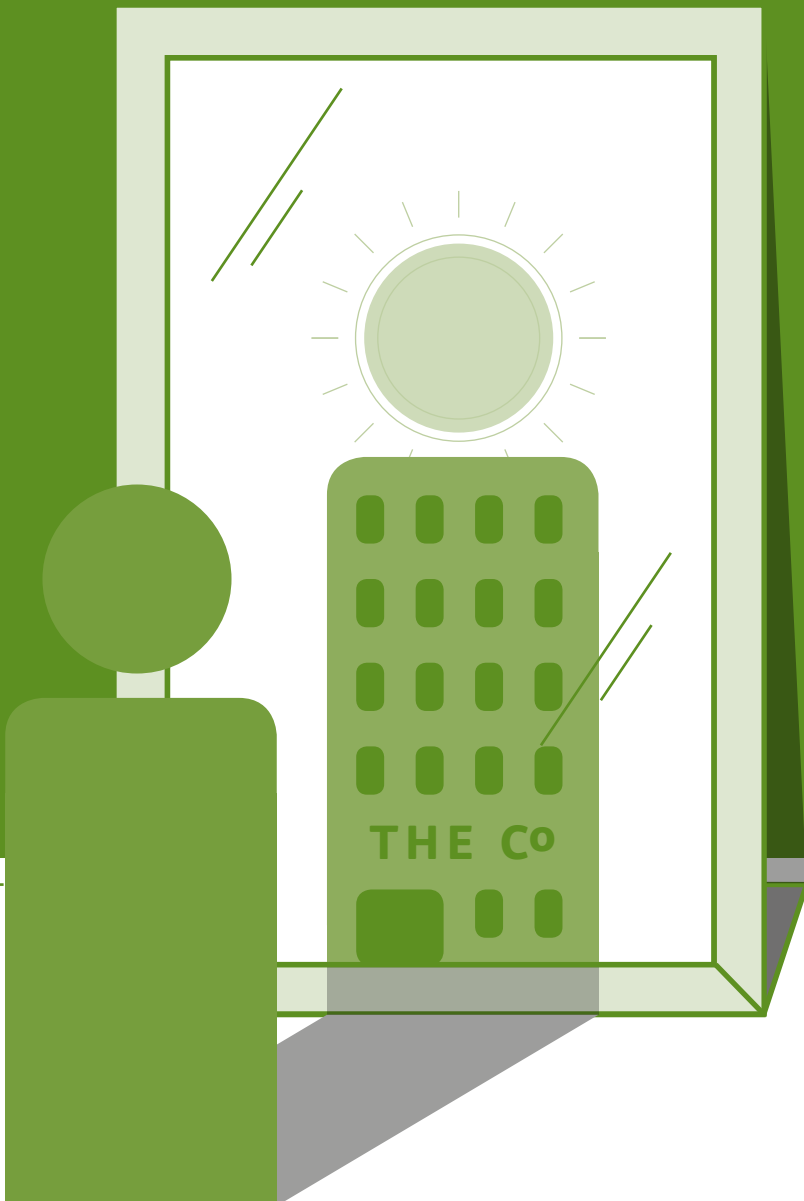
Gaining the employees' perspective

The explorative nature of this study demanded an inductive approach, adopting a longitudinal qualitative design. An opportunistic sample of twenty-six newly recruited fulltime employees, thirteen males and thirteen females, aged between 23 and 50 from across different organisations were included. Fourteen participants were managers in the hospitality industry while the remaining twelve were secondary school teachers. These two types of employees were selected because all the recruits initiated employment concurrently, minimising the time over which data was collected. In depth semi-structured telephone interviews were conducted at three, six and twelve months from initiation of contract.

At the initial interview, participants were first asked to talk about their role within the organisation and how they came to choose that particular employer. They were invited to point out any significant events that occurred within this initial time period, between starting on the job and at three months from commencement. Such events could be any instances that stood out and which caught their attention. Finally, these new recruits were asked about what would ensure they would stay in the organisation and what might make them consider quitting. Similarly, participants recounted occurrences that happened within the following time periods at the six and twelve month interviews. The participants' narratives were examined and their accounts are summarised here under three main themes. Quotes from the interviews are used to support the analysis.

Establishing a meaningful employment relationship

Integration within the organisation takes priority in the respondents' agenda of settling into their new role and work setting. Interviewees expressed a sense of urgency in their need to move from being at the periphery of the group and feeling like an outsider to perceiving themselves as part of that new social group. One way of doing this was by making great effort to become acquainted with the organisation's mode of operation and to get to know the other members and their roles.

Participants expressed how they chose to become part of the organisation which they believed fitted with their values and ideals. They enjoyed the positive association that the organisation offered and started to describe themselves in terms of their membership. Feeling part of a team that functions well is central to the new entrants' positive perception of their employing organisation, as below:

I'm very much a team player. I love working with *my* team. It's a lovely place, lovely environment (*emphasis added*). (Manager).

Their integration is enhanced through the acceptance and acknowledgement shown by other group members. They invested energy in managing the relationships that developed, and maintaining the ones that they considered beneficial, principally those which offer organisational support to establish themselves as part of the group. As new entrants, they were willing to give their utmost but also expected the organisation to provide them with the required assistance in learning how to perform their duties well and are grateful that they receive it:

This department is very supportive and I can certainly feel as part of a team here and everyone is very willing to give me advice and to give me practical support. (Teacher)

Besides having people who are easily accessible, support also takes the form of formal training and the supply of mechanisms that enhance efficiency. Employees also believed that the employment relationship should be a balanced system of mutual benefits for them and the organisation. They expected a reciprocal relationship of trust, loyalty and mutual attention to each other's well-being. Their work role was also expected to fit in with their pre-existing roles outside work and any other roles that they might acquire during their employment.

Applying skills and knowledge

Interviewees explained how they hoped that the organisation would serve as an outlet for displaying their true self, channelling their energy and fulfilling their aspirations. They believed that they could maintain their personal goals and practice their values through their engagement with work. They regarded their employment as providing a challenging and motivating environment:

I'm enjoying the challenge of running this business so as long as this continues, I'm happy to be here for the rest of my working life. (Manager).

Employees' confidence and self-efficacy was directly influenced by their job satisfaction, which was the main measure they used to scale their intention to stay or leave the organisation

It was also perceived as a setting where they could bring new input through their independent contribution:

I will stay here for as long as I know that I could make a difference and I can drive it forward. I think when I'm bored, when I feel I can't do any more, then it's time to leave and move on. (Teacher)

Organisational support was seen as crucial to become confident in their assigned role and to perceive themselves as competent:

You can do your job because the back up is there… it's great to have people behind you. (Manager)

These new recruits considered the organisation responsible to provide them with the necessary training and tools needed to conduct their job well. Furthermore, they expected to have opportunities for career progression, which was their aim when joining the organisation.

Notably, the focus on personal and professional development was much more prominent in the second six months of employment than in the initial period of employment. They sought knowledge about training and progression opportunities available to them and wanted to establish a concrete career plan. It was also part of their reality check. For instance, one interviewee expressed how she realised that a low employee turnover, which she considered a positive factor when she was recruited, meant that her options for progression in her desired direction were not available to her.

Maintaining a positive sense of identity

New recruits continuously engaged in a process of self-appraisal as they need to feel sufficiently confident in their assigned role to maintain a positive self-concept. Any form of feedback served to uphold a positive self-image. They sought affirmation from members of their new social group, particularly those in more senior positions (such as their line manager). In the managers' group, feedback was obtained through identifying tangible outcomes, such as positive business results:

The most positive thing is seeing the business grow, and then beat budget and you know, make extra profit. Erm, so that kind of reinforces hopefully that I'm doing a good job. (Manager)

In the teachers' group, respondents sought feedback from their students' performance:

I'd say my confidence has grown because I used to think 'Oh the kids aren't learning much' but now I've seen that… looking back over their books… some of what I'm teaching them has actually sunk in. (Teacher)

Perceiving oneself as self-efficacious is important. One participant explained the process of evaluation that this entails:

I think this is what happens. This is what the story is all about really. It's realising that, 'Yes I am able to this and yes I am doing this well. (Teacher)

Employees' confidence and self-efficacy was directly influenced by their job satisfaction, which was the main measure they used to scale their intention to stay or leave the organisation. Job satisfaction level is gauged against past experiences of work, or their perceptions of the role and/or the organisation prior to initiation of the current employment.

It is interesting to note that there were no identifiable differences between the teachers' and managers' accounts, and their experiences and expectations were comparable. Understandably, this does not mean that the outcome can be generalised to other occupations, particularly since the two types of employees included in this research were managerial and professional. Moreover, this study excluded part-time and contract workers, and did not account for age or gender differences.

Making sense of the employees' narratives

The participants' accounts show that the salience of a social identity as defined by Tajfel (1981) is central to an employee's engagement with an organisation. Individuals strive for inclusion and use the socialisation process to make sense of their experience. They speak of their work teams as being distinctively well-functioning, supporting them in enhancing their self-esteem, as they define themselves as part of their successful organisation. However, the interviewees' narratives indicated that around six months from entry into an organisation, the focus of their initial enthusiasm to establish themselves as part of their new social group shifts onto more personal matters (see Figure 1 overleaf).

The concern for temporal continuity and self-efficacy as defined by Breakwell (1986) becomes salient once they are confident in their new responsibilities. Having gathered sufficient

"What can I offer the organisation?"
Employee focuses on enhancing of self-efficacy

"What is the organisation offering me?"
Employee focuses on continuity of self-expression

FIGURE 1: The balance of the exchange within the first year of employment

insider information and formulated a more realistic picture about the organisation's way of functioning, individuals seek a defined career plan which can fulfil their aspirations set prior to joining and which can take them forward, beyond their present employment. At that point the new recruits questioned whether their present employment fitted well with their personal values or needs, and evaluated whether it was posing a threat to their ideals. A decision was made, consciously or not, about their longevity in their employment. If their new employment relationship was seen to be threatening their personal identity, then individuals would seek rectification, either by altering the present arrangements or through moving on to another organisation. Indeed the subjective point of view on career matters (Millward and Kyriakidou, 2004) and cannot be underestimated or dismissed when examining career decisions.

Implications for practice

Employers know that their workforce is their best resource. Long serving employees are more likely to reflect the organisational culture and goals, so retaining satisfied workers with a strong organisational identity is important. Here are some recommendations for employers derived from this study. The analysis showed that employers should:

1. Develop a system of regular informal 'health checks', particularly with new recruits. When individuals join an organisation, they have their own expectations and requirements which they believe they can satisfy and fulfil through their employment. Dialogue in the first months allows for the alignment of the employee's individuality with the organisational aims and this will generate opportunities for self-expression. A formal performance appraisal at the end of the first year might be too late to retain a new recruit.

2. Acknowledge that the relationship with employees goes beyond its transactional nature of payment against services. It needs to be nourished and maintained. It is important to get involved and invest in employee development, both in the short and long term, specifying how the organisation will support them.

3. Recognise employees' efforts to promote business success. Rewards do not necessarily have to take the form of a financial gift, employers also value other forms of rewards.

The benefits of adopting these measures outweigh the cost of recruitment and training of new staff members. It is also interesting - and perhaps counter-intuitive – to note that besides the financial gain, a low staff turnover projects a corporate image of stability and success, and thus attracts both future employees and customers.

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Personal identity; social identity; organisational identity; employment

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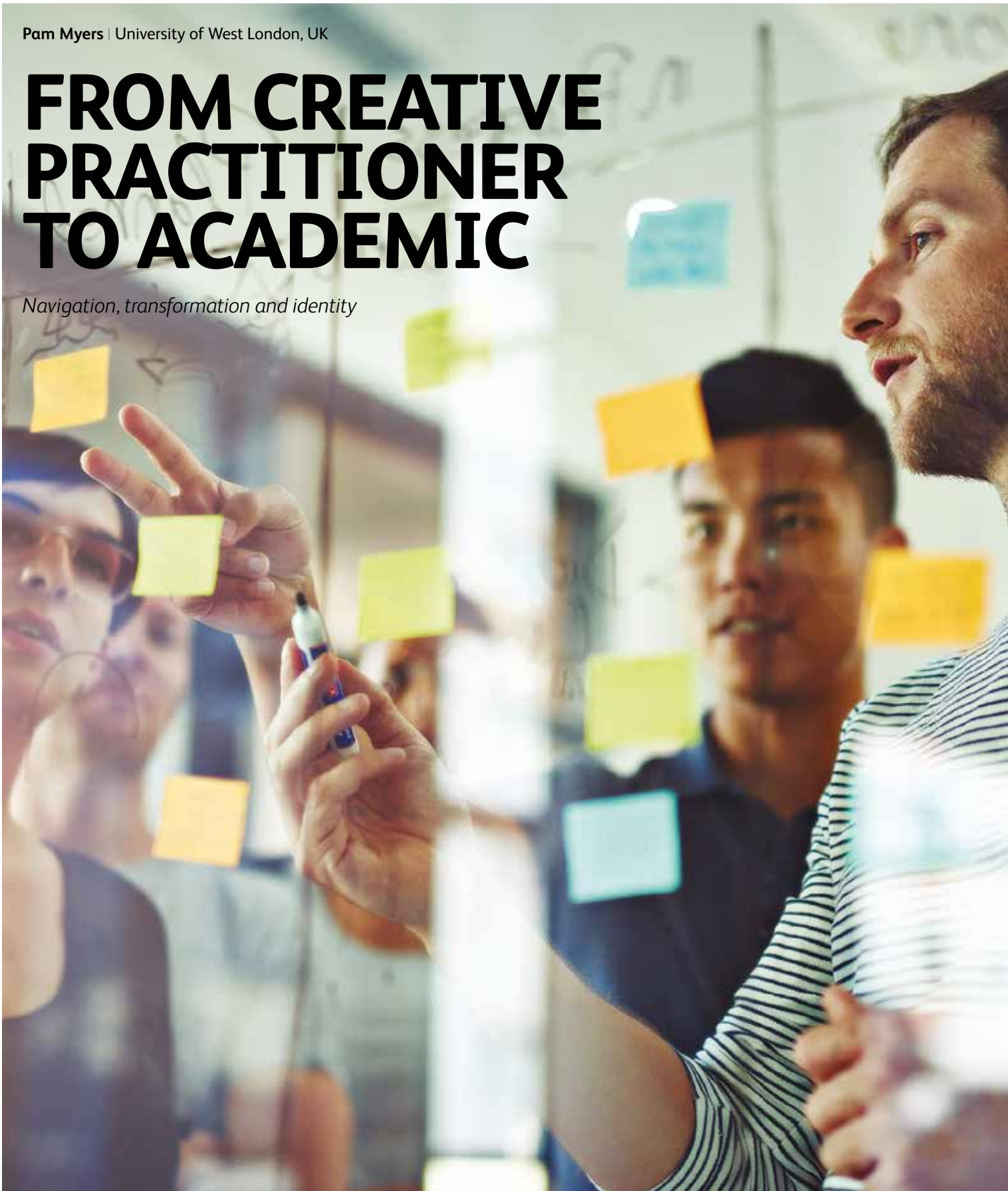- **BA (Hons) Community Studies***

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FROM CREATIVE PRACTITIONER TO ACADEMIC

Navigation, transformation and identity

As universities increasingly seek to embed employability and entrepreneurial skills within their academic programmes, it could be argued that the opportunity to create organic relationships with industry through the employment of experienced practitioners is of clear benefit

Transitioning from the creative industries to academia brings a unique set of challenges and opportunities for both new academics and their institutions. How can the paradoxes of academic-practitioner relationships be effectively addressed? For industry professionals, the decision to enter academia is exciting and daunting in equal measure. As universities increasingly seek to embed employability and entrepreneurial skills within their academic programmes, it could be argued that the opportunity to create organic relationships with industry through the employment of experienced practitioners is of clear benefit.

The birth of the pracademic

Posner (2009) uses the term 'pracademic' to describe the dual identity of an experienced practitioner who continues to remain active in their field while simultaneously developing an academic career. Suggesting that a healthy relationship between academics and practitioners is vital to the success of both, Posner notes that exposure to each other's disciplines can offer fresh insights and perspectives on both theoretical and practical issues. For Posner, 'the world of practice serves as the centre point of the academic compass for most professional programmes' (Posner, 2009: 2); he suggests that the development of professional centres within institutions has a role to play in the cultivation of rich relations between practitioners and academics. Using the field of public administration as an example, Posner proposes an academic-practitioner hub structure premised on a client services model in which problematic industry issues are addressed through academic research. Posner argues that the provision of tested findings and ideas could help practitioners, while academics might benefit from wider dissemination in the field.

According to Gates and Green (2013), practitioner-academics are in a unique position to provide insights into the tensions between industry and the institution, thus bridging the cultural gap between the university and the outside world. Referring to them as 'inbetweeners', Gates and Green align with Posner to suggest that practitioner-academics are critical to practice-based education, that is education that embeds work-related knowledge and skills. However, as both note, this is predicated on the concept of industry as 'real world' and higher education institutions have traditionally been concerned with mainly theoretical and abstract matters. This has changed significantly over the past few years, and there is now a significant concern (and a degree of pressure through government policy trends) to nurture the 'economic' capital of students and engage them with the world of work. This suggests that the tension between the perceived value of professional experience and the core academic functions of teaching, researching and publishing may be receding. Thus it is possible that a new approach to practitioner-academic relationships, which takes account of the unique value of each, could enhance the personal experience of academics, and add substantial value to the student experience.

Crossing boundaries

Modern universities, with an increasing focus on delivering quality work-relevant knowledge alongside an academic education, may have a particular need to recruit experienced practitioners to contribute to teaching and research. In the context of the creative industries in particular, with its reliance on personal contacts and networking, students can reasonably expect to benefit from having such practitioners involved in the design and delivery of the course.

However, for the practitioners coming into the institutions, their experience can be culturally challenging. There is an array of push/pull factors which come into play when crossing the symbolic and physical boundaries of an institution, and one of the most complex is reflecting upon what it is means to be either an academic, or a practitioner. Both labels function as a descriptive term which, while having a certain shorthand usefulness, are too reductive to meaningfully express the complexity of the experience on either side.

There is an enduring assumption that academic labour, the process of teaching and research, happens in an institutional vacuum concerned with only theoretical and abstract matters. As noted earlier,

Academics from the practice world can be valuable within the University, especially as gatekeepers of the relationships between the University and the outside world

this is not a true reflection of the higher education institution. Wilson *et al.* (2014) point out that newly transitioned academics often express surprise at the stress, pace and workload of modern institutions. Adopting the entrepreneurial attitude of their previous lives is, for some, a useful coping mechanism for the constant need to balance teaching, administrative and publishing or research requirements. Wilson *et al.* argue that academic practice is directly comparable to professional practice, representing the transference of knowledge, skills and competencies to undergraduates who will in turn have an impact on the world in very real ways. In this sense, the perceived gap between the intellectual landscape of an institution and the experiential territory of practice seems very small. Yet their research identifies culture shock as a common experience of newly arrived academics; where they may feel secure in their own practice, they may feel daunted in the face of what appears to be an impenetrable hierarchy.

Equally, in the context of industry, practitioner is a term which can cover anything from working within a large public body to being a freelance individual. It may also occur at senior management level or as a solo entrepreneur.. Practitioners coming into academia cannot be seen as a homogenous body since they will bring with them the disparate work cultures, practices and identities acquired in their other professional context. As a result, the entry of practitioners in higher education can be uncomfortable to both practiti oners and academics.

Brokering relationships across the divide

It is not unusual for many uninitiated practitioners to feel a sense of otherness upon arrival in academia. Gates and Green (2014) suggest that understanding their experience of the transition to academia is crucial to successfully recruiting and retaining staff and to providing relevant staff induction and development; they suggest that there are three phases to the experience of transitioning. The first is a sense of loss of identity and confusion, the second is a reaction of adaptation and in the third practitioners get a sense of development and satisfaction. This research indicates that the forging of a new professional identity is problematic, and interviews with new academics refer to the issues of reinvention in which successful practitioners must come to terms with starting from the lowest grade of a second profession. As noted by Simendinger *et al.* (2000), leaving behind the status gained in successful practice can be a humbling experience.

Bartunek and Rynes (2014) challenge standard approaches to the academic-practitioner divide by suggesting that instead of considering the gap to be unbreachable, it would be more useful to acknowledge it and treat it as fundamentally

divide. Wilson *et al.* (2014) cite the example of a federal government lawyer transitioning to law lecturer, noting that this is an area where research and practice are already closely linked. They suggest that a linked community of academics and practitioners can share a combination of unique perspectives through meetings, conferences and informal discussion. They may also add value through their teaching, research and leadership alone. 'Pracademics' with deep exposure to both theory and practice are ideally positioned to make singular contributions to both endeavours. As an example, Posner (2009) suggests that academics with experience in public management or policymaking roles can potentially give their teaching more depth and credibility by enabling them to draw on a wide range of experience to support theoretical points. Their research can be informed by fresh insights from exposure to dilemmas and challenges facing practitioners, as envisioned by Posner in his concept of professional centres. Their experience serving different communities with disparate values and languages potentially enables them to reach students with different backgrounds. Drawing on their familiarity with multiple audiences, their written reports and articles may reach broader and more diverse audiences than traditional academic pieces. Helata (2015) challenges academics to stop limiting debate to their own institutional world, urging that they engage with external bodies and practitioners. Suggesting that academics should be incentivised to do so, Helata acknowledges that while publication in peer-reviewed journals is important, powerful ideas are too often hidden from real world view.

This rethinking of what it means to be identified as academic resonates with wider debates on the value of academic knowledge. Helata (2015) also argues that by looking outwards from the institution, academics not only gain an audience, but also enhance the depth and quality of their own scholarship and acquaintance with theory. By the same token, practitioners looking inwards into the institution may discover that academic rigour has practical value.

Exposure to literature analysing their field over time, and often across different nations or cultures, provides practitioners with important insights and fresh ideas for addressing a wide range of issues. For example, in my own field of audio production, there are new and interesting collaborations between institutions and industry bodies. Radiocentre, the industry body representing commercial radio, now routinely commissions and shares academic research in the field of advertising. This adds vigour and relevance to teaching which in itself feeds back into industry as new graduates begin their careers.

important in itself for scholarly research and theorising, and thus bridge building through academic process.

It can be argued that the tensions associated with academic-practitioner relationships reflect paradoxes of belonging, in as much as they identify individuals with membership of a particular tribe whose understandings of themselves differ from their understandings of the other.

Academics from the practice world can be valuable within the University, especially as gatekeepers of the relationships between the University and the outside world (including industry, workplaces and accreditation and professional bodies). For so-called 'pracademics', these adaptable actors fulfil the indispensable roles of translating, coordinating and aligning perspectives across multiple constituencies. Of course, in order to move across a real or imagined boundary, mobility is required and for the 'pracademic', assuming they have retained a presence in their field, this may be in either direction.

Transition, definition and dissemination

To add a further layer of complexity to these transitions, these moves may vary in length of stay from temporary to short-term, to an almost permanent conversion, making it harder to fix points of belonging in either camp. Yet, in their state of tension, 'pracademics' can play many bridging roles. At times, they may serve as network brokers, creating new channels to enhance cooperation and communication across the academic-practitioner

Knowledge sharing and networking

Posner (2009) suggests that a theoretical framework developed by Ikujiro Nonaka and colleagues – itself based on the seminal work of Michael Polyani (1967) on knowledge- provides a dynamic perspective on how academic-practitioner interaction can contribute to effective knowledge sharing. In Nonaka *et al.*'s model, two kinds of knowledge are postulated to exist: explicit and tacit. Explicit knowledge is formal and systematic information that is shared in academic research papers and books; tacit knowledge is context-specific and rooted in personal insights, metaphors, and 'hunches'. Tacit knowledge includes the observations, anecdotes and examples of practitioners that help them interpret and simplify the complex welter of information and variables in organizational settings. New knowledge is created from the tension and conversion across these two very different approaches to information and meaning. The cycling between these types creates a 'knowledge spiral' (Nonaka *et al.* 1995) which facilitates a process of conversion and expansion. Posner also points out that the most effective way for the knowledge to be shared is via networking and forums that reach both industry and academia, noting that traditional journals will not necessarily reach a wide enough audience to promote cross-pollination of ideas.

A new digital meeting point for academics and practitioners?

Given the relatively small amount of research on the move from industry to academic, and a younger generation of academics well versed with technologies now working in traditional institutions and industry, it is not surprising that social media and blogging are becoming an important space for interaction across the two worlds outside the teaching sphere. Alongside the 'pracademic' is the so-called 'blogademic', the academic blogger. Digital media is a shared space with a lot more scope than an academic journal; it provides a natural outlet for writing that goes beyond scholarly platforms. If academics are professionals engaged in the continuous development of a professional self, and choose to use social media, parts of the academic identity come in the public domain that might never have reached out previously. Academic blogs are sometimes a vehicle for the expression of frustration, but they also engage with the social processes of knowledge production, providing some partial ethnography of the academy. For practitioners crossing into academia, they provide an alternative, unfiltered view of the academy. Academic blogging is of course not universally regarded as having academic value. The lack of peer-review and objectivity is a hurdle too great for some academics to accept, but many corporate entities use blogs to connect and exchange ideas with both their staff and customers.

As a younger generation of academics well versed in technologies is now working in traditional institutions and industry, it is not surprising that social media and blogging are becoming an important space for interaction across the two worlds outside the teaching sphere

Induction, mentoring and socialisation

Having looked at the perceived division between academics and practitioners, both Gates and Green (2013) and Wilson *et al.* (2014) have proposed that an improved process of induction and mentoring might facilitate the process of transition and help develop strong working partnerships. Induction in this context may include not only training in academic practice, for example support in classroom practice and marking assessments, but also a wider process of socialisation within the academic context. Pointing out that adjustment of cultural paradigm is necessary for successful transition, Gates and Green suggest new academics be encouraged to recognise the value of interaction with peers, administrators, managers and, of course, students. Wilson *et al.* acknowledge that socialisation is a key part of becoming a member of any community, but equally propose a more flexible view of what transition actually is. Stressing the importance of partnerships, they suggest that encouraging flow in both directions between industry and academia could promote a more open dialogue between the two sectors. Referring to 'inter-domain' (i.e. inter-sectorial) partnerships, Wilson *et al.* echo the thoughts of Posner (2009) in not seeking to reshape either sector to be the image of the other, but rather to consider the higher education institution as a place in which to grow imaginative and creative capital which can then be adapted to outside practice. Merging discourse, opening the perceived boundaries and long-term orientation towards partnership between academia and industry are recurring motifs in current thinking,

An agenda for future engagement

To conclude, I would argue that as institutions in the United Kingdom become increasingly dependent on the Research Excellence Framework (a national research assessment system), and potentially the new Teaching Excellence Framework (an assessment system for teaching quality), the pedagogical platform needs to embrace active, collaborative research across all specialisms. It seems that further examination of the critical role played by 'pracademics' is timely.

Their potential to improve the synergy between theory and research suggests that these kinds of non-traditional career paths should be encouraged by academic and creative employers alike, a form of intellectual cross-training that strengthens all the composite parts. Being resilient, work-ready and agile in one's thinking are desirable qualities for both staff entering the academic profession and students leaving their institution after graduation. Resilience and agility also need to characterize higher education institutions in today's challenging environment; these attributes may be the space where the actors involved converge.

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TECHNOLOGY BECOMES HER

Why are so many of today's digital assistants presented as feminine? How does this relate to the history of workplace technologies and women's participation in the labour force? This article seeks to answer these questions, arguing that some elements of "women's work" are now being outsourced to machines – with interesting implications for our understandings of gender

Femininity and/as office technology

In an advertisement for Recognition Equipment in 1966, a young woman with a charming smile places an arm around her male colleague's shoulder, and rests her head gently against him as he tries to read some very serious and important paperwork. The tagline declares, 'Our optical reader can do anything your key punch operators do. (Well, almost.)' It's limitations? The copy informs us that the machine 'can't use the office for intimate tête-à-têtes' or 'be a social butterfly'. All it can do is its job, reading and computing data at the rate of '2400 typewritten characters a second'. Another, published a year later, and quite clearly a sequel to the first, uses the same tagline, this time accompanied by an image of a heavily pregnant blonde. Unlike this woman, we are told, Recognition Equipment's office technologies 'can't take maternity leave. Or suffer from morning sickness. Or complain about being tired all the time.' It should be clear to the reader which of these things is more useful to have around the office.

A contemporaneous advert for Optical Scanning Corporation's Digitek 70 takes a similar approach to hawking workplace kit. The top half of the page is taken up with black and white photographs of women's body parts – slender legs sitting or standing (presumably around the office), and lipstick-painted mouths in the act of talking. The copy asks the reader, 'What has sixteen legs, eight waggly tongues and costs you a least $40,000 a year?' The answer, of course, is eight female workers, who can be conveniently replaced by a single Digitek 70 optical reader. A slightly earlier example further reinforces this message: in a 1962 advert for *General Telephone*, we see an illustration of a bespectacled executive presenting his telephone answering set with a bouquet of roses. The tagline above informs us that 'He's in love with his Electronic Secretary'. There are various other promotional texts that perform a similar rhetorical manoeuvre. These adverts point particularly

The connections between digital assistants and the conventions of low-status clerical labour are obvious; a reviewer from Wired *magazine compared Siri to an unpaid intern, and Microsoft even went so far as to interview human PAs whilst developing Cortana*

to the trouble with female employees – their errant embodiment, their capacity to distract and be distracted, their irritating habits of sociability and maternity. They also point toward the idea of the clerical worker (typically white, cis-gendered, and middle class, not to mention female) as an unsophisticated device for saving male managerial labour – a device that is liable for upgrading and replacement by newly available office technologies. In these adverts, the new technological apparatus assumes (often in quite literal ways) the position of the secretary. Technology becomes her.

The histories of machines, femininity, and waged labour have long been understood as deeply entangled and mutually constitutive. This merging of woman, machine, and work is taken in a new direction in the twenty-first century, with the advent of the 'digital assistant'. These applications are knowledge navigators, available as part of various operating systems, which recognise natural speech and use this ability to help answer user's queries and to aid in organisational tasks, such as scheduling meetings or setting reminders. Perhaps the most famous of these is Apple's Siri – now widely recognised as the voice of the iPhone – but there are several others, including GoogleNow and Microsoft's Cortana, all of which perform similar functions with varying degrees of efficiency. The connections between these digital assistants and the conventions of low-status clerical labour are obvious; a reviewer from *Wired* magazine compared Siri to an unpaid intern, and Microsoft even went so far as to interview human PAs whilst developing Cortana. These apps represent, in many respects, the automation of what has been traditionally deemed to be women's work.

Feminised labour, technologised labour

A recent billboard advertisement reads: 'Meet Cortana. She not only learns and remembers what you like, she can also provide reminders based on

you location and contacts. All you have to do is ask.' Even if one is aware of the campaign's intertextual reference to a videogame character – the feminised AI from Microsoft's *Halo* series – this use of pronouns is still likely to register as highly conspicuous. Such gender markers associated with Cortana and other apps further emphasise the association with the so-called 'feminised labour' of clerical and service work. Though various voice settings are available – including a much overlooked man-bot (for robot) version of Siri – digital assistants are usually advertised with female voices. They are often referred to as 'she' in consumer reviews, technology blogs, and marketing materials.

In some ways, to point out that digital assistants are gendered is to make a very obvious point – many of us are more than aware that Siri, for example, is feminised, and many of us are likely already acclimatised to the gendering of virtual service work. Indeed, in her discussion of an earlier generation of virtual assistants (specifically, the customer service bots on early noughties websites), the critic Eva Gustavsson notes a demonstrable preference for feminised avatars. She dismisses this as an uncritical attempt to mimic the realities of offline customer service environments; help-bots are portrayed as young and female, in other words, because customer service workers in general are young and female. However, she also makes some pertinent comments about the role of expectation here – comments that work to foreground the notion of so-called feminised labour. Gustavsson (2005) suggests that the preference for this kind of gendered avatar is rooted in the assumption that women possess a natural affinity for service work and emotional labour. She also claims that 'The stereotyped image of female service providers has its basis in the stereotyped image of female qualities. […] Such a stereotypical female image of caring, empathy and altruistic behaviour has become a standard component in a service script' (Gustavsson, 2005: 402).

By this account, service work is positioned as feminised labour (and service bots become femmebots) not simply because women make up the majority of the workforce, but because the image of the sector is itself feminised; that is, it is associated with qualities traditionally coded as feminine. Indeed, this is not just true of customer service; many contemporary understandings of feminised labour gesture towards trends in the global labour market that can be linked to the dominance of a socially gendered skill set. Both service work and clerical work have conventionally been designated as feminine, and this distinctive gendered history has arguably been part of the reason for the prevalence of feminised digital assistants. We are witnessing the protocols of femininity being programmed into

Emotional labour that was once, amongst a certain class of the privileged, outsourced to both secretaries and wives is now outsourced to electronic devices

machines, as feminised labour becomes technologised labour. Many of us are at home with the idea of women in these kinds of roles, and as such think nothing of it when we encounter technological interfaces that are clearly coded as female. But it is important to remember that the presence of these feminine machine voices – their proliferation to the point of near cultural invisibility – was never a foregone conclusion.

In fact, when we look back to the earliest moments in the development of these technologies, we encounter very different ideas about how best to programme them. The company behind the original Siri app, for example, seriously debated the possibility of a gender-neutral voice, whilst Apple's early visions of knowledge navigation systems sounded very different from the digital assistants we know today. In a work of speculative corporate advertising from the late 80s, for example, Apple's knowledge navigator is given a male voice and avatar. The advert, which looks forward to 2009 in order to imagine the intelligent assistant of the future, shows this technology in the hands of an eminent white male professor in an expansive, mahogany-clad office. This professionalised version of the digital assistant acts as a research assistant, an academic librarian, and an information manager, rather than as a personal secretary. The avatar even features that classic signifier of nerdy expertise, the bow tie. This masculinised software is shown performing some clerical and organisational tasks (giving the professor phone messages from his students and his mother, locating old files, managing his diary and so on), but the shift in emphasis between this vision of a twenty-first century workplace technology and today's more multi-modal knowledge navigators is clear.

Whilst Siri, Cortana, and GoogleNow are marketed as tools for both personal organisation and interpersonal connection (reminding users to call their spouses, sending birthday messages, helping users to identify people they know in the street), the 1987 Apple Knowledge Navigator is flagged up as a protective *barrier* between the male professor and the domestic sphere. Indeed, whilst the digital assistant in the advert has both a masculine voice and a male visage, we encounter an early spectre of the

contemporary re-gendered Siri lurking in the form of the disembodied mother. This is the lone voice from the forgotten space of social reproduction, which surfaces in the form of messages and reminders about a surprise family birthday party. Fortunately, the knowledge navigator manages to catch and screen these messages, better allowing the male professional to repeatedly ignore them and get on with the work of being a genius. The mother, and all that is associated with her, remains literally obscene (in the sense of being off-the-scene) for the duration of the commercial. What is clear, though, is the continuing affinity between woman and machine here. The professor's mother – in calling to issue reminders, prompts, and guidance – performs functions aligned with those of the high tech Apple software. Yet, whilst proto-Siri is an example of human mastery over knowledge, the mother is little more than an annoyance to be managed. When the knowledge navigator issues a reminder, it is akin to useful work; when your mother issues a reminder, it is bothersome nagging. It would appear that this kind of reproductive labour remains largely invisible until the machine takes it over.

So, this is one under-recognised element of Siri's genealogy; the phone call making mother (just as much as the workplace secretary and the customer service bot) is part of the digital assistant mix. But to recognise this raises a number of issues; first of all, it is important to emphasise that the boundaries between the spheres of production and reproduction are not at all clear-cut. As materialist feminists have long been
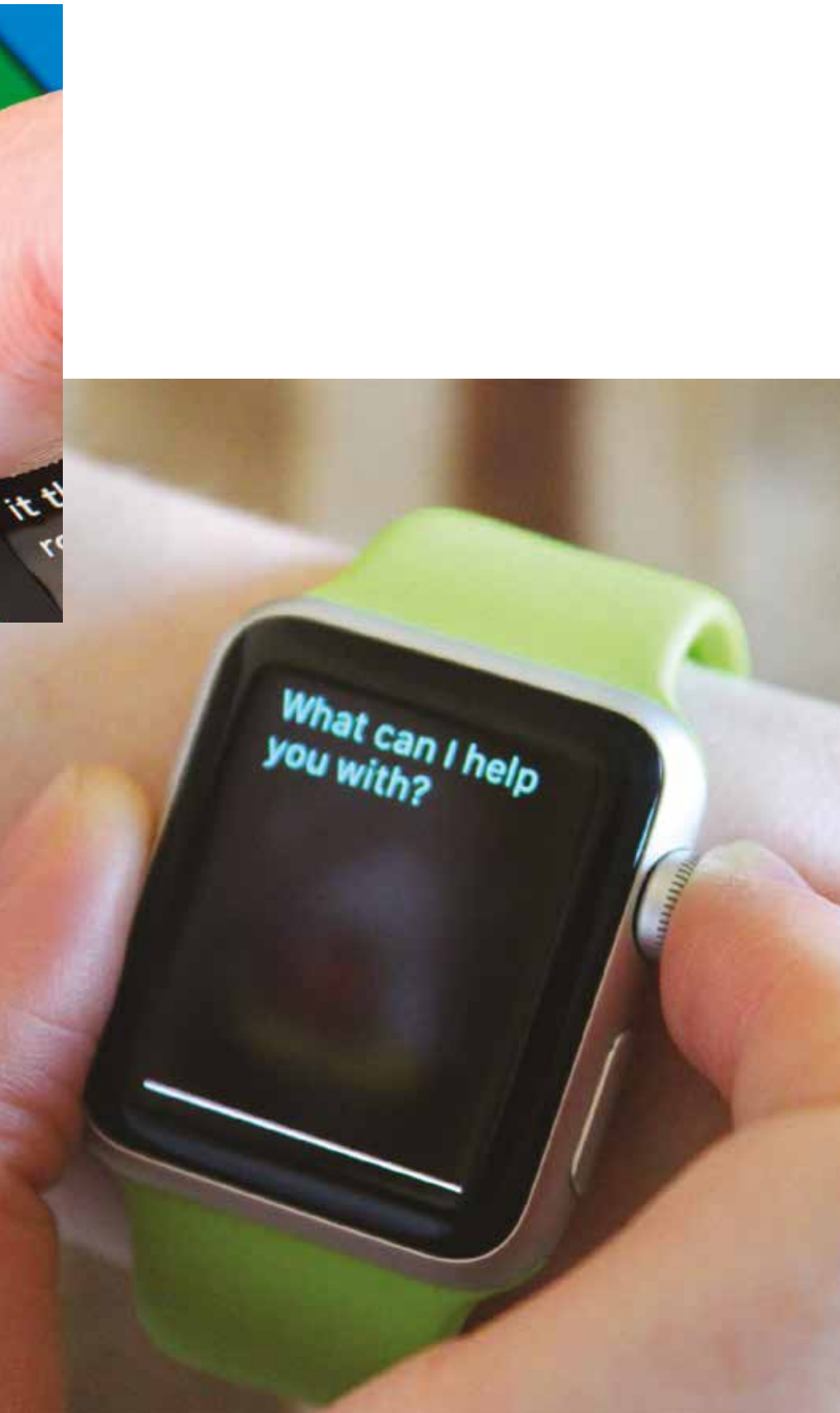
aware, the traditional care giving activities associated with domesticity are part and parcel of preparing the body and mind of the wage labourer for work. This may extend to things like personal organisation, moral support, and even preparing documents. And conversely, the duties that have fallen to the traditional secretary bleed into those associated with social reproduction. The personal assistant frequently finds him- or herself conducting a form of corporate care work, including providing for the sustenance of the body in the form of teas, coffees and lunch orders, as well as making dentists' appointments, picking up dry cleaning, paying personal bills, and so on.

It is interesting to note, then, that many of the ads for digital assistants show them performing the kind of personal services commonly associated with the hybridised figure of the 'office wife' – work at the impossible-to-maintain (non)boundary between production and social reproduction, waged labour and care work. We see the technologies flagging up birthdays and anniversaries, for example, or reminding the male user to buy flowers. Emotional labour that was once, amongst a certain class of the privileged, outsourced to both secretaries and wives is now outsourced to electronic devices. Some, limited elements of reproductive labour have evidently been technologised – certain aspects of certain activities can, under our supervision and with our input, be partially delegated to our devices. As Robin James remarks, this 'isn't a new phenomenon so much as a reconfiguration of an ongoing practice: […] our smartphones wake us up, not our moms, just as emails accomplish a lot of the relational work (scheduling, reminding, checking in, etc.) conventionally performed by women' (James, 2013: n.p.). Again, this stresses that the home has never been sacrosanct: it has always been a workplace for many, but the work performed there has been largely invisible.

Gender, technology, and the (in)visibility of work
This move toward outsourcing some kinds of reproductive labour to machines rather than women is marked by important cultural shifts – shifts which relate to the framing of so-called 'women's work', and the various obstacles that are thrown up by the social imaginary in terms of recognising reproductive labour as effortful, purposive, and valuable. Work performed by gendered subjects in the home (particularly within cultural fantasies of a heteronormative family dynamic) has been naturalised; it has historically been framed as an extension of naturally occurring feminine (and often, quite specifically, maternal) predilections, affects, modes of intimacy, personal preferences and so on. Indeed, this is something that Kathi Weeks picks up on when she declares that 'To the extent that the expression of emotion has been not only feminised but in the process also naturalised – as a spontaneous eruption rather than cultivated display – the skills involved in managing it successfully remain difficult to grasp' (Weeks, 2011: 240). That is to say, these skills remain invisible as work, both within the home and within the waged work place.

It is clear that many of today's apps and automated systems draw upon pre-existing gendered assumptions, programmed as they are to be girlish avatars or feminised disembodied voices

Although emotion work lends itself particularly easily to the cultural erasure of effort, we can see the same processes in operation when it comes to things like housework as well – the idea of a feminine tendency to be house proud and to have exacting standards, for example, takes what Angela Davis calls the 'obstinate primitiveness of household labour' (Davis, 1983: 223) and repackages it as a simple matter of 'a woman's touch'. The functions and activities performed by electronic devices are far less available for naturalisation, and as such their usefulness and necessity are less likely to be obscured via the same means. Hence, in some of the examples we've looked at, machines become more visible as workers than women. Whilst it may be somewhat galling to be confronted with the fact that the activities of Siri, Cortana, et al are more readily recognisable as work than similar activities performed by feminised human subjects, this may still afford interesting opportunities in terms of the progressive de-gendering of work. In Katy Waldman's words, 'As shiny, trendy devices absorb some of the jobs we once delegated to lower-status *humans*, those jobs (still unpaid) have at least begun to shed stigma' (Waldman, 2013: n.p.). As feminised work becomes technologised work, it may come to be less culturally denigrated, and therefore more available to be taken up by different kinds of subjects.

Those with choice and cultural capital, in other words, may be more willing to perform this labour if it is associated with culturally valued objects rather than with socially disparaged subjects – an extremely partial victory, given that it assumes that the only way to dislodge stigma is to remove any associations with embodied women and those related to their sex class. This whole phenomenon is less a matter of 'I'd rather be a cyborg than a goddess' and more a case of 'I'd rather be an iPhone than a woman'.

Programmable genders

It is perhaps in terms of destabilising some of the assumptions at the heart of 'the feminisation of labour' that the automation of clerical, service, and care work can be considered most interesting or productive. This process of automation arguably troubles the idea of an innately feminine skill set or perceived causal links between particular bodies and particular social roles or attributes. It is clear that many of today's apps and automated systems

draw upon pre-existing gendered assumptions, programmed as they are to be girlish avatars or feminised disembodied voices. They exploit our assumptions about feminised labour and our existing relationship to socially gendered caring and service behaviours, tapping into those elements of femininity that have historically enabled care-giving or service-providing subjects to better undertake specific obligations, activities, and tasks; so far, so unhelpful from a feminist point of view. However, the technological uptake of femininity and the automation of what was once coded as women's work can also be seen to denaturalise those gendered, socially expedient, and culturally programmed caring behaviours that are frequently brought under the banner of femininity.

In acknowledging that our devices or apps have to be actively programmed in order to mimic specific gendered behaviours – in recognising that their feminisation is neither neutral nor inevitable but the by-product of specific histories – we are invited to rethink the ways in which non-machinic gender might itself operate as an artificial and culturally programmed construct. When technologies 'do gender' it is obviously not natural, but is instead visible as the product of deliberate choices about how best to relate, assist, or persuade the imagined technology user. As we have seen, femininity (understood here as a particular set of gendered expectations, associations, and behavioural norms) often plays a part in the developer's toolkit. This foregrounds the idea of femininity as an admittedly problematic label for a mobile set of capacities, techniques or strategies, potentially available to machine and variously gendered humans alike, thereby undermining the idea of feminine behaviours as the product of an innately sexed skill set or as a spontaneous eruption. Contemporary apps exploit ideas about gender in their attempt to offer an effective service to users. With this in mind, then, can we position femininity as a technology that our technologies now put to use?

This is an extract from a longer article entitled *Technically female: Women, machines and hyperemployment*, which originally appeared in the May 2016 issue of *Salvage* magazine. It is reprinted with permission.

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Keywords

Gender, technology, work, social reproduction

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STUDENT PROFILE

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Course
PhD Tourism

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Title of thesis
The role of knowledge transference in the process of internationalisation. The case of the London Hilton.

The Twentieth Century's hotel industry saw a shift from independently managed grand hotels to the increasing influence of multinational hotel companies. The London Hilton was the first subsidiary of this American branded chain to open in Britain undergoing, at the time, cultural and social changes associated with the 'Swinging Sixties'.

The history of grand hotels has been thoroughly documented however there is lack of business history research into the expansion process of modern multinational hotel companies. Barbara's study explored the process of internationalisation of Hilton Hotels through the transference of knowledge between the parent company and the London subsidiary. International business theory was used to establish relationships between the concepts of transference of knowledge, multiple-embeddedness and negotiation of legitimacy.

A single embedded case study was adopted to comprehend the nuanced relationships and pressures resulting from the multiple-embeddedness of the case. An extensive range of archival material was collected to construct an in-depth case study of the London Hilton embedded in the contexts of its parent company as well as home and host countries.

The London Hilton appears to be representative of a case of effective knowledge transference which avoided the pressure for homogenisation from the host environment. It is an example of an organisation whose foreignness served as a differentiating, rather than restraining factor. These findings contradict the traditional institutional assertion of the necessity for adaptation to local settings and confirm the notion that legitimacy can be negotiated.

This research adds a new dimension to the paradigms of institutionalism and the resource-based view by illuminating the complex associations between these concepts underpinning international business theories. The study also extends the existing theory of foreignness and contributes to the body of business history research in the field of hotel management. It recommends the application of oral history and network analysis for further exploration of these concepts.

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International business theory was used to establish relationships between the concepts of transference of knowledge, multiple-embeddedness and negotiation of legitimacy

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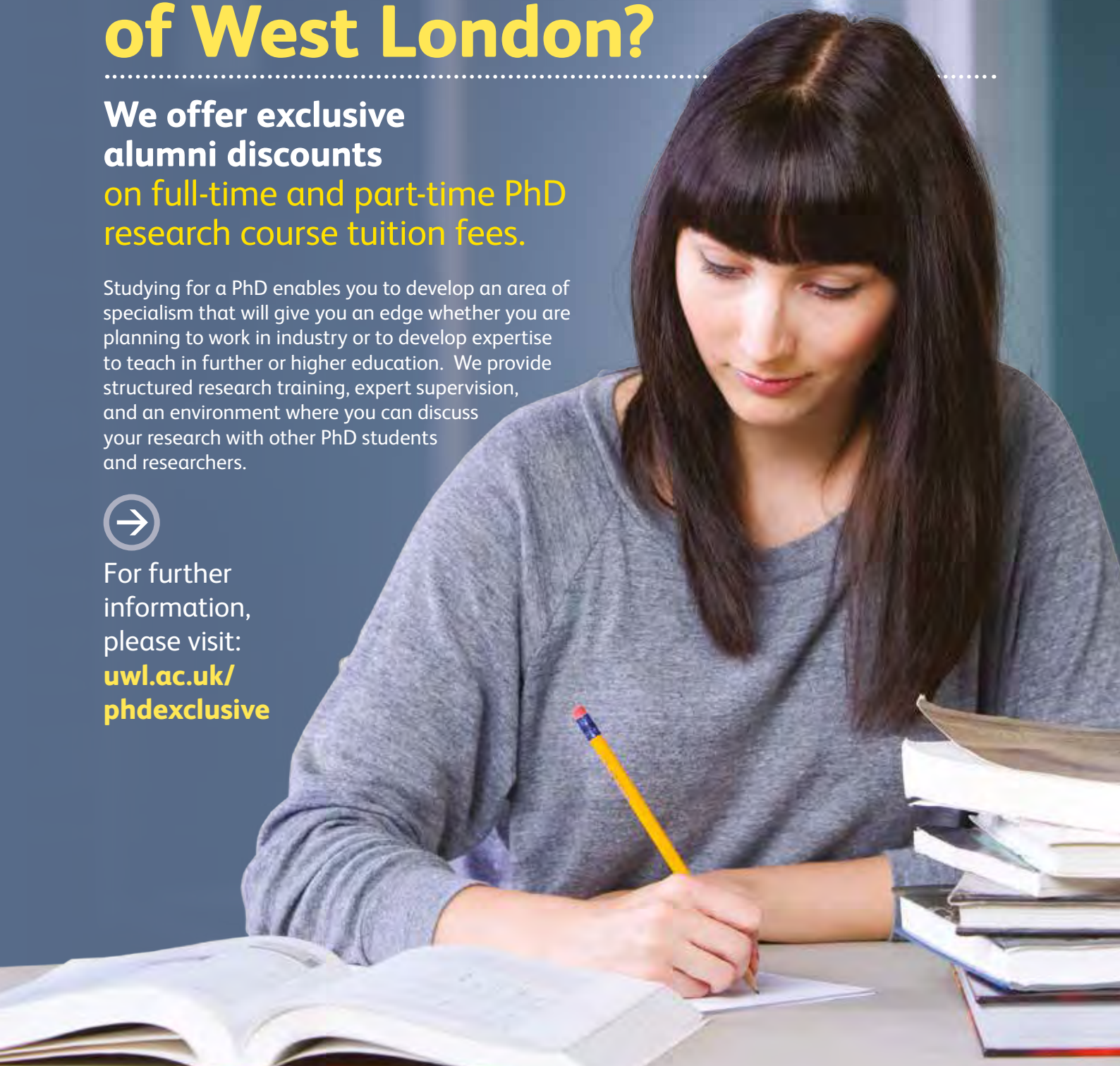**WEST LONDON**
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