Transcript of the keynote seminar of the all-party parliamentary group on scientific research in learning and education

‘Well-being in the classroom’
Forward by the Chair of the ‘Well-being in the Classroom’ seminar

In April 2007, a UNICEF report ranked the UK bottom, out of 21 countries, in an assessment of child well-being, placing the issue of child well-being high on the political agenda.

As ‘well-being’ appears increasingly in public and political discourse, there has also been a growing focus to understand the psychological, social and neuroscientific basis of well-being through systematic scientific study. The key goal of the seminar was to explore how teachers, scientists, government and non-government organisations can collectively ensure that policy and practice is informed by the best evidence from this emerging research.

The meeting was overwhelmingly sympathetic to the need for schools, and the wider community, to do more to protect and promote the well-being of young people. This transcript highlights some of the key ideas in current research on child well-being and explores some of the possible interventions and evidence-based approaches arising from this work.

If you are interested in further activities of the All-Party Parliamentary Group please contact Dr Jonathan Sharples, Deputy Director, at the Institute for the Future of the Mind - jonathanssharples@pharm.ox.ac.uk

Baroness Greenfield
1. Welcome and introduction by Baroness Greenfield

In the last meeting of the Scientific Research and Learning APPG in May we explored how we might open the channels between brain-science research and the classroom. Thank you for all your further comments following the meeting. (A transcript of the seminar is available from our website at http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/research/programmes/futuremind)

I am pleased to say that the last seminar has acted as a springboard for a number of actions. In particular, the preparation of a report, alongside The Innovation Unit and Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP), which sets out a vision of the opportunities and direction for effective collaboration between the brain-sciences and education.

In this third seminar of the All-Party Group we investigate “Child Well-being in the Classroom”. It is clear that issues around well-being are presently high on the political agenda. In April this year, The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) report placed the United Kingdom bottom, out of 21 industrialised countries, in an assessment of child well-being. This prompted a debate in the House of Lords, sponsored by Lord Northbourne, around issues of child well-being and the government’s approaches for tackling this issue.
We now see well-being central to a number of policies of the Department of Children, Schools and Families including areas around parental engagement (Every Parent Matters), early-years provision (Sure Start) and direct interventions to develop well-being in the classroom. In August this year, the department announced that the “Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning Programme” (SEAL), designed to cultivate well-being in the classroom, would be introduced to all state secondary schools.

Today, I would like to consider what is meant when we refer to 'well-being', from a scientific perspective. Secondly, I’d like to explore if there are lessons to be learned from the scientific study of well-being which can be applied in the classroom, and investigate the appropriate evidence-based approaches.

I firstly turn to Lord Professor Richard Layard. Lord Layard is founder-director of for the Economic Performance Centre at the London School for Economics. He has written widely on unemployment, inflation, education, inequality and post-Communist reform. In recent years he has been actively involved in the new science of happiness, and in 2005 published “Happiness: Lessons from a New Science”. Lord Layard is active in promoting the emotional aspects of children’s education.

2. ‘The Future of Personal Health and Social Education (PHSE)’ - Lord Professor Richard Layard, Programme Director at the Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics

I would like to start with the ‘saying of the week’ from my WH Smith diary, which is a quotation from H.L. Mencken. It is a definition of Puritanism and it says,

“Puritanism - the dreadful fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy”.

How different from what we are to talk about. Because I start from the assumption that the aim of education is to help children to lead happy lives. I am not sure that that is universally agreed. But as a good utilitarian I would certainly start from that point of view and I would hope that most of you might do so. And of course, if that is true, then the starting point has got to be; what does enable people to lead happy lives?

I would like to start with a bit about that, and then secondly - are these things that can be taught, and can they be taught in schools? Is it the job of the state to get into that? Thirdly I
would like to talk about how we could improve Personal Health and Social Education (PHSE) in order to help children more than we do.

So, what makes people happy? Of course it is your outer circumstances and your inner self. The outer situations which are most important to people are, of course, their relationships with other people; we are very social beings. Always top comes the family or close personal relationships, working relationships, relationships with friends and of course relationships with strangers.

Income is, of course, important. When you look at income, it does matter to people. It is silly to pretend it doesn’t. But if you try to get down to how it affects people you will find that it is very largely how their income stands relative to other people or to what they have got used to. Since the current level of income is so far away from subsistence, general increases in income, affecting everybody, do not seem to have made a great deal of difference to the happiness to the nation. I think income gains have helped somewhat but, I think, that the relationship deteriorations have offset that.

As regards the inner self; of course you have to be able to manage your emotions, equanimity is very important for happiness and also compassion for other people. The findings from psychology are that people who feel more and care more about other people, relative to themselves, are in fact happier. That is not something that we can necessarily bring about by saying to people “care about other people because you will be happier” because that kind of motivation may not work. But it is a very important fact and background to all of education and all of morality.

Another related finding is that people who compare themselves with other people are less happy. It is a terrible mistake to be in that position; where you are always comparing yourself to other people and we certainly don’t want an educational system which exacerbates that degree of interpersonal comparison.

So the major sources of happiness are social skills, inner self regulations and a set of values. Can they be taught? Let me tell you a little bit about the Penn Resiliency Programme. This started being taught two months ago in 22 schools in South Tyneside, Manchester and Hemel Hempstead. The Penn Resiliency Programme has now been tried out in random control trials in about 12 different schools in about three countries. It is an 18 hour programme, which is very highly scripted. It is a bit like, for example, cognitive behavioural therapy in the sense that the facilitator knows a great deal about what to do in different situations. For example, how to
raise issues in such a way that the result is success rather than failure (as opposed to what often happens in the general classroom when very difficult issues are raised). The Penn Resiliency Programme also covers your ability to understand your own emotions and your ability to understand and relate to other people.

In these random control trials, that have been done on these 12 sites, the average effect has been to halve depression in the subsequent three years. They also improve behaviour, not so dramatically, but they reduce bad behaviour by a third. These are programmes given mainly to 11 yr olds. I think that the Penn Resiliency Programme is a very good example of how a well-developed programme, which keeps on being improved in relation to what is found about what the affective ingredients of it are, can actually help children develop their character and their ability to lead satisfactory lives.

I would like to make it a general point here. I think it is extraordinary how little in education we have experimented, in a measurable way, with the effects of teaching - even with the teaching of classic subjects such as Latin or French. I think we need proper random controlled experiments to see what happens if you do things differently. In this way we will be able to find out exactly what the ingredients are for the successful teaching of a subject. This must be the main way forward for the educational system and I imagine it is one of the objectives for this group. It certainly must apply to attempts to improve well-being and it should apply, obviously, to attempts to improve cognitive ability as well.

Now coming back to well-being. Is it the job of the state school system to get involved in it? There are many people who would say no, that is for parents. I am an economist and I tend to think of things in the context of wealth or economic principles. We want a society which is basically driven by individuals, and families, finding their own route. But there are major exceptions to that. One is when other people impinge on us directly, rather than through simply voluntary exchange. And obviously, for each of us, the quality of the people who are around us is a major interest. It is absurd to suppose that we should just put up with whatever kind of people other parents produce, as the world in which our children are growing up when it is so important to the welfare of our children what the other children are like. So we obviously have an interest as a society in what happens to other peoples’ children and I think that is an absolutely overwhelming argument for the state taking a major responsibility for the character development of the children of each family.

Additionally, there is a social justice argument. Many children grow up with emotional problems and actually the worst form of deprivation, and I hope that we could get this
accepted in the houses of Westminster, is mental illness. It is worse to be deprived of the ability to enjoy life than to be deprived of the spending power which is a part of it. Obviously it is of major, major, importance for schools to prevent children developing towards depression or extreme anxiety conditions.

As Susan said, we have not been doing that well in this country. In the UNICEF report (actually the WHO survey reported by UNICEF) of children aged 11 to 15 asked them the question,

“Are most of the other children in your classes kind and helpful?”

In Scandinavia 70% said “yes” and coming down, I think, in America 53% said “yes”, in Russia 46% said “yes” and Britain was bottom at 43%. And this was confirmed by findings on whether children are enjoying their lives. In the UK, children are enjoying their lives less than children in any of the other countries that were covered - some of these are third world countries.

We cannot be satisfied with our situation. If you look in the adult world you will also see that in this country there has been a huge decline in trust over the last 40 years. The question that is usually asked is “Do you think other people can be trusted?” 40 years ago, 60% of people said “yes” and today, 33% said “yes”, and in fact there has been no fall on the continent of Europe. I think we have a problem. I think it is a problem that is to do with extreme individualism - which we have, to a large degree, imported from the States.

It is really important that we use our school systems to some extent to rebuild a greater sense of brotherly, and sisterly, love to put it quite simply. Well, what can be done in schools? Many people here know a lot more about it than I do. I did start my life as a secondary school teacher and so I do have some feelings for that. My impression on Personal Health and Social Education (PHSE) and the general use of the school to build a sense of values and inner strength in children? I believe that it is much better handled in primary schools than in secondary schools in this country and that the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) initiative is much more fully developed and much richer in terms of materials it is offering in primary school than it is in secondary schools. And so I would like to just talk about secondary schools and what needs to change there.

I think that there is a slightly fruitless debate about whether it is the whole school or if it the PHSE hour. Of course it is both. Of course we want to change the whole school ethos in the direction of more caring, more civilised, values. But there has to be more missionaries and to some part, specific target teaching in terms of a more caring ethos of the type that I
mentioned from the Penn Resiliency Programme. It seems to me that we have to build up the PHSE teachers as a group of missionaries who are there to put pressure on the heads to change the whole school ethos but also to delivery really interesting, and worthwhile, sessions with their children; on the issues which are of real concern to the children. These are really difficult things to teach. For example, to give you my little list here: understanding your own emotions and those of other people, developing empathy, love, sex and parenting (yourself as a future parent), healthy living, appraising the media and community engagement. There is something uniting these concepts, which is a sense of value, I would say. That is, the search of what are the true sources of satisfaction in life in all these different areas. And so, I would say, that the central discipline is psychology. There should therefore be a real career for psychologists in schools as teachers of these topics. Hopefully with really well-developed programmes at their elbow but also as promoting good values in these fields as a whole.

It seems to me, therefore, that starting from where we are is not at all satisfactory. Where we are, of course, is that PHSE is entirely taught by non-specialists, some of whom (the smallest number in secondary schools) have taken perhaps 30 hours of guided learning in cognitive behavioural therapy course for PHSE. But it's basically taught by non-specialists, often those who have a spare period and can be fitted into. This is absolutely hopeless. We simply have to largely start again here. We have to build up a group of specialists. It has got to be a specialist subject within the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). It's got to be taught with really wonderful materials which lead at the end of each year to some form of certification. It could be qualitative rather than quantitative. But there has to be some record of the person having achieved something, having done something with whatever happened in the classroom, and of course there are a lot of exercises and projects based in these programmes. There has got to be a really good evidence-based curriculum developed. And of course when we've got one, it will have to become statutory.

I am quite sympathetic actually with the people who have been resisting having this as statutory. Because I do not think we know enough about what it should be. But it is a very high priority to work out what it has got to be and then to make it statutory. I do not mean that the material should be statutory. But it is not a great task to write down a lot of good words and then say that it is statutory to teach them, when we do not have any idea on how to teach them or who is going to teach them! I think there is a real job to be done to develop an evidence-based curriculum.

I do not know how many people here who know about this, I haven’t found many people in this country who do; there is a website called ‘CASTLE’ which has got most of the American
programmes on it together with the evaluations and meta-analysis on what works. We certainly have a lot to learn from America, but of course we also need to develop things here. To develop a rounded human being leaving school at 18 means going on from 11 - 18 years old. It is absolutely extraordinary to think that somehow or other we can stop at 16 years old, at which point people can become selfish and just worry about their exams. We try to develop social beings, and particularly the elder children in school are the examples by which the others are, to some extent, influenced by.

I would say that there are three elements: evidence based curriculum, and in due course making it statutory and thirdly making the PHSE a specialist subject at PGCE.

I would like to just mention one other issue, a very difficult issue. There is no way we will be able to get rid of testing. Even if we abolish the league tables they will still persist in one way or another. Once parents know that we can test what people know, in an objective way, they will want to know how the school is doing. But actually what parents want to know more is if the children are happy in the school. And that raises the issue which comes up in other contexts of screening and so on. Whether we should not, if we take the emotional side of life as seriously as the cognitive side, have some form of national measurement of the emotional wellbeing of children at different stages. A very delicate subject but one that I thought was worth raising. Particularly with this group which can play such a role in the development of this subject.

*Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:*

Thank you very much Richard for raising some very thought-provoking points there. If you could hold those thoughts for the next half hour we will then come back to some of these issues after the following two speakers. The next of which is Felicia Huppert.

Felicia Huppert is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Cambridge and Director of the University’s Well-being Institute. Her research focuses on the factors associated with well-being across the life course and involves both experimental and population-based studies. Practical applications of her work include the development of a mindfulness-based well-being programme for school children. Felicia is lead expert on Well-being for the Foresight Mental Capital and Well-being project.
3. ‘The Science of Well-being: A life course perspective’ - Professor Felicia Huppert, Director of the Well-being Institute, University of Cambridge

I am very pleased to be invited. I do know a little bit about the science of well-being, especially in adults. But I feel very humble in the presence of so many people who really understand what is going on in schools and in the classroom.

What I wanted to address briefly are the following points: What is well-being? Whose well-being are we talking about? How can we measure it? How can we enhance it?

So, what is well-being? I like the idea of sustainable well-being rather than the notion of happiness, which can so easily be misunderstood in the media. Sustainable well-being is about lives going well and it is a combination of feeling good and functioning effectively. Within positive psychology attention has been drawn recently to the positive. That is the idea that we should be studying what goes right instead of what goes wrong. So, studying assets instead of deficits all the time. But that is not to say that positive psychology or well-being science ignores the negatives. We all have painful or negative experience and that is absolutely acknowledged. The issue is really to learn to deal with them effectively and this is where resilience comes in. Resilience is about positive ways of dealing with difficulties or challenges.

There is a reciprocal relationship between feeling good and functioning well and I am going to tell you a little bit about both of these things. Feeling good is clearly about happiness, contentment and confidence but there are other parts of it too. Curiosity, interest, being in “flow”; those are also very important aspects of feeling good. And that is just at the individual and personal level. But the interpersonal or social level is profoundly important as well. Social
feelings include: feeling supported, feeling loved, feeling respected. These are tremendously important and I will talk about them a little more later when we come to measurement.

Now what about functioning? Individual functioning includes physical function and self efficacy. How we are able to function in the world. Functioning is also about being engaged, autonomous and resilient. Interpersonal or social functioning is about what we do for others, including social engagement, caring and giving help. As Richard already alluded to, there is actually scientific evidence now that our well-being, the feeling good part of it, is much more enhanced by giving support than by receiving support. So it is official, what the religions and the philosophers have told us for ages, it is actually now evidence-based. As I said there is a reciprocal relationship between feeling and functioning. We can be sure that this is the case because of not only observational, but also experimental, studies which show that if you enhance one it has effects on the other and also vice versa. Sadly there is not the time to go into that in any detail now.

I wanted to talk briefly about the drivers of well-being. There are three separate kinds of things that we can look at: the first is external circumstances; many people talk about the importance of sociodemographic factors, which include income, education, marital status (this applies mostly to adults), neighbourhood and so forth. These factors only account for about 10% of the variation between people in terms of their level of well-being (usually measured on a single life satisfaction measure, or single happiness item). That is not to say external circumstances are not important: in an individual they may be hugely important, but across the population they have quite a small effect.
The biggest effect is called the ‘Set Point’ and that is basically your general temperament, your general approach to life. So whether you are generally a positive person or a negative person. What determines that? Well, clearly genes are involved. There is no question that there is not a genetic element. But I believe the evidence is absolutely clear now that we have overestimated the importance of genes and underestimated the importance of the early years - and I include here the nine months of gestation. The most recent data from humans, but particularly from other mammals, shows very clearly that the months in utero and the early years after birth are profoundly important in terms of setting the brains neurochemical patterns, expressing or not expressing certain genes. It is the early nurturing, more than the genes, which influence a person’s capabilities in learning and memory, their responses to stress and their emotional reactivity throughout life. That is not to say that things cannot change, compensation is possible. Even if one gets a very bad start from the point of view of nurturing, compensation is possible later on. And you can show, in the animal studies at least, that the brain changes can also be reversed later on. But early nurturing does have profound and life-long effects, and in combination with genes this accounts for about 50% of the variation between people in their level of well-being.

Once a child is already at school there is probably not a lot we can do about the set point but there is an enormous amount we can still do about the remaining 40% which has been called “intentional activities”. These are the choices we can make about the way that we think, feel and behave.

Intentional activities can be divided into overt behaviours, cognitions and motivations. With regard to overt behaviour, it is important to learn good habits the earlier the better, and to learn these at home in the early years is the right time and the best time. Everybody knows that physical activity is a good habit to develop. What not everybody knows is that physical activity is the best antidepressant that we have. It is hugely powerful and has no adverse side effects. And there are many wonderful studies showing that. I used to say that exercise is the best antidepressant we have. But there is an even more important statement I need to make about that. It is not just that physical activity is a wonderful antidepressant it is actually that not being physically active is a depressant. We have evolved to be physically active. Our whole
physiological system, our neurochemicals, and everything else work best when we are physically active. If we are not physically active we are underutilising our whole physiological system and both our bodies and our brains suffer. Clearly there are other lifestyle factors which are also very important, such as nutrition, alcohol intake and other health behaviours.

Being kind is another example of an overt behaviour - Richard mentioned about that. There are studies of American college students in which one group was asked to do an act of kindness every day and the other was a control group. The people who did the act of kindness had higher levels of well-being for weeks afterwards. This may sound terribly artificial. Sometimes we psychologists discover things which everybody already knows. But sometimes we discover that what we thought we knew is not actually true.

Turning to cognition, what about the things that go on in our heads? We can also exert some degree of control over our cognition. We can choose to interpret events in a positive light. We can choose to look on the bright side of things. We can choose to savour the moment. Most of the time, in our heads, we are either in the past, or the future - often focusing on recriminations and anxieties. We spend so little time in the moment, just sitting and watching the trees swaying in the breeze, or noticing someone smiling at us on the tube. And yet those things, the ability to be in the moment, are tremendously good for our well-being. This is the basis for mindfulness meditation, which is becoming quite popular.

And the next point about cognition is tremendously important. It is about our beliefs. And one of the most important beliefs in relation to well-being in the classroom comes from the work of Carole Dweck who I am sure many of you are familiar with. Carol Dweck identified the fact that among something like 40% of American school children there is a fixed mind-set. There is the belief that they are bright or stupid or somewhere in-between and this is fixed and unchangeable. There is no point trying at all because you are not going to get any brighter or any more stupid. And the worst thing is that if you are bright and you try and you get a bad grade on your term paper, well that means you are stupid. Since there is nothing worse than failing, bright kids tend not to try and that is absolutely devastating. How can one remedy
that? There are interesting approaches that she has tried including one called “Brainology”. Not neurology but brainology. This is basically teaching both teachers and children about how the brain works. About the way in which new connections are formed in the process of learning. Dweck tells us a very moving story of the time when she presented this in a school where there was a very troublesome pupil who drove everybody nuts. He was sitting up the back, his jaw hanging open as she spoke. At the end he came up to her and said “Miss, you mean I don’t have to be stupid?” So there are very powerful ways of challenging our belief systems. And it is very important to do so.

And finally there are our motivations. This is the energy which drives us to behave in certain ways, such as striving towards our valued goals. But what determines our values? We know that young people value appearance, fame and material possessions. We also know that it is absolutely no good for them, that such values are dreadful for their wellbeing. So we need to teach them better values and the idea of intrinsic motivation. Many activities are motivated just for themselves. You do not necessarily need to reward people in order to motivate them. Curiosity is inherently rewarding - children love to do new things. In fact, American child psychologists, Deci and Ryan, have shown that in some instances rewarding children for doing something they enjoy actually takes away the enjoyment and reduces their frequency of doing those things. Thus, intrinsic motivation is very important.

Now, I want to introduce you to the idea of population distribution. For any common condition, and let us talk about symptoms of anxiety and depression, these tend be normally distributed throughout the population. Some people have few or no symptoms; we can describe them as flourishing. Some people have a moderate number of symptoms, while others have a lot; the latter can be described as languishing. Some people have so many symptoms that they meet the criteria for a diagnosis of a common mental disorder, such as depression or anxiety. And of course we must help by providing treatment - medical, behavioural treatments, physical activity and so forth. The aim is generally to reduce the symptoms and we can be more or less effective at doing this.

But there is a very important understanding in epidemiology (which is the study of populations) that the percentage of people in a population who have a common condition is related to the
average within the population of the underlying symptoms. So the higher the average levels of symptoms in the population the more individuals there will be who have depression, anxiety and so on. The higher the average consumption of alcohol in the culture the greater will be the number of people who exceed the safe drinking limits. This is not just a statistical artefact. It can be shown that even if you exclude the people with a diagnosable condition from the calculation of the mean, you still find this important relationship.

At some level there is nothing surprising about this relationship since our beliefs and behaviours are influenced by the culture around us. That leads to an important question. If we wanted to reduce the number of people with a common disorder, we should shift the average in the direction of flourishing. Maybe what we should be doing is universal interventions. A tiny shift in the average can lead to an enormous shift in the tails; fewer people with the common conditions, many more people flourishing.

The evidence in support of this approach remains uncertain. One of the reasons for this is that nobody measures what is happening at the positive end of the population distribution. Universal interventions have shown reductions in symptoms over short time periods, but have rarely carried out long term follow-ups. No study has looked at flourishing. Do interventions such as the Penn Resiliency Programme or Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) increase flourishing? We don’t know, but we certainly ought to.

Now we need to address the question, whose well-being are we considering? We are talking here mainly about children. On the basis of scientific knowledge to date, even though well-being is a new science, there are things that we know that can improve well-being for children. Richard has spoken about some and I have mentioned others. But, what about teachers? Teachers are, of course, profoundly important. We were both at a meeting just over a week ago called ‘Happiness and its causes’. And along to that meeting came a group of 14 year olds from an inner city area. They were great, they were absolutely terrific. These were kids that wanted to learn. They were keen, enthusiastic. Most of them came from troubled backgrounds, and they said that one of the biggest problems for them was depressed teachers! So clearly something needs to be done. More autonomy for teachers is something that many of you know
far more about than I.

Teachers that are bright-eyed and enthusiastic, in turn, inspire children to be bright eyed and enthusiastic. And clearly the parents are profoundly important too. Certainly in the early-years it is the parents who influence the brain biology and the gene expression. But right throughout childhood parental influence is tremendously important. Yet parents often feel helpless but there are many things that we can do to help parents. We know, for example, that authoritarian parents are very bad for a child’s well-being. Equally, too much lenience is very bad. I, and others, have demonstrated this in very large studies. The type of parenting that is known to be affective is called authoritative. These are parents who are child centred - they really care about their child, they are warm parents, but they are very clear about values, and very clear about boundaries. I think we need to make sure more parents are aware of the value of authoritative parenting. Probably the best time to introduce this is during ante-natal classes, which parents (mothers certainly) typically attend in large numbers. I think Richard’s point about teaching children about future parenting is tremendously important.

As I said this is a new science. We can have a top-down approach to intervention but there is still a lot that we do not know. And so I believe that it is just as important to think about bottom-up. There are a lot of wonderful interventions that are going on. Let us learn from those, let us learn about a multiplicity of approaches and how well they work.

The measurement of well-being is always an issue that comes up and it is profoundly important. What we are talking about here is both objective and subjective measures of wellbeing. Objective measures include school attainment, health and so forth. But equally important, I believe, are the subjective measures. Now, people have been very suspicious about subjective measures. Can we trust what people tell us about their well-being? We trust
what people tell us about their pain or their misery, these also are subjective measures. The reason that subjective measures have now become more acceptable is because of neuroscience. We can show that when people report particular feelings, particular motivations etc, these correlate with very specific regions of brain activation. So, there seems to be this objective reality of what people are reporting.

What are the things that we need to measure in intervention studies? Well it is the four things I spoke about; it is feelings and functioning at the personal level and at the interpersonal level. We should be using these measurements to establish what interventions work for which outcomes? Some interventions will work well for some outcomes and not for others. We also need to know what interventions work for which people? Which children? Which teachers? It is not a case that “one size fits all”.

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To conclude, the state of our knowledge is, I believe, such that that we can already implement much of what we know in programmes for children, for teachers, for parents. I think it is very important at this stage to retain a diversity of approaches and also to look at many different methods for delivering interventions. For example, interventions delivered by a computer may be more effective for many young people than a face-to-face approach, since young people often resent having to go to a therapist. And of course, nowadays there also wonderful biofeedback methods that can be linked to the computer programmes. Small sensors allow the young person to measure their stress levels, for instance, and see on the screen that they can control their stress levels. That is tremendously empowering.
Finally, it is very important for schools to support such initiatives. It is no good having autonomous teachers, enthusiastic children who know how to lead better lives, learning the skills of well-being, if the school ethos is against them. Supporting cooperative learning, pro-social behaviour, the use of restorative justice in schools are all methods that I think are important.

At the same time as using a diversity of measures to enhance well-being in the classroom, it would be wonderful to have a common core of measures. This can be a relatively small core, so that we can compare all of these measures across all of the different schools, and different organisations, against each other to develop the kind of evidence base that Richard is calling for. And of course randomised trials are absolutely key.

Just to reiterate, we really must try to measure flourishing and not just the absence of pathology, because flourishing is what we are after.

**Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:**

Thank you very much Felicia. Our final speaker is actually not just a colleague but an old friend. In fact we have known each other for about thirty years; at least that. That is obviously since we were young children.

Guy Claxton is Professor of the Learning Sciences at the University of Bristol, Graduate School of Education. He is the author of a number of books on learning, creativity, education and the mind. His practical approach to cultivating young people's capacity to learn, “Building Learning power”, is being used in schools and Local Authorities around the UK and internationally. Guy was actually at Oxford University and we were undergraduates together. Today he will talk about “Cultivating the means to be happy; what does it take?”

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**Conclusions**

- The need for high quality programmes for children, teachers and parents to learn the skills of well-being
- Diversity in programmes and modes of delivery
- Institutional structures which support well-being
- Common core of measures
4. ‘Cultivating the means to be happy: what does it take?’ - Professor Guy Claxton, Professor of Learning Sciences at the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol

Thank you very much Susan. And thank you for the invitation to join my distinguished colleagues on the panel here.

Let me explain the slightly clumsy title - ‘Cultivating the means to be happy - what does it take?’ My focus today is not on what ‘happiness’ or ‘well-being’ are, nor on the conditions that promote happiness. My focus is on the educational processes that can build up young people’s ability to generate their own well-being.

When we talk about ‘every child matters’, or about child well-being, we are not talking about creating some kind of permanent state of nirvana or complete absence of ill feeling. We are talking about trying to do whatever we can, particularly in the context of an educational discussion, to give young people the means to be their own happiness creators and happiness maintainers. Happiness or well-being is not something that we can deliver to them. And therefore we need to take one step back and think about how do we cultivate their own means to be happy? I am going to disagree with Richard about the answer to that. I do not think we can have lessons in happiness. I think that becoming knowledgeable about the conditions that create happiness is not at all the same thing as having the means to maintain and create your own happiness.

What does it take to create these conditions? How can we design educational environments which deliberately, methodically, gently, systematically, encourage all young people to develop the skills, knowledge, habits, dispositions, qualities, character strength, virtues, whatever you call them, which will enable them to become happiness prone rather than boredom prone, depression prone, individuals?

I want to zoom in on one particular aspect of this question which both Richard and Felicia mentioned because I think it is the one that is most obviously relevant to what can, and should, happen in the context of education. This is not the sense of being happy that is to do with
'feeling good’. We know from the research that we human beings tend to grievously overestimate what makes us feel good, to overestimate what makes us feel bad, and to overestimate how long and how intense these feelings will be. We are actually not very good at knowing what will induce the feelings of happiness.

We also know that there are significant risks with attempts to try and boost happiness by stabilising and intensifying good feelings. One of the major risks of that is that it can lead us to be more and more intolerant and oversensitive to our own so called negative emotions. It leads us to conceive of negative emotions such as sadness, anger or fear, as in some sense our enemies, to be managed and controlled. That attitude reinforces a misunderstanding of our psychology and our biology. Neuroscience tells us we get anxious, cross and upset for good evolutionary reasons. Negative emotions are our friends and helpers, not to be rejected but to be understood and respected.

The specific version of happiness I want to focus on is that which flows from making progress in challenging and worthwhile projects: the kind of happiness that comes through being confident at selecting things that you consider to be worthwhile, and developing the ability to pursue them. As many people have argued, experiences of pleasure, the experiences of ‘flow’ that Felicia referred to, are natural accompaniments to learning. Shakespeare captures the idea of flow when he says:

“Things won are done; joy’s soul lies in the doing.”

Or, you could even say souls’ joy lies in the doing. The happiness of adventure outweighs the happiness of achievement, in other words. Happiness is much more associated with effective striving and challenging learning and problem-solving than it is with the process of arriving. If we pursue this avenue of thinking about happiness, we are led to think about what I call ‘learning power’ - the collection of personal characteristics which enable people - particularly in this context young people - to be good at engaging with complicated challenging and worthwhile things. So my argument is that the ability to be your own happiness maker depends therefore on having the appetite and the capacity to pursue meaningful challenges for oneself.
That capacity is a precondition, if you like, not for being ‘happy’ but for being a happiness prone person.

Richard and I agree that in some senses we have lost sight of this as the root purpose of education. Sir Richard Livingston, vice chancellor of the University of Oxford as long ago as 1941 said that:

“The test of successful education is not the amount of knowledge [or the indeed the number of A grades at GCSE] that students take away from school, but their appetite to know and their capacity to learn.”

There is a good deal of evidence now that too narrow, too formulaic, too mechanistic, too pressurised a pursuit of qualifications leads to a damaging of that appetite and a diminution of that capacity. And this, I think, is a very important aspect of the pursuit of happiness which we need to think about.

Lacking of this sense of confidence and capacity in the face of real important, worthwhile, difficult things contributes profoundly to the phenomenon that we call stress. Stress is, very crudely, the way we feel and the way we respond when the demands on us overwhelm our sense of our ability to respond effectively and appropriately. We are stress-prone when there is more hard stuff coming our way than we feel resourced to deal with. We feel a significant disparity between the demand of our lives and the resources we have to cope.

The resources I’m talking about are social and economic, but they are also, very importantly, psychological. We know that young people, like us, tend to respond to stressful conditions with feelings of insecurity and self doubt, and also with increasingly self destructive behaviours that look as if they are going to be effective but which are dysfunctional because they create levels of ‘toxic waste’ that merely exacerbate the level of stress. Escapism, recklessness, depression,
and self-harm are typical stress responses. These are the kinds of things that deeply worry us about young people. British young people, the surveys show, are demonstrating the classic symptoms of stress.

My suggestion is that these stressful and self-defeating behaviours arise because young people feel inadequately resourced to cope with the profuse, complicated, confusing demands of being a young person in the 21st century. And school ought to be, at its root, the place where young people are experiencing a cumulative, systematic and satisfying development of their resources to cope with life.

Many of them, however, experience school simply as another big weight on the demand side of their lives. You will know, as well as I do, the statistics on the number of children that call Childline during the months before high-stakes examinations.

We also know that there are ways of doing schooling, as Felicia has said, that actually weaken the appetite and the capacity for learning. For example, an ongoing survey for the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) shows that there are two major effects of the high pressure on primary schools to raise levels of literacy. One is that the levels of literacy skills have gone up (a little, and even that is disputed by the Cambridge Primary Review); and the other is that the disposition to read has gone down, particularly in eleven year old boys. That kind of pressurised, mechanistic, approach to raising standards exacts too high a price. If the way they are taught leaves children with an aversion to reading, that damages their appetite and their capacity to learn, and makes them more vulnerable to stress later on. It is unacceptable that, when schools ought to be narrowing the gap between young people’s capabilities and the demands on them, they seem often to be exacerbating it.

How are we to respond to this concern? Can we use PSHE to bolt on to the unreconstructed core business of chasing grades a bit of Happiness Education? I don’t think so. I think we have to take a more systemic approach, trying to create contexts, activities, languages and a whole set of ways of functioning in schools that aim to develop this sense of confidence and capacity in the face of difficulty - what I’m calling ‘learning power’.

The new national secondary curriculum which has just been announced by the Qualifications Curriculum Authority (QCA) will apply to the new Year 7s next September. It is quite brave in its attention to the cultivation of learning life skills. I’ve just put here some quotations from the information on the QCA website about how the core ethos of school is moving in the directions that I think are important. For example:
“The qualities and skills learners need to succeed in school and beyond should be the starting point of the curriculum and should inform all aspects of curriculum planning and learning at whole school and subject level.”

That is the core opening statement of the new curriculum. What the QCA are calling ‘Personal Learning and Thinking Skills’ (PLaTS) are essential for success in life, learning and work. It is these qualities and skills that will enable young people to enter adult life as confident and capable individuals. So foregrounding and articulating the skills and the attitudes of learning and knowing is becoming, as it should, more and more central to our mainstream educational thinking. It should not need saying, of course, that this move is neither anti-content not anti-intellectual. It is a complementary perspective that is a very welcome counterbalance to learning methods that have sometimes been narrow and under-examined.

More information from the QCA website:

“Schools will need to provide students opportunities for identifying questions to answer.”

I had few opportunities for that at school. Mostly my job was to answer other people’s questions. In others words, schools will now be required to stimulate the development of mental qualities like,

“Curiosity, exploring problems from different perspectives, generating ideas, questioning their own and others assumptions, and developing a critical attitude.”

Presumably ‘others’ would include their teachers as well. Also included is,
“Assessing themselves and others, and dealing positively with set-back and criticism.”

The question is: how do you organise a lesson on simultaneous equations, the Tudors, photosynthesis or religious festivals in such a way that, at the same time as you are conveying worthwhile knowledge, you are also enabling young people to build their ‘ability to deal positively with set back and criticism’? That is the kind of thinking that is now coming to the fore, as teachers plan their lessons.

What is most urgent in our discussions today is not just planning lessons on ‘well-being’. It is exploring how classrooms can be configured in such a way that young people spending eleven years or more of their lives in them emerge at the end, regardless of the number of qualifications that they have managed to achieve, with the capacity to be happiness generating individuals - able to feel confident and enthusiastic and capable in responding to the challenges that come their way.

If schools are to help people develop these capacities then initiatives like the new QCA curriculum have to be supported. There is the initiative from the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust which encourage the development of cultures in schools which support ‘deep learning’. Some of the work on Learning to Learn which has been championed by the Campaign for Learning has yielded valuable hard information about how to develop ‘learning power’. Assessment of Learning, which most of you will know about, remains too focused on increasing examination achievement, but is definitely on the side of the angels. David Perkins and others at Harvard University have developed very practical classroom routines for thinking through the ‘Visible Thinking Project’. And there is my own work, which Susan referred to in her introduction, on Building Learning Power. All these kinds of things, although they are still in development, are things which we in this room should be applauding and supporting.

Of course we should be rightly critical of some of the developments in this area, which are superficial, half-baked, sentimental, and commercially driven. But we should not confuse these legitimate criticisms with a dismissal of the whole enterprise. The challenge for us is to
develop robust, credible versions of education which build these capacities to be learning-happy. And part of that process is critiquing what exists. As I say, this enterprise is not essentially anti-intellectual or anti-content. Raising the concerns with the personal skills and qualities that young people are developing is not necessarily antipathetically to quadratic equations and Shakespeare. Not at all. Nor are these approaches thinly-disguised regressions to a naïve ‘progressive’ ideology. They are highly targeted in terms of what it is that we see young people being in need of these days, if mine and my colleagues diagnoses are anywhere near the mark. They should be seen not as therapeutic but as truly educational. Preparation for a complex future is the foundation of well-being and the heart of education. I feel optimistic that meetings like this are encouraging this type of thinking.

5. Discussion

Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:

While the discussion may broaden out into a wider consideration of the role of well-being in learning, I would like to initially focus on direct classroom interventions and programmes to develop well-being, such as SEAL.

I turn to Richard Bartholomew (Chief Research Officer, Analysis and Research Division, Children’s Young people) for the department’s approaches to improving well-being, through programmes such as SEAL.

Richard Bartholomew:

I very much welcome all of these presentations, and I think that particularly Guy Claxton’s final comments about the room for optimism here are particularly important. We have talked about depressed teachers. I think it is important that we do not actually get depressed about this issue. I think that the media, perhaps, has not been entirely helpful recently in the way that it has focused on some of these issues.

I think it is a really positive thing that we are now able to discuss this and are not embarrassed by saying that achieving happiness and well-being is an explicit objective for education. Even 10 yrs ago we would, I think, have been reluctant to say that. And so I actually think there are tremendous grounds for optimism about the degree of interest in this area.
I do not accept the pessimistic view, particularly some of the UNICEF figures, that we have a much worse problem then elsewhere, or particularly (and we haven’t talked about trends yet), that this is getting much worse. The evidence about this is not at all clear in terms of childhood and adolescent depression and so forth. Survey evidence, in contrast to the UNICEF report, suggests that around 90% of children, consistently across most surveys, express general satisfaction and happiness with their lives. There is a group of around 10% group who do have problems. But that does not mean that one should be complacent.

In a sense the higher expectations we now have for all children does have a flip side. More children are under exam pressure than when, for example, I was doing my A levels - at that time it affected probably only a minority of young people. We need to be able to help children to learn to deal with those increased pressures. So I do think that the focus on developing resilience, on developing coping mechanisms, on developing positive thinking in our schools is very timely. And I think one should not look at schools in isolation.

The Every Child Matters programme is very much about developing the overall well-being of the child. We do not understand all the connections here, and this is where science can help. But we know that if we are going to achieve greater happiness in the school then we also need to reinforce that through what happens in the home, in the rest of their lives, within their peer groups. These are all interconnections, with their health as well. We cannot just focus on one area of children’s lives, and I think that has been very much brought out by everything that has been said here.

We know that friendships and relationships are very important to children and there is some good evidence coming out, very soon, from OFSTED on the importance of these issues to children. It again shows fairly high levels of satisfaction. But there are plenty of areas where we need to strengthen what we are doing.

In terms of what schools can do, I think we are uncertain still of exactly what the most effective approach is. Felicia was right to say we need to trial a number of different things. That is why we are supporting an evaluation of the UK resilience programme with Richard Layard. Because that does seem to incorporate a fairly clear approach and there is reasonable evidence from the States to support it, although it is not entirely conclusive for which groups that programme works best. One criticism of the Resilience programme is that it is focuses on one particular classroom period in the week and one year group only. It does need to be reinforced later.
The advantage of the SEAL programme is certainly in terms of its whole school approach. It is no use in having one lesson with a highly qualified teacher to improve your emotional resilience if a lot of those gains are then contradicted by having a stroppy maths teacher in the next lesson who is not at all concerned with your emotional well-being or if the whole ethos of the school is not right.

So we do need to think about the whole school approach and this is what SEAL is certainly trying to achieve. We are also developing (this year and over the next three years - it has been announced in the Comprehensive Spending Review) mental health pilots offering more intensive one-to-one support involving health professionals. The SEAL programme and UK Resilience programme are not designed to deal with the more serious problems of depression and psychological disturbance. They may detect these but are not intended to deal with them. The mental health pilots we being rolled out in all areas over the next three years, but 25 local authority pathfinder areas in the first year. It is a £60 million programme. It aims to reduce problems that arise with children being on waiting lists, having to wait for referrals, and will provide mental health support, professional mental health workers, within the school, working with the teachers and pupils to prevent these problems worsening. We are intending to conduct a randomised control trial to do evaluate the pilots.

My role is as Chief Research Officer for the DCSF and I very much believe we should use random controlled studies where appropriate. They are difficult to do in this area: there are lots of issues around sensitivity with parents, there are ethical issues, but I believe these can be overcome. But one should recognise that parents and schools are concerned that successful interventions should not be denied to children where there is evidence that they work. So one shouldn’t minimise these ethical problems.

I think there is a lot to be learnt from trialling a number of programmes. Whole school approaches are very important. I also think the points that Guy Claxton made about the curriculum as a whole were very important.

Some of the evidence that came out two weeks ago from the Primary Review - which received much press coverage - about lots of children being worried and so forth - was actually based on just 197 children. I have read the evidence, so not a large group, but important evidence. It suggested that children were worried about things like global warming and population growth. But the study found that where schools had actually engaged in those issues, and given children a realistic assessment of the risks and shown what they could do about them, children were
much less worried and depressed about the issues. I think it is important that we do not shy away from these issues and ensure that they are part of the curriculum if we are going to address the broader worries that children have about society.

**Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:**

Thank you Richard. I now turn to Ian Morris (Head of PHSE lessons at Wellington College) for his experiences of the programme at Wellington to develop well-being.

**Ian Morris:**

Hello, my name is Ian Morris and I am head of PHSE and religion at Wellington College. In September 2006, Wellington College began the teaching of well-being classes to all students from years 10 to 11. Wellington is a co-ed boarding school situated in Crowthorne in Berkshire. We are a selective school using the common entrance exams as our means for selection. Full boarding fees are approx £25, 000 per annum with about 70% of our student opting to board. We take students from all over the world and our student body is currently approximately 150 students.

So why did we decide to introduce this course? As the new head of PHSE I was dissatisfied with the idea of delivering a programme of sex, drugs, careers and citizenship education that had no over-arching philosophy. I have considered the idea of virtue ethics, largely based on Aristotle as a starting point. But predictably I was struggling to find a way through that.

In January 2006, my headmaster put me in contact with Nick Bayliss of Cambridge University. Nick spoke about the ‘science of well-being’ and he introduced me to the discipline of positive psychology - a discipline that tries to isolate and research the skills of living a full and meaningful human life. I was immediately won over. It struck me as a no-brainer that we should be teaching our students the skills of living and flourishing as humans rather than desperately getting them to avoid harmful behaviours such as substance misuse and promiscuity.

I was also excited by this approach as it seems to be to be the answer to the obsession with measurable outcomes that dominates modern education. As far as I was concerned anything that gave our students the time to develop their ideas to what it means to be a human, in addition to their studies of the wider world, could go some way to addressing the imbalance that appears to be present in our young people.
At Wellington, our students come from wealthy backgrounds and whilst they might not be prone to poverty, crime and social exclusion they are prone to the crimes of consumerism and hedonism. Many of our alumni will work in highly paid but highly pressurised careers. And it is vital that they learn to look after themselves in a systematic way rather looking for quick fixes of pleasure when life becomes difficult.

Are so what can we teach them? I have an allocated time of 40 minutes per fortnight to deliver the course. And I only have this time in years 10 and 11 · GCSE years. I have a team of about 10 staff to deliver the course, from a range of academic disciplines. The course is broken down into nine relationships which we try to help the students develop, and these relationships are both relationships with self and relationships with people and things outside the self. The first section of the course looks at teaching skills of well-being: mindfulness meditation and gratitude.

Each lesson begins with mindfulness meditation. Jon Kabat-Zinn has shown that people who practice this regularly enjoy strengthened immune system and a heightened ability to cope with stress. There is also evidence that it increases concentration levels and can lead to increased activity in the neural cortex. We encourage our students to practice this skill every day. And some have reported real results in using it to pass exams, sports fixtures, music exams as well as using it as a relaxation technique prior to going to sleep.

The second key skill is gratitude. Robert Emmons and Michael McCullough have shown that people who regularly show appreciation for the good things in their lives, or even the bad events, that lead to good outcomes, are more engaged with life and can be healthier. If this is coupled to ideas of optimism, which we also teach, this can lead to greater longevity, as Martin Sullivan claims in his ‘science of happiness’ with his citation of the study of the lives of the nuns of Milwaukee. The relationships that we want our students to develop are crucial to the development of well-being. We start with a look at emotions. We look at how to recognise emotional states, manage them and transform them. We use the work by of people such as Daniel Goleman and Antonio Damasio to trace the origins of emotional states and we look at the ways we can use emotional energy to bring about positive outcomes.

One particular student of mine, called Leonardo, who was suffering problems managing his anger, used the technique we taught him to great affect. It is important to state that we do not want to numb the emotion or to create an inauthentic state of glee but to help us to use
emotions for their evolutionarily intended reasons, as signals or markers to things going on inside and around us.

We examine how taking care of ourselves is vital for well-being. Getting enough sleep, eating healthily and getting regular exercise is all par-for-the-course. We look at our relationship with others and explore how altruism, aside with bringing about positive mental states, can provide us with the all elusive meaning in life. We look at conflict resolution and romantic relationships and how we can best develop our connection with other human beings around us. In our exploration with the relationship with technology we explore how television can be abused and cause us to have a false perception of reality. And the work done by Michael Moore and Adam Curtis into the politics of fear seems to back this up. We also look at using the time spent on technological means of communication, to instead, develop real human communication with all its richness of feedback.

We look at the idea of developing talents and show how being in touch with our signature strengths, and developing them, can give us more of a sense of fullfillness in life. We particularly look at sense Csikszentmihalyi’s idea of ‘flow’. We are also keen to dispel the myths of talent as purely genetic. And we also use real life examples of talented people who have spent hours practising their talents. We also follow the example of Viktor Frankl who explains that a life without meaning will be a depressed one. If our students become aware of how to develop and display their talents, this may be part an antidote to depression.

So where to from here? We are extending the course to our third form and I hope to develop materials on resilience using Martin Seligman’s work on learned optimism and also an examination of values and how we teach our children that there is meaning in life and things that are worth fighting for, such as beauty and justice as opposed to the pervasive sentiment of relativism and totalitarianism.

In collaboration with Lord Layard we have setting up an All Party Parliamentary Group to look at developing a well-being course than can be rolled out to secondary schools nationwide. Whilst the SEAL programme is good, it is limited. It is vital that we go beyond emotional intelligence to explore the wider issue of well-being which necessarily includes a philosophical discussion of our place in the world.

We are working with Wokingham Borough Council in collaboration with all the state head teachers in that area on a programme called Every Adult Matters, which is looking at teacher well-being. I am part of a profession that prides itself on resilience but often that resilience is
illusionary. We would like to find ways to better support our staff. Only with well staff can we teach well-being to our children.

In September, Wellington will appoint its first full time teacher of well-being. And we aim to build a well-being centre to strengthen the resources available to the disciple and further raise its profile. There is a sea change at present in PHSE. I have met no educational professionals who are anything other than wholeheartedly behind our project. It is important that we use this bottom up motivation from the people working with our young people to ensure that education doesn’t miss this golden opportunity to work against the depressing findings of the Innocenti Report and to refocus us on the meaning of education which is to lead out our young towards flourishing as human beings.

**Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:**

I now turn to Mary Tasker, who is chair of Human Scale Education.

**Mary Tasker:**

Thank you for inviting me here and thank you for some very interesting insights this morning. The charity Human Scale Education (HSE) is committed to the issue of scale and size in education which has not yet been mentioned. I draw your attention to a series of programmes which have on Teachers TV which have been made for us and the foundation with whom we are working in a HSS project. Five films on small schools, two in America, and two over here which are committed to small, on the basis that in a small learning community it is possible to develop the relationships with teachers and students and students themselves, which contribute to well-being.

Well-being, in our view, derives from achievement which leads to empowerment. Empowerment for self, and empowerment for the community. Just last week I was at a conference on student school voice in which a group of children from a local comprehensive schools in the South West spoke most movingly about the work they were doing for the environmental cause in their local community. Such articulacy, such confidence - they were empowered. They ranged from years eight to sixth form. Very, very impressive.

Ted Sizer, who founded a movement in the states called the Coalition of the Central Schools, which has had a very big influence in the US on the small school movement there, said that “you cannot teach a child well unless you know that child well”. It really worries me that a
whole plethora of ICT that is available to children. The time they spend on their computer games, the fact that every child is going to have a palm held computer with which he or she they can learn and run the organise their life is, to me, quite amazing and I think teachers have to get to grips with this. I am sure in the neurosciences, knowing Susan Greenfield’s work a bit, having read about it, that she is trying to get to grips with this.

We have to know the children that we teach. We have to know what is facing them, the challenges, which are causes for optimism as well as for concern. In our organisation we are trying to do this by pushing the argument for small. This is not pie in the sky. I’m not suggesting that we build small schools. What we are into is restructuring on a human scale. For example, a school of 2000 can, in-fact, break down into four learning communities of 500 each. If you have a small school, and I bet many of us went to schools that were of that number when we young, it is possible to establish relationships with children. I do not mean to be heretical here but those that do away with the pastoral side of school life, the traditional conflict between pastoral and academic. The child is a whole person; education should be a holistic experience. And I do put to you the case of small scale in education - it is not precious, it is not privileges. Some of the most needy areas in Boston and New York have gone over to small scaling which huge backing from their mayor and from Bill Gates and other funders, and the effects are amazing - in attainments in school attendance, in graduation in low incarceration.

Let me remind you that we incarcerate the greatest number of children in the UK than any other European country. That is an amazing figure and this is the reason I think that the former chair of the youth justice board has resigned; because is it not necessary. Youth crime rates has actually dropped but incarceration rates have gone up. Well I don’t know if you know why but there is an answer to all this.

We can actually prove with research, mainly in the USA, that small learning communities do have a positive effect on children that, today, we are actually calling well-being. Thank you.

**Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:**

We now have half an hour. We had asked two other people to speak later but I think we will now open this up and return to the other people. So we will now open this up to the audience.

**Sue Palmer:**

My name is Sue Palmer and I am former head teacher and a literacy specialist who has recently written a book called ‘Toxic Childhood’.
I am most excited about all the things I heard this morning and I think wonderful stuff and we really need to get on with it. However, I do think that there is a danger in bringing well-being into the curriculum; that we can make people, help people, to think that the curriculum can solve problems on its own. It seems to me most important that we also emphasise alongside it the natural traditional ways that children developed emotional resilience and social competence which has already been touched on by Felicia in term so early years, but also play. At the moment there is a huge problem with children's unstructured and loosely supervised play. Largely because of our increasingly risk-adverse reaction to risks in our society. Another publication from Tim Gill this week ‘No Fear - growing up in a risk adverse society’ will be bringing this to peoples’ attention.

This must be a two prong thing. One, what we can do through the curriculum, through more institutionalised means. But two, what we can do to ensure that the natural way in which human beings have learned throughout the millennia is not impeded or spoilt by the way that our society has developed. Please can we keep the two as a pincer movement, rather than let them get separated.

Professor Rosemary Sage:

I am Professor of Communications and Education at the University of Liverpool. I have very much appreciated all of this discussion as I think it is really important. I would like to take us back to six aspects of well-being which our eminent Lord Professor introduced us to. At the core of these aspects in the ability to communicate with ourselves and others, and that has hardly been mentioned today.

My colleague Jenny Rogers from Liverpool and I looked at children in the UK and compare them with children that are successful in other countries. And that is what strikes us above all else - their ability to communicate is so much better than our children. In Leicester, where I originally worked over three years, I looked at children entering school and they were all delayed by at least two years in their linguistic and cognitive competence. And in fact, that gap even widened by the time they went to secondary schools. I think this is a really important issue because if we look at the Briggman Studies, which have reviewed thirty years of research into what makes children successful in our schools, it is their communicative performance and not just their linguistics that we should be looking at. And so I leave you with that thought.
Professor Kathryn Ecclestone:

I am from Oxford Brooks University. One of the things that I want to ask about is the requirement for more evidence on the effect of the interventions currently going on. For example, if the SEAL intervention is suggesting to people that life is full of anxiety, if we are continually inserting a vocabulary of emotions, a vocabulary of anxiety and depression, then what are effects of these interventions? What evidence is there that we are creating suggestibility to children and actually inserting a sense of a lack of well-being that the interventions are actually designed to ameliorate? I think this is a real worry and I would want to urge that any evidence of interventions look at the real problem of suggestibility. There is a lot of anecdotal evidence amongst children that doing circle time and psychodrama workshops about school transitions makes them more fearful about those, many of them, mundane events in their lives as it does with real fears in their lives. This is a real big concern of mine.

Dr. Colleen Mclaughlin:

I am from the Faculty of Education in Cambridge. I want to support strongly, in terms of education perspectives, Guy Claxton’s analysis but I also wanted to raise one area that I see as missing and I would welcome comments on. That is the area of relationships. My own understanding, of the neuroscience, is that we learn emotional regulation through, with, and in, our relationships with adults. I am somewhat concerned that we are focusing on a rather interventalist, individualist model. I know that SEAL describes the whole school approach. My impression of the implementation for SEAL is that it is being taken as an individualistic programme about the management of emotion. I am concerned that our rationale for that is misunderstood. We are not exactly tackling a difficult, or in Guy’s words ‘woolly’ area of what is, for example in Italy, a highly developed focus on what is called the pedagogy relationships in schools. We are avoiding some of the very difficult but, I would say, central areas to do with the development of emotional regulation and emotional well-being.

Professor Jenny Rogers:

I am from the University of Liverpool Hope and like Professor Rosemary Sage recently worked at Leicester University. I am speaking with several hats: as a psychologist, educator of nursery and primary and I have worked with young offenders and now in teacher education at different levels.
The research that we have carried out more recently has been in Japan, previously to that it was in Scandinavia. These are two cultures where there is a very large emphasis on nursery care and education and of course two societies where crime rates are low. There is a relationship between the two because they do emphasise relationships between the adults in the community and the children, and between adults that care for these children in these settings.

I have become very much aware of the British personality - the stiff upper lip, a little distance and the strong emphasis on original sin, to do with assessing children, measuring children, from a young age. The practice in Scandinavia, Japan and Holland and various other countries are looking at the developing child. Yes, they are observing and assessing but in a much looser way than we do. The curriculum guide for the foundation stage has the emphasis on the profile. In a sense this is a good thing, but the way it has been interpreted is actually to bring the emphasis away from relationships because the emphasis is, will the children achieve and will the results be alright? You cannot do the two. It is very difficult for staff to take on board both of these things at once. Early serotonin levels are set fairly early. From a scientific point of view this puts an emphasis on making sure that the children are happy, that these levels are raised during the early years. But if you have a curriculum that is pulling away from that to the individualistic then you are pulling away from the relations. It is the relationships with parent and carers but within the early years setting itself which builds these children up. Whichever way you look at it the areas of early learning and developed, motor, social, intellectual, emotional, moral are so closely interrelated that whichever one you take you are affecting the other. We are talking emotion, now we are talking relationships, that are directly going to affect the social, it’s going to affect the cognitive - which is obviously what assessment is largely about.

So the atmosphere that you get when you walk into a Scandinavian or Japanese nursery is really, very often, quite different. It is much more open, relaxed, outdoor play, involving all the community. It really is a completely different feel. If the people influencing policy here in the UK have not been to these settings they really should go. Interestingly we have translated a lot from the Japanese curriculum, as we have from the Scandinavian. One of the top things on their curriculums is well-being, on the curriculum itself. Not mathematical development or reading and this is the primary curriculum as well. It is well-being and relationships. We have written about this quite a bit but we are disappointed about the take up on what we are trying to show. Looking economically; where will the next generation of scientists and
mathematicians come? If we want the cognitive in the longer term we really need to look at the early foundations otherwise we are shutting the door after the horse has bolted.

**Baroness Jenny McIntosh:**

I am a member of the House of Lords but my background is in theatre and the performing arts. I really want to build on what has been said about the early years. I was very struck by something that Lord Layard said, quite in passing, that there are a lot of good interventions going on in the primary schools. But that we actually need to concentrate on the secondary schools. I am also likening that to something somebody else said about beauty. A word that has not been used very much. Neither has the word creativity been used very much. Surprising in this gathering in my view.

In the primary school system there is an increasing awareness that children engaging with performance and performing arts actually does have a benefit. And an organisation called Artis, which I am involved in with a colleague Nigel Mainard, is putting performance arts specialists in schools in order to help children, to engage with them, and help them to develop their own learning skills through performance and the techniques of performing arts. I am very interested to hear what anyone else thinks about how the things that children learn in these early years settings can be transferred into the secondary school system. I am stuck by the fact that today we seem to be indicating that there is a terrible cut-off at eleven and what happens to children when they go into secondary system is that they suddenly get cut-off from anything that they might have learnt beneficially in the primary school system of these more general well-being, developing skills. I wonder if anyone has any comments that they would like to make on that?

**Dr. Lynn Erler:**

I am at the Department of Education at the University of Oxford, and my background is teaching in a number of different countries, foreign language teaching, teacher training, and research at the present time.

I would like to try to change the focus from an individual emotional perspective to an activity perspective. It is actually quite important for a child, and a young person, to be engaged in activities - not just sitting around exploring their emotions or their relationships. When you come into this country as a new person you notice immediately that it is not very child friendly. What is there, therefore, for children and young people to do? We cannot wonder that those who have not got the personal support from home to be involved in hobbies and outside
recreational sports have nothing to do or nowhere to focus their energies. It is not surprising, therefore, that people who do not have support of hobbies have nothing to do, nowhere to focus their energy. So I would like to come back to what Sue Palmer said on our interest to generate better creativity and play, our interest in performing arts and what Professor Katherine Ecclestone said: that are we in danger of sitting around gazing at our navel, by putting in an intervention that does not proceed anywhere. Also, what Mary Tasker was saying about knowing the children also means knowing what they are involved in, and what they do, and bringing activities into schools that increase creativity, which increase opportunities for vocabulary building and and increased self expression. This is not to deny relationships. But it seems to me that the idea of activities that can lend to self efficacy, the sense that I know how to do something because out research in languages has shown that children get very disaffected because they feel that they are not learning anything. Even though they might have some skills for communication they are unhappy for themselves and the subject area.

*Linda Siegle:*

I work for the Campaign for Learning. The last speaker mentioned the word ‘skills’. It is a word the government is using a lot at the moment. At the Campaign for Learning we cover learning cradle-to-grave, everything to do with learning. We are constantly talking to the government about their skills agenda but there is little acknowledgment of its connection to the wellbeing agenda about which we are talking today - about the whole continuum of life-long learning and that skill gaps need to be filled by competent life-long learners. The comments we have made today about wellbeing apply to this agenda too and we need to make a lot more effort to join it all up. Everybody seems to have their own agenda but doesn’t seem to realise the connection. We have talked about primary schools, secondary, schools, the different interventions at different ages and stages but the reality is that we are not actually joining up the whole process as if people have whole lives lived in a whole community in a whole global continuum. We do try to join up agendas at the Campaign for Learning and find it really hard because there is a tendency for learning to be dealt with in silos. I am very pleased to be able to hear from Leon Feinstein today, because of his valuable work on learning delay and the socio-economic reasons why some children get a slow start with learning. His findings link into the Campaign’s 7 year action research programme in Schools, Learning to Learn, which has the wellbeing agenda at its heart.
Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:

In a wider context, what lessons can be learned from our growing understanding of well-being, which have relevance for education? What are the appropriate evidence-based approaches?

I turn to Leon Feinstein - Expert Advisory Group member on the Foresight ‘Mental Capital and Well-being’ seminar for the ideas that have emerged from the Foresight ‘Mental Capital and Well-being’ project.

Professor Leon Feinstein:

It has been a really fascinating discussion and I really enjoyed the presentations from the panel. I don’t fundamentally disagree with much at all that’s been said here. I just want to make a couple of contextual remarks, which in the main part build on what comes out of the discussion by really putting this in context.

I think there is a danger, there are risks, associated with education thinking, particularly the response to the UNICEF report and the research on child well-being, that we put another demand on the children of this country, add more to the curriculum, put more pressure on children to worry about success and failure and their own development, tell teachers more about what they should be doing, and fail to recognise the extent to which the problems that the children are confronting are actually societal problems. So the problems of adults in society, the problems of overworked parent, they are the problems of a very unequal society in which they find themselves; in which failure is punished very heavily and success is rewarded very highly.

There is a great deal of insecurity and globalisation and change. These are the challenges that our young people are confronted with. I do not mean to suggest for a minute that the speakers of the panel think that a simple solution of teaching well-being in the classroom will be the response to these challenges or that these wider challenges are not recognised, because I know that they are, but we do have to be very careful in thinking about how we develop well-being and the well-being agenda in schools.

I am Professor of Education and Social Policy at Institute for Education and one of the weaknesses of British social policy that I have observed is the focus of the flow rather than the stock. That is to say that we are obsessed with the flow of young people coming out of the school system. And think if we can get the right number of people coming out of school with
the right level of qualifications, and the right level of well-being, then societal problems will be dealt with. If we look at health inequalities, or social cohesion, or problems of management and productivity in society, whatever the area of policy we want to look at, then the big challenges are actually in the stock of the population, that is to say people who have already been through the school system, they are teachers, or parents, or members of society where we have remarkably little investment and remarkably little hope about what we can achieve.

I am a supporter of the shift towards resources in the early years. I think that is a very good thing. But I do think there is a very real risk in thinking that if you do not get in the first few years of life and change the parent-child relationship there is nothing that can be done and we do not have to worry about the great majority of people that have already gone through those early learning experiences. So, building on the points made earlier, I think the way we think about adults and life-long learning is absolutely essential for this and so we should not just focus on the flow. And also for the well-being of children and the well-being of adults, a vital factor is the relationships with adults, the relationship with grandparents and older members of community and so on. I would really like to see the breaking down of the school structure. It seems very strange to me that we think that the best way to prepare children for the real world is to take them as far away from the real world as we possibly can with security gates and give them a National Curriculum that they have no say in and probably do not even understand and say “this is what you need to learn flourish in life”.

The second point I have to make is the social policy danger here, which is very deeply endemic, that “the centre knows best”. This is not about political parties of civil servants or whoever. It is a deep notion that we all think we know, to a certain extent, what is right for our young people and our children and if only we can get that in schools then things will work out better.

And there are a lot of agendas. There is an agenda around well-being so we have to teach that. There is the agenda around productivity, threats from India and China we have to teach, skills, agendas around social cohesion, so we have to teach that. There are agendas about creativity, arts, maths, huge number of things that we give young people to learn. But we give young people and children very little opportunity to choose about what they learn about as they go through the school system.

The mistake that I think we risk making is saying, as we said before, for a long time education has been about economic productivity and getting work and meeting economic challenges. All of which are very important and the idea that we need people to have skills so what we have to do is to teach them skills in schools. We observe we need engineering graduates, we need
maths graduates. Let us teach people engineering and maths and make sure they get the qualifications. Now we are learning that the drive to teach people the things that we think they need actually has unintended complications, and costs, because they impact on wider forms of development. I think that there is the same risk here of thinking we need people to be happy later in life, so let us teach them happiness earlier in life.

I do fully support the well-being agenda in schools. I think it is very important. But I would like to see more flexibility in the curriculum in the way in which these wider agendas are brought into schools so that we can have more diversity in learning, we can have teachers and professionals being able to experiment, and innovate, and observe their practice and see what works and what does not work, and have some time out of the school system to reflect on what they have done and learn about what works. And I would like to see parents and particularly young people, themselves, being in positions to choose their learning experience much more than they do at the moment. Because at the moment they aren’t real choices until the age of 14. By which time people do not know how to make choices that they have to make in learning. They make the wrong choice and then they have very hard penalties. My basic point is that we can trust young people and children much more than we actually do about what they actually need to learn, and if we listen to them, then we might get most of this much more right than we currently do.

6. Round-up Comments

Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:

Thank you Leon. I now turn back to the panel for comments.

Lord Professor Richard Layard:

Well I think that we have had a tremendous discussion and I think I agree with almost everything that was said. With the exception of the point that disagreed with mine.

Perhaps my main reaction to the discussion is that there has not been much reference to the inner life. And I think this is perhaps this is what is the most missing in our culture. That we are very much concerned with doing and much less concerned with being. But being is the foundation of doing. I think this idea that there is something excessively individualistic about looking at yourself and trying to understand yourself and develop your capacity for feeling. That that is something wrong and is not going to work. I think that is something quite contrary
to the whole of human history. The history of the culture has been, certainly the history of
most religions, has been the history of an attempt to develop in people a sense of their inner
self and their ability to feel for other people and to accept to an extent what happens to them.
I think, perhaps, the simplest idea is the stoic idea that you must have an inner self which is,
to some extent, as far as possible independent to what life brings you. What life? The
population and young people acquire the idea that you have to have that. I do not think that
any amount of activity, of throwing ourselves here and there, is not going to bring the
satisfaction that we would like.

There is the one idea that unites the inner life to the outer life and that is compassion.
Compassion towards yourself is the foundation of compassion for other people. I visited the
North Kiddlington primary school, which some of you might know about, and they have a very
nice phrase. They say to their children;

“What do you do when you are the person that you would like to be?”

I think that this is a beautiful way of thinking that you have to have some concept, not about
what you are doing, but of who you are, and that what you do comes from who you are.

Professor Felicia Huppert:

I think some wonderful points were made in the discussion and I wish I had made them my self!

The point about play is tremendously important and is something I often talk about. It is
amazing how many young parents do not actually know how to play with their children. They
do not know the importance, they do not know how to do it. There are schemes to teach
parents to play with their children in Cambridge and elsewhere. And learning through play is
part of our evolution and part of our history, and of course playfulness is beneficial throughout
our lives.

Relationships at school are clearly important. Cooperative learning is one approach that was
mentioned and I know that there are people here who are experts at it. I do think approaches
like restorative justice are very helpful. For example, if one child hurts or offends another,
there is an organised meeting between the offender and the offended, perhaps with their
friends and family present, to actually discuss the incident and help each party to understand
what is going on for the other. I know that in some places where this has been tried it has been
tremendously helpful in increasing relationships.
The final point that I want to comment on - it is absolutely true that there are often unintended consequences of the good things we do. We really should bear in mind that there could be some unintended consequences of these very good programmes that are being proposed and to look at this possibility in a systematic way.

*Professor Guy Claxton:*

Thank you. I echo Richard’s and Felicia's thoughts.

It has been a really thought provoking and interesting discussion for me and has helped me clarify some thoughts on what I am interested in, and what I am not interested in.

I am not interested in education as a head on creation of a new subject in the pursuit of happiness. I do not think it is right and I do not think it will work. I am interested in the cultivation of character and the cultivation of the type of character that is happiness prone. I am strengthened in my feeling that happiness is something that you creep up on, or that you get as a by-product of other things, rather than something that is best to try to aim at directly. And I am strengthened in my belief that the best way to pursue this agenda, which we all are agreeing is important, is not necessarily head on but is through the creation of languages, priorities, activities, role modelling, all kinds of opportunities and structures which are effective at cultivating these kinds of personal attitudes and characteristics and that the role of sitting around and thinking and talking about them is important, but small.

*Baroness Professor Susan Greenfield:*

Thank you. I now turn to Baroness Estelle Morris, for round-up comments.

*Baroness Estelle Morris:*

I think this meeting is almost impossible to wrap up because I think it has been a very good session for making us think. Every five minutes I have changed my mind about how I might summarise the discussions but it has been good and thank you to the speakers for stimulating us to address this issue.

A number of things: I suppose at one point I was thinking this was a debate about the nature of childhood as opposed to what goes on in schools. Schools are only part of what happens to
children. It is only where they spend 15% of their time - 85% of their time is spent at home. That made me wonder why we did not talk a little bit more about families in the early years, because we said how important the early years were, 0 to up to school, even early years education. But we did not have that discussion. It was almost as if we went to the default model. How can schools, with 5 year old children, make up what has gone wrong between 0 - 5 years? I think there is an argument to attack what is going on before 5 years.

The one thing said that I think perhaps is most controversial is that, from where I come from, it is about this language that we have about the pressure of exams. I think kids do feel pressurised about exams. But I think this pressure is put there by adults. I think it is the approach of adults to exams that winds kids up, not necessarily the children taking exams themselves. I think if the whole of this agenda is to flow, and it does need to flow, then there is a real risk that if you pose it as against exams and against teaching 11 year olds to read and write effectively you make enemies of people that could be friends, and I think you need to think carefully about where the academic pressure comes from. I defend GCSEs, AS, A-levels because it is what has given us our life chances. The danger is that people like us talk against that, once we have given that opportunity to every child. So what has happened in the last 10 to 15 years is, as a society, we have tried to give these qualifications to everybody, who before that were only offered to a few. How come it is that when this was only offered to 20% of the population there was not a crisis and there was not the pressure? The minute we aspire to 100% it changes the nature of society and there becomes a problem.

What I think has become the problem is the parents and teachers attitude to that success. I think this a really interesting thing that you have to face up to it. If you said to parents, “there is a choice of schools here, you are guaranteed that if you send you kids to this school they will get their GCSEs, A-levels and entry to Oxbridge, and if you send them to this school, what they guarantee is well-being and happiness. Where will you send your kids?” I think the answer to that question is really important. And I think the whole of this debate, which is why it is not just a debate about childhood, it is a debate about adult attitude as well as the attitudes of children.

Two more points: I think there is optimism about this, if you look at that time-line, that 20 years ago we only aspired to 20% of the population, to actually being allowed to have this conversation about bringing well-being and academic attitudes together. I think we have actually made good progress in twenty years. I think from the issue of managing change and where politicians come through to actually change the mindset are so that we can expect every child to have the chance to go to University. This has meant a focus on that academic part of
the curriculum. We are absolutely right that a penalty has been paid in the down grading well-being and happiness and all the other things that are important. It becomes an interesting argument, since we could have done both together and run these two agendas at the same time. From my time in the department I could see how difficult that was, but I actually feel quite positive that in the space of history, in a relatively short period of time, what, 15-20 years, by bringing the well-being agenda back to unite it with the academic. They have been parted for the past 20 years, which is bad for the children that have gone through education in that time. But if you look at it in that way, we can now persuade ourselves that we have reason to be optimistic about it.

And the last, third, of the points that was worth bringing up was how to manage change? A lot of that questions how we manage change and we have had comments like “leave it to the teachers, it has got to be bottom-up or it has got to be top-down”.

Something that Guy Claxton talked to us about was what the QCA were doing, as that was top-down. That was actually a national question that I still think is actually an unanswered question - in British education, where to intervene most effectively? Not to intervene, but where the intervention should actually come and how we can make it most effective. What I find really interesting about this area is how we have managed to change, in the last 20 years, to weigh and measure exams, it has been easier to measure intervention.

I absolutely agreed with the evidence-based education policy. I think this is a whole area that we need a lot of help with. For example, how do you measure successful interventions in this area? The tools we have got for measuring success do not lend as easily for us to be able to do that. But it has been a really good discussion and I have certainly learnt a lot.

**Baroness Susan Greenfield:**

Ok, thank you very much, sadly we are now into injury time so we will have to wrap up. We must apologies to those who had their hands up and we did not get round to hearing your questions or comments. You can feed those into Jonathan Sharples or Hannah Critchlow at The Institute for the Future of the Mind (http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/research/programmes/futuremind).
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<td>Willis</td>
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