

**UNIVERSITY of
STIRLING**



**Spaces, Rhythms and Bodies:
An exploration of epistemology and
language in the construction of
academic/practitioner relationships**

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DECLARATION

I declare that none of the work within this thesis has been submitted at any other university, for any other qualification. The contents of this doctoral research submission were composed by Katrina H. Roszynski, the candidate.

ABSTRACT

Increasingly, formal links are being made between the care sector and the university, with wide implications for both carers of looked after children and academics. Within the context of looked after children, carers are increasingly expected to relate their practice to an empirical evidence-base derived from academic literature. Academics are, now more than ever, expected to be able to demonstrate research impact beyond the university. In this study I critically reflect on the language of the impact agenda and how it architects relationships between academia and practice, with an aim to ‘come to grips with the categories of value and exchange at a level more essential than their surface manifestation’ (Holquist 1990: xli).

This study is underpinned by qualitative research philosophy and values, characterised methodologically by its case study design and emphasis on personal (hi)stories through narrative enquiry. The case study used was research on symbolic food practices with looked after children¹ that received a follow on grant in order to develop a set of resources based on the findings². The data consisted of secondary sources: interviews with both steering group and working group members before the launch of *Food for Thought* and evaluation form feedback from *Food for Thought* activities. Primary interviews were also conducted with participants of *Food for Thought* around three years after the resources were launched.

Employing a case study approach guided by Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of ‘heteroglossia’, as well as centripetal/centrifugal forces, the research examines the ways in which the impact agenda has emerged from a particular socio-political context, creating an ‘impact architecture’. Based on an assemblage of the participant’s stories, it is suggested that both academics and practitioners working in the context of looked after children inhabit the impact architecture in diverse ways. As a result, academics and practitioners need a language beyond dichotomies of successful and unsuccessful research/practice relations, in order to be able to capture complex spatial and temporal practices. Furthermore, it emerged that the body, underrepresented in impact literature, was central to the work of both academics and practitioners. Overlooking this, as a result of deeply engrained Cartesian dual rhetoric, had important implications for both the mental and physical well-being of some of the participants.

The findings from this study suggest that researchers interested in a qualitative perspective on the relationship between academic knowledge and practice might want to attend to elements such as space, time and the body where appropriate. Attention to these details have shone a

¹ *Food Practice in an Institutional Context: Children, Care and Control* ESRC grant number RES-000-23-1581

² ESRC grant ES/J020745/1

light on the nuanced experience of the academic/practice relationship, accenting elements such as identity, power, rhythms and biographies, materiality, embodied ways of knowing and ethics of care.

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What may not be expected in a country of eternal light?

Frankenstein (Shelley 1992 [1818]: 13)

CHAPTER ONE.

INTRODUCTION

The doctoral thesis as a journey

Upon hearing that I had received funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) to evaluate the impact of a project designed to engage with practitioners and carers of looked after children, I remember having mixed feelings. I was elated to work with Professor Samantha Punch and Dr Ruth Emond, however impact as a research topic did not excite me. As I embarked on the doctoral journey, I remember feeling daunted by a subject that, in 2014, was dominated by a quantitative approach and enshrouded in a cloud of academic dissatisfaction. My experience of impact and the Research Excellence Framework (henceforth referred to as REF) was one of extremes. On one hand, I found examples of impact research which ‘got on with it’, using quantitative methods and producing interesting findings but without much critical engagement with the concept of measuring the relationship between academia and practice via ‘impact’. On the other hand, there were numerous papers and commentaries which highlighted issues with impact which seemed to be insurmountable and, from my perspective as an early career researcher, felt paralysing. In part this was because the option to reject the impact agenda, or use an alternative language seemed unavailable. The first few months of my PhD journey was spent avoiding writing, unsure of how to position myself within the debate. It was in discussions with colleagues at Stirling University that I felt encouraged to investigate further the language of impact and the implications for the relationships between academia and practice with looked after children. One such conversation, with Dr Dalene Swanson, gently guided me to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin.

As a result, this study was born from a concern that the language of impact seemed limited to drawing on the extreme ends of the debate, acceptance or rejection. Being referred to Bakhtin’s *raznorečie*, or heteroglossia (literally translated as ‘multiple tongues’), was one of the first movements I experienced toward seeing impact as a fluid possibility, rather than a framework that seemed to focus on a narrow, measurable relationship between academia and practice. Bakhtin’s view of language as socially striated (Bakhtin 1981: 293) highlighted the way in which ‘... words have the “taste” of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour’. As a result, I no longer saw impact as a static concept but one which was unstable and contested. The question that guided the research, from this point on was, ‘what might impact look like if measurability

were not the focus?’ This enabled my interest in language and the lived experience of those involved in the impact agenda to guide the direction of the thesis.

Since beginning the thesis in 2014, the conversation has moved on as academics explore their position in the impact discourse and the language of impact expands. I have taken quite a journey since my first steps in October 2014 and am now grateful for the opportunity to be part of this discussion. So, as suggested by the title, this PhD project is an exploration of the lived experience of impact, looking at language and epistemology in the construction of academic and practice relationships. It interrogates the social life of impact language as it is entangled with values and world-views, wondering what other possible languages might be used to frame the networks between academics and practitioners. In doing so it posits alternative metaphors to those currently available by using architecture, music and the body.

Inspired by Bakhtin’s view of language as ‘... on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else’s’ (Bakhtin 1981: 293), it is suggested that this thesis is unfinished. The reader is invited to participate ‘beyond the borderline’, drawing on their own experiences and values to reflect on the metaphors employed here and creating a view of impact as a ‘never-ending composition’ (van Rij-Heyligers 2005: 3).

Research context

It is argued that links between carers of looked after children and academia are becoming more formalised. Within the context of looked after children, carers are ever more expected to relate their practice to an empirical evidence-base emphasis derived from academic literature (Beddoe 2011: 557). In tandem academics are expected to be able to demonstrate research impact outside of the university walls (Davies et al. 2005; ESRC 2015b). Arguably, the growing literature surrounding the impact debate is testament to the diverse ways in which the pressures of impact are being received by academics (e.g. Chubb 2017). Now seems a pertinent time to draw some of these discussions together and apply them to a case study, in order to give space to a wider interpretation of impact, that does not focus on ‘top down’ approaches (i.e. those instigated by the government), in favour of academics’ and practitioners’ narratives of change where the main goal is to improve the experiences of looked after children. Focussing on a case study offers the opportunity to generate an intensive analysis (Bryman 2012: 71) of impact, critically engaging with nuance of the lived experience of impact processes.

Language is a central theme within this doctoral research project. Examples of impact can be found across multiple disciplines; therefore the vocabulary which refers to the topic is broad. The way in which discussions of impact are framed has been shown to have implications for the type of knowledge accessed and analysed by researchers (Nutley et al. 2007: 33). This is also indicative of the socio-political priorities of the context in which it is developed (Solesbury 2001; Sanderson 2010). Hence, an examination such as this thesis, of how language used by the impact agenda influences the relationship between academia and practice towards one which coincides with neo-liberal policies, is timely. Existing literature engages with considerations of language, however it tends to focus on the limitations of a non-universalised terminology base (Walter et al. 2004), the implications of language on the methodology (White 2010) and results and the neo-liberal undertones of the agenda (Pain et al. 2011). Much of the literature is framed by a focus on the barriers and opportunities of impact. As yet, there do not appear to be many studies which pay attention to the use of language in the process of operationalizing impact strategies.

Another focus for this study is the relational aspect of impact. It argues that it is possible to identify that language is an essential component of being able to navigate interactions with the multiple stakeholders involved in the academic and practicing communities. As such, this research looks to explore the way in which an impact strategy, which reaches beyond the academic world, uses language which relates to the different needs and interests of the various stakeholders. There is a broad spectrum of literature which suggests that there are multiple groups involved in the impact process with competing priorities (Caplan 1979; Shonkoff 2000). There are few examples within the literature of impact studies which have probed the ways in which research has reached new contexts, geographic and/or interdisciplinary, or the relationships that facilitate such a journey. As such, this study aims to offer some insights into the way the impact process is navigated by academics and practitioners in the context of caring for looked after children.

Research dedicated to generalizable outputs is not often used to capture nuanced interpersonal and linguistic relational detail. In order for this project to fully explore language and relationships, a case study approach provides the best platform to generate in-depth (as opposed to broad) data on the lived experience of impact in academic and practicing communities (see for example Yin 2009; Thomas 2011).

The impact case study that this research project follows, *Food Practice in an Institutional Context: Children, Care and Control*³, originally started in October 2006 and ran until March 2009. The research took place in three children's residential care homes across Scotland using an ethnographic approach. The fieldwork included interviews with some staff and children⁴ to explore some of the themes that arose from the observations. The aim of the research was to explore the ways in which food and food practices were used by children and adults in residential care. From November 2012 to May 2014 the ESRC funded a follow on grant in order to refine and implement an impact strategy for this research, *Food for Thought: Food Based Training, Assessment and intervention Tools for Carers of Looked after Children (Food for Thought)*⁵. This project aimed to increase knowledge exchange between academics, practitioners, carers and educators with regards to food use in the care of looked after children. One of the key premises on which this project was developed was the interdisciplinary and multi-agency approach of the original research. More details about the case study can be found in Chapter Four.

As previous research indicates (ESRC 2009; Morton 2014) in the case of research impact on policy and practice, '... other influences on the policy process, including political and value judgements, are important and legitimate' (Morton 2014: 245). Consequently this doctoral project, drawing on a case study of food practices in residential care, seeks to explore impact in a context of flux, where influences on practice are not only numerous but may work in tandem and/or in contention with research findings. One of the aims of this research is to meet the need for a greater understanding of impact strategies which consider the working environment; something the literature notes is lacking (Mitton et al. 2007). Thus, the findings seek to go beyond outlining barriers and opportunities of impact to reflecting instead on the context of looked after children and academic efforts to communicate with practice.

In order to achieve this, the following research questions have been identified:

- Using the *Food for Thought* Project, how do academics make sense of and negotiate the impact agenda?

³ Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant number RES-000-23-1581

⁴ 12 group interviews, 49 individual interviews and 28 unstructured/spontaneous interviews. A total of 16 children (11 boys and 5 girls, from a sample which ranged from ages 9-18 years old) and 46 members of staff (26 women and 20 men including managerial staff, care workers, three cooks, administration domestic staff) participated in an individual interview and/or focus group. (Punch et al. 2009a: 152)

⁵ ESRC grant number ES/J020745/1 (originally until October 2013, an extension until May 2014 was given)

- How do those caring for looked after children narrate their experience of research in practice, using the lens of food and food practices?
- Considering food and food practices, how is research communicated and adapted across local, national and international contexts?

Thesis structure

Chapter One briefly outlines the start of my PhD journey, highlighting the tension between the language of impact, as I understood it at the beginning of my journey, as being two isolated and competing attitudes. Finding Bakhtin was a turning point in which I began to understand impact as alive and contested and that impact research that employed a case study design was an opportunity to explore language and relationships between academia and practice, in the context of looked after children. The case study in question is *Food for Thought*, a project which was built on ethnographic research carried out in residential care homes in Scotland looking at the symbolic use of food.

Chapter Two addresses the context which frames the research questions, proposing epistemological, political, and linguistic reflections, as well as considering some examples of different approaches impact research has adopted. Consequently, following this chapter, a discussion on epistemology and politics is offered, in order to demonstrate the established authority of terms such as 'rational', 'proof' and 'evidence', as they correspond to the values of the Enlightenment period. These mathematical concepts can also be traced through more contemporaneous political assertions concerning the role of the university in society. Language is then connected to value, pivotal in the framing of social issues and carrying social values. Finally, examples of other research approaches to impact are considered in order to deliberate on the implications that method choice has on the construction of research impact.

Chapter Three outlines the ways in which some of the key ideas proposed by Michail Bakhtin are tied to the research questions: these include heteroglossia, centripetal and centrifugal forces, and authority and internally persuasive discourses. These concepts have been chosen as a result of the way in which they encourage a view of impact as an unstable concept with multiple possible interpretations. Furthermore, they highlight spaces of tension from which the possibility of alternative languages to describe the relationship between academia and practice with looked after children are made possible. This leads to the final literature section on metaphor and the use of architecture, music and their echoes in the body to explore impact from a qualitative lens.

Chapter Four notes the key epistemological tenets to which this research adheres, describing the process of collecting and analysing data from a practical perspective. First it offers further details of the case study, outlining the different sources of data which include two sets of secondary data: interviews with 22 participants involved in the refinement of *Food for Thought* resources as well as evaluation sheets from *Food for Thought* activities; and primary data: follow up interviews with 13 participants of *Food for Thought* activities in the UK, 10 in Australia and four in Finland. Then the data analysis process is detailed, both the practical stages as well as the entanglement with theoretical readings. Ethical considerations are also noted.

The subsequent three chapters identify three themes: space, time and the body, which can be identified throughout the different data sets. In the first of these 'findings' chapters (Chapter Five), architectural metaphors are employed to explore academic/practice landscapes. Academic perspectives are discussed, highlighting the multiple ways in which the university space and the practice work space were imagined. This is followed by looking at how the location of such spaces feeds into conceptualising 'successful' *Food for Thought* impact. Views from practice are then detailed, raising some of the issues of the relationship between academia/practice, but also the ways in which research is identified as 'useful' – considering both *Food for Thought* and academic research more generally. The final theme of the first analysis chapter is concerned with authority and space. Initially the role of the institution in mediating the relationship between the university and society, in the case of working with looked after children, is deliberated. This is succeeded by considerations of the individual realising themselves in the context of care for looked after children organisations.

Chapter Six is concerned with the construction of time in the impact agenda, using a musical metaphor to carry the key messages and tensions of time. Political rhythms are considered, as they manifest themselves in the priorities of academic research and practice. *Food for Thought* is then reviewed in light of these discussions on priority and the challenges for research that might not be considered by politics as an urgent topic, but resonates with daily rhythms of practice in the care of looked after children. This is followed by a discussion of economic time and the ways in which economic discourses frame some of the participants' relationships with their working identity. Furthermore, it is suggested that the distinction between work time and non-work time is, increasingly, blurred. Finally, the chapter looks at time and materiality, to better understand the role of technology and the materials of *Food for Thought* as objects that are changing both academic and practitioner praxis timescapes.

The last analysis chapter assembles the previous two metaphors as they come together in the body. Thus, the impact of *Food for Thought* is discussed in terms of self/other relationships, which considers 'whose responsibility is it to keep *Food for Thought* alive?' Broader discourses around food and care are considered, in order to better understand some of the frameworks through which *Food for Thought* might be read. Next, tensions between qualitative care and quantitative outputs in the context of working with looked after children are raised. Finally habitual bodies are considered, highlighting the intricate entanglement of rituals around food and care being located in 'doing', which makes the view of the relationship between academia/practice based in cognitive exchange difficult to compare with the experiences of those that took part in this study.

The closing chapter draws all the analysis themes together to respond to the research questions, highlighting the key theoretical/methodological and practical implications.

CHAPTER TWO.

SITUATING IMPACT: POLITICS, LANGUAGE AND RESEARCH APPROACHES

In order to better understand the overlapping contexts in which impact is currently unfolding, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological development theory⁶ is useful as it foregrounds the environmental factors which shape and are shaped by impact. As a result, this chapter starts by considering some of the philosophical debates from the 1600s onwards from which, it is argued, the focus on the rational and the instrumental sowed the seeds for much later questions around the role of academic research in relation to society. Building on this, mathematical terms such as proof, evidence and validity permeated the discussions on epistemology. Without such a history, it might be difficult for some of these concepts to provide the foundations for contemporaneous debates around knowledge and the relationship between academia/society and academics/practitioners. Thus, the impact agenda is explored as materiality which communicates values that are connected to philosophy, culture and politics. In light of these discussions, the last section of this chapter looks at methodological frameworks for impact evaluation to better understand what is accented and what might be excluded from the impact picture with this perspective/view.

Epistemology and politics

Initially, this section explores the concept of impact from both a philosophical/cultural perspective and an economic/political model of impact. It suggests that the philosophy of science can contribute to our understanding of the methodological move towards a hierarchy of knowledge, facilitating a preference for empirical ways of knowing. This links to current debates surrounding impact which are best understood when considered in the wider context of the political climate in which they have developed, and the knowledge systems in which they were conceived.

⁶ Although originally devoted to developing a model of child development, the theory is useful in this case as it highlights the importance of environmental and sociological factors of development.

Enlightenment(s) and counter-enlightenment(s)

To speak of 'An Enlightenment'⁷ (cf. Porter and Teich 1981) or 'A Counter-Enlightenment', in the singular, is to overlook the multiple ways in which both movements developed across different nations (although Gay (cited in Evans and Rydén 2006: 2) highlights the 'Frenchness' of the Enlightenment thus narrowing the term), and the differences too in the various actors writing and thinking at the time. To further complicate the picture, where one scholar has been pronounced as a protagonist of the former, elsewhere they are argued to be representative of the latter and figures such as Rousseau seem to be 'co-present' in both sides of the story (Melzer 1996: 1). Neither can it be said that the Enlightenment(s) and the Counter-Enlightenment(s) have nothing in common. Although these points are important to make, it is out with the remit of this research to go in to depth on the subject. What is relevant is, as previously mentioned; certain elements of both the Enlightenment(s) and the Counter-Enlightenment(s) which contribute to contemporary epistemological frameworks and, perhaps, help understand some of the linguistic roots of the impact agenda.

Western debates around the language that has come to dominate epistemology drawing from mathematics might be said to have been consolidated in the 17th century with Bacon and Galileo as some of the key protagonists (van Lente and Dunlavey 2014). Although far from the first philosophers (see Burkhart 2004), Bacon and Galileo were convinced by empirical knowledge experienced through the senses which, they asserted, should be revered over and above any other type of knowledge (Rose 1994).

Toulmin (2001) furthered this argument by observing a break from a more inclusive intellectual tradition around the 1750s onwards; divisions between investigative methodologies meant that some became 'rational' and others not. The implication of this was that an '... authority came to attach particularly to scientific and technical enquiries that put those methods to use [...] there was a hierarchy of prestige' (Toulmin 2001: 15). Sanderson (2010: 332) argues that one of the main tenets of the Enlightenment period was a push for knowledge to be applied, 'to change and improve the world'. As a result, scientific authority was premised on several key assumptions: that knowledge is gained a posteriori, that knowledge is located in the mind, and that knowledge should be of instrumental value to society.

⁷ For example, it has been argued that proponents of the 'English Enlightenment' also figured in the development of liberalism (Schmidt 2012: 1) but this entanglement is not necessarily representative of other Enlightenment(s)

This is not to say that the values of the Enlightenment(s) went unattested. Some of elements that were challenged include time, language and the location of knowledge. For some Enlightenment thinkers, time appears chronological and empty, which is to say that it ‘... refers to a phenomena as endless, repeating nows’(ibid: 90); yet for some Counter-Enlightenment philosophers it is embodied (ibid: 90). The difference between the two is the extent to which time can be discussed in terms of social construction, through individual experiences as well as social structures. The former position closes down temporal explorations and the latter facilitates a view of time in the plural. Garrard (2006: 34) observes the struggle of both Hamann and Rousseau with the French language for ‘... being a cold, rigid, abstract, rationalistic language’ instead, preferring ‘more ‘primitive’ peoples, who enjoyed an immediate relationship to nature’ (ibid: 34). Another scholar, who Berlin argues was dissuaded by measurement as a means of understanding the world is Hamann⁸, and as a result Berlin argues that he is

...the father of those anti-rationalist thinkers for whom the seamless whole of reality in its unanalysable flow is misrepresented by the static, spatial metaphors or mathematics and the natural sciences

Berlin (1973: 9)

These concerns contribute to the perspective that language is linked to values and the rationalisation of knowledge misrepresents the complexity of reality in all its ‘unanalysable flow’. Some of these criticisms of reality as more complex than that which can be measured and analysed, are taken on in more contemporaneous feminist literature. In this context, science becomes sexed, and masculine science is seen to constitute ‘an intense emphasis on the domains of cognitive and objective rationality, on reductive explanation, and dichotomous partitioning of the social and natural worlds’ (Rose 1994: 32). Positing a difference in female knowledge, Rose (1994: 33) speaks of a ‘feminist epistemology which derives from women’s lived experiences [...] centred on the domains of inter-connectedness and caring rationality, and emphasises holism and harmonious relationship with nature’. As a result, knowledge is considered to be *in relation*. Including these tensions around time, language and the location of knowledge is to reflect on closed, taken for granted terminology such as proof and evidence, acknowledging them as a particular view of the world tied to values and asking at the expense of what and whom do we focus on these terms?

⁸ Although this is contested elsewhere see the entry for Johann Georg Hamann in the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy

Despite the fact that it is nearly four centuries since Galileo published *The Assayer*, in which he asserts that the world can only be understood through the language of maths, it is argued that certainty, proof and applicability central to mathematics remains in much of Western thought (Grabiner 1988). Positioned within this long history of philosophical/mathematical tradition, perhaps it is not such a surprise that impact would, as a Western construct, overlook uncertainty and complexity for the tangibility of ‘... the tightly knit chain of reasoning, following strict logical rules, that leads inexorably to a particular conclusion’ (Krantz 2007).

It might seem excessive to locate the long roots/routes of impact from the 1600; certainly a simple, unified history of that time is difficult to maintain (cf. Meiksins Wood 2012). However, this discussion facilitates an understanding of the socio-historical timeline (albeit limited) some ideas of Western epistemology, as well as suggesting whose voice dominated the prevailing discourse. Furthermore, it helps frame the criticism of some Western epistemological debates as dislocated from the world (Burkhart 2004), yet envisaged as an instrumental good (Sanderson 2010: 332), as well as cognitive in focus (Descartes 1968 [1637]: 132).

The role of the university in society: instrumentalism and markets

Connecting modern discussion of the role of the university in society draws from this long history and combines with a particular socio-economic climate. Commenting on the impact agenda in the UK, scholars argue that the relationships implicit in such an agenda demonstrate the marketization of knowledge (Pain et al. 2012), premised on a relational model that mathematicians might recognise i.e. asserted through the rationale of proof and evidence. As such it reiterates the hierarchy of knowledges, prioritising that which can be ‘measured’ (Parsons 2002: 12). Martin (2011: 248) observes an initial interest in research evaluation in the 1970s and a ‘... succession of economic crises, resulting in severe public expenditure cuts’. Indeed, the Thatcher government, synonymously associated with neoliberalism, strongly pursued open market economics and limited public funding (Kyle et al. 2016: 258). As such, the proceeding policies and resulting relationships were driven by economic factors which Gamble (1996: 26) notes was an attempt to readdress the country’s ‘burden of public spending’, which had the effect of ‘... questioning the legitimacy and the value of the public sector’. Consequently, there was an increasing pressure to produce ‘value for money’ research (Holmwood 2011: 13). Some of the implications of this for the social sciences are noted by Bulmer (1987 in Sanderson 2002: 333) who identifies Sir Keith Joseph’s⁹ ‘... general hostility to

⁹ Margaret Thatcher’s Secretary for Education and Science from 1981 and who promoted an appraisal system to assess the relative quality of research

the social sciences and social research, with tinges of philistinism'. The implications that this had for public institutions which traditionally enjoyed a degree of autonomy from the state, such as universities, meant increased accountability (Lowndes 1997) leading to an 'evaluation industry' (Trow 1996: 318). This 'evaluation industry', in the context of a positivist knowledge tradition, resulted in the evolution of a 'technical rationality' (Schön 1996), 'instrumental rationality' (Parsons 2002), or 'rational-decisionistic' (Sanderson 2010)¹⁰ model of knowledge application to problem solving, which Schön (1996) argues gives little consideration of the manner in which the problem is framed.

The fourth successive election of the Conservative party into Westminster saw the introduction of the *Further and Higher Education Act*, 1992. This included a quality of education assessment in funded institutions and could be proclaimed as the first initial formalisation of evaluative research as part of government protocol. McIntosh (1996) identifies another defining point in the increasingly close relationship between research and the government in the publishing of *Realising our Potential* (Cabinet Office 1993). The first governmental policy regarding science and technology in two decades, Martin (1996: 51) proposes that '... its main thrust is to promote a new technological imperialism' reinforcing the view that knowledge of the social is something to be commodified for purposes of power and control. These policy changes further consolidated governmental focus on knowledge which could be evidenced, indicating an active pursuit of 'truth' as an objective fact which could be mathematically deduced; Galileo lives on.

The 1990s brought Prime Minister Blair, 'New Labour' and an overwhelming drive for evidence-based practice and policy making (Wells 2007), building on the foundations of rational and instrumental knowledge propounded by the Enlightenment(s) and building the foundations for academia/practice relations. Perhaps this move, in which Blunkett (2000) called for a better relationship between the social sciences and government in order to 'provide insights into how processes work', was a positive recognition of the capacities of the social sciences to engage with society. However, Solesbury (2001: 9) considered the change as a 'retreat from ideology, the dissolution of class-based party politics, the empowerment of consumers' which equated to a demand model of social science interest rather than supply-

¹⁰ These three terms are understood in this case as synonymously suggesting that problem solving in practice should be informed by rigorous scientific knowledge as per the literature by Schön (1996), Parsons (2002) and Sanderson (2002).

driven'. Elsewhere the change has been argued as indicative of the New Labour drive for performance management, the results being linked with resource allocation (Sanderson 2010).

Thus, what Galileo started, Thatcher emphasised and Blair consolidated was a tradition of evaluation and decision making in policy and practice based on evidence, which is presented here as one way to frame the relationship between academia and practice, as 'instrumental/technical rationality' (Schwandt 2000a). This is characterised by what might be regarded as a preference in the measurability of knowledge and experience and the dominance of instrumental uses of research with the, utilitarian, aim of social improvement (Schwandt 2000a). A clear rational, casual equation in which if A then B manages many intervention programmes, including in the context of looked after children, so as to bring the world into order in a 'managerialist and mechanistic way of thinking' (Wells 2007: 26).

The negative ramifications of concentrating on a narrow, measurable relationship between academia and practice is offered by Brewer (2011: 12) who gives evidence that the Arts and Humanities Research Council changed research agenda rather than lose their government funding. This example of altering research focus in order to align with national objectives is a demonstration of a shift towards a certain type of 'useful' and measureable knowledge, as per the Enlightenment values of 'reason, truth and progress' (Hancock et al. 2000: 6). This is preferred over less instrumentally driven knowledge (Wheeler 2014), in order to contain and control the social world (Dunne 1993; Schwandt 2000). A possible consequence is that '... knowledge management [...] becomes a matter of getting knowledge out of people's heads and into something which can be owned by an organisation' (Stacey 1996: 50). The location of knowledge is placed within the mind, separated from the material world (Malafouris 2013: 15). Additionally, the relationship between academia and practice becomes framed in terms of utilitarian productivity (Vizeu et al. 2016), with Holmwood (2011: 15) further problematizing the particular utilitarianism being subject to political timeframes. This is a connection rejected by Shortt et al. (2016: 271) who assert that '... critical academic work cannot – should not – be used to meet the short-term and immediate needs of policy makers'. A danger of this approach, according to Solesbury (2001: 4) is that academic research becomes '...means to an economic and social development much more than as a cultural end in itself'. Furthermore, questions surrounding which normative 'goods' to pursue, which are desirable and who we want those goods to be distributed to, it is argued by some, go unaccounted for in the impact agenda (McCowan 2018: 287, for an environmental comparison see Desjardins 2013: 70). Therefore, the three main criticisms of an instrumental framing of the relationship between academia and practice are that it emphasises rationality and locates knowing 'in the brain',

aligns academic rhythms to political rhythms and emphasises end results and products rather than processes.

Building on criticisms of this framing of academic/practice relations attention is drawn to a particular group of scholars who are critical of the 'technical rationalist' attitude towards human development. Husserl (1970) articulately encapsulates the objections to this tradition of objective positivism by suggesting that since knowledge originates from the world, it should then always be considered as part of it; as a result, abstract knowledge is of limited value. Further objections can be found in the underlying assumptions of instrumental rationalism such as the abstraction from context for example, March and Olsen 1984 and the 'new institutionalists' and Schön 1996 and the 'swampy lowland', the emphasis on causal knowledge (Majone 1989) and the deformation of praxis (Schwandt 2000a). Feminists too have demonstrated a concern for Enlightenment(s) epistemology and method which has committed systemic violence against women, and the environment (Rose 1994: 2). Research from psychology has problematized the supposed neutrality of language in problem formulation, noting that decision making is, in part, related to how the problem is constructed as well as informed by 'the norms, habits, and personal characteristics of the decision-maker' (Tversky and Kahneman 1981: 453). What might also be said to be overlooked, is the 'situated body' which 'entering in to the cultural realm of skill and practice [...] body becomes more than a body; it becomes a situated body' (Malafouris 2013: 221). It is some of these ideas that are now turned to in order to better understand other ways that the academic/practice relationship can be imagined.

Some scholars who reject the assumption of a rational decision-making framework in practice favour decision-making which draws on Aristotle's *phronesis* (Toulmin 2001; Schwandt 2000a). Schwandt (2000a: 217) eloquently sums this concept up by stating '... this [*phronesis*] is neither a technical nor a cognitive capacity that one has at one's disposal, but rather is bound up with the kind of person that one is and is becoming'. Toulmin (2001) elaborates, noting an interest in tacit forms of knowledge. For the focus of this doctoral research, a case study with academics and practitioners working with looked after children, accounting for decision making with looked after children is more complicated than making generalizable, casual links between research and action. Although decision making is not all that work with looked after children entails, it is centralised in this doctoral research as a space in which subjective/objective tensions play out (Helm 2011: 898). Consequently, instrumental research use in practice with looked after children is too narrow to encompass the complex context with which academics hope to interact. Instead knowing is located somatically, not a

destination to arrive at but a long and complicated journey to explore. Stacey (2002: 51) reflects further on the knowledge management framework indicative of the impact agenda, offering the view that '... knowledge inheres in interactions between people. It is the product of relationships, not something discrete, locked away in individual heads'. In place of an instrumentally rationalistic view of decision making, the aforementioned academics wish to emphasise tacit knowledge *in relation*. As such knowledge is not an objective truth to be discovered and applied in order to facilitate human development, it is embedded in the symbolic interactions between people, transforming into collective decision-making and action (March and Olsen 1984). This brings us back to Schön (1996: 16) and his attention, not to the scientific solution to practical problems, but to the manner in which problems are framed in order to make sense of a given situation.

One of the fundamental premises of ethics of care is to expand the idea that humans are interconnected. Ethics of care, then, offers a language to speak of knowing that does not rely on some of the key tenants of the Enlightenment. Accordingly, 'instead of depicting nations as sovereign, self-sufficient and equal in strength, one can envisage them as relational, mutually dependent, but often unequal in power and resources' (Petterson 2011: 52). Held (2006: 81) emphasises that the flaws of liberal models of social relations is, firstly, their inability to reflect the complexity of human relationships – as demonstrated by Petterson. Secondly, Held (2006: 82) notes that 'applying a contractual model to more and more situations, the way rational choice theory does, promotes the wrong kind of social development'. Our relationship to each other, it is argued, is demeaned if expressed in financial terms. Building too, on the problems of reducing all values to those which can be articulated in economic terms, Desjardins (2013) expresses a concern about framing human-environment relationships in such terms as it depicts humans always as consumers, and never as citizens; and as the latter '... a healthy, beautiful, undeveloped, and inspiring environment may not benefit me as a consumer, but it may be quite valuable to me as a citizen' (Desjardins 2013: 69). This view of knowing then, that does not necessarily resonate with the rational economic man that frequented the discourse of the Enlightenment(s), enables a view of the relationship between academia and practice to be less focussed on instrumentalism, instead promoting mutual dependency, reflexivity in regards to authority.

Critiques of Western epistemology derived from the Enlightenment, have demonstrated the fundamental shortcomings of key concepts such as abstraction, instrumentalism, evidence and proof that forsake other ways of knowing and 'flatten' our relationship with the world around us (Sousanis 2012). Drawing on ideas from the Counter-Enlightenment(s) that spoke back to

the Enlightenment(s), as well as scholars who focussed on praxis, relationships and citizenship it is possible to re-view the developments that have narrowed the relationship between academia and practice. As a result, it is possible to construct an understanding of academic/practitioner relationships founded in language and values that do not rely on marketplace metaphors to explain or sustain them.

Governance and the impact agenda

This section considers the ways in which the debates around the changing role of the university in society have been impacted by external factors, such as governance policy, as well as considering the ways in which universities in the UK, and specifically Scotland, have interpreted these changes through their particular cultural lenses.

Lynn et al. (2001: 7) observe that the broad features of governance are concerned with the political processes, such as policy and administration, of decision making within a system which is often held to account through performance indicators. Research governance involves demonstrating the quality of research as an indicator of performance to ensure that the public can benefit from the money they have invested into the process (Department of Health 2005: 2). These statements tie concerns of governance to authority and accountability (see for example Kerrison et al. 2003), and they consider efficiency as pivotal (Christensen 2011: 508). In the case of research governance, the responsibility is to demonstrate value for the money invested as a way of holding researchers accountable. This is evident in the RCUK [sic] Public Engagement with Research Strategy (UKRI n.d: 1), which states that 'relevance, trust, accountability and transparency are the cornerstones of the relationship between research and society'.

Vincent (2015: 475) argues that there are three overarching ideological frameworks which have influenced university culture over the last 100 years. These are: elite-driven liberal-conservatism, social democracy and neoliberalism, although Vincent (2015: 476) observed that these should not be understood as neat or discrete categories. Despite these cultural changes, Shattock (2017: 1) observes that the formal laws and legislation have not changed dramatically over the same time period. This reinforces the idea that institutions have complex and particular cultures through which policy is interpreted and practiced.

Of note is the linguistic difference between the liberal and the neoliberal university. The former emphasised a holistic and diverse curriculum which did not focus solely on education for instrumental use (Vincent 2015: 478). However for neoliberals, from around the 1950s, the

focus was (and remains) minimal economic policy. The new language circulating the university introduced market ideas such as consumer choice, and education became coupled with employability. It is argued that linguistic terms such as 'impact' helped mask neoliberal ideology with economic terminology (Vincent 2015: 478). Once the discourse around the university as a marketplace has been established, it is possible to extend this to academics who are posited as inherently selfish and interested only in personal gain (Vincent 2015: 478). Not to be trusted to respond to customers, better accountability was required through university governance structures.

The Dearing Report (1997: 377), an inquiry into higher education, recommended that as part of receiving public money, universities should produce an annual report in order to substantiate their performance and account for their funding. In the Garrick Report (1997 n.p), which represents the recommendations made in the Dearing Report specifically for Scottish higher education, it was suggested that research funding should take into account '...excellence, contribution to the quality of life, contribution to culture, demonstrated national and regional interests, relevance to economic welfare'. As a final point, Paradeise et al. (2009: 252) note that in the 1980s the University Grants Commission (UGC) acted as a 'buffer between universities and government' in terms of external governance. When the UGC was initially formed, in 1919, block grants were offered to universities with little instruction as to how they were to be spent (Anderson 2016). By the 1980s UGC control over funding allocation was enforced through the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) (Paradeise et al. 2009: 286), the UGC was then dissolved in 1989 and replaced by research councils. Anderson (2016) considers the introduction of research councils to be directly related to greater governmental interest in the governance of universities. By the 2000s this had changed and the Department of Trade and Industry became a major actor in promoting policies regarding the university's third mission (ibid). Chubb (2017: 20) locates the ways in which impact was defined by the, then, RCUK as drawing from the 2006 UK Worry report. The report asserts:

...In today's world, the UK's ability to compete and maintain its leading position is dependent on its success at translating the wealth of knowledge and people from our excellent research base into the economy

Worry Report 2006: 6

Although other scholars note that as early as the 1993 White Paper *Realising Our Potential* (Cabinet Office, 1993), government science policy specified an impact imperative for UK scientific research (Henkel 2000; Smith et al. 2011: 1372).

The RAE was conducted six times across UK higher education institutions between 1986 and 2008 (Smith et al. 2011: 1369) although Blagden (2019: 87) notes that the requirement for research contribution, while present in policy discourse, was not yet considered a measurable indicator of quality in research. Thus, impact considerations have been implicit in UK university research governance structures for some time without dramatically changing practice. A fundamental difference between the RAE and the REF, is the centrality of impact. Impact for REF2014 constituted 20 per cent of the overall rating of research (Vincent 2015: 480), although in future iterations this will be increased to 25%. Indeed 'Pathways to Impact' must now be identified at the start of research proposals and it is declared that we live in a 'knowledge society' which ties economic and social prosperity to knowledge via innovation and technological advancement (Cabinet Office 1993; Worry Report 2006).

The impact of changes in university governance as a result of external changes is not always clear, nor are the implications for research. Etzkowitz et al. (2000: 313) propose that universities across the globe are starting to replicate a similar, entrepreneurial, format. However, other scholars argue that the sharpest u-turn in attitudes and policies of university governance have occurred in the UK (Henkel 2007: 88), a change towards marketisation and managerialism. Yet, the response from universities to the changing funding and governance structures within the UK cannot be considered uniform (Shattock 2017: 15). Tapper (2007: 73) identifies that university governance structures are similar in formal structure, thus differences arise from the diverse operationalisation strategies of universities. In terms of research, it is argued that the RAE did start to put pressure on the university research agenda and encouraged more strategic research priorities (Paradeise et al. 2009: 282). This has led to commentary on the relationship between funding and higher education; higher education funding structures are playing an increasingly dominant role in the regulation and governance of the sector (Hall 2018: 41). In this process, value comes to be defined in terms of a single comparable unit, money (Hall 2018). However, across the UK sources of income for universities vary – especially in Scotland where student fees for Scottish and EU residents are paid for with public funds. This is espoused as a view of education as a public good, which is juxtaposed with other UK nations which have taken a more marketised approach (Kemp and Lawton 2013: 9). Although the Scottish approach to higher education differs from the rest of the UK, it could be argued that, financially, this makes efficiency and accountability in Scottish universities even more important as local and European student fees are not a source income.

Research funding in Scotland is a complex issue, straddling the boundary between a devolved and a reserved issue (Scottish Government 2010: 16). Although it has been noted that

Scotland, as well as Wales, have rejected the intense marketing model of the university espoused by England (Shattock et al. 2018), Scotland competes with the rest of the UK for funding from the UK Research Councils (now UKRI), which is then distributed (in Scotland) by the Scottish Funding Council (Kemp and Lawton 2013: 22). Accountability rhetoric can be found in the Scottish Government options paper *Building a Smarter Future: Towards A Sustainable Scottish Solution For The Future Of Higher Education* (2010: i), in which it is argued that the long-term view of Scottish higher education requires ‘...striving to get best value for every public pound and penny spent in and by the sector’. In *Putting Learners at the Centre: Delivering our Ambitions for Post-16 Education* (2011: 35) the Scottish Government declared a commitment to ‘...maintain[ing] Scotland’s world leading position in university research and maximise its contribution to increasing sustainable economic growth’. This sentiment can also be seen in the presentation of Scottish universities in the document *Higher Education in Scotland: Our Values and Value Added* (Universities Scotland 2013) in which ‘value added’ is considered in economic terms.

Regarding the influence of impact rhetoric on research governance in the Scottish context, the Scottish Further and Higher Education Funding Council (2018: 37) note:

...Common themes include a greater focus on interdisciplinary, high-impact and distinctive research – often with a focus on solving global and societal problems – and a more selective approach... Institutions have been keen to note however, that the REF, while a marker of excellence in research, is not the driver of their research strategies.

As a result, it can be said that although higher education is a devolved issue, the REF has an impact on Scotland, as part of the UK, as a result of the participation of the SFC alongside their English, Welsh and Northern Irish counterparts in the execution of REF (Kemp and Lawton 2013:11). Additionally, despite calls from Scottish universities (Universities Scotland 2013: 3) for academic autonomy in defining and delivering research outcomes, the Scottish Government (2011: 35) are clear: ‘...To build upon our successes, we believe the university research we fund should be closely aligned with our national priorities’.

However, the language around research and accountability does not just draw from neoliberal vocabularies. There are also historical claims to the impact of research knowledge and innovation. The White Paper *Realising Our Potential* (1993: 1) highlighted the importance of applied science, referencing the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the Industrial Revolution as pivotal for our modern age and national prosperity. Additionally, there is a vision of ‘the Scottish University’ as distinctive from the other three nations of the UK as it is claimed:

...Scotland's higher education sector has a long history of being valued as an important part of our nation's success...The values we have inherited remain as relevant to this century as they were to Scotland's other great centuries of outreach and enlightenment.

Universities Scotland 2013: 2

As a result, the linguistic inheritance of impact as it is entangled with research governance, ideas of modernity and progress are not located solely in neoliberalism. Indeed Wootton (2016: 84) argues that it was Francis Bacon in the 17th century who was the first to identify the possibility of progress through a more systematic use of knowledge. Thus, it is argued that language is malleable to the needs of those who use it and the ideas that are reflected are culturally located. As such, it remains possible to ask whether the current language available to academics to explore research governance accurately reflects practice(s).

Research use

This section addresses the ways in which the relationship between research and policy, as well as practice, have been discussed in the literature. From broad topologies of conceptual, instrumental and symbolic use, the section goes on to elaborate on models established in the late 1970's, subsequently critiqued and developed to encompass a more complex and ecological view of the interactions between research and policy/practice. Lastly, a postmodernist approach is considered in order to reflect on the relationship between power and research use.

'Research use' is a widely debated term and as such, has elicited a multiplicity of different ways in which the concept might be defined. Broad typologies of research use have been outlined by Nutley et al. (2007: 36) as conceptual and instrumental use. The former is noted as wide-ranging, including complex and indirect ways in which research might make an impact, as well as including 'general 'consciousness-raising'' (Nutley et al. 2007: 36). Instrumental use is defined as direct impact in which specific research is attributed to decision-making, Beyer and Trice (1982: 599) note that in order to assess instrumental use, it should be clear what behaviour is expected. For conceptual use, the relationship between behaviour and research is less clear, research influence is less direct (Beyer 1997: 385). This is because, by definition, there is a broader understanding of the ways in which research is interpreted and applied by the user in order to fit their context (Beyer and Trice 1982: 600). A third possible research type is symbolic use in which research is used to maintain and justify an opinion (Amara et al. 2004; Beyer 1997: 385) which Huberman (1994) refers to as strategic research use. The definition of

impact, as outlined by UKRI and ESRC combines a complex combination of both conceptual, in that the outline broadly refers to academic, social, and economic impact, as well as instrumental, in requiring the impact to be measurable. There are, however, legitimate concerns that research can be used selectively to maintain preconceptions on a topic (Stöckelová 2012: 153), concerns which do not appear on either the UKRI or the ESRC web pages on impact.

Early conceptualisations of the relationship between research and policy were formulated with a lineal focus, which has since been critiqued and expanded on to consider more complex interactions (Nutley et al. 2007: 92). Some of the initial frameworks include Weiss's (1979) models of research use. These were based on empirical research around policy-makers engagement with research which resulted in seven different models: the knowledge-driven model, problem-solving model, interactive model, political model, tactical model, enlightenment model and research as part of the intellectual enterprise of society.

A more detailed description of the models can be found elsewhere (for example Weiss 1979; Nutley et al. 2007: 38-40). In brief the knowledge-driven model and the problem-solving model are overtly lineal in their view of the relationship between research and policy. The former draws on the natural science processes '...basic research – applied research – development – application' (Weiss 1979: 427). The latter finds a more contemporary format in the 'engineering' model of research use which has six steps: idea, concept, planning, design, development and launch (Ullman 2006). Both the political model and the tactical models overlap, elsewhere named, symbolic/strategic research use. The model that Weiss (1979: 429) most applies to the relationship between the social sciences and potential users is the enlightenment model in which '...social science generalisations and orientations percolat[e] through informed publics'. The language change from the first two models is particularly striking, Weiss (1979: 429) refers to 'percolating', 'social sciences research diffuses' and 'research sensitises'. The time scale for policy change in this model is much slower, sharing its influence with other sources in order to '...help change the parameters within which policy solutions are sought' (Weiss 1979: 430). Over time, the approach of the Research Councils to fund impact and related activities has changed. At the time of *Food for Thought* it was possible to consider strategies for impact after having studied and researched social phenomena which allowed for a greater time period for 'research percolation' (to borrow a term from Weiss 1979). Now, timescales are collapsed and impact needs to be considered before academics know what their findings will be; an attitude crystallised on the UKRI (n.d: section 3, bold in

original) website where it is proposed that ‘...shortening time to benefits... = **maximising benefits**’.

In the final model, research as part of the intellectual enterprise of society is considered alongside a constellation of other influences (Weiss 1979). This results in a dialogic relationship which informs, as well as being influenced by, cycles of thought. This is most clearly outlined in the relationship between research and funding, in which

...[I]t is often emerging policy interest in a social issue that leads to the appropriation of funds for social science research in the first place, and only with the availability of funds are social scientists attracted to the study of an issue

Weiss 1979: 430

Although much time has elapsed since Weiss proposed these models of engagement with research, they continue to engage with some of the processes and tensions of research use. They have also been adapted for more modern explorations (for example Duke 2001; Lavis et al. 2003).

Further examples of research use models will illustrate that instrumental, conceptual and symbolic use of research can be entangled. Knott and Wildavsky (1980) developed a staged approach to understanding and studying impact. These are understood as reception, cognition, reference, effort, adoption, implementation, and impact. In order for successful research use to be claimed it must be shown that, in the final stage, there are tangible benefits for citizens (Nutley et al. 2007: 48). The stages proposed by Knott and Wildavsky have been popular, further adapted by other scholars (Landry et al. 2001) and combine both instrumental use (implementation and impact stages) with conceptual use (awareness raising and understanding research). The language of implementation is not often used in the UK higher education context, although it is frequently referred to in Australia in terms of ‘implementation science’. Implementation science refers to ‘the scientific study of methods to promote systematic uptake of research findings and other evidence-based practices into routine practice’ (Eccles and Mittman 2006: 1). One of the greatest critiques refers to the lineal, chronological manner in which successful research use is achieved, the presentation of a passive research user and a lack of consideration for complex contextual factors (Nutley et al. 2007: 50). It would appear that over time, Research Councils have become increasingly aware of some of these difficulties, on the ESRC (2019: section 2) website it is noted, ‘we fully

recognise the non-linear, emergent and diffuse nature of effects arising from the research we fund and that impact cannot be predicted or guaranteed’.

Caplan’s (1979) work on the different cultures of research and policy which hinders communication between the two, built on Snow’s (1959) theory of two cultures within academia. Caplan’s work highlights the role of language as an extension of cultures and thus, working between the two requires translation. Other researchers that have taken a similar approach, using two communities include Wiggins (1990), Beyer (1997) and Liddle et al. (2002), although Wiggins (1990: 27), who takes a systems approach to research use, considered the idea of two communities as a metaphor rather than a ‘true theory’. Emphasised in this framing of the relationship between research and policy is the necessary step of adapting the research to the context of policy. Similar to Caplan (1979) the work of Wiggins (1990) proposes a view of research use in relation to ‘translation’ from the language of one culture into the language of another, considering the role of wider social ecologies in this process. This approach to impact is more easily measurable and has been used elsewhere in quantitative impact evaluation research (Buckley and Whelan 2009; Bastow et al. 2014). In these instances, what is often measured is the frequency of research accessed as a core variable. However, this reduces the interactions between researchers and policy makers to terms of ‘use’ or ‘non-use’ (Nutley et al. 2007: 99). Elsewhere, Buyesse et al. (2002) observe the potential for communities of practice to bring together researchers and practitioners in an education context which ‘...generally can be defined as a group of professionals and other stakeholders in pursuit of a shared learning enterprise’ (Buyesse et al. 2002: 266). Communities of practice are offered as a solution to the lineal framing of learning in which researchers ‘transfer’ or ‘translate’ knowledge to a passive practice community as well as asking questions of the construction of two separate communities (academia and practice).

Jamous and Peloille (1970 in Robinson 2001: 241) identify the need for a balance between what they refer to as ‘technicality’ and ‘indeterminacy’ in practice. The former refers to knowledge which can be programmed and embedded into routines, whilst the latter acknowledges specialist practice knowledge and the role of professional judgement (ibid). Jamous and Peloille (ibid) emphasise that an increase in technicality in practice reduces the value in indeterminacy and therefore, a reduction in professional status. As a result, there is a power relationship between research and practice which makes research use and evaluation implicit in the process of marginalising practitioners and their knowledge. Elsewhere, it has been argued that protocols that are produced by increased technicality in practice can have positive impacts, legitimising professionals (Thomas 1996 in Robinson 2001: 243). However,

underpinning this statement is a relationship in which research has the power to legitimise (and by extension illegitimise) practice. The role of the researcher in these relations is further observed by Huberman (1994), who noted that, the conclusions drawn from research depend on whose perspective the researcher has decided to foreground and those whose views are given less weight.

There does not seem to be much consideration of relationships of power and how they are played out between academic and practice spaces and the potential ways in which the impact agenda might, inadvertently, reinforce epistemological inequalities. On the RIUK (n.d: section 3) website it is emphasised that ‘...spending public money means demonstrating the benefits of that investment to society = **accountability**’. The suggestion is that there is only one outcome for research and that it is beneficial. To further extend this point, a focus on only the positive repercussions of research hides the dark side. Nutley et al. (2007: 275) maintain that any assessment of impact use must be ‘...based on realistic expectations about what research can and cannot do’. Perhaps then, the language of impact agenda according to the UKRI (n.d: 1) which espouses the benefits of ‘new knowledge and understanding’, should be expanded to accommodate a more critical reflection of the limits of research.

Language and value

Research communication, knowledge exchange, knowledge mobilisation, research use, research dissemination, K*, collective action and A2K are some of the terms used in the impact literature. Such diverse terms contribute to the linguistic minefield of impact and evaluation research (see for example Mitton et al. 2007; Ward et al. 2009). In a review of impact studies, Walter et al. (2004:10) found at least six different types of research use, noting that ‘... it was rare for the use of research to be explicitly defined’. Considering the implications of this for policy Lavis notes:

... battles can be fought over [...] appropriate framing because the viability of policy options will often hinge on how the underlying problem is framed [...] for example, framing an issue as an undersupply of physicians will yield one set of policy options whereas framing it as physician maldistribution or inequitable physician-remuneration arrangements will yield very different sets of policy options

Lavis (2006: 38)

To continue to repeat these observations would not contribute anything new to the topic; however, reviewing some of the literature which highlights the problems of defining impact

lends itself to a deeper discussion surrounding the implications of language use and underlying relations of authority. It then raises such questions as; whose interests does the impact agenda reflect? How can a broader range of perspectives on impact and research use be incorporated? So far, there is little evidence of research which takes debates of language use beyond the struggle for universal terms to an understanding of language as tied to value. This section explores the existing language around impact. This does not pretend to be an exhaustive display of the impact debate, but it serves to provoke interesting ideas for consideration for this study as a demonstration of the potential diversity of impact.

What is impact?

Impact, it has been argued, is a metaphor in itself; a metaphor that belies physical contact and the rerouting of an object – like a snooker ball being hit by a cue (Hammersley 2014: 346). Hawkins and Le Roux (1987: 411) define impact as ‘... a collision; the force of a collision’, and/or a ‘strong effect or influence, especially of something new’. It has been raised in the literature that the terminology of impact does not correctly represent the relationship between academia and practice (Collini 2012; Fielding 2003; Hammersley 2013) and has violent undertones (Chubb 2017: 125).

There exists a governmental body in the UK independent of university institutions, but made up of academics, responsible for measuring impact. Formally the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), the Research Excellence Framework (REF) is the body in control of assessing research quality across the country. It has been called a ‘step change’ (Penfield et al. 2014: 23) because of the accompanying financial implication it carries. It has been observed that the REF does ‘... not simply record empirical facts but actively produces the very phenomena under investigation’ (Pain et al. 2011: 184). To which Kyle et al. (2016) add that audits on academic work ‘do not simply measure activities they actively produce them’.

Generally impact tends to be conceptualised as unidirectional (McCowan 2018). UK Research and Innovation (no page paragraph 4, henceforth referred to as UKRI) defines research impact as ‘...the demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy’. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the funding body for this PhD research project, defines impact as:

- fostering global economic performance, and specifically the economic competitiveness of the United Kingdom
- increasing the effectiveness of public services and policy

- enhancing quality of life, health and creative output.

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC 2015b)

Pain et al. (2011) are not the only scholars who have observed a general lack of reciprocity between the spaces of academia and practice (see for example Watermeyer 2012). Focusing on 'outputs', 'increasing effectiveness' and 'economic performance' appears to assume a lineal cause and effect notion of impact in which a cause can be isolated and tracked through to the end user (whether in the policy or public domain).

The primary purpose of REF 2014 was to assess the quality of research and produce outcomes for each submission made by institutions:

- The four higher education funding bodies will use the assessment outcomes to inform the selective allocation of their grant for research to the institutions which they fund, with effect from 2015-16.
- The assessment provides accountability for public investment in research and produces evidence of the benefits of this investment.
- The assessment outcomes provide benchmarking information and establish reputational yardsticks, for use within the higher education (HE) sector and for public information.

REF (2014)

This assemblage of language suggests a link between impact and university accountability. Ranson (2003: 460) argues that accountability has resulted in scrutiny and regulation which, O'Neill (2002) maintains derives from a false sense of untrustworthiness. The implications for academic ways of working are observed by Dunsire (1978: 41) for whom '... the account when rendered, is to be evaluated by a superior or superior body measured against some standard or expectation'. As a result, being held to account, in a neoliberal context results in a focus on instrumental goods (Power 1999) that are weighed according to maximal output and minimal resource input (Lyotard 1997). The overall effect of accountability in a neo-liberal framework, then, is to draw from the marketplace, emphasising consumer relations between individuals (Ranson 2003), and therefore, it has been suggested that impact is 'symptomatic of the marketization of HE' (Chubb 2017: 31); the antithesis of the argument for the aesthetic university (Collini 2012).

Impact and the REF continue to be widely discussed and debated on differing levels including (but not limited to) practical and theoretical implications. Arguably the process of the REF is a demonstration that, now more than ever, funders have become focussed on the measurable outputs of research dividing academic disciplines (Collini 2012; Watermeyer 2012; Wilsdon et al. 2016). There is a strong emphasis on the importance of being able to demonstrate that research results are being mobilised within the public community (Davies et al. 2005), in fact as much as 20% of the previous REF assessment was dedicated to impact beyond academia¹¹ (REF n.d). As a result of this on-going interest in impact there has been a gradual trend towards studies dedicated to evaluating research impact, generally investigated according to discipline (cf. Chubb 2017; Mitton et al. 2007). As such, this particular doctoral study is considered to be a timely exploration of the development of the concept of impact specifically within the social sciences and looked after children context. At its heart is a questioning of the underpinning linguistic, methodological and relational assumptions of impact on working practices.

Arguably the plurality of research users presents a problem where impact is quantified using generic measurements (Spaapen and van Drooge 2011). In relation to this, although writing before the RAE and the REF, Weiss (1998) warned of the dangers of understanding change according to the evaluator. The parameters of involvement from organisations out with the academic institution tend to be dictated by funding councils, and often there is little opportunity for users to express impact in their own terms: particularly in the case of UKRI and ESRC¹². Furthermore, it is argued the REF refers to a vague, non-descript framework which makes assumptions surrounding the supposed benefits of research for public engagement, without any concrete guidance as to how this can be achieved (Watermeyer 2012).

However, it is important to reflect on the relations of authority of the everyday, deconstructing the 'naturalised use of institutional practices' legitimising the relations (Fairclough 1989: 33). These are not pseudo-relationships, but part of their operationalisation requires the simplification of complex situations (Hall 1986). As a result, attention is drawn to the manner in which organisations participate in the building and framing of relationships between academia and practice. The consideration that 'one size fits all' in terms of impact measurement across multiple disciplines overlooks the multifaceted manner in which practitioners and academics interact. It seems to assume that users of research are a

¹¹ This is set to increase to 25% for REF2021

¹² It is acknowledged that there are other funding agencies, such as Leverhulme, Carnegie and Rowntree Foundation, amongst others. The reason for focussing on UKRI and ESRC is because they funded both the case study and the current PhD research project.

homogenous group with similar interests, objectives and motives, with less emphasis on the organisational structures in which they operate.

Notwithstanding the lengthy critique of impact, there has been a small body of work that has documented some positive side-effects of the impact agenda. Crespo's (2007) empirical work with professors in Canada noted that the 'entrepreneurial academic' can feel constrained by intellectual property constraints, and closer university-industry relations are more compatible with their ethos. Similarly, in a cross-national study between the UK and Germany, Haeussler and Colyvas (2011) suggest that academic entrepreneurship in the natural sciences helps challenge the traditional spatial dynamic of the academic 'ivory tower' and industry. Wilkinson (2017: 3) found that one of the benefits of impact exhorted by a university faculty included 'rais[ing] the profile of individual, groups and the university'. Morgan Jones et al. (2017) outlined the three main benefits that academics experienced as a result of the impact agenda as

1. a recognition that impact can be articulated, considered successful on the basis of how many case studies were submitted to REF2014
2. academics reported a better understanding of the implications of their work, as a result of the process of the impact agenda
3. academics noted a renewed appreciation for relationships out with the university

adapted from Morgan Jones et al. (2017: 13)

Thus, it is suggested that for some academics, the impact agenda offers emancipation from an institution with rituals that mediate the relationship between the university and society.

Academic/practitioner relationships

Much of the guidance offered to academics looking to maximise their impact focuses on dividing the stakeholders between 'you' (the researcher) and 'the audience' (policy makers and/or practitioners); strategies proposed are isolated from any particular context (Pardoe 2014: 7) and invariably indicate an assumption that impact is lineal (Holmwood 2011: 2). The focus, generally, is on what aspects of impact are measureable (although some strands of literature on collaboration and co-production share this trait). This is accented in research which looks to compare the impact across disciplines and therefore requires some sense of standardisation to make such a comparison feasible. Thus, the language of impact is located in the tension between a collective and an individualised, unique language.

'The audience', in the case of this doctoral research, refers to carers of looked after children. Indeed, as stated above the audience, or carers in this case, are very little regarded by the ESRC impact agenda, rather the researcher is considered to be the protagonist (Pardoe 2014: 9). However, this does not mean that care is relieved of the pressures of research engagement. The challenge specifically aimed at those caring for looked after children is complying with evidence-based practice. The change towards evidence-based practice, most notably through New Labour policies (Beddoe 2011: 558), is documented in linguistic claims which started with expressions such as 'using research evidence' being swapped for the 'assertion that practice should be 'grounded in' evidence or show a 'commitment to' evidence-based practice' (Webb 2001: 590). This move is indicative of a pledge to this formulaic approach to practice which can be tied in to the political climate within the United Kingdom dedicated to 'progression and 'modernisation' which can only be guaranteed with a rational application of reason (Sanderson 2010: 61).

Some of the criticisms of evidence-based practice parallel those of impact. These challenges focus on the underlying assumptions of such an agenda being closely aligned to positivist epistemology and a stable and predictable context. Authors such as Webb (2001) have sought to critically reflect on the validity of evidence-based practice, generally, within the social work sphere. In order for validity to be upheld Webb (2001: 57) posits that the underlying assumptions of both social work and evidence-based practice should overlap. He concludes that this is not the case, that:

... recent and well-documented research in cognitive heuristics and the social psychology of decision making shows that reasoning strategies *even in the face of evidence* consistently fail to respect the canons of rationality assumed by the evidence-based approach

Webb (2001: 64)

Arguably, it appears that there is a large gulf between the projected relationship between academia and practice. What is overlooked is that 'problems' are socially constructed in relation to general consensus within and between individuals and groups (Schneider 1985) and consolidated by certain activities and rituals. A 'problem' can be framed in any number of ways depending on the vested interests of the individual/group speaking. Concerning practice, decision-making, which constitutes just one element of care work but one that can intersect with academic research, with looked after children is made in anticipation of future possibilities. As a result, the decision process should be understood as closely related to each

individual's set of values about what the current situation is, and also forward projections of how to improve circumstances (Webb and McBeath 1989). This locates decision-making within temporalized constructions of value, in the context of care work, rather than the rational reasonableness of *homo economicus* (O'Malley 2004: 80).

The concern of those caring for looked after children, by insisting on a simplification of context and deriving decisions purely from an evidence base, has the effect of muting the service user (Beddoe 2011: 558). Additionally, it rewards the normative approach that the end justifies the means, the ends being driven by 'the external measurable element of practice (performativity) rather than the internal and relatively intangible, quality of relationships (caring)' (Webb 2001: 74). In order to help contribute to overcoming this risk Webb (2001: 75) observes the need for research to uncover the relational dynamics of carers of looked after children considering interactions with evidence in organisations in an unstable environment.

Linguistic diversity

Shaxson et al. (2012) have attempted to unite the differing terms that relate to impact under the heading K*. Reflecting on the power relations involucrate within groups interested in research, Shaxson et al. (2012: 16) observe that the decision making process of deciding when and what knowledge to draw upon is a complicated and subjective process. The choice requires the decision maker to make a value judgement in regards to the validity of the information available, influenced by the cultural capital of those producing the knowledge and of others making use of it. Additionally, it is likely that this judgement will take in to account concurrent events (Shaxson et al. 2012: 18). A similar attention to subjective processes is found in the field of law, and such debates around knowledge mobilisation have sparked an interest in intellectual property (Kapczynski 2008). This is referred to as 'A2K (access to knowledge) mobilization' (ibid: 806). In order to understand the dynamic change that is happening in intellectual property as a result of A2K mobilization the author uses 'frame mobilisation'. The concept relates to an interest in understanding '... how social actors engage in the field of ideas to theorise their interests, build alliances, mobilize support, and discredit their opponents' (Kapczynski 2008: 809). Language plays a vital role in creating alliances and mobilising support for one cause rather than another, as where language intersects between individuals, it is posited, there is potential for greater connection and understanding. These examples of research communication encourage a view of the experience of research impact as plural. So, by investigating the differing perspectives within the case study, it is possible for this doctoral research to try and gather different viewpoints involved in research communication. This centralises the everyday language and experience of the relationship

between academia and practice, rather than working within the dominant, economic, language of impact.

Drury and Reicher (2005) explore the experiences of empowerment in collective action, in the context of two crowd protesting events. Empowerment in social movements has, similarly to research communication and impact, been characterised by concerns of efficiency (although in a context-specific sense of the word). As such, they have been dominated by discourses such as 'uptake', 'success' and encouraging dualistic ways of understanding the relationship between those that 'do' participate and those that 'don't'. Linguistically, as Drury and Reicher (2005) note, considering success as a binary term of success vs. failure is to overlook the complexity in which mobilisation of any kind (of a campaign or of knowledge) takes place. In their study they found that between two campaign groups there was a distinction in what they understood by success; for one it was material, the other the referred to a moral success (ibid: 51). Political discourses surrounding impact, espoused by institutions such as ESRC are recognised as just one impact discourse: that which is measurable. Thus, a dichotomy is created between 'impact' and 'no impact' where 'impact' is understood to be based on performance related outputs. This example demonstrates the contention between unifying and diverse languages. Understanding the way participants reflect on success, through their narrative, is important when reflecting on their experiences of participating in projects (Drury and Reicher 2005) and thus should not be overlooked.

So far, much of the literature discussed has treated the users of research as phenomena to be studied, however, collaborative research does suggest alternative relationships between academia and practice. By comparing literature on coproduction/collaboration and impact, it is possible to draw on some of the former to help widen the landscape and language of the latter to complement existing ways of talking about impact. There is a strong linguistic juxtaposition in language evoked in the process of collaboration and coproduction compared to that of impact. One of the reasons for participating in collaborative research, as suggested by Riger (1999: 1099), is because of the mutual benefit of those involved. The Social Care Institute for Excellence, henceforth SCIE, offers a practical application of co-production which emphasises 'culture', 'structure' and 'practice':

Culture – the beliefs and values which define an organisation

Structure – the way the system is organised arranged and the systems it has set up

Practice – how the organisation and the people who work for it carry out their work

Understanding of the wider context in which collaboration takes place is expected to better the chances of positive co-production experiences. Similarly Flynn (2007: 191) speaks of 'cohesive' teams and 'involvement' in collaborative health services in Britain. As such there is a sense of synergy amongst the various parties involved in successful collaborations. However, Kieser and Leiner (2012) are weary of overstating cohesion and integration between knowledges that originate in different locations, i.e. practice and academia. What this doctoral research project can draw on from some of the elements of collaborative research is the attention to environmental factors such as culture and structures to better understand how individuals realise their working practices within broader meso structures.

Research approaches to impact

This section reviews some impact literature accessed through internet and library searches encompassing theoretical, and differing methodological approaches to impact. The language of the UK impact agenda, as understood through UKRI and ESRC documents, is observed as lending itself toward a quantitative research model. Elsewhere it has been noted that most impact research has been focussed on economic impact (Bornmann 2013: 224). What follows is an exploration of the relationship between the impact agenda and language to better understand if/how previous research has approached some of the issues raised thus far. A literature search was conducted using Stirling Library Catalogue, Google Scholar and Web of Science, this was then condensed using a few examples to illustrate some of the salient themes relating to language in impact evaluation research.

Arguably, one feature of quantitative research is the narrow use of language to explore impact. For example, Landry et al. (2001) base their dependent variable on information from preceding projects on research use (the Knott-Wildasky scale of knowledge utilisation¹³). As a result, six types of explanatory variables were tested: '... types of products, adaption of product to users, dissemination efforts, linkages with users, perceptions of users' content and researchers' context' (Landry et al. 2001: 341). This framing of impact using closed language can generate information regarding impact patterns, however, it might be criticised for narrowing impact discourses, excluding the multiple ways in which those involved recount their the experience. This might also be said of mixed method research by Holzer et al. (2007),

¹³ These are stage 1: transmission, stage 2: cognition, stage 3: reference, stage 4: effort, stage 5: influence and stage 6: application (taken from Landry et al. 2001: 336)

which relied on the Likert scale and pre-defined key definitions such as 'research', 'accessing research' and 'applying research' (Holzer et al. 2007: 4). Focussing on these terms seems to take for granted a lineal relationship between academia and practice.

What is noted, is the potential for some of the findings from quantitative research to be explored by research with a qualitative design. For example, one of the findings by Landry et al. (2001) was that, in the case of social work, where researchers invested in linkage mechanisms with practitioners there was a positive correlation to research use. Qualitative enquires can be further made into the suggestion that there is a relational aspect of impact which influences research use in practice, allowing research use to be determined by research participants.

Various impact papers that use statistics focus on comparing impact across different disciplines (Bastow et al. 2014; Buckley et al. 2009; Holzer et al. 2007; Terämä et al. 2016), although it is also a feature of some qualitative impact studies (Chubb 2017; Oancea 2013). One difficulty found by Bastow et al. (2014) in comparing different disciplines is that measurements of impact that are seen as 'appropriate' in STEM subjects are not easily translated in to the social sciences. For example, capital generation is an output often found in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) yet in the social sciences it is not. This finding highlights the importance of looking for the different ways in which impact can be experienced, not just limiting the language to economic discourse in order to better capture the diverse relationships between academics and practitioners.

In an example of an impact study that was interested in language Terämä et al. (2016) used a mixed methods approach to mine the REF2014 submissions to interrogate how the academics involved had interpreted the term ‘impact’. It was calculated that there were five common themes in the way that academics in the UK reported their impact. Ordered by salience, they are ‘clinical applications’ (23.7%), ‘government policy and scientific evidence and management’ (23.5%), ‘enterprise’ (21.6%), ‘public engagement and arts’ (16.8%), and ‘education’ (14.4%) (Terämä et al. 2016: 13).

Class and interpretive label	Ten most associated words	Typical sentence	Most associated REF Panel
Class 1 (23.5%): Government policy, scientific evidence and management	policy, local, plan, government, authority, research, health, national, strategy, practitioner	<i>"the principal contribution of this programme of work has been to provide an evidence base for informed decision making at local and national policy levels regarding the configuration of acute services for severely mentally ill adults"</i>	Panel C–Social Sciences
Class 2 (16.8%): Public engagement and arts	museum, public, audience, exhibition, history, event, gallery, art, film, visitor	<i>"we have also worked closely with the jeans for genes campaign in schools and at other fundraising events speaking and appearing in films to raise awareness of our work. Our work has been presented as part of a living exhibition to promote the public understanding of science"</i>	Panel D–Humanities
Class 3 (23.7%): Clinical applications	patient, treatment, clinical, disease, trial, therapy, treat, cancer, drug, diagnosis	<i>"for example in the year ending 2011 our nhs genetics laboratory performed diagnostic tests for genetic deafness disorders in over 1 100 uk patients and we provided both molecular and clinical input to reports"</i>	Panel A–Life Sciences
Class 4 (14.4%): Education	school, education, teacher, IOE, child, curriculum, pupil, parent, study, young	<i>"while all age groups were evenly represented several schools benefitted particularly from the provision of guided educational tours for year 6 pupils age 10 11 to support the national curriculum of ww2 studies as well as tours for students in continuing education and civics"</i>	Panel C–Social Sciences
Class 5 (21.6%): Enterprise	company, corroborate, product, technology, customer, industry, detail, market, business, contact	<i>"companies have invested heavily in the development of products relating to these technologies and in a competitive environment have included these products in the development of their business strategies"</i>	Panel B–Physical Sciences

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Figure 1: Classes produced in the analysis of the UCL impact case studies (all panels A – D) (Terämä et al. 2016: 8)

The results of this study confirm that there exists a diverse linguistic pool from which academics source their definitions of impact. These categories sit well with those examples offered by REF2014, however, one critique of this research is the lack of reflexivity. It is unclear to what extent the official rhetoric changes how academics perceive their work, and/or their ways of working (cf. Fielding 2003; Kyle et al. 257). This is particularly interesting in light of the conclusions of the research in which they claimed to reveal how interpretations of impact were ‘turned into evidence’ (Terämä et al. 2016: 14). There is no way of knowing how/if their work had to bend and flex to fit this language, and what was silenced in this process. Although it shows that the impact imagination is not limited to economic outputs, what is unknown is the extent to which language from the more salient categories, life sciences, social sciences and the physical sciences, create more successful REF case studies and gain greater recognition. Neither is it possible to ascertain to what extent the changes made can be considered to be desirable (McCowan 2018: 287).

Qualitative research that considered the ways in which different disciplines considered impact has been explored by scholars such as Chubb (2017) and Oancea (2013). What emerged from both of these studies is the importance of the multiple ways in which academics imagined impact, and associated concepts such as research use, in relation to their working identities. Consequently, the idea of framing impact was found to be important to scholars in the humanities so historians, for example, found the language of impact difficult to relate to where the focus was scientific outputs, neither did they find short timeframes for documenting change relevant to their context (Oancea 2013: 243). In the physical and engineering sciences, Oancea's participants deliberated over the difference between applied and non-applied research, in which the latter was considered more difficult to express and document (ibid: 247). One of the overriding concerns in this group was gaming the system and playing up research for entertainment value, which ties in to other literature around the problems of financially incentivising work outputs (Pink 2009: 41). Chubb's (2017) research considered impact from an international angle, so builds on Oancea's disciplinary lens by adding that the language of UK academics that participated in her study were engaged with official definitions of impact, provided by the REF (Chubb 2017: 262). As a result, it could be said that much of the language around impact is driven by 'official language', although the qualitative semi-structured interview research design allowed Chubb to explore how her participants made sense of the official language.

Demonstrating the importance of cultural sensitivity to language, Stöckelová (2012: 151) noted that in interviews with academics, reactions to the idea of collaboration from Czech scholars in the field of Roma studies were divided. Some thought that research should be '...independent from political and social agendas' (Stöckelová 2012: 151). These views drew on a linguistic inheritance which linked the Czech word for 'collaboration' with a socio-historical context that connected collaboration to the Nazi regime, as well as the communist secret police (Stöckelová 2012: 151). However, this was not the case for all of the scholars who were interviewed regarding the ways in which knowledge travelled through a '...triangular space of the academy, policy and the NGOs or civil society' (Stöckelová 2012: 151). Others focussed more on how to make links between academics and non-academics, taking it for granted that it was unavoidable (Stöckelová 2012: 152).

Stöckelová (2012: 153) further considered research in terms of products, identifying a case in which politicians have misrepresented research on the Roma community with the effect of divorcing their experiences of social isolation from systemic responsibility. For one scholar, whose research was manipulated to this end, it was observed that the result was not achieved

by lying but by detaching the intention from the findings, which was considered an illegitimate use of the knowledge. Another scholar whose work was implicated responded by identifying intellectual plagiarism and as a result, reclaimed their work as an author and holding non-academics to the same rituals of referencing as academics (Stöckelová 2012: 154). One question that this raises is to what extent the 'original authors', in this case academics, are responsible for the ways in which their research is used to manipulate a particular type of response from a third party (whether that is politics, the wider public or business)? Although these researchers can claim impact, the conclusions drawn may not coincide with the research findings as a whole. This example demonstrates the potential ambiguities of impact and research use in contested social spaces, highlighting the need to consider external factors in the processes of impact as having unpredictable bearing on research use.

Examples of research on impact that take a case study approach include Webler et al. (1995) and Munro and Hubbard (2011). Munro and Hubbard (2011) looked at evaluation in a social care context, taking a systems approach to change. The research centred on the assumption that interventions will not have '...predictable, consistent impact in practice' (Munro and Hubbard 2011: 728). This was based on Pawson's (2006 in Munro and Hubbard 2011: 728) realist approach to evaluation in which the whole system is foregrounded and open to external influence. As a result, it is possible to identify that the influence of research on working practices operates alongside (together and/or in tension with) multiple other factors.

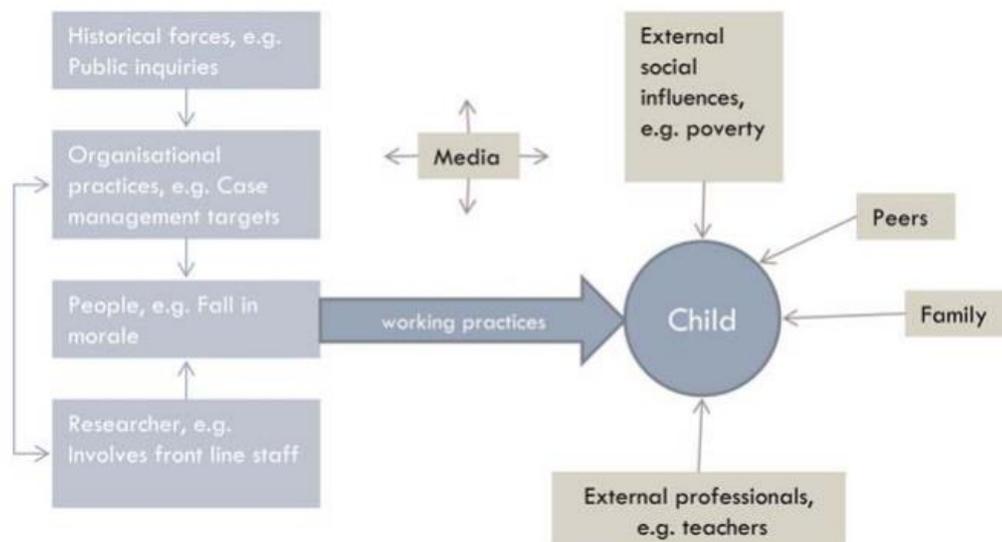


Figure 2 A simple systems view of influencing factors on social work practice and outcomes for children (Munro and Hubbard 2011: 731)

Figure 2 identifies the possible different influences on social care practice as proposed by Munro and Hubbard (2011), demonstrating the multiple external influences on both working practices as well as the child in care. The research engaged with a wide range of participants from across the case study social care organisation and aimed to understand ‘...how [the] intervention was changing the culture within which staff worked, the processes that they use and ultimately how this impacts on everyday practice’ (Munro and Hubbard 2011: 732). To do this, multiple methods were employed including surveys, interviews and ethnographic observation, identifying the extensive resources needed to break from lineal impact evaluation models. One of the conclusions drawn was that a systems approach to evaluation enabled the researchers to consider ‘...whether the rules and procedures are suitable for the complex and varying decisions’ (Munro and Hubbard 2011: 741) rather than a compliance-no compliance binary. This enables an identification of systemic change that is needed, not always assuming that it is social work practice with children that needs to change. Opting for methods that foreground complexity rather than reductionist conceptualisations of impact, is something that this research also hopes to explore.

Webler et al. (1995) approach what they refer to as ‘impact assessment’ using a participatory strategy, thus, can be said to fall in to the latter category. Using terms such as ‘social learning’ and ‘social change’ to inform ‘public decision-making process’ and promote ‘development of democracy’, the method invests time and energy into facilitating interactions and communications between various stakeholders. Contrary to much of the previous literature accessed, this research project looked to explore ‘...subjective assessments of aspects of the process’ (Webler et al. 1995: 453) where their opportunity to contribute to the discourse was not only sought, but central to the evaluation. The research involved the primary actors in the research (public participation in a decision-making process about siting a municipal waste disposal facility) and the academic team enabled communication between the actors. This research inspires a view of impact that collects from multiple perspectives.

Another inspirational approach to impact is the work of Belfiore and Bennet (2007; 2008; 2009) who have published on different components of art in relation to impact evaluation. The overarching aim of their work, drawn from a three-year, three-phase research project was to ‘...develop a more rigorous and nuanced understanding of how the value, function and impacts of the arts in modern societies can be articulated’ (Belfiore and Bennet 2009: 18). The focus of the publication *The Social Impact of the Arts: An Intellectual History* was concerned with documenting the different ways in which the benefits of the arts to society have been framed in an attempt ‘to reconnect contemporary policy debates with a complex intellectual history,

from which it is argued these debates have become detached' (Belfiore and Bennet 2008: vii). One critique made by Belfiore and Bennet (2009: 17) is that impact studies are not '...produced in the spirit of scholarly enquiry, but more in that of advocacy by those wishing to advance specific institutional interests'. In the context of arts' impact, this has resulted in most evaluations into the impact of the arts focussing on the art practices that receive the most subsidies – the visual and performing arts – which has the effect of flattening the definition of 'the arts' (Belfiore and Bennet 2009: 19). For this reason, the authors chose to centralise a case study of impact which focussed on the novel because it is 'a significant cultural practice' (ibid) as well as being marginalised in relation to broader concerns of impact in the arts. As a result, the approach to impact taken by Belfiore and Bennet (2008) encourages an academic curiosity toward impact evaluation that carefully considers a historical reflection on the framing of relationships between society and research. Furthermore, in choosing an underrepresented art form, the novel, the academics open discourses to include perspectives that are not often sought after.

In a similar sentiment to *Food for Thought*, Loiselle et al. (2005) outline a dissemination process with research which sought to reach out to healthcare providers and other stakeholders to communicate important breastfeeding knowledge. Although not impact evaluation research, publications such as this foreground the processes of dissemination that, it is hoped, lead to better impact. In a similar funding process to the *Food for Thought* project, a separate grant from the research funding was offered by the Quebec Social Research Council to support the resources required for the dissemination project. Although now similar to the ESRC (2019a; 2019b), these activities are expected to be incorporated into the costing of research (Loiselle et al. 2005: 26). Furthermore, the content of the dissemination activities was tailored to the diverse audience that the academics hoped to engage with, thus information differed according to whether hospital staff or community workers were being addressed.

Central for dissemination, were their intentions to '...move beyond passive, one way dissemination of research findings' (Loiselle et al. 2005: 28). To achieve this, the academics created workshops to engage with diverse stakeholders in which, firstly, the research findings were presented; secondly, an open group discussion of the findings was held; and thirdly, a list of actions were compiled in order to reach out to further groups. This sharing of the research knowledge returned local explanations to the reasons for observed social practices (in this case immigrant mothers supplementing their breastmilk with formula). Therefore, it is argued, the benefits for information exchange were mutual (Loiselle et al. 2005: 28). Evaluation sheets were completed by the 90 participants of the dissemination workshops in which it was

identified that this was the first opportunity they had to share breastfeeding practice issues with other professionals (Loiselle et al. 2005: 29). The researchers identified that engaging with practitioners enabled them to consider contextual nuance and perspectives from practice, adapting the findings in response. The researchers proposed stakeholder ownership of the findings as being one of the benefits of including practice in the process. This coincides with the endorsement of the ESRC (2015b) to include stakeholders in impact planning.

Concluding thoughts

This chapter sought to consider some of the broader environmental and historical factors that have shaped and are shaped by the impact agenda, including epistemology and philosophy, politics and economics which led to an exploration of research approaches to impact evaluation. What has been highlighted, is the importance of recognising impact as a cultural material which communicates value. Through a socio-historical lens, which leaned on some of the tenets of the Enlightenment period it was suggested that the language of impact might echo some of the ideas popularised by Bacon, Galileo and Descartes. However, there are key differences between the 17th and the 21st century. In particular, it is noted, the current UK neoliberal context is important to the way in which contemporary uses of measurement, evidence and proof contribute to framing the relationship between university and society in the impact agenda.

Building on this, the chapter explored the language(s) of impact considering the metaphor that belies the concept and the theoretical and practical perspectives that have grown from it. Exploring a few examples of different impact research designs, whilst not exhaustive, can help illuminate the ways in which language is shown to be important to the discourses around impact. Consequently, cases in which the choice of method limited the ways in which participants could linguistically engage with the impact agenda were noted, as well as some of the difficulties in a generic impact agenda which did not take in to account the differences between disciplines. However, previous research on impact offers valuable lessons for this doctoral study to reflect on, particularly around language and method.

This leads to the next chapter which looks to use theoretical resources to explore impact research which centralises the lived experiences for those involved, focusing on the diverse language in which participants detail academic/practice relationships.

CHAPTER THREE. THEORETICAL RESOURCES

Exploring language: a journey through and beyond Bakhtin

Bakhtin's philosophical work on the public life of language can help illustrate important social tensions that are played out in and through language. Building on the previous chapter that ended by observing a relationship between methodological choice and the ways impact success and research use can be framed, it is considered important to unpack the ways in which value can be communicated through language. This can help to better understand the lived experience of impact for academics and carers working with looked after children.

Although *The Dialogic Imagination* focuses on philosophising about literary theory in the novel, it is argued that '... at the highest level of (quite hair-raising) abstraction, what can only uneasily be called "Bakhtin's philosophy" is a pragmatically orientated theory of knowledge' (Holquist 1990: 15), using literary criticism as a way of doing philosophy.

This chapter outlines some of key ideas that feature in Bakhtin's writing and what they offer to this doctoral research project. It is argued that heteroglossia, centripetal/centrifugal forces and authority/internally persuasive discourses are all concepts that can help re-view impact, centralising plurality, self/other relationships and emphasising context. Although Bakhtin initiated a journey into impact through language, he is not used as a framework. Instead, he encouraged a consideration of the underlying values that the impact agenda seems to suggest. Thus, the second part to this chapter considers how space/time and the body, themes that emerged from both the research data and the literature, are discussed by both Bakhtin and scholars from different disciplines. This enables the diverse experiences of impact for those involved to be expressed in diverse ways.

Heteroglossia

Sensitive to the plurality of language Bakhtin (1981) uses the term heteroglossia to demonstrate the unstable and contested nature of language. From the Latin 'hetero' meaning different and 'glossia' signifying tongue, the concept regards the coexistence of distinct variations both across (polyglossia) and within languages (heteroglossia), as an example that '... language is alive and developing' (Bakhtin 1981: 272). Deriving from this view, is the 'multiaccentuality of the sign' (Dentith 1995: 22), which emphasises language as an interpretative process, sensitive to context and in particular to the relationship between object-word-speaking subject (Bakhtin 1981: 276). This perspective posits that language is not

inherited, but alive and social and encourages a view of impact that engages with multiple stakeholders in order to understand impact as dialogical.

An extension of dialogism, is the existential necessity of 'the other'. This is explicit in his explanation that language '... lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's' (Bakhtin 1981: 293). It is important to note that othering in Bakhtin's work is far removed from way it is critiqued in the social sciences. Instead self and other should be read as existential necessities in the act of being. To elaborate, 'dialogue is the embodied, intercorporeal, expression of the involvement of one's body [...] with the body of the other' (Ponzio: 268), hence an emphasis on meaning making in language as existing in the interconnectedness between self/other. For impact evaluation research then, both language and self/other actors offer interesting opportunities to better understand the lived experience of impact as embodied and relational, rather than the rational and isolated economical frameworks previously used.

It is suggested then, that languages do not exist in isolation, but both intersect and diverge in relation to other languages. As a result, they shine a light on each other's existence. The impact of encountering other languages does not have to be some quantitative, linguistic or behavioural change. As Bakhtin explains

... under these conditions of external and internal interillumination, each given language – even if its linguistic composition (phonetics, vocabulary, morphology, etc.) were to remain absolutely unchanged – is as it were, reborn, becoming qualitatively a different thing for the consciousness that creates in it.

Bakhtin (1981: 291)

Here, Bakhtin's explanation of languages suggests the subtle ways in which encountering the other might encourage a difference that is not quantifiable, intimating the possibility of the relationship between language and consciousness. This observation might offer an alternative way of imagining impact that does not necessitate measureable change, instead foregrounding consciousness and self in relation to other.

Other scholars have considered the merits of taking a heteroglossic approach to understanding social phenomena. For some, the concept facilitates 'the democratic ideal of language use' (Pillar 2001: 158) accentuating the political potential of language. Tied to this Baxter, who advocates the possibility heteroglossia affords to challenge dominant discourses:

While the dominant discourse strives to make a given sign, such as 'woman', uni-accentual and endowed with an eternal, reified character, resistant discourses rise up to challenge and disrupt conventional understandings offering multi-accentual readings

Baxter (2003: 70)

Both Pillar (2001) and Baxter (2003) reflect on the ways in which heteroglossia and dialogism can contribute to political ideas which consider and incorporate diverse opinions. Gales (2011: 30) takes a slightly different approach, reading a time/space component to heteroglossia in which 'the voices of others – past, present, and future – are acknowledged', which she foresees as 'opening the door to debate, discussion and negotiation of power'. Each of these ways of using heteroglossia in academic work suggests that language work can be political, considering whose voice is salient in dominant discourses, and whose is marginalised. These are important questions in this doctoral research as it is suggested that the voices of those who experience impact most intimately, in this case academics and carers of looked after children, are little heard in much of the impact evaluation literature.

Centripetal/centrifugal forces

The idea of centripetal and centrifugal forces in language builds on some key strands of heteroglossia. Each word uttered by a speaker is subject to centripetal forces which centre and unify language and centrifugal forces which decentre and destabilise meaning, drawing from lived experience. Bakhtin (1981: 271) writes that '... the centripetal forces of the life of language, embodied in a "unitary language," operate in the midst of heteroglossia'. The former, unitary centripetal language must constantly be asserted over time in order to be accepted as legitimate. However, the unity of language can only be meaningfully understood 'in relation to actual lived experience, where [it is] not only validated and reinforced, but also challenged and repudiated' (Volek 2014: 202) by the socially striated heteroglot. Bakhtin's view of language was an important critic of Saussure's structural linguistics (Krasny 2002: 15) and rejected binary opposites in favour of the dynamism of dialogism.

An illustrative example of a way in which centripetal and centrifugal forces of language have been used, is Montoya's (2000) research on silence, silencing and race in the law school classroom. In this research she addresses the relationship between silence (an action drawn from the lived experience of racism) and silencing (a unified understanding of language which narrows meaning). This results in urging scholars to re-view silence as a type of communication and to 'inquire into its meanings' (Montoya 2000: 327), in order to challenge the use of silence

as it is limited by centripetal forces. Importantly, silence as a centrifugal act and silencing as a centripetal force are not considered dichotomously, instead the struggle is depicted as reciprocal and eternal (see Figure 3).

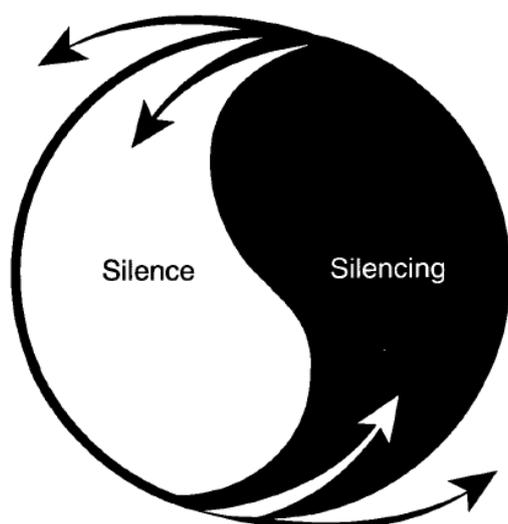


Figure 3 Silence/silencing, ying/yang (Montoya 2000: 326)

Attention to centripetal and centrifugal forces in the impact agenda facilitates a better inclusion of the voices that might be marginalised by language which focuses on impact outcomes that are measurable. Centrifugally focussed languages facilitate a better understanding of the lived experience of impact, in this case in the context of looked after children, and the heteroglossic ways in which both academics and practitioners involved inhabit the impact agenda. Also highlighted, is the position of social structures in development and maintenance of centralised language.

The authoritative word and internally persuasive discourse

Another struggle that emerges from an attention to language as it is proposed by Bakhtin, is the authoritative word and the internally persuasive discourse. Internally persuasive discourse is open and infinite. In this openness is the ability 'to reveal ever newer ways to mean' (Bakhtin 1981: 346). Authoritative word however, is 'sealed off' (Bakhtin 1981: 287), connected to the past it is knowledge inherited from our forefathers and considered 'not only superior (why else would we continue to adopt it?) but ready-made and thus complete' (Volek 2014: 233).

Authority in this sense is not as much about power as it is about a structuralist construction of language as stable, and closed (Vološinov 1973: 57) However, as with self/other and

centripetal and centrifugal forces, the authoritative word and internally persuasive discourses should not be considered as binary terms, nor necessarily mutually exclusive. However, more often than not, according to Bakhtin, the individual realises their ideological self in the tension between the two.

There are many examples of academics employing the concepts of the authoritative word and internally persuasive discourse in education research. Aggarwal (2015) highlights the differences between the two by observing that the latter encourages a critical approach to new knowledge, and a 'layering of thought' which contributes to the developing self (ibid: 100). The former, however, promotes singular explanations, without encouraging the listener to think (ibid: 106). Furthermore, Matsusov and van Duyke (2009: 197) highlight the potential for internally persuasive discourses in education to have an ethical element, in which the self becomes conscious of itself in relation to other(s).

For the purpose of this doctoral research, Bakhtin's discussion of internally persuasive discourse and the authoritative word can help illustrate the complex ways in which the relationship between academics and carers of looked after children play out in exchanging knowledge. This enables the discussion of impact to consider some of the taken for granted language around measurement, proof and evidence. Centralised, then, are the experiences of those involved in the impact agenda as the participants navigate 'different ideas carried by different voices' (Aggarwal 2015: 100), as well as the centralised language of measurement and evidence.

Thus, it is suggested that Bakhtin provides an interesting point of departure for a research project which is interested in the lived experience of impact. Exploring Bakhtin's approach to language highlights

There are no neutral words [...] language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents [...] All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work [...] the day the hour

Bakhtin (1981: 293)

Thus, although Holquist (1990: 428) posits a reading of the novel as 'that locus where centripetal and centrifugal forces collide', I argue for the PhD as fertile conditions for a similar such collision. As such, Bakhtin is employed as a 'starting point' rather than an end to achieve, that is to say that the language and concepts that are outlined initiate a reading of impact that breeds a discussion around 'impact possibilities'. In light of this, and inspired by Bakhtin's

opening of language, the thesis explores the extent to which metaphors might enable a different relationship between academia/practice than the foundations offered by economic frameworks. The intention of this approach, a Bakhtin approach, is to ‘... lift discourse off the page and pull it to life’ (Smith 1998: 63).

Metaphor

As previously noted, reading Bakhtin has centralised the role of language in the impact agenda in this doctoral research project. The connection between language and value that is made as a result, encouraged a questioning of the stability of the language of impact, as well as encouraging an interrogation of whose voices are marginalised by some of the centralised discourse. Consequently, this section builds on the previous by considering time/space and the body as ways of re-viewing the impact agenda as they emerged from the (hi)stories told by the participants, as well as ‘... the experience, knowledge textual sources and the author’s own ideas and imaginings to bring something into existence’ (Kelly 2011: 430).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 128) note ‘... the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the most fundamental concepts in the culture’ which suggests that language and social values are closely interwoven concepts. This is reinforced by the Greek translation of metaphor which means “‘carrying from one place to another” (Kelly 2011: 430). Thus, it could be argued that the emphasis of the impact agenda, as explored earlier in Chapter Two, on economic transactional relationships is part of a wider, neoliberal context that posits capitalist values. The metaphors used in this thesis are employed as a way of understanding one phenomenon (the lived experience of the impact agenda) in light of corporeal experiences of architecture, music and the environment. Thus, architecture serves to imply that official language, what can also be called centripetal forces, creates symbolic spaces which are inhabited by everyday movements. Time and music bind to create rhythms, creating a qualitative feel of the everyday that can, variously, synchronise with others and the environment, or beat alone. A consequence of this approach is the potential to reframe terminology, such as ‘impact success’ and ‘research use’.

It is noted, however, that metaphors ‘... provide coherent structure, highlighting some things and hiding others’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 128). This act of partial-silencing is potentially problematic. In response it is noted that one of the aims of this research is to explore the relationship between value and language in the context of academic impact with practitioners of looked after children. Thus, the research does not position itself in terms of ‘better’ or

‘worse’ at discovering the reality of impact, rather it critically reflects on what societies value, and how that value is expressed by different actors, in this case academics and carers working with looked after children, in the impact agenda. Of additional interest, is if/how languages adapt and change across local, national and international contexts.

The next section is a bricolage of ideas around space/time and the body which are initially discussed through the lens of Bakhtin. Thereafter, ideas from different disciplines are explored to assemble impact using the metaphors of architecture, music and the body.

Space/Time

Bakhtin's space and time

A discernible feature of the beginning of the 20th century was the move from ‘... atomism to holism – the theory that parts of a whole are intimately interconnected and cannot be understood without reference to the whole’ (Tarvi 2015: 208). Bakhtin fused these scientific developments to the cultural realm of philosophy and literature which resulted in ‘a novelistic universe that also takes into consideration the lack of an objective, absolute point of view’ (Stone 2008: 406) and encouraging a reading of Bakhtin that is striated with Einstein’s epistemology imbuing ‘polyphony with a post relativity understanding of subjectivity’ (ibid: 406). In sum, Bakhtin calls on the chronotope – which he defines as

In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused in to one carefully thought-out concrete whole. Time as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history

Bakhtin (1981: 84)

Consequently, Bakhtin argues that space and time, in narrative, is the foundation of social perspicuity; they are motifs present in language which are indicative of social values. For the purpose of this doctoral research project space and time are useful tools to better understand the ways in which academics and practitioners navigate policies that are pushing them together.

Beyond Bakhtin: Space

It is proposed that there is an interconnectivity between language, buildings and the body (Onians 2016). Accordingly, using architecture as a metaphor provides an opportunity to

explore the relationship between the university and society as it shapes and is shaped by the social environment. As the literature suggests 'we exist and act through walled cities, containing spaces that curve around us, giving us context. Permeable barriers surround us, sometimes noticeably, more often taken for granted' (Keenan 2017: 5). In which case it seems pertinent to ask what physical and imagined barriers exist in the landscape between the university and practice with looked after children, and how do academics and practitioners encounter these. Architecture has its mathematical elements, the search for precision and fear of error (Hughes 2014: 1). However, what is of central interest here is the social life of buildings as they become inhabited and the way that people and buildings shape each other through the everyday (Handa 2015), and with an ecological awareness (Orr 1993).

Previous scholars have referred to architecture in discussions on impact, but this has been in passing. Smith and Stewart (2017: 117) speak of the 'institutional architecture' of impact, as a result envisaging academic practices that are fixed and dictated by a centralised agenda. In this way, academics appear to be portrayed as passive actors. Contrariwise the use of architecture in this doctoral research posits both academics and carers of looked after children as actively inhabiting the impact architecture. Laing et al. (2018: 172) note the ways in which impact is changing the social and economic role of the university, resulting in '[M]any universities nationally and internationally [...] developing a range of institutional architectures for engaging with societal challenges'. Although Laing et al. (2018) do not centralise architecture in their argument they highlight the dialogue between national and international pressure to be a global university, emphasised by the impact agenda.

Elsewhere Shapin (2012) connects attitudes towards the university and the increased use of 'the ivory tower' to intimate popular views of the relationship between the university and society. He notes an attitudinal shift regarding the position of academia in the social landscape between academia and society throughout the twentieth century, citing the context of World War One and World War Two as key socio-historical factors. His focus on the language used to refer to the spatiality of academia is justified as: '... you could say that the cultural geography of Ivory Tower usages track changes in the recognised social value of different intellectual practices' (Shapin 2012: 25). Shapin (2012: 8) suggests that the first questions of instrumentalism in literature and the creative arts, which later extended to universities, was, in part, a response to the fascist use of art to propel their cause in the late 1920s. Thus, academics in the States were called upon to leave their 'ivory tower' a term used in order to express 'anti-elitist statements' in the States, in order to aid the fight against fascism (ibid: 4). Considering the trajectory of the term in Britain, Shapin (2012: 4) observes that there was a

slower uptake, but by the end of World War Two referring to the university as an 'ivory tower' was also common.

Beyond Bakhtin: Time

Contemporary scholars have argued that clock time has a tendency to go 'unseen' in conceptualisations of time, its ubiquitous tick-tock perceived as objective (Bastian 2017). There are arguments from 'modern philosophers', such as Kant, (Gilson and Langan 1963) as well as more contemporary efforts (Adam 1990; Alhadeff-Jones 2017; Hall 1984; Huebener 2018; Thompson 1967) to push for an understanding of time that is neither impartial nor inevitable. As well as theoretical interests in time, it has been highlighted as underappreciated in the context of social care in the UK (Colley et al. 2012; Yuill and Mueller 2018) and further afield (Fahlgreen 2009; Hirvonen and Husso 2012). Once it has been established that time is not neutral (Alhadeff-Jones 2017; Bastian 2017; Heubener 2018), it can be considered in relation to being as it 'thickens, takes on flesh' (Bakhtin 1981: 84).

A historic understanding of temporal discourses highlights the connection between time and value. For example, it has been noted that Aristotle's approach to describing nature might seem odd to today's reader, as it was based on ethical values transmitted through language where before was superior to after, and left and right were subject to hierarchies (Ghiselin 1971). Holquist (1990: 156) recognises that, from a twentieth century point of view, Aristotle's combination of time/space and *value* is problematic particularly for its lack of critical reflexivity. Thus, interrogating current time practices in relation to value is important in order to understand the heteroglossic temporalities that exist in academia and in practice with looked after children.

Following Fraser's (1994: 4) argument that an individual exists within 'a constellation of beliefs regarding future, past and present' which are understood in relation to 'change and permanence'; temporalities are explored to understand the extent to which the different values across political time, economic time and material time condition the experiences of academic/practitioner relationships. In the context of relationships between academia and practice, it is of interest to note the relationship between different values ascribed to change. Thus, one of the aims of this research is to better understand how differing timeframes condition the relationship between academia and practice, asking visible complex chronologies rather than assuming linearity (Holmwood 2011; Mayntz 1997) and responding to Bakhtin's (1981) questioning of whose voice can be heard, through an exploration of what times, discursively, are made possible (Huebener 2018).

Chronopolitics is concerned with the link between time-perspectives and political decision-making (Wallis 1970: 102). Centralising the lived experience of time in relation to impact is, in part, about temporal negotiations between academics and practitioners, emphasising the struggle between macro-rhythms manifested in centripetal language of urgency and priority, and micro-rhythms in which food practices focus on localised and biographic temporalities. Colebrook (2017: 105) argues that capitalist time 'is insistently linear, ever-expanding, intent on 'progress' [...] and presents this forward movement as inevitable, natural, proper and post-ideological'. To understand progress, the brainchild of the Enlightenment and hallmark of modernity (Zerubavel 2003: 15), is to understand the centralised 'commitment to the new or, more precisely, to an endless process of renewal' (Taylor 2014: 160). This future driven rhetoric holds important implications for academics and those working with looked after children, through the categorisation of priority topics often dictated by centripetal forces. Tied to these priorities are resources, including time and money. What does this mean for research that responds to the micro-rhythms of care?

Linked to political time, is economic time. It has been claimed that precise clock time, also referred to in the literature as abstract time (Colley et al. 2012), was extended as a result of the industrial revolution (Thompson 1967: 63). The shift in irregular to regular labour rhythms and work patterns, ushered in by the industrial revolution, consolidated a division between temporalities between employers and employees in terms of how it was *spent* (Thompson 1967: 61). This reinforces the salience of the metaphor 'time is money' which has the effect of binding the value of time to economics; commoditised and framed in terms of exchange value rather than use value (Wilson 1999). This leads to difficulty in drawing boundaries around work time for academics and carers of looked after children, particularly in cases where 'work means so much more to people that the relatively straightforward business of getting paid for selling one's labour' (Schumacher 2011[1973]: ix). Using these discussions to frame the experiences of those involved in *Food for Thought* highlights the impact of economic time on working rhythms. The implications also extend to the learning space, an opportunity for academia and practice to come together, which, read through a cost-benefit lens, also reduces the relationship between academia and practice to exchange value.

It is argued that one of the consequences of a managerial-technicist approach, one which has dominated social service departments more generally since the mid-20th century, focuses on exchange value and material outputs (Harlow 2003), both in academia and practice with looked after children. Using a case study approach enables a nuanced understanding of the materiality of time for both academics and practitioners. Thus, one way to envisage the

resources of *Food for Thought* is to categorise them in to material outputs (physical paperwork) and relational outputs (workshops) to better understand how they are used in the day to day rhythms of the participants.

Body

Bakhtin's body

Bakhtin's philosophical ponderings on the body are best understood through a reading of his text on *Rabelais* (Bakhtin 1984 [1940]). Scholars have observed that Bakhtin's view of the body changes across his different texts (Tihanov 2012). In *Author and Hero* (1990 [c. 1920 – 1923]), Bakhtin speaks of the separate internal and external body, in which the value of the latter has 'a borrowed character: it is constructed by me, but is not experienced by me in any unmediated way' (Bakhtin 1990 [c.1920 – 1923]: 49). In this way it might be argued that the construction of the body mimics that of his construction of language which is incomplete without the other (1981: 293), it has both an individual and social character. However, as Tihanov (2012: 168) notes, in *Author and Hero*, Bakhtin proposes that the entanglement of the ethical and the aesthetic can only be realised through an imaginative act of the arts in which 'being detached from life, this act becomes suspiciously pure' (ibid: 168). In *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* Vološinov (1986 [1929]: 9. Emphasis in the original) argues '*without signs there is no ideology. A physical body equates itself, so to speak; it does not signify anything but wholly coincides with its particular*'. Extending this line of thought, it could be said that Bakhtin proposes the body as individual and not linked to the collective.

In *Rabelais and His World* (1984 [1940]), Bakhtin has once more shifted position and the body 'is already a symbol: it stands on its own, performing the reassuringly healthy functions of everybody, but it also points to a transcendental togetherness' (Tihanov 2012: 172). Mazour-Matusevich (2009: 3) attributed this emphasis on the collective as a certain reading of Nietzsche. Influenced by the 1930s, a period when the Russian officials were waging war on the impure body in literature, *Rabelais* represents the last point in time in which the language of literature was synchronised with bodily impulses, before 'an increasingly puritanical canon' initiated by the Renaissance (Holquist 1982: 16). This resulting in the body in literature being censored. This suggests that both the content and context of Bakhtin's deliberation of the body offer depth to considering the body as a theoretical object of interest, as well as, contextually, a political object in the way centripetal forces normalise certain language in relation to the body. This latter point is emphasised by his resistance to official Renaissance culture which sought to flatten the body:

All things in the universe, from heavenly bodies to elements, had left their former place in their hierarchy and moved to the single horizontal plane of the world of becoming [...] The center around which these perturbations took place was precisely the human body

Bakhtin (1984 [1940]: 365)

Despite the various ways in which Bakhtin imagines the body across different texts, they are united in the relative position between the individual and the social. As a result, the body is imagined as both individual and collective, a potential site of tension where social structures mediate the individual experience. This enables the doctoral research to consider embodiment in the experience of impact.

Beyond Bakhtin

The self as embodied is an idea that can be traced back to Vico (1990 [1744]). Drawing on this and arguments for a view of the body as a site of knowledge it is proposed that the experience of impact can be an embodied and particular experience. It extends from the view that evaluation is not external to our experience of being in the world (Schwandt 2000) and the acknowledgement that mind is '*intimately* embodied and *intimately* embedded in this world' (Haugeland 1998: 236).

For Garfat, in the context of looked after children, considering the environment includes the different cultures noting

... In a sense, Child and Youth Care, like all helping professions, involves the encounter of cultures [...] The culture of the young person and family, the culture of the dominant society, the culture of the program in the organisation, and the culture of the work all impinge on the intervention process

Garfat (2004: 9)

This encourages an acknowledgement of the workplace as cultured and care for children becomes understood as situated between the social discourses of care, and individual experiences of caregiving and receiving. This challenges the view that there exists a 'strict division of human activities and work in to physical and intellectual categories' (Pallasmaa 2009: 11). Consequently, it is possible to respond to Lingis's (2001: 61) critique of modern society which is 'society of alienation, not only alienating man from the instruments and resources of his labour and from the fruits of his labour, but also alienating him from his own

body parts'. This is done through a view of working identities in which, 'workers' identities are not incidental to the work but are an integral part of it' (Leidner 1993: 155).

Foregrounding the body has two consequences, firstly, an acknowledgment of habits. Although Noë (2009: 107) proposes the view that '... our linguistic worlds [...] run along trails made through repeated walking. And as with walking, it is hard to step off the trail'. These observations echo some of Bakhtin's ideas in which the individual is realising him/herself within centripetally driven linguistic forces (which we might imagine being the well walked trail). However, it furthers the location of the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces as within the body, in relation to environmental factors. Noë highlights the Janus like qualities of bodily habits, that they can be interpreted negatively – such as smoking, or chewing with your mouth open, in which 'habitual action is thoughtless and uncontrolled' (Noë 2009: 117). However, they can also be positive, as

... the foundation of skill. This claim is obvious in sports and music, where training – repetition and drill – is the concrete foundation on which the structure of play gets erected. But this is no less true in obviously intellectual endeavours

Noë (2009: 118)

Foregrounded then is the context in which habits develop: '[A] habit is like a trail laid down by our repetitive action [...] it is a responsiveness to the environment in which we find ourselves' (Noë 2009: 125).

A second consequence of centralising the body draws on both Garfat and Noë in order to enable the discussion of impact to extend beyond the view of impact as a cognitive exchange between practitioners and academics to consider the body in relation to the environment. Considering the implications for this for those caring for looked after children, Garfat mirrors Bakhtin in his consideration of self/other, in which relationship(s) that are cultivated in the linguistic space *between* require self-reflection on the trail of our habits: 'attending to and understanding our own processes as well as that of the people with whom we work helps us to understand our responses to one another' (2004: 15). Arguably, a possible space that facilitates this reflection in practice with looked after children, is the learning space.

In adult education the learning space is highlighted as an emotional space. Sodhi and Cohen (2012: 129), speaking in the case of social work, argue for an acknowledgement of the 'mind, body, and feelings in concert in their social work practices'. Furthermore, Allen and Friedman (2010: 1) associate affective learning as a vehicle to transmit social work 'values, ethics and

aesthetics'. As a result, and tying back to earlier comments that regard the entanglement between the labour of care and the body, learning is advocated as a personal journey, a process rather than a destination as suggested by advocates of Bildung (Fuhr 2017).

Concluding thoughts

This chapter has proposed that a view of impact that centralises language reveals social tensions and values. Some of Bakhtin's key concepts were explored in relation to their potential to open up impact discourses to some of the principles of dialogism and include the heteroglossia of impact as a lived experience. Ultimately, this enables the doctoral research to consider the plurality of impact, whilst reflecting on self/other relations and consciousness, the role of social structures in reinforcing centralised languages and the struggle between language as a closed and stable structure and an open and unbounded experience.

As previously mentioned, the work of Bakhtin should not be considered as the foundations of this doctoral research but an exploration of what is possible when the role of language is centralised. It is then posited that impact be viewed, as it has elsewhere (Hammersley 2014: 346), as a metaphor. Therein lies an opportunity to re-view the impact agenda through architecture, music and the body. As a result, impact becomes inhabited, rhythmic and somatic.

The following chapter outlines the methodological design of this doctoral research project.

CHAPTER FOUR. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study is underpinned by qualitative research philosophy and values, characterised methodologically by its case study design and emphasis on personal (hi)stories¹⁴ through narrative enquiry. Reflecting on these foundations, a mixture of primary and secondary data analysis was viewed as facilitating an exploration of stories of exchange, rather than engaging with more traditional measures of research impact to frame the journey (as Chubb 2017; Holzer et al. 2007). This chapter limns the research design taking in to consideration the major epistemological and axiological foundations that underpin the research. The focus then turns on how these theoretical supports, qualitative narrative inquiry through case study, build up a practical guide for collecting and analysing the different data-sets (secondary and primary). Finally, research/er ethics are reflected upon.

The overall preoccupation of the PhD project was to consider what impact research would look like if measurability were not the focus. Or, in other words, the research was an attempt to contribute to the literature which, borrowing the term from Sousanis (2015), seeks an ‘unflattening’ of the world. Underpinning this are the following research questions:

1. Using the example of food and food practices research, how do academics make sense of and negotiate the research impact agenda?
2. How do those caring for looked after children narrate their experience of research in practice, using the lens of food and food practices?
3. Considering food and food practices, how is research communicated and adapted across local, national and international contexts?

As identified in Chapter Two and Three, this research project is in harmony with an interpretive philosophy framework which denies knowledge as coterminous across different peoples, academic disciplines and times. Instead, knowing is in constant negotiation and construction between time, space, people and objects (Crotty 1998). This allows a different perspective on the topic to be explored compared to previous research, but also carves a space for reflection on the process of that exploration and my presence as the primary

¹⁴ (hi)stories, in this context is two-fold. Firstly it is used in order to retain a view of my participants as human, as opposed to referring to them as ‘data’. Secondly it highlights research as a snapshot in space/time for my participants, rather than portraying their views as static and stable.

research tool. Thus, the sustaining premise from which this research develops is that those working with looked after children – in academia or practice based – are not passive entities fulfilling policy obligations. By drawing out the tensions in enacting impact and in a context of care, a modest space is created to be filled by the participants of the study.

Study design

Qualitative research

The most prominent characteristic of this research is that it is qualitative in design, seeking to further understand the experience of research in practice from the perspectives of those involved in the impact journey. As such, it stands steady in the constructivist camp rejecting objective claims of certainty in favour of the ‘murky swampland’ (Schön 1996: 17). This section explores how some key aspects of qualitative research contributed to this doctoral project, considering too some of the difficulties that might arise as a result of choosing such an approach.

The complications of trying to study and capture impact have been noted by Cooper and Levin (2010); however, their concern is in regard to establishing clear measurable variables. This doctoral research creates a more in-depth approach to explore impact, engaging in dialogue those involved in the journey, from researcher to front-line practitioner, as active architects of impact. In doing so, the PhD responds to criticisms levied on the uni-directional implications that the policies, in written form, have been accused of inferring (Pardoe 2011). Although giving voice to participants is a complex topic (Rojas et al. 2013), what this research aims for is a space to better understand impact as it is recounted rather than as it is assumed to be consumed. This re-framing of the ‘impact problem’ in the context of looked after children facilitates a consideration of how different participants, across different roles in the looked after children sector, see themselves and how they perceive others to see them; a collision of worlds only sporadically drawn on in presently available literature. A qualitative research framework enables the research participants to imbue the topic with life and language derived from values the participants cherish as a community working for looked after children.

A further aim is to explore what Geertz (1973) calls ‘thick descriptions’ which are rich and in-depth portrayals of phenomena, in this case, impact. This position is considered in opposition to the ‘impact deficit’ discourse of social work/sociology research in practice. The idea of impact deficit draws parallels from discussions raised by Walter and Anderson (2013: 21) and ‘indigenous deficit’. In this case, the term refers to the comparison of social science research

and STEM subjects in terms of impact, in which the former is measured as lower than the latter (for example Bastow et al. 2014), often on the basis of instrumental understandings of research use (Amara et al. 2004). Central to this doctoral project is the view that research under the auspices of social science does impact on the context of looked after children, yet the basis of this contribution cannot be subsumed under the same variables and attribution characteristics as STEM subjects; some politically charged questions about social interactions are beyond the scope of economic frameworks. The aims of this research do not lay any claims to encompassing the entire impact discourse or work to narrow performance-based outputs, instead it seeks to further understand the more nuanced and relational characteristics as discussed by the participants.

Observing a tension between new ideas and concurrent paradigms is nothing new (see Kuhn 1962; Schwandt 1997); but drawing on this work can help emphasise role of the social environment in providing fertile ground to some ideas and not others. An additional benefit of a qualitative approach to researching impact is the ability to highlight contextual elements which situate knowledge within a certain place and time (as identified by feminist researchers such as Harding 1991 and Rose 1997). The impact policy, in order to be understood in depth, cannot be abstracted from the socio-political. Thus, for the purpose of this research, context is of interest in two different ways; firstly in understanding the environ which conceived the impact agenda. Secondly, how the agendas are performed. The research is political in orientation as it engages with language, epistemology and authority (Hammersley 1995), centralising the impact (hi)stories of the participants as they realise themselves within the context of the centripetally dominated language (Bakhtin 1981) of impact.

Although the benefits of a qualitative approach is a strength of this research, it is also important to critically reflect on the less desirable effects. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015: 96) discuss the problem of intimacy in qualitative research which can elicit more information from a participant than intended. This is framed by Arvidson (2013) as a friction between the aims of the qualitative research/er to draw out an individual's personal experiences whilst respecting their privacy. The implication is that later on, participants might consider they divulged too much in the exchange. This can create a tension between a researcher's duties of care and research integrity; an interplay between researcher's responsibility not to cause harm to his/her participant, and the social responsibility of creating research that upholds the integrity of its corresponding discipline and contributes to public knowledge. These are ethical considerations that require continuous reflexive practice from start to finish of the research process on part of the researcher (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015), in order carefully balance

competing needs and interests of everyone involved. Additional measures, such as constant renewal of informed consent (further discussed in 'Vulnerable Groups') can also help to ensure that no harm, emotional or physical, is caused as a result of taking part in this research project. Other criticisms of qualitative research include the perceived problem of subjectivity (Bryman 2012: 460). It was posited earlier in Chapter Three that existence is a dialogical experience between self/other, this also applies to the relationship between the researcher/research. Kaczmarczyk warns that

... [D]ialogue poses a theoretical problem: being focussed on one's own thought enhances narratives that harmonise with the paths of action taken in the past and makes them unquestionable while they may be precisely what poses a problem

Kaczmarczyk (2016: 3)

Key to this is a reflective research practice which challenges the researcher to consider their positionality, as advocated by feminist scholars (England 1994) (for more on this please see 'Further Ethical Considerations' below).

Thus, it is argued that a qualitative research framework allows an inquiry of impact which is sensitive to the lived experiences of those involved in the journey. This is necessary in order to gather a better understanding of the topic as it is understood in the context of looked after children, rather than in abstraction (Bryman et al. 1996). By creating a space for the participants to tell their (hi)stories, the complexity of identities, relationships and language are celebrated. All of this action takes place within a particular social environment, one which is considered to be the stage upon which the impact agenda is performed. As such, context deserves careful consideration as part of the way in which the research/practice (hi)stories unfold. Despite the contributions that a qualitative framework proffers, it is also important that the implications in practice are carefully considered and the correct structures are in place to be able to attend to any potential for harm.

Building on foundations that stress the importance of the lived experience of social phenomena, it is posited that a case study format is beneficial for several reasons, partly because of the characteristics of the approach, but also as a result of the case study that has been chosen. A more specific detailed reasoning is elaborated in the next section, with additional consideration for any complications that may arise.

Case study approach

A case study research design offers multiple possibilities, for both quantitative and qualitative research as well as multidisciplinary work (Harrison et al. 2017). Case study research has been popular in anthropology, sociology, history and psychology (Bassey 1999: 22), as well as organisational studies (Kohlbacher 2006: 6). Yin (2012: 5) highlights two circumstances that lend themselves to case study research: a descriptive or an explanatory research question and research which locates phenomenon in its context, as well as noting that, increasingly, it is being used in evaluation research. In some instances, cases will also be chosen on the basis of access, given that research activities are almost always time and resource bound (Stake 1995: 4). Exactly what a 'case' consists of can vary, including a single community or organisation, school, family, person or event (Bryman 2012: 67). Furthermore, it has been argued that case study is not a method but a strategy to approach research which can encompass many methods, such as ethnography, interviews, participant observation, surveys (Hartley 2004; Gilham 2000) as well as incorporating various different courses (Yin 2003: 13). An intrinsic case study, as outlined by Stake (1995: 3), is of interest because of its particularity rather than any connection to a general issue. On the other hand, instrumental case studies are used because of their relation to something wider than the case in hand.

Bastow et al. (2014) illustrate, using a mixed methods approach, the difficulty of holding diverse academic disciplines to the same measurements of impact, as a result of the different ways in which research can be used. Thus by using a qualitative case study approach to impact this research proposes to problematize some of these impact categories, linked to measureability, and re-present impact using the qualitative (hi)stories of those involved in *Food for Thought* impact processes (which could be viewed as a follow up study to the dissemination process discussed by Loiselle et al. 2005). At the time of designing this research project there was little research available with a qualitative case study design, and so using *Food for Thought* as a case study offered an opportunity to explore impact not to '...test a well-formulated theory' (Yin 2009: 50), but to ask questions of the ways in which previous research has engaged with impact.

Food for Thought was an appropriate case study for impact for multiple reasons. Firstly, the opportunity arose from a prior relationship with one of the key academics, facilitating access to secondary data as well as details of participants for primary data fieldwork (see Hinds et al. 1997 for further discussion on the ethics of this). Additionally, *Food for Thought* was an inherently interesting example of impact (Bryman 2012: 69), it took a thought-provoking

approach and could engage with the perspectives of both academics and practitioners in processes of operationalisation. Research from a qualitative tradition, it has been noted, foregrounds the interconnectivity of social phenomena, which results in an entanglement of ‘...temporal and spatial, historical, political, economic, cultural, social, and personal’ (Stake 1995: 43). Thus, *Food for Thought* offered the opportunity to work with both primary and secondary data, both internationally and interdisciplinary and was of interest for its depth, rather than being concerned with the argument that a greater number of cases would make the research findings more convincing (Yin 2009: 54).

In this doctoral research, a case study approach is employed in order to explore an example of academic researchers communicating their research to practice with looked after children. It builds on previous scholars observations that case studies are appropriate to study ‘complex narratives or practices’ (Mason 2002: 166), in this context narratives and practices regarding the impact agenda. In choosing this approach, there is an emphasis on capturing dynamic interpersonal relationships and the symbolism of human interaction (Blumer 1962).

Additionally, in order for this project to fully explore the themes outlined in Chapter Two and Three, a case study provides the best platform to generate in-depth (as opposed to broad) data on the lived experience of impact in academic and practicing communities (see for example Yin 2009; Thomas 2011), and how it relates to the socio-political landscape of the context (Yin 2009). This complemented the research intention to explore the relational aspects of impact and understand (hi)stories of exchange, and what that means for those involved.

Stake (1995) identifies different roles that the researcher of a case study inquiry can assume: teacher, advocate, evaluator, biographer or interpreter. Using the work of Magritte to explore the idea of the researcher as interpreter, Stake (1995: 97 – 99) elucidates the artists capacity to juxtapose ideas in such a way as to encourage a reviewing of assumed knowledge. In this instance, taking such a stance is to encourage a new understanding of what impact research could look like (Stake 1995: 99). This way of imagining the role of the researcher in case study research, combined with an interest in the (hi)stories of impact and their relationship to broader socio-political narratives, best describes the way I perceive my role in the process of telling these particular stories.

Food for Thought

As previously outlined in Chapter One, *Food for Thought* was grounded in research based in children’s residential care homes in Scotland between 2006 and 2009, looking at food and care. The impetus for the *Food Practices in an Institutional Context: Children, Care and Control*,

(FaCS) was informed by and built on previous work from one of the researchers involved. The objectives were identified by Punch et al. (2009a: 152) as observing ‘...the dynamics that existed between carers and children around food over time’, as well as ‘...gaining an understanding of these dynamics and the meaning given by the children and adults to these interactions with and around food’. Punch et al. (2009b: 4) explain that the FaCS considered food as a symbol that could be used to represent other things, such as thoughts and feelings.

Scottish academics centralised the symbolic use of food as it was used in ‘... communicating care, and building and developing relationships over time’ (Punch et al. 2009a: 152); testing the boundaries of control (Emond et al. 2013); a way of expressing trust and care (Punch et al. 2013: 2) and generating a sense of belonging (Punch et al. 2009b: 35). Despite the potential for practices around food to enable positive relations, the research also showed that mealtimes and food practices can be tense with conflict arising from instances of control and resistance (Punch and McIntosh 2014).

Over the years, multiple publications have been produced by academics based on the FaCS project (Dorrer et al. 2010; Emond et al. 2014; McIntosh et al. 2010; McIntosh et al. 2011; McIntosh et al. 2016; Punch and McIntosh 2014; Punch et al. 2009a; Punch et al. 2010; Punch et al. 2012; Punch et al. 2015) and two practice focussed resources were also developed, one for children’s residential care practitioners (Punch et al. 2009b) and another for residential care children (Emond et al. 2009). Centralised in the former publication was the presentation of the symbolic use of food and food practices in a residential care context. Figure 4 outlines the themes that arose from the research which can be found in the resource handbook (Punch et al. 2009b: 5) as well as the Reflective Workshop slides.

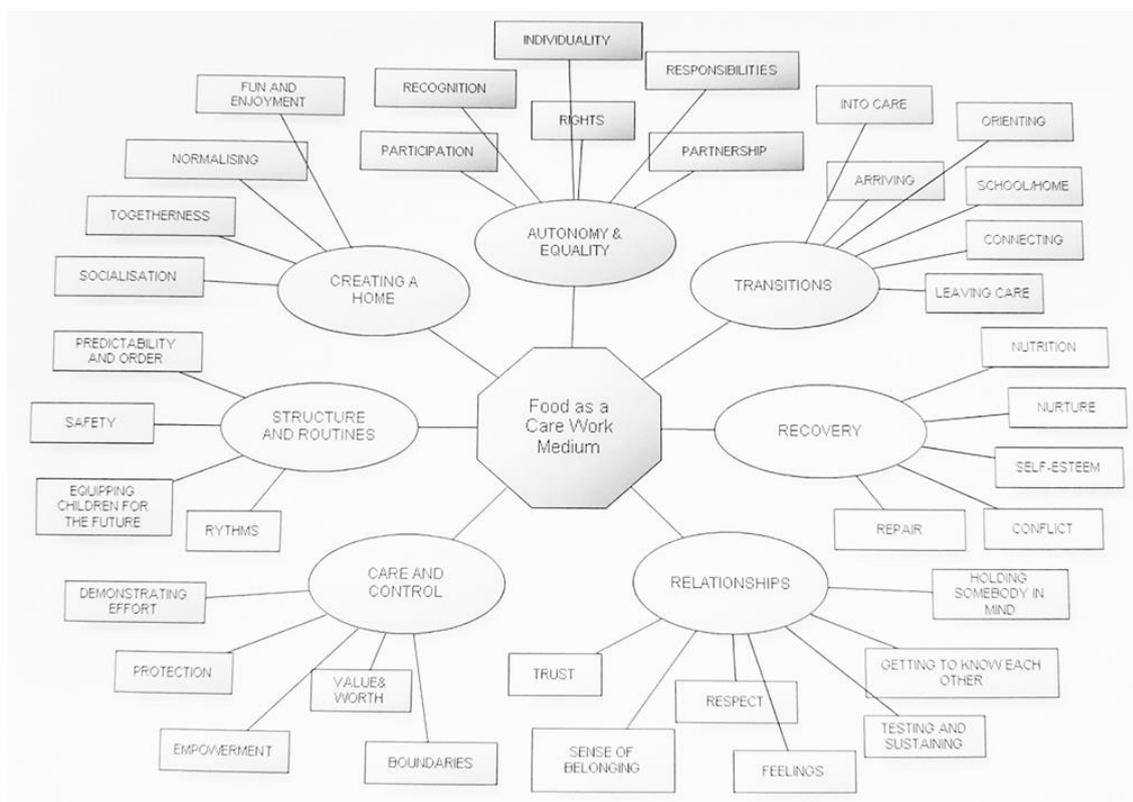


Figure 4 Food and its interconnection with care aims – an overview (Punch et al. 2009b: 5)

As a result of a positive response from the looked after children practitioner community the academics worked with a steering group of stakeholders and between 2012 and 2014 the ESRC funded *Food for Thought*. There were three broad aims (taken from the REF2020 internal Stirling University School of Applied Social Science and Education Potential Impact Case Studies application):

1. To promote awareness and understanding of the symbolic uses of food
2. To equip carers/staff with the knowledge, skills and resources to observe and understand the food and food practices being undertaken by the child they are caring for, drawing not only on research but on the practice expertise of key partners
3. To facilitate staff/carers' reflection on their own food related interventions and how these might be maximised to therapeutic ends

The process of *Food for Thought* drew on the resources that were made available from ESRC as a result of an increasing interest in research funded by them to have impact out with the university. At the time of FaCS the impact infrastructure was to apply to a separate fund on completion of the research project, this facilitated an interesting collaboration between the academics of FaCS and practitioners of looked after children in the process of developing *Food for Thought* materials. Three stakeholder organisations, all involved in delivering care for

looked after children across Scotland, contributed to composing and testing the resources. Similar to Loiselle et al. (2005), the approach to working alongside practitioners was taken as a non-hierarchical method of practice development. The steering group of stakeholders met quarterly in order to share ideas on how the practice materials should look as well as thoughts on the progress.

The materials of *Food for Thought* were officially launched in November 2013 at the University of Stirling, with 94 attendees. During the period of funding, *Food for Thought* academics ran 10 presentations, 3 Train the Trainer workshops, 6 Reflective Workshops and 5 Peer Support discussions, as well as a development workshop and a looked after children's charity cooking school. In total it is estimated that there were around 231 participants of Stirling University led *Food for Thought* activities. *Food for Thought* activities have also been led by non-academic staff, including several of the participants of the primary data collection phase of this research. Furthermore, records show that since March 2015 there have been 4,000 visits to the website and 2,605 resource downloads. Therefore, overall it can be said that *Food for Thought* remains of interest to practice as they continue to contact the academics to find out more and the numbers presented here should be considered conservative estimates.

The final five resources, online and freely available, produced by *Food for Thought* include:

1. Reflective Workshop Materials: Facilitators' Pack and Handouts

The workshop aims to highlight key concepts and issues involved in the symbolic use of food and to encourage carers of looked after children to think about how they might apply this to their own care practices. The pack offers all the materials and support for trainers and facilitators to be able to run a session in their workplace.

2. Interactive Introduction to Food for Thought

A short online guide which introduces the user to some of the key concepts relating to *Food for Thought*. The aim of the resource is to raise awareness of the relationship between food as a symbol and care.

3. Reflective Tool (electronic and hard copy versions)

The Reflective Tool is a way to record thoughts and issues about individual children so that progress over time can be seen more easily or discussions with supervisors or support workers can be focussed on specific topics of immediate relevance. In addition, it can be

used to encourage reflection prior to foster care support meetings, group supervision discussions or staff meetings.

4. JOTIT Notebook

The JOTIT Notebook is intended as a space for carers, staff or young people to write down food-related reflections or events as they occur.

5. Peer Support Guidance

This resource is for facilitators and supervisors in charge of running Peer Support groups. The idea is to create a space in which there are opportunities to discuss the role of food in care, in relation to the situations the carers face on a daily basis. Peer Support groups focussed on food practices provide opportunities to share experiences or concerns about food and to learn with and from others in similar situations.

Adapted from Briefing: A Summary of *Food for Thought* Resource (2013)

It was the vision of the academics and stakeholders of *Food for Thought* that the diversity of resources available would respond to the multitude of ways in which practitioners engage with learning, as well as setting up the infrastructures for the project to continue without the need for the academics to be involved. For example the Train the Trainer Facilitators Pack was aimed at practitioners involved in learning and development, training those that could go on to do further training once the funding for *Food for Thought* had run out. Peer support is a format already established in practice with looked after children, thus the guidance for this aimed at integrating *Food for Thought* findings into a recognisable platform for practitioners. Finally, there are two resources which were aimed at supporting carers, with opportunities to explore with their children individually: the Jotit and the Reflective Tool. The former is a booklet with space to explore the looked after child's habits around food whilst the latter was a form which encouraged better documentation of the child's history with regards to food.

The reach of the message of *Food for Thought* extended far wider than originally anticipated by the research team. For example, whilst originally targeting Scottish based providers of residential and foster care, the project went on to attract attention from a wider geographical and practice base. Five representatives of management from an independent foster care agency based in South East England, attended one of the Reflective Workshops. Nutritionists based in North West England also accessed *Food for Thought* through the website and

incorporated it in to their work on healthy eating with carers of looked after children. From the initial *Food and Care Study* a team of researchers from Australia have been liaising with the Scottish academic team. This has meant an interchange of resources and experiences, including exchange trips. A researcher from a university in Victoria, Australia, and a senior manager from a residential care provider attended a Reflective Workshop in Stirling, Scotland in March 2014. Subsequently Dr Ruth Emond visited two residential providers in Victoria, Australia to run Reflective Workshops. Additionally, the researchers were approached by an individual from Finland to translate the staff and young people's handbooks which were produced as part of the first study. As a result the audience who have engaged with the resources are not just involved in care of looked after children from a sociological perspective; there is also an interest from health sciences as to how the principles of the *Food and Care Study* can be integrated into another discipline. Although the original targeted group was looked after children, the attendees of workshops have also been from adult care, disabled children's services and the care inspectorate.

The diversity of this project in audience and the broad relationships that have formed, offer an opportunity to explore the nuances of research communication. This case study provides the perfect chance to investigate how research impact 'ripples out' across local (Scotland), national (England) and international (Finland and Australia) contexts. Further information can be gathered on researcher strategies to promote research use, how practitioners talk about changes in practice after interacting with research, how research ripples out across different environments and the manner in which social networks can mould the manner in which research is used.

The type of case study that this research uses does not fit neatly in to one category. It is: instrumental, exploratory and explanatory (Baxter and Jack 2008); it is also intensive and comparative (Bryman 2012). It is instrumental and intensive as a result of being a lens into an issue, to help see how impact can be reworked in order to include an ethics of care. It is exploratory because there is no one intended outcome that is being followed. It is explanatory due to acknowledging the complexity of the issue of debate, such that surveys are insufficient. It is comparative as it seeks to understand how one case study might morph across different geographical and disciplinary landscapes.

The reason for choosing this particular case study was a cocktail of opportunism, an established relationship with one of the researchers and interest in the looked after children sector. Professor Samantha Punch has played a supervisory role in my academic history since

my undergraduate degree in 2012. The circumstance of doing a doctoral project as a result of established working connections seems appropriate given the focus of this research is focussed on relationships. The original idea to work on a proposal to look at the impact of *Food for Thought* was presented to me by Professor Punch, although all of the researchers that worked on the original *Food and Care Study* were consulted. The result is a research project that is in consultation with researchers from the original project, also acting as supervisors; unravelled in the context of caring for looked after children which interweaves my personal history.

Being connected to *Food for Thought* has both benefits and draw backs. One of the ethical questions that must be postulated is the confidence of the participants to express themselves, without worrying about further, personal ramifications. Allowing participants the time and space to divulge their experiences requires careful steps to maximise anonymity and confidentiality. This poses particular problems where certain participants, primarily partners and consultants in the case study project, are potentially identifiable. In this case, the framing of the research has to be negotiated with these particular participants in order to balance the researcher's duty of care towards the participant, and the aims of the research which reflect a duty to the discipline and wider public to produce socially responsible research. Additionally, a successful exploration of the impact of *Food for Thought* was contingent on the doctoral researcher/supervisory relationship being open, honest and bounded (Hockey 2006). This was especially important as both my supervisors were involved in *Food for Thought*.

To conclude, it is proposed that by having a case study design, the research project will offer an in-depth understanding of stories of exchange. However, there are important ethical elements that must be taken in to account and dealt with. Anonymity and confidentiality are key to all research endeavours in protecting participants. Being part of a case study can open up the participants to conflicts of interest, for example where they are critical of their workplace. As such, reflexive practice, informed consent and negotiation will be reoccurring throughout the research process in order to maximise the safety of the participants and their contributions from identification (for more on this please see 'Further Ethical Considerations' below).

Narrative inquiry

The idea that humans are story tellers is well documented in narrative inquiry research (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Clandinin 2006; Rhodes and Brown 2005). As a research

method, narrative inquiry spans various disciplines including, but not limited to: organisational studies, education, anthropology, social sciences and literature (Connelly and Clandinin 1990). The key characteristics of the approach allow flexibility in application; is epistemologically constructive, philosophically related to plurality and intersectionality of both language and experience, and reflexive in regards to the role of the researcher in the process of gathering and retelling research stories. This section discusses these central elements and how they relate to the aims of the research, going on to highlight some of the main ethical challenges of such a method.

Initially it seems pertinent to define key terminology. It is important to note the difference between 'story', which in this case is understood as the phenomenon in question, and 'narrative', which for the purpose of this research refers to the inquiry (Connelly and Clandinin 1990: 2). A story is conceptualised as being just one possible expression of a situation or act, amongst many; 'not a quest for scientific truth, but a quest for meaning' (Rhodes and Brown 2005: 168). As such, a key characteristic to narrative inquiry is the intention to understand how individuals make sense of the world around them; borrowing, recycling, reframing and retelling personal, cultural and organisational stories. The process of story-telling is understood to be constant rather than static, reviewed in light of interactions with others, changes in perception, fluctuating contexts and future possibilities. As Rhodes and Brown (2005: 176) identify 'narratives are [...] regarded as the means through which experience is reflexively constituted, made meaningful, and made communicable'. Therefore, for Boyce (1996), the use of narratives is part of the social constructivist tradition as it aims to communicate both a sense of self and a world-view (Bresler 2006). Using a constructivist framework to investigate stories of change allows a shift in focus for impact evaluation, from measurability of outcomes to complex and multiple accounts of individual and organisational experiences of change.

As previously mentioned, gathering multiple stories suggests that there are multiple ways of framing and understanding social events and contexts. This attests to what Rhodes and Brown (2005:174) refer to as 'the pluralization of possible ways that sense can be made' and Bresler's (2006) assertion that narrative is 'exploring and negotiating polysemic meanings'. For Czarniawska (2004: 5) this requires an understanding of the interplay between the individual and the social. This coincides with Bakhtin's (1981) concept of *raznorečie*, or language plurality. Bakhtin's (1981: 292) conviction of the connection between language, society and individual facilitates a reflection on

... conceptualising the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values. As such they may all be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically

Bakhtin (1981: 292)

By using narrative inquiry it is possible to gather different stories of exchange, thus better understand how different actors in the field of looked after children navigate wider socio-political impact and evidence-based practice agendas in their everyday worlds. By recognising the multifaceted nature of experience through language, this research project hopes to ask questions of performance-focussed outputs, dominant in the impact agenda. In doing so, the research itself becomes a story.

Abbott (2002: 11) locates the etymology of the word narrative in the Sanskrit 'gna', a root term that means 'know,' which passes through Latin 'gnarus' (knowing) and 'narro' (telling). In research terms, Bryman (2012: 582) observes a shift in focus in narrative research away from factual recalling toward the ways in which people reconstruct their interpretation of what happened. Building on this, Clandinin and Huber (2010: 444) note that, researchers who employ narrative inquiry as a technique, are sensitive to the influence of multiple discourses on the lives of their participants from a broader ecological approach, including organisational and cultural narratives. For Clandinin and Huber (2010: 438), capturing complexity and acknowledging relationships is key to narrative inquiry. As such, it is understood that narrative inquiry researchers see language as playing a role in the everyday construction of events that refract elements of social life beyond the individual, placing the individual experience in relation to their socio-cultural and institutional context. This is supported by Bronfenbrenner (1979 in Darling 2007: 204) and his interrelated knowledge, entangled with context, culture and history.

Mischler (1991: 67) notes that an underlying assumption of narrative inquiry is that, embedded in the stories that people tell are important expressions that are meaning-making. Although for Wells (2011: 7) the terms 'story' and 'narrative' are used synonymously, this research employs the distinction by Frank (2000: 354) in which '...the subtle semantics of narrative suggest a structure underpinning the story'. Stories are understood as individual explorations of their world view (Bresler 2006: 22), which are then transformed by an analysis which seeks underlying narratives (Riley and Hawe 2005: 227). Barthes (1977: 79) claims that narrative has existed in multiple forms across history and is not limited to any one geographic

area. So it can be said that narrative functions as a unifier in two ways. Firstly, it has the capacity to unify individual events to form a biography, a construction of the self which draws on the cycle of life as a narrative of beginning, middle and end (MacIntyre 1981: 205).

Secondly, narrative works to organise experiences of reality (Utell 2016: 4), with the effect of sorting stories into genres. One example comes from Woodiwiss et al. (2017: 5), who explain that their collection of feminist narrative research is not necessarily a unified approach to narrative inquiry, but a shared interest in

...the stories or narrative frameworks currently available and/ or in circulation, and a theme running through a number of chapters is the idea that, whilst we are responsible for constructing our own stories, we are at the same time limited by those narrative frameworks in circulation at any given time and which are differentially available not only to women and men but among women and men.

Therefore, story, for the purpose of this research, refers to the individual recount of a series of events, whereas narrative regards the unification of the events as they are recounted over time and in relation to wider discourses available on the same topic.

As a narrative researcher, I look to collect and tell the stories of my participants whilst acknowledging my own role as a storyteller (Bauman 2000; Hemmings 2011). For this research project, the primary data collection gathered oral (hi)stories of participants in *Food for Thought* activities and the individuals involved in creating and delivering the activities. Careful consideration of the relationship between myself, as the researcher, and the participants and their stories was needed throughout the research process, for ethical accountability. The literature on narrative inquiry makes reference to this through comment on researcher-participant relationship and voice (for example Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Rhodes and Brown 2005). Thus, through the process of narrative inquiry and writing the research narrative the researcher must reflect on his/her role as collaborating with participants in the *creation* of a story (Bryman 2012: 584), and the narrative *produced* as a result of the research, as 'in the writing of the narrative, it becomes important to sort out whose voice is the dominant one when we write 'I'' (Connelly and Clandinin 1990: 11). This encourages reflexion of the type and content of the story elicited during fieldwork, and the balancing of participants' voices at the stage of writing up. An observation by Czarniawska (2004: 5) exposes why this is such an important element to narrative research, commenting 'other people or institutions concoct narratives for others without including them in a conversation; *this is what power is about*'. Ethically, the narrative researcher must endeavour to avoid retelling the stories of the participants in such a way as to eliminate their voice.

Reflecting on the ethics of narrative inquiry, Clandinin (2006) identifies several considerations: 'negotiation, respect, mutuality and openness'. Whilst narrative researchers are clearly guided by the ethical guidelines of corresponding research committees, some of the ethical considerations go beyond institutional ethical processes to the researcher as a socially responsible actor. This ties ethics into the philosophical realm of 'virtue ethics' in which the virtues of researchers are emphasised (see for example Macfarlane 2009). Characteristics such as respectfulness, humility, sincerity and reflexivity are espoused in reference to virtuous researcher conduct (Carpenter 2013). This particular research project hopes to emulate those key traits in the negotiation of participants' stories of change with an understanding that

a person's lived and told stories are who they are and who they are becoming...this understanding shapes the necessity of negotiating research texts that respectfully represent participants' lived and told stories

Clandinin and Huber (2010: 451)

Openness of character, negotiation of meaning and researcher reflexivity is key to facilitating the telling of stories of others, and is crucial to be able to ensure that the question 'am I aligned with management in ways that result in my knowledge and skill regarding symbol, meaning making, and sense making being used to establish and reinforce control?' (Boyce 1996: 21) can be answered negatively. Additionally, the proposed case study *Food for Thought* was established on the basis of reciprocity, collaboration and negotiation as important underpinning philosophies (Punch et al. 2010). As such, these concepts will continue to be core to the proceeding exploration of impact. Narrative inquiry lends itself to such a possibility due to the strong emphasis on the participant as the expert in their own life story, capable of offering snapshots of their 'complex nuances of the 'lived' world' (Rhodes and Brown 2005: 193).

Clandinin and Huber (2010: 443) and Woodiwiss et al. (2017: 10) see in narrative inquiry the possibility to tell new stories about social phenomena which results in new knowledge. The purpose of using narrative inquiry for this research is to re-present the stories of the participants to explore possible narrations of academic-practice relations that are not restricted to the quantifiable, by drawing on impact evaluation research which sits in a qualitative epistemological framework (see for example Belfiore and Bennet 2008). Using narrative inquiry facilitates a better understanding of how participants account for their relationships which starts with the individual but draws on and is carved out in relation to broader social and organisational discourses available (Clandinin and Rosiek 2006: 42). One

effect of such a research design is to foreground processes and interactions between practice with looked after children and academia, rather than focussing exclusively on the consequences. Viewing the participant as a storyteller offers the opportunity to explore how 'I'/other' categories are constructed between academics and practitioners of looked after children. Additionally, this method will allow the participants to document their engagement with the resources of *Food for Thought* through linguistic and sociomaterial cultural resources. This has less to do with a portrayal of reality, rather more like a Cubist-like assemblage of multiple perspectives.

However, there are criticisms of narrative inquiry that should be taken into account. One of which is the tensions of narrative inquiry is the relationship between the stories told and behaviour. Critiques have noted that there can be a dissonance between how individuals report their actions and how they actually act (Gilham 2000: 13). Furthermore, Mishler (1991: 48) considers the difficulties of gesture in the interview space which is, predominantly, a speech act. As such, Mishler (1991: 48) warns of investing too much in the interview transcript as '*the reality*' (emphasis in the original), instead proposing a view of the transcription process as an *interpretation* of the interview encounter. What is problematized by Mishler (1991: 3) is the potential limitations of a method that relies on an ambiguous connection between what is said and what is meant. As a result, this research is proposed as a collaborative account of the relationships between academia and practice with looked after children, which speaks to a wider body of literature around impact, knowledge and research use, exploring plausible narratives that underpin the (hi)stories of the participants, as well as considering the ways in which resources produced by the case study were interpreted.

In summary, narrative inquiry facilitates a research design which promotes the exploration of the lived experience of impact/evidence-based policies in the context of researchers and carers of looked after children. Czarniawska (2004: 11) writes that 'narrative is the main source of social life because it is the main device for making sense of social action'. As such, storytelling is an ideal platform to witness the interplay of the personal life story interchange with organisational contexts and structures. The key characteristics discussed are coherent with the main aims of the research in seeking a broader understanding of the impact journey and what that means for those involved. Despite this, there are central ethical issues that are not resolved through one off ethical mitigation procedures. Fortunately, narrative inquiry facilitates an on-going reflexive position on part of the research and constant negotiation and re-negotiation of meaning and experience in the research design.

Data Collection

Stake (2000) notes that mixed methods are oft employed in case study research. The data drawn on in this study includes secondary data from the *Food for Thought* project and primary data collected in response to the research aims of this doctoral study. There were two different sources of secondary data; the first was a set of evaluation sheets completed by participants of *Food for Thought* activities run by Scottish academics as well as non-academic trainers. The second was a set of interviews with the different participants of the *Food for Thought* journey, from the working group, the steering group and the pilot group. These interviews had been coded and sorted but not yet analysed (should the coding info in the appendix be here?). Semi-structured interviews were used in the primary data phase as they facilitated an exploration of key themes that arose from secondary data, yet still offered the space for the participant to guide the direction of the interaction.

This section elucidates the different sources of data utilised for the research, outlines characteristics of the secondary sources and primary participants and sketches the analysis.

Secondary data

Secondary data is defined as

... the analysis of data who (?) will probably not have been involved in the collection of those data, for purposes that in all likelihood were not envisaged by those responsible for the data collection

Bryman (2012: 312)

Thus, the data from both the evaluation sheets (referred to as EvalData in Chapter Five, Six and Seven) and the secondary interview (referred to as SecInterviews in Chapter Five, Six and Seven) transcripts that were generated by the *Food for Thought* team were not generated in response to the aims and research questions of this doctoral research project, but aligned to other intentions (Long-Sutehall et al. 2010). Despite this, the information they contain holds the possibility of better understanding impact with temporal punctuations: the journey of *Food for Thought* as a journey of academics working in collaboration with practitioners of looked after children to disseminate the *Food and Care Study* (23 secondary interviews) and the initial, immediate response of the participants of *Food for Thought* activities (137 evaluation sheet data). The benefits of secondary data are dialogic: academic/practice

relationships are enlivened with multiple spaces/times beyond just the primary fieldwork data, and the data is revitalised by a new perspective (Heaton 1998).

The secondary data interviews were carried out by a research assistant before the launch of the five *Food for Thought* resources in November 2013 and were anonymised before I received the transcripts. Contact details of various individuals involved in the steering group, working group, the pilot group and/or the original study were also given to the research assistant, additional details of other *Food for Thought* attendees were offered by these participants. Thus, the method for contacting participants was in part through opting in, and partly snowballing. Participants were aware that the main focus of the interviews was to evaluate the process of creating the *Food for Thought* resources, and if the tools were useful in practice (see Table 1 for a list of participants). After having organised and interviewed the participants, they were transcribed, using a transcription service, and the research assistant reorganised the information according to the themes taken from the interview schedule (for the codes and sub-codes see Appendix 1).

The second version of the interview data was a cut and pasting of the original transcripts as it was seen to respond to the themes outlined by the structure of the interview, by the research assistant employed by *Food for Thought* to undertake these evaluation interviews. This second version contains no obvious presence of the research assistant. However, I did feel that the cutting and pasting of what was considered to be relevant to themes constructed by the *Food for Thought* researchers meant that the information I inherited had been 'shepherded'.

Pseudonym	Job description	Role in Project
Julie	Head of education and therapy	Steering group + working group (stepped down from WG after moving jobs)
Debbie	Service manager	Pilot
Susan	Researcher	Steering group + working group
Rachel	Program manager	Steering group
Marie	Senior supervising social worker	Pilot
Bryan	Foster carer	Pilot
Lynne	Senior supervising social worker	Working group
Craig	Researcher	Steering Group
Neil	Manager of multimedia and interactive media team	Steering group
Caroline	Service manager	Steering group
Natalie	Researcher	Research assistant
Robert	Service manager	Steering group + working group
Dianne	Lecturer	Steering group
Joanne	Foster carer	Working group
Linda	Catering supervisor	Pilot
Hazel	Researcher	Steering group + working group
Jessica	Researcher	Steering group + working group
Elaine	Senior service manager	Involved in first study only
Andrew	Senior learning and development officer	Steering group + working group
Lily	Foster carer	Pilot
Catherine	Foster carer	Pilot
Karen	Senior practitioner, permanence team	Working group
Lorraine	Foster carer	Pilot

Table 1 List of secondary data interview participants

From the information available it is possible to distinguish the characteristics of the 23 interviews as follows:

Gender	Female	18
	Male	5
	Total	23
Place of work	Practice-based	15
	University-based	5
	Knowledge broker	3
	Total	23
Role in the project	Steering group	4
	Working group	4
	Steering + working group	6
	Pilot	7
	Involved in the first study only	1
	Research Assistant	1
	Total	23

Table 2 Characteristics of secondary data interviews

The themes of the secondary interview data-set were analysed using an approach that is influenced by some of Bakhtin's (1981) concepts, but also other literature which wrapped around and reinforced the themes of language and relationships; literature that has its roots in various disciplines including, but not limited to, art, architecture, philosophy, ethics, and economics. Further details on the process of analysis can be found in the later section 'Data Analysis'. The information from the interviews provided intricate details around the practical elements of practice and research working together. That they are individual allows for comparison between experiences, through language and relational ties. Apart from being a data-set for analysis, the topics which arose contributed to sculpting the primary data interview guide.

The second set of secondary data used in this project was the *Food for Thought* evaluation forms of which there 137. These included evaluation sheets from Train the Trainer events, Peer Support groups, Reflective Workshops and presentations made by the *Food for Thought* team. Additionally, there were several facilitators of Reflective Workshops, out with the academic team, who had filled in evaluation sheets of their experiences of running a Reflective Workshop. This information was not available for any activities that had been run by the academics. The data was taken from hand written forms to a digital, tabled format for clarity and organisation. In the first reading of the data this was coded thematically using Bakhtinian concepts, according to job role (see Table 3).

Job role	Foster carer	52
	Residential carer	22
	Social/support worker or manager (SSWoM)	34
	Other	26 (11 of whom specified their role)
	More than one role was identified	3
		137

Table 3 Characteristics of the evaluation data according to job role

The data contained in the evaluation forms is relevant to immediate responses to the *Food for Thought* activities, creating a situated element to the experience of the activity. In these instances *Food for Thought* was experienced, rather than enacted. The evaluation sheets provided feedback on the experience of *Food for Thought*, complementing primary research which explored the latter. Therefore, a better understanding of how those caring for looked after children narrate their experience of research can be captured as multi-staged – extended from being understood and interpreted as a purely cognitive endeavour to one that is

situational and embodied. This approach, which looks at impact as it punctuates the time/space of *Food for Thought* on different occasions is not commonly found in the impact literature.

Some of the issues in the literature around using secondary data were experienced, to a certain extent. Initial access to the secondary data interviews, for example, was difficult (Hinds et al. 1997) because there were multiple versions which had edits and comments from a research fellow. After some deliberation on ethics and whether the original consent covered secondary data analysis, similar to those discussed by Irwin (2013: 297), it was decided that I would get access to the anonymised transcripts.

The primary function of the evaluation sheets, when they were created, was to gather contact details for future efforts to gather impact data, gathering data was an aside. Therefore, the format of the evaluation sheet was constructed for this purpose. One of the lessons learnt, from this research project and the connections with the *Food for Thought* project, as with other research projects using secondary data, my interests and my experiences could not have been foreseen by the researchers of *Food for Thought* at the time of setting up the foundations for further, impact research. Therefore, although the data exists – it did not necessarily contain the information that is needed in order to answer the research questions (Hinds et al. 2007: 411; Tripathy 2013: 1478). Although it should also be noted that other scholars have observed that these issues are not exclusive to the ‘re-working’ of secondary data, but can arise in primary data too (Hammersley 2010).

Primary data collection

Following a case study approach enabled me to take advantage of the relationships that had been built up by the researchers of the *Food for Thought* project. A list of the event attendees who agreed to be contacted by the research team in the future was drawn up from which my potential participants were contacted to request their participation in a semi-structured interview (referred to as PrimInterviews in the analysis chapters). Interviews were considered to be the most appropriate format for primary data collection as they allowed the dialogue between researcher and the participants to delve into detail topics that were raised in the secondary data and reflect, given that around two years would have elapsed between their original participation in *Food for Thought* and my follow up contact. (There was an intense period of activity in 2014 of *Food for Thought*; however, due to my PhD journey I was not collecting my data until 2016/2017). The format for this was semi-structured, inviting the participant to recount reflections on concerns and perceptions of their personal experience of

learning about food practices, as noted more generally in qualitative research methods (Bryman 2012: 470). The interview guide (see Appendix 2) was created in response to both literature and the themes that emerged from a reading of the secondary data transcripts.

Twenty-nine interviews were conducted across three different field sites (Scotland = 13, England = 2, Finland = 4, and Australia = 11). After revising the Finnish transcripts with the translator, it was decided not to include them in the analysis. Some of the language and systemic differences between Scotland and Finland regarding care of looked after children had become 'lost in translation' (cf. Temple and Young 2004). For research carried out in the tradition of qualitative, narrative inquiry, there is a careful balance to be weighed between heteroglossia, the inclusion of many voices, and a stable understanding of the context in order to be able to re-present my participants. In the case of Finland, with little time available to spend getting to know their child care systems, I was unsure that this balance was managed. As a result, they are not included in the analysis.

All interviews were carried out face-to-face and an emphasis was placed on this format regardless of the geographical location of the participant. The reason for this was to demonstrate a commitment to them as a participant and their (hi)story. Additionally, as a gesture of gratitude I baked for all my participants (minus one who asked for me not to bake, so I brought her flowers) (Finch 2007; Finch and Hayes 1994; Hurdley 2013; Miller 2009; Punch et al. 2009a). Perhaps these acts could be criticised – for a participant group who are documented as being time-poor, it would be much easier and less consuming for an interview over the phone. Furthermore, cakes could be considered a bribe, indeed I joked as such in my emails. However, considering the case study I followed highlighting the sociality of food – sharing cake with participants enacts that principle. Home-baking the cake was an emphasis on gesture; time taken to travel as much as possible to the participants and time taken to bake were small details that did not go unnoticed. Furthermore, in conversations with Dr Ruth Emond on the method of interviewing it was emphasised that my presentation of self started before I even met the participant – in the email exchanges organising a time and place to convene. Asking for any dietary requirements or favourite cakes was a small way to show care and gratitude.

Emails as a method of getting in contact, was far from flawless. Around 70 emails were sent to prospective participants. A total of 27 emails failed to be delivered to their intended destination. Furthermore, reflecting on the sector more generally, participants often

commented on crowded inboxes and a crisis environment which may have meant that non-urgent emails such as mine may have been overlooked.

Digital recordings of the interview were consented to by all of the research participants, which were then transcribed by either myself, or a transcriber. A field diary was kept which detailed any thoughts which arose after the interviews and helped document the development of interview style and content as participants shared their experiences.

Participants

In the original ethics proposal, it was expected that focus groups would offer an opportunity for the participants to interact and deliberate on topics, facilitating a collective story-telling experience (Barbour 2007: 26). In practice, however, it became too difficult, with the timeframe of a doctoral research project, to be able to find a suitable time and place for multiple participants to get together. As a result, individual interviews were the most common method for primary data collection; although there were a few exceptions to this. In the case of England, the two participants choose to be interviewed together. Furthermore, in Australia two participants were interviewed both individually and together. This is discussed further in proceeding sections.

Broadly, participants fell in to one of the following two categories:

1. Key individuals in the development of *Food for Thought*
2. Individuals who attended *Food for Thought* activities

Individual interviews created a platform for the participants to tell their personal (hi)stories of interacting with the *Food for Thought* project. The first group of interviews with those involved in the process of creating *Food for Thought* document the close ripples of impact, whilst the second group represent impact ripples further out from the initial project team.

UK

As previously stated, a list of participants was drawn up from evaluation sheets upon which details had been left. Although there were 100 individuals who agreed to continue their participation, given the time between attendance of an activity and my attempts to engage them in my research there was a significant change in roles and/or leaving organisations. This meant that there were substantially fewer opportunities to speak to people than there originally appeared. The first attempt to contact participants was made in May 2016. Each participant was contacted a maximum of three times before I ceased trying to engage them. A

list of people was drawn up according to the organisation in which they worked, in alphabetical order. This list was systematically reviewed, and each person contacted. Where an organisation was overrepresented, I initially chose a handful of contact details and only expanded on that where I received no response to take part. Almost all the participants were sought from the list and contacted directly by me. However, Frida was someone suggested to me by Emma as they work in the same organisation.

Pseudonym	Location	Job role in relation to FFT
Alice	Scotland	Family based social worker
Madeline	Scotland	Primary job: a catering supervisor in a primary school Secondary job: a children and young person's support worker with a charity
Imogene	Scotland	Foster carer
Matilda	Scotland	Permanent placement carer
Harriet and Grace	England	Nutritionists
Frida	Scotland	Supervising social worker
Emma	Scotland	Workforce development officer
Cecilia	Scotland	Support worker
Josef	Scotland	Residential care worker
Anton	Scotland	House Manager
Frank	England	Retired/previously the head of a foster care agency

Table 4 Primary interview participants

Australia

I spent 6 weeks in a city in Victoria, Australia starting in October 2016. Despite this being my first visit to the location I benefitted from having met a key stakeholder in Scotland in 2014 as a result of her connection to the project, hence our relationship started before research in the field site was conceived as an idea. This particular individual went on to offer to make initial contact with participants listed as having offered to be involved in further communication with *Food for Thought*. It was reasoned that it may be more likely that individuals would get involved with the study if they were asked by a name they recognised. As a result of this, three participants signed up to be interviewed. Another key stakeholder, practice based, in the *Food for Thought* project in Australia also offered to email out a few different individuals in their organisation for me which resulted in 5 people expressing an interest in taking part. Unfortunately, one individual could not find the time to speak in the period that I was in the field site.

In Australia, there were particular problems getting access to some participants as a result of being specifically as part of a health project, and accessing *Food for Thought* through this role.

As previously mentioned, the format of *Food for Thought* in Australia was distinct from its development in Scotland. In Scotland *Food for Thought* was delivered as a stand-alone project. In Australia (and England), it was introduced as one strand of a larger project that centralised food nutrition. As a result of this structure, once the funding period for the in Australia was over, those who had been employed to promote both the nutritional project and *Food for Thought* moved on to other roles. This made it difficult for them to take time out of their current job, to speak about a previous role they no longer worked in. Despite this, there were almost as many participants from Australia as there were in Scotland, the primary research site. Several reasons why are hypothesised. It might be that the time limited nature of the fieldwork in Australia, as well as the distance I had travelled, meant that potential participants were more inclined to be involved. There were also indications from some of the participants that their involvement was directly related to being emailed by a superior. This raises issues of gatekeeping and power. In order to counter this for those who did participate, the baking played a role in showing my appreciation, which I also vocalised at the beginning and end of each interview. In respect for those who appeared not to want to be involved, after three attempts at contact I no longer persisted.

Pseudonym	Job role in relation to FFT
Fiona and Lindsay	Both researchers based in a university
Hermione	Out of Home Care ¹⁵ organisation based [organisation #1]
Miriam	Team Leader, Residential Services [Out of Home Care organisation #2]
Fiona**	Researcher based in a university
Marta	Coordinator for the health project [short term contract in residential care setting] [Out of Home Care organisation #1]
Malala	Senior Manager - Evaluation, Policy & Research based in Out of Home Care organisation [organisation #1]
Serena	Regional director of Out of Home Care organisation [organisation #1]
Rosa	Practice development and training based in a therapeutic service linked to Out of Home Care organisation [organisation #1]
Lindsay	Researcher based in a university
Claudette	Clinician in therapeutic service linked to Out of Home Care organisation [organisation #1]
Michelle	Therapeutic residential care unit supervisor

Table 5 Primary interview participants in Australia

Finland

The opportunity to visit participants in Finland arose from contact that had been made by Tarja (a pseudonym), a Specialist in Developmental and Educational Psychology who had emailed the Scottish scholars to ask permission to translate some of the resources into Finnish. She had heard of *Food for Thought* through Frank, who has a longstanding working relationship with Tarja, at a symposium organised by the latter in Finland in which Frank spoke about *Food for Thought*. Tarja went on to be invaluable in liaising with foster families and residential care homes for me, as well as driving me to the rural locations of the homes (see Table 6), and introducing me to my first Finnish sauna.

The residential care home in Finland, as well as the foster family, were wonderfully accommodating and made really interesting and insightful comments in regards to the context of looked after children in Finland, as well as *Food for Thought*. The decision not to include them in the analysis was a difficult one, especially as they had given up their time to help me with my research. However, considering this research seeks to foreground language and value

¹⁵ 'Out of Home Care' was the Australian equivalent of 'care of looked after children' used in Scotland. For the purpose of clarity, 'care of looked after children' is used throughout this thesis

as it is embedded within culture, it was considered that the translational difficulties, both epistemologically and politically (Maclean 2008), could not be overcome.

Pseudonym
Sanna and Tarja
Residential care home
Tarja (car journey conversations)
Professional foster home

Table 6 Participants in Finland

Delimitations

Food for Thought activities are on-going, although they lessen as time from the funding period elapses. This erratic flow of information continues to be filtered in to the long term story of *Food for Thought*. However, as a result of the boundaries of feasibility for a PhD, they need to be curtailed. Therefore, any activities inspired by the *Food for Thought* project that occur after 01.01.2017, are not included in the scope of this research project.

Limitations

As previously mentioned, the available data for the case study project (*Food for Thought*) was extensive, including: interviews with members of the various groups that developed and trialled the resources (steering group, working group and pilot group). Additionally, an evaluation form was completed by those who attended *Food for Thought* activities, which encouraged the participants to offer their immediate response to *Food for Thought*. This resulted in a large amount of data which needed to be sorted. One disadvantage of this is that the data that had been collected prior to the doctoral research was not collected with the intention, purpose or framework of the doctoral researcher, a common concern with secondary data analysis (Hinds et al. 1997). Therefore the way in which the research was received, initially, by the participants was not framed in terms outlined by myself which limits the ways in which these stories can be understood and discussed.

Similar to Chubb (2017: 85), I experienced a short immersion period in Australia, which has its own complex research governance structures, as well as institutional requirements for impact. Time and resource limitations meant that the Australian context could not be fully developed into a comparison with the UK. In the interviews with participants in Australia it became clear that there were both connections and discontinuities in the way that university systems, as

well as residential care for children, in the UK and Australia worked. English was used in both locations to communicate in the interviews, which had the potential disadvantage of taking language 'for granted' and further engraining assumptions (Gilham 2000: 18). Thus, one of the potential limitations of the research is the extent to which the data can understand the ways in which *Food for Thought* was presented and received in the context of culturally located institutions. In order to respond to this concern I, as part of the research process, with an open and cautious approach, carefully considered the role of language. This approach provided a way of understanding the multiplicity of impact, research use and relationships between academia and practice with looked after children. Therefore, systemic idiosyncrasies (further problematized as a result of Scotland's position within the UK in comparison to Australia's sovereignty), could be addressed in the interviews in the UK and Australia more readily. This was found to be more difficult in the case of Finland, where the interviews were conducted through a translator in which some of the particularities were lost in translation (see Temple and Young 2004 for more on translation issues in qualitative research).

As the researcher, I traversed various insider/outsider positions (Mullings 1999) which is important to reflect on in evaluation research (Tweed 2002; van Draanen 2017). Regarding the case study project, I was an outsider for those who were involved in the process of *Food for Thought*. The advantage of this was the way in which I could emphasise that the interview was not a test of their memory of the project. Another possible advantage is, for some participants, I could be perceived as a neutral arbiter of the case study project (Fonow and Cook 1991). A disadvantage of being an outsider is that I might have missed some cues during the interview that could have been further developed regarding the ways in which the participants interpreted *Food for Thought* and, therefore, subtle ways it might have influenced their practice. For those who attended *Food for Thought* activities but were not familiar with the process of *Food for Thought* and the academics that were involved, it could be argued that I was viewed as an insider, associated with the project due to the themes of my research being an extension of the work of *Food for Thought*. This might be further entrenched by my position as a researcher, based at a university. As a result, the practitioners of looked after children might have been reticent in order not to be perceived as speaking ill of their relationship with my academic colleagues and/or their experience with *Food for Thought*. This, potentially, presents limits to the ways in which I can discuss both the relationship between the academics and practitioners involved in the *Food for Thought*, as well as in how the participant received the project.

Thus it could be said that amongst the limitations of this work, included is a restricted understanding of how the project was presented and received and the relationships between academics and practitioners involved. Furthermore, the extent to which this thesis can comment on how the project may have influenced practice and the factors that impacted on these processes is also constrained.

Data analysis

There are two interesting elements to the data used in this research project. The content of what has been gathered, but also how the data and format perform cultural acts. For example, the interviews with those involved in the journey of *Food for Thought* offer insights into processes and experiences of collaborations between academia and practice-based organisations. The analysis of each data-set, of secondary or primary origin, whether focussing on content or performance, is strongly guided by the reading that I have done. As previously mentioned this reading spans many genres and is at a point that is difficult to separate in order to understand individual contributions to the development of this research project. However, the PhD journey started with Bakhtin and so any influence from further afield is based on its ability to extend concepts drawn from the philosopher. This section outlines the process of sorting, coding and analysing as the thematic entangled with the theoretical.

There were multiple stages of the coding, sorting and analysing of the (hi)stories that I collected for this research. The secondary data, as a result of being collected by the *Food for Thought* academics was made available to me before I started my primary fieldwork. As a result, the first few iterations of coding that data was with a view to informing my primary interview transcript. However, once the primary interviews were transcribed, the secondary data was revisited and analysed once more, alongside the primary interview transcripts. The transcription process itself, was a stage of interpretation (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015).

Once all the (hi)stories were gathered together, the practical process of analysing the data involved oscillating between a thematic analysis as well as an awareness of exploring theory through the transcripts. Additionally, the embodied experience of the qualitative research interview was reflected upon (Ezzy 2010) which encouraged considering what was said as well as bodily reactions to the interview (Stelter 2010). Additionally, it locates me, the researcher, within the research (England 1994). This mixture of inductive, deductive and corporeal engagement with the participants' (hi)stories was labour intensive (Pope et al. 2000) but enabled a dialogue between the participants, the literature and myself. Practically, using both

a thematic analysis and a theoretical lens in the analysis meant that there were many cycles of coding (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña 2014), and Bakhtin's concepts were sensitising but not defining (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015: 273). This meant that I did not limit my analysis to that which corresponded to Bakhtin, but allowed some of his ideas to open the ways in which I imagined impact could be spoken about. An extract from my coding diary help illuminate the journey of analysing my data which, although the example is from primary interview transcript analysis, mirrored the way I worked across the different data-sets

Step 1: Read through the interview transcript without annotation.

Step 2: Read through the interview transcript for the second time making notes where comments resonate with key concepts from Bakhtin (for example, self/other; centre/non-centre; unique/collective language; surplus of seeing; ratios of otherness).

Step 3: Read through the transcript a third time to capture anything that might be missed by using Bakhtin.

Step 4: Create a visual representation of the themes using coloured post-it-notes to start to bring themes together and discriminate between overarching topics and underlying topics.

Coding diary (January 2016)

Codes were created through an intricate dance between the a priori and a posteriori. However, this explanation of the process is greatly simplified. I experienced data analysis as messy (Meller 2001); the irregular and inexplicable flow and stagnation of ideas in the shower, on the train and in dialogue with empathetic others, and failed plans to deliver the PhD in an alternative format (cf. Speedy 2005) were as important to the analysis process as planned analysis times and spaces. Ultimately the themes that are presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven emerged from both the narratives of the participants, as well as '... from wide, eclectic and unorganized reading, observing, or experiencing, from musing, browsing, and dreaming, from buried experiences, as from anything immediately and consciously in view' (Nesbit 2002: 9).

As a result of the fluid spaces in which I worked and the ways in which ideas developed through the physical act of writing (Coylar 2009), with a pen and paper as extended resources to the process of thinking (Wheeler 2010: 29), no computer programs were used in either the

organisation or the analysis of the data. Once the evaluation data and primary data transcripts were typed up, everything was dealt with by hand.

Further ethical considerations

Contemplating the ethical considerations of this project caused particular problems for me. I have studied philosophy and ethics as an undergraduate student and I found that there was a difference between what I understood to be ethics and what was expected in the document for the ethics committee (which after a few months of existential turmoil was approved by the Stirling University Ethics Committee in November 2015). Ethics has a deeper philosophical breadth and depth than the mitigation exercise that is required for the doctoral process and, includes consideration of virtue ethics, normative ethics of researchers as a collective, as well as a consideration for the consequences of research. These sections weaves together some of the practical considerations of the project with ethical and philosophical ways of thinking and being.

This section oscillates between practical methods and processes and philosophical/theoretical ruminations. On occasion, the movement between the two can be disjointed and difficult encouraging the reader to reflect on the 'murky swampland' of academia (Schön 1996).

Qualitative research

Qualitative researchers often have to deal with the criticism of researcher bias which is in contention with ESRC research ethics framework (2015a: 25): '... the independence and impartiality of researchers must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit'. There are two issues then, which are to be considered: independence and impartiality. Generally, it has been made clear that, despite being funded by the ESRC and linked to the *Food for Thought* project; the doctoral project is not an exercise in evaluating whether participants adhere to policies in regards to impact. Nor does it propose to judge individuals and institutions on their *Food for Thought* knowledge and/or activities. Such a frame indicates a value judgment on practice which is inconsistent with the aims of the research and my intentions as the researcher. Instead the emphasis is on lived experiences and negotiation of relationships between academia and practice, as well as within each group, in a complex environment of constant change. Beyond this, I cannot say that I am wholly independent as I am financially reliant on an institution which has its own political agenda and requires me to perform certain tasks. Neither would I consider myself to be an impartial researcher, I am far from being impartial to the situation of looked after children and my

motivations for it being a central element to the research is to better understand the context and to contribute to positive changes for all those involved. As a result, 'bias' is understood to be as Khilnani (1993 in Hammersley and Gomm 2000:151) proposed: 'a new angle of vision, one which brings certain significant patterns in to clearer focus'. This research does not happen in spite of these details but as a result of it.

Self-in-relation

This section aims to highlight the relational aspect of knowledge, as an ethical endeavour, drawing influence from indigenous traditions. 'Guesthood' (Harvey 2003) is a Maori philosophy which entails being invited in as a friend to the community and offers a new way of realising the relationship between the researcher and the participants of the project. Finally a conclusion draws together all the key points of the section.

Within indigenous literature it is common to offer reflections of self-in-relation (Graveline 2000) in which it is acknowledged that 'we learn in relationship with others' (Graveline 1998 in Kovach 2009: 14). Thus, indigenous traditions are preoccupied with *situating* knowledge as part of a 'relational ontology' (Chilisa 2012: 21) which in the Ubuntu philosophy is expressed as 'uthu, uthu ne banwe' ('I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am'). As such research is understood as 'an ongoing search and personal journey that affords multiple and shifting insights and contributions to research relationships' (Swanson 2007: 54). Academic paradigms have been criticised as perpetuating Minority World hegemony over indigenous ways of knowing (Hussein Alatas 1974; Tuhiwai Smith 1999) creating the 'indigenous deficit' (Walter and Anderson 2013: 21). Therefore, self-in-relation as a practice is considered important in order to (re)locate the researcher within the research. As Raymond (1989 in Graveline 2000: 362) observes 'we cannot pretend that we do not care. We look at our subject with passion because we are our subject'. Identifying the key axiological premises that ground this research project is important in order to recognize the community in which the knowledge from this research project seeks to better understand. To unpack the assumptions on which the research is based is an effort to be both transparent and to locate the themes identified in this individual research effort into the wider, collective, debate on impact.

...As men relate to the world by responding to the challenges of the environment, they begin to dynamize, to master, and to humanize reality. They add to it something of their own making

Freire (1974: 5)

The words of Freire epitomize much of the motivation behind this particular research project. As noted in the literature review, the impact agenda falls within a wider socio-political context which favours neo-liberal policies and prioritises the measurable (Holmwood 2011; Pain et al. 2011; Watermeyer 2012). In an attempt to (re)visualise the possibilities of impact, looking beyond the measurable elements it begins to be possible to incorporate the lived experience of impact as a social phenomenon. Inevitably this is shaped and moulded by both academics and practitioners within their respective organisational cultures.

Reflecting on wider Western cultural traditions, Triandis (1989: 508) found that there is a tendency in Minority World culture for the 'self' not to be strongly connected to what is regarded as the 'collective self' as opposed to Latin American, African and Asian countries. Discussing the cultural context in which these observations are to be understood it is noted that in industrialised cultures (from which the UK has historically emerged) 'individuals often find themselves in situations in which they have to choose in-groups or even form their own in-groups' (Triandis 1989: 512). What this means to suggest is that within the UK culture, in which I write, there is a propensity towards individualism as opposed to collectivism, favouring a sense of 'I' over 'we'. This is further demonstrated in a study which found that there was a linguistic difference in students recollecting memories of childhood. Americans were found to use 'I' or 'me' 3.6 times per answer 'whereas for the Taiwanese it was 1.6' (Wang 2006 in Sabbagh 2009:48). In a sense this project is constructed in opposition to this tradition, seeking out 'social workers' and 'researchers' as 'ingroups' and creating a sense of community through a shared experience of impact. In order to achieve this sense of 'us', whilst retaining a sense of the complex and multifaceted way in which impact is experienced, Harvey's (2003) concept of 'guesthood' will help guide the research process.

Created in response to a longstanding tradition in which 'Academics have built and sustained careers by theorising about humanity in ways that have made use and/or mockery of their hosts and sources' (Harvey 2003: 128), 'guesthood' offers an alternative negotiation process with participants. In contrast to working 'on' or 'about' people, it is possible to realise a way to research 'with' participants (Tuhiwai Smith 1999), which helps construct 'better ways of being human together' (Harvey 2003: 133). Although much of the protocol that Harvey outlines directly relates to practices which are embedded in indigenous culture (and notably not in Western culture), such as *marae*¹⁶, it is possible to try and emulate the underlying principles. The approach requires taking the time to be accepted into the community with whom the

¹⁶ Meeting grounds, a sacred communal place for Maori communities to carry out religious and social rituals.

researcher wants to work, allowing them to decide whether the intrusion represents a threat or a friendly guest. In practice I do not think this is an entirely new concept to research, ultimately the participants of research hold the key to their own knowledge and can withhold or misdirect researchers if they consider them to be of a questionable character. However, the advantage of openly recognising this possibility as part of 'guesthood' is identifying the rights that participants have within the research process and the acknowledgement of relationships, negotiation and rituals in the production of the shared knowledge created (Harvey 2003).

An additional factor in 'guesthood' is the element of change for those involved in the process as a by-product of said relationships, negotiation and ritual (Harvey 2003). This research takes the position espoused by Tweed (2002: 253) that 'scholars continually move back and forth between inside and outside, fact and value, evidence and narrative, the living and the dead, here and there, us and them'. This creates simple dichotomies such as 'us' and 'them' and underplays the complexity of human interaction; research is a process of constant negotiation of the self in relation to others.

To conclude, 'self-in-relation' is considered to be a grounding concept within this research project. It highlights relationships as pivotal in the research process; an idea which might appear subverted within the Western culture, dominated by a sense of individualism. 'Guesthood', a philosophy borrowed from Maori traditions, is offered as a meaningful way to respectfully interact with participants and overcome dichotomies of 'us' and 'them'. Reflecting on relationships is especially relevant when considering the collaborative nature of the case study to which this project is aligned.

Ownership

Extending self-in-relation to the research relationships between supervisors and myself as the PhD candidate, it is important to reflect on the concept of authorship in research and the blurred boundaries of intellectual ownership of some of the data from the impact study. There exist overlaps in which the information gathered by myself will also serve a purpose for the academics from *Food for Thought*, looking to understand the impact of their project. Such an issue might arise in regards to publishing for example. In response to this dilemma, Professor Samantha Punch, Dr. Ruth Emond and myself have had time dedicated in supervision to talk through the topics which cross the boundaries of ownership and, therefore, would be co-authored¹⁷ (for example, the impact of *Food for Thought*). Themes which have been identified

¹⁷ Co-authoring in this case has been discussed and the subsequent definition is 'actively contributing in the production of an article by all authored individuals'

as 'mine', in the sense that they are my contributions as a researcher to the impact evaluation of *Food for Thought*, include: methodological discussions, the language of impact and the theory of impact. These agreements have been made, minuted and documented for future reference. This division of ownership will be a continuous process as new ideas emerge the investigation.

Issues of representation

Much of the literature which is dedicated to discussions of power and representation are focussed on cross-cultural ethnographic research (see for example Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Hantrais 2009). However, concerns of being a Minority World researcher in the Majority World context are not incongruous to the ethical considerations of research within similar Minority World nations, such as Scotland, Australia and England. Indeed, in a sense research is dedicated to 'othering and discovering' (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Working with the theory of *raznorečie* illuminates differences between social groups within the same language, but also the linguistic change of an individual depending on whether they are talking to friends, God or family (Bakhtin 1981). One of the aims of the research project is to try to include the multiple voices of those involved in impact and evidence-based practice. This involves individuals from the micro context, carers of looked after children and researchers dedicated to the same field, the meso level, which draws in organisational culture and the macro which encourages reflection on the wider socio-political discourse surrounding the topic (Bronfenbrenner 1979). As previously identified in the section 'Narrative Inquiry', and furthered by comments by Gabriel (1998: 156) 'the most evident danger of story-based research is the selective use of organisation narratives to amplify or reinforce the researcher's preconceived ideas or assumptions'. Reflective space must be taken in order to respect and value all the varying perspectives; qualitative research is not interested in prediction and control of phenomena, instead it seeks to better understand the situation in question (Murphy 1996).

Confidentiality and anonymity

Pseudonyms replaced the names of the participants during the transcription phase and identities are known by myself only. The voice recordings of the interviews and focus groups were transcribed and then deleted, transcriptions themselves were locked away and only I had access to this data. Despite all these precautions it is possible, upon writing up the research findings, that what is said may be linked back to a participant and (potentially) cause problems in the work place (Kaiser 2009). As such the importance of respecting the confidentiality of participants was raised at the beginning of the interview; space was provided to discuss any

particular concerns and suggestions that might have facilitated best practice of confidentiality and anonymity. It was expected that many of those involved in the research will have participated in events and projects previously which have brought up issues such as confidentiality and anonymity and therefore, this reflective practice should not be unfamiliar.

As this research will take place as a cooperative exchange, future dissemination work will consider sharing hi(stories) with the researchers from the original *Food and Care Study* and from universities in Australia, care organisations, and partner organisations of the original research is expected.. This led to an extra step in the writing process in which the researcher took the time to reflect on the presentation of the data to eliminate anything that could, directly or indirectly, betray the identity of the contributor.

Informed consent

Consent is an important element in any research project (Bryman 2012: 138; Boddy 2016: 212). In order to make the information on this research project more accessible, a leaflet was created which detailed the background to the study, what being involved would entail and contact information (see Appendix 3). This leaflet was emailed out prior to participating. Additionally, there were 5 minutes at the beginning of the interviews to review the information and sign the consent form (please refer to Appendix 4 for the consent forms). However, the forms were not collected until the end of the interview with time dedicated at the end to review the consent in light of having experienced the process; this relates to ethical concerns that, until contributing, it is not possible to fully understand what the research involves (Wiles et al. 2007) and the view of consent as a process not an act (Boddy 2016: 213).

Time was spent reflecting on the possible avenues of dissemination and consensus was sought in anticipation of the possible different platforms, beyond the doctoral requirements. These included:

- Opting out of allowing the materials produced in the following activities:
 - The doctoral thesis
 - Training and conference presentations
 - Publishing in dissemination activities
 - Feedback to organisations that have taken part
 - Feedback to the academics of the original *Food and Care Study*
 - Allowing findings to be accessible through the internet

- Allowing the data to be stored in the UK data service to be accessed by other researchers and organisations
- Negotiating the extent to which the above may access the data (i.e. some but not all of the data might be used for some of the activities)

An important factor to be taken in to consideration in the consent process was (bearing in mind the close link this study has with the *Food for Thought* project) was how easy it might be for key stakeholders and staff of partner organisations to decide not to be part of the impact evaluation. In order to meet ethical standards it was my responsibility as a researcher to be sure that participation was wholly voluntary, with no pressure to be involved. In order to account for this, I endeavoured to highlight that participants were under no obligation to contribute to this research project. Additionally, it was stressed that, should an individual not want to participate in the impact research, or should have decided not to answer a particular question, this would not have been shared with the organisation within which they work. The only reason information would have been shared with the organisation is if, in the interview space, issues of concern for the participant or a child in care arose. This was considered a duty of care of the researcher toward the participant (Wiles et al. 2006), but would not have happened without consultation with the participant about how best to proceed.

Whilst care was taken to offer the opportunity to withdraw from the research should the participant so desire, in the interest of transparency, it was explained that this is possible up to the point in which the findings are in the public domain.

Concluding thoughts

The literature review worked to recognise areas of impact that have not yet been attended to by existing research. Consequently, the research questions work towards better understanding of relationships, language and negotiated knowledge in the impact agenda. Making use of both secondary and primary data, with a case study design, although it has its challenges as outlined, offers the opportunity to explore impact. The different data sets punctuate the story of *Food for Thought* across different times and spaces, which centralises the heteroglossic picture of impact as it is lived by academics and carers of looked after children. The process of analysis was a complicated weaving of theory and thematic analysis that responded to both the interview transcripts as well as embodied memories of the primary interviews. This entanglement makes it difficult to create a clear picture of data analysis as neat and sequential, but best reflects the process of this thesis.

Ethics are core to this research project and are not solely answered in the ethics document presented to the Stirling Ethics Committee. As such, it is important to carry these considerations throughout the research journey and reflect on how they guide action.

The next chapters go on to tell the (hi)stories of the participants as they intersect with the literature studied and as they respond to the research questions.

CHAPTER FIVE.

ARCHITECTING AND INHABITING IMPACT

Introduction

The relationship between universities and society is one that has been long debated (cf. Collini 2012). As identified in Chapter Three, these debates have developed in relation to particular socio-political contexts; for example, Shapin (2012) points to the rise of Hitler and his mobilisation of science and the arts to aide his cause which had ramifications for academic practice in relation to society in the USA and the UK; Ings (2016: 434) suggests an increasing social reliance on science to ‘... bail us out of any and every crisis, regardless of what science can actually do, impatient of anything scientists actually say’, which Fuller (2014) likens to a religious faith. Gamble (1996) and Holmwood (2011) locate the rise of the UK evaluation culture to the economic crisis of the 1970s and the need to justify public spending on university research, whilst Williams and Grant (2018) observe the economic discourses from which impact evaluation procedures have emerged in both the UK and Australia. Concerned from a practice perspective, Webb (2001) has asked questions of the underlying rational approach to decision-making of evidence-based practice and found it incompatible with social work values. As such, it is proposed that conversations around the role of the university and academic research cannot escape being entangled in the political, the economic and the philosophical.

This chapter looks at the impact agenda as architecting spaces and relationships that are both political and economic, aimed at drawing university research closer to, in this particular example, practice with looked after children. It is important to note, as it has been elsewhere (Chubb 2017: 556), that not all university academics have found the impact agenda troublesome. In some cases, both the language and the philosophy of impact aligned with those of the participants. Despite this, it remains important to understand the multiple ways in which the participants respond to the implications of the agenda on their praxis, across different roles in the looked after children sector, within different organisations, as well as different geographies.

In this chapter I focus on the spatial relationships of the impact agenda. I am not the first to consider architecture in terms of impact, for ‘institutional architecture’ see Laing et al. (2018: 172) and ‘impact architecture’ see Smith and Stewart (2017: 117), however, these references to architecture have been peripheral. To try and understand spatial configurations is to explore

how the impact agenda is socially constructed in space by policy, and inhabited by groups and individuals. Architecture serves to hold the conversation around impact and evidence based practice between the macro and the micro, structure and agency, centripetal and centrifugal forces and highlights a space that is 'charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history' (Bakhtin 1981: 84). Considering both the architecture that structures impact, and the way in which it is inhabited by individuals is a way of discussing the impact agenda without being reduced to structure vs. agency dichotomies. This links to one of the broader aims to better understand the experiences of those involved in the relationship between university research and society; how spatial relationships help illuminate perceptions of flow, the movement of information between, round, through and over, real or imagined, boundaries. Furthermore, it serves to highlight who occupies what spaces in the both the impact agenda and evidence-based practice, who makes greater or lesser noise.

Bensaleman dreams? Architecting the relationship between academia and practice

The initial data that this PhD project worked with, in regards to the impact agenda was gathered at the beginning of the doctoral journey in 2014, and again in 2018. It is noted that the impact agenda has continually developed over the course of my research, in response to the REF 2014 and in anticipation of the REF 2021, as well as a series of consultations and reviews (Chubb 2017; Williams and Grant 2018). A brief topography of the impact agenda is outlined in this section, drawing on the changes in impact recommendations and guidance over the last four years with the intention of creating a centripetal architecture of impact.

In 2014 the, then, RCUK noted that research councils 'invest £3bn of public funding' and required research, in return to demonstrate the contribution it made to 'society and the economy', which the ESRC elaborated to include

- Fostering global economic performance, and specifically the economic competitiveness of the United Kingdom
- Increasing the effectiveness of public services and policy
- Enhancing quality of life, health and creative output

ESRC (2015b)

Later on, in 2018 it is recorded that £6bn was invested in 'research and innovation' aimed at 'bringing about a positive impact in our society, economy and in our lives'. From this point, impact now had to be included at the outset of funding bids and was required to fall under two

categories: academic impact or economic and societal impact (UKRI no date). Arguably, the centripetal language structured by the RCUK/UKRI and the ESRC has demarcated different spaces: research, and society and the economy. Gadamer (2004 [1975]): 149) argued that buildings should represent an architectural solution, thus the impact agenda is proposed as a way of redrawing the boundaries between the university and society as an architectural solution. This basic architectural structuring of spaces, and the relational landscape in-between, will be mapped out against the language of the participants of *Food for Thought*, and their experiences of academia/society relationships in the context of their practice with looked after children.

Building the relational landscape between university research and practice with looked after children: views from the university

Both the primary and secondary (hi)stories of the academics connected to the *Food for Thought* project offered thoughts and comments on the landscape of the university, their role as academics and the relationship between their workspace and society. As a result, the timescape of this section traverses the processes of reflecting on *Food for Thought* before it was launched (secondary interview (hi)stories) and reflections on the journey approximately three years on from the funding period finishing (primary interview (hi)stories); entangled with contextual references to the changing university landscape (primary interview (hi)stories). Furthermore, the primary interviews conducted with academics in Australia enables an understanding of globalised university relations, and the similarities and differences in terms of conceptualising and strategizing research impact.

In the secondary interviews, all three academics¹⁸ involved in *Food for Thought* (Hazel, Jessica and Craig) acknowledged the wider context of the *Food for Thought* project; the changing relationship between university and society. They mentioned, in some shape or form, the increasing need for a “knowledge exchange dimension” (Hazel) to academic research, in this respect both Hazel and Craig suggested they were a guinea pig (Hazel) or model (Craig) for the university negotiating changing funding requirements. Susan (SecInterviews, steering group), further added that the project was important for a combination of generating income through funding and delivering useful outputs to practice. These responses were made to the question of how the participants’ organisations viewed the project. Therefore, it could be argued that

¹⁸ Throughout the thesis, the participants based in universities will be referred to as academics in order to highlight that, although this doctoral thesis focuses on the research element of their role, as academics, their role encompasses more than research

the way in which the university as an institution architected impact was consistent with centripetal languages which mobilise the university in search of national economic competitiveness (Styhre and Lind 2010: 909).

Perhaps as a result of the impact agenda being in its first REF iteration towards the end of the funding period for *Food for Thought*, Jessica (SecInterviews, steering group) demonstrated a cognisance of the potential benefit for her organisation should *Food for Thought* be part of a future impact case study. As such, throughout the secondary data interviews, the academics' discussions of their perception of the impact of *Food for Thought* for the organisation in which they work directly referenced the socio-political context of the 'contemporary university' in the UK (Williams and Grant 2018). However, this compared with questions around the individual's motivation for being involved in the project. Hazel responded being personally interested, rather than organisationally driven; despite previous comments experiencing institutional expectations and pressures to be involved in this kind of work. Craig mentioned enjoying the working relationship with Hazel and Jessica as a reason to continue through to *Food for Thought*. Therefore, although the academics recognised that impact is institutionally architected at a meso-level, they explained the centrifugal ways in which they inhabited the space with their own personal stories of inspiration which they differentiated from institutional motivation.

Particular to the evolution of *Food for Thought* was the collaboration between academics and practitioners in the development of the training and resources that constituted the outputs of the project. Hazel (SecInterviews,) noted that the partnership was challenging as

... you don't want to bombard people and at the same time you don't want to [...] make them feel that they're [...] they don't have something important to contribute so that's been quite difficult managing that

Hazel (SecInterviews, academic/social worker)

The strategy which *Food for Thought* adopted for impact was collaboration with various individuals and organisations involved in the practice of looked after care for children. This meant benefitting from a heteroglossic range of perspectives which was described as "part of its strengths are also part of its weaknesses, like because we wanted to have people involved all the way through I think sometimes it's been a bit confusing" (Hazel SecInterviews, academic/social worker). Therefore, in trying to engage with multiple perspectives in the impact process, and incorporate multiple voices, she experienced the

impact process as a struggle between the centripetal and centrifugal forces of language. This is not necessarily considered negatively, however, it does propose a more complex picture than the one painted by Flynn (2007: 191) who suggests that there is there is a sense of synergy amongst the various stakeholders of successful collaborations.

Furthermore, Hazel (SecInterviews, academic/social worker) observed that, despite increasing pressures to work in partnerships and commit to getting practice involved in research, there is still little logistical support for meaningful engagement. This includes for example, availability and flexibility in attending events and activities with carers. Jessica too, was forthcoming about some of the difficulties in working to bridge research and practice as being a complex process which, in the case of *Food for Thought*, lacked sufficient time and money. Thus, there appears to be a discrepancy between the theory of practice and academia creating closer links, and its operationalization¹⁹.

Reflecting back on *Food for Thought*, Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) wondered about leaning too much on Hazel, which was identified as tempting because “well Hazel’s good at that because she’s you know she bridges the divides and yes but isn’t that a bit of a cop out you know”. Therefore, Jessica’s reports sometimes relying on Hazel’s role as a social worker, and therefore a “bridge” when Jessica herself “was busy with other stuff”. Arguably, Craig (SecInterview, steering group) suggests a similar relationship as throughout the secondary data interviews, he reiterated his limited engagement with *Food for Thought* as a result of a lack of expertise. He described his role as “to try and do what Hazel tells me to do [...] kind of to be supportive and helpful”, which is to concede responsibility to Hazel to manage him rather than seeking opportunities to actively drive the direction of *Food for Thought* in any way. This finding suggests that, some academics may not have the skills and resources to be able to carry out impact work with practice, or the interest? In the secondary data interviews both Craig and Jessica recognised that Hazel had superior knowledge of the workspaces of practice with looked after children and so ceded responsibility to her. Using an analysis approach influenced by Bakhtin (1981) highlights the position of Hazel within two different workspaces affords her a greater surplus of seeing between self/other, which enables a better movement of

¹⁹ It should be noted that since this impact project, the funding structures have changed and now impact is to be embedded in to research proposals from the start. Perhaps this strategy, in light of the resource struggles of *Food for Thought*, is an even bigger challenge for researchers to manage.

information between academic spaces and the spaces of practice with looked after children.

Aside from the prescribed outputs (developing the training and resources), Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker) hoped that *Food for Thought* might facilitate interactions between practice and academia which, particularly for residential workers and foster carers, might “take away that potential intimidation factor, I would hope a sort of friendly face”. This comment identified the potential for relationships between academia and practice to be imbued with a complex dynamic of authority; one that Hazel sought to overcome in *Food for Thought*. However, Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) expressed a concern for whether the participants of the secondary data interviews would be honest with the struggles of the partnership work or if “they just forget and whether it’s kind of looking back with rose tinted spectacles”. It is not clear whether this concern is tied to the participants’ perceived comfort with critiquing the work of the academics, or if the problem lies with the fact that the method (interviews) for exploring the challenges and opportunities of the *Food for Thought* impact project might limit the reflective learning from the *Food for Thought* collaborative journey.

In the primary interviews Jessica, Hazel and Craig continued to consider the changing landscape of research and research training within the university, and used this as well as the story of *Food for Thought* to frame their approach to the impact agenda. Although all of the academics in Scotland, as well as Fiona (Australia), agreed that the landscape of the university had changed/was changing in relation to their experiences as PhD students, their responses to these changes were varied. As Collini (2012) recognised, the doctoral journey is unique in that it is the only educational training program which is carried out within the institution in which the individual might go on to work. As a result, exploring the experiences of the academics who have been trained at a UK university, and continued to work in an academic environment over a sustained period of time enables a view of how academics are making sense of the impact agenda as it has developed. Alongside other literature which has sought the views of academics on impact (Chubb 2017; Oancea 2013) this doctoral research may provide an opportunity for some of the more marginalised voices in the impact agenda the chance to be considered beyond dichotomies of compliance/resistance.

Reflecting on her PhD experience, Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) recalled the lack of requirement to have impact from her doctoral research: “interestingly I did feel guilty because there was no pressure to do impact, I felt guilty that it was making no difference to my

participants whatsoever". For Craig (PrimInterviews, academic) this was less of a concern as his work was historical, and so impact was framed in terms of "saying something academically worthwhile and a tiny bit original that was and then being able to engage with be part of a wider discourse about the area". As a result of working in/with different types of research spaces, impact had a different meaning for Jessica and Craig. When discussing the changing emphasis on impact Hazel explained

I think it's just a massive political and cultural change, about everything being marketised and erm much more of a consumption base model, and I think it's dressed up as value for money and that people should only be doing work that has measureable impact

Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker)

Thus, Hazel associated the impact agenda with conceptualising the university space in marketplace terms in which salient characteristics are framed in terms of a consumption base model, value for money and the production of measureable work: the entrepreneurial university (Styhre and Lind 2010: 910). This political and economic view of the university space and the doctoral journey was also referred to by Craig and Jessica. Additionally, Fiona in Australia recognised a different university context to when she was studying. She identified her PhD as "discovery research" which would not get funded in the current university context as a result of the emphasis on practical application of research, and emphasis on "how we move from those theoretical implications to real world practical implications". This finding suggests that despite the geographical difference between universities in Scotland and Australia, there may be similarities in the way in which academics tie the impact agenda to a centralised language structure which, arguably, is being increasingly neo-liberalised. However, it is unclear whether the parallel language across international contexts is a result of centripetal policy forces in the entanglement of UK and Australian impact policy-making as explored by Williams and Grant (2018); or whether the parallels come from some centrifugal responses within social discourses that indicated an adverse reaction to the impact agenda (for such responses in the UK see: Collini 2012; Martin 2011; and Smith et al. 2011 and Australia see: Donovan 2008).

In the primary interviews, the *Food for Thought* academics were given space to explore the evolution of *Food for Thought*. Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker) was clear that the development of *Food for Thought* was not driven by the impact agenda, or value for money concerns. She recalled "when we started to present around the *Food and Care Study* it was re- really clear that people connected with this as an idea", from this connection the

academics decided to build *Food for Thought*. This relational way of working was also present in the comments that Hazel made throughout the secondary interview (hi)stories. Despite *Food for Thought's* origins, Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) noted that, as a direct consequence of the impact agenda, they were able to capitalise on resources that were made available to them in order to carry out the project. There are two things here of note. Firstly, the inception of a project to communicate the *Food and Care Study* to practice was built on a connection that was established with practitioners whilst sharing findings with a practice audience. This is distinct from the relationship between university research and practice imagined by the impact agenda, argued by various authors to be grounded in a neoliberal, lineal (Holmwood 2011; Pain et al. 2011; Watermeyer 2012), and a formulaic approach to practice (Sanderson 2010). Secondly, despite not aligning themselves philosophically with the impact agenda, the academics did benefit economically from resources provided by the ESRC in, what was then, a follow up fund. As a result, it could be argued that although the academics of the *Food for Thought* project did not align their values with the impact agenda structures, they were able to use the resources available to inhabit the impact agenda on their own terms. Although the aforementioned issues with resources had an impact too (please see Chapter Six).

Personal values tied to the university space were not often overtly spoken of by the academics, either in Scotland or Australia. However, in considering the academics' responses to the impact agenda, and their strategies to navigate impact, it is possible to suggest some values were considered by the academic participants as integral to the construction of the university space. Although all of the academics agreed on the changes to the university space, they, as well as the early career researcher in Australia, Lindsay, offered diverse responses to the impact agenda and motivations for operationalizing impact strategies. These responses are not easily categorised by discipline or geography, and therefore might be best understood as an extension of the different individual's working identities (Chubb 2017; Matthews et al. 2017). For example, reflecting on the development of the *Food for Thought* from the original *Food and Care Study* (FaCS) was not a direct result of the impact agenda. Instead, Craig explained

I see myself more of a kind of a tradition of being an academic which doesn't think first in terms of outputs and contributions of impact I just think knowledge is of intrinsic value

Craig (PrimInterviews, academic)

Consequently, the motivation for being involved in the *Food for Thought* study, for Craig (PrimInterviews, academic) was about being involved in something interesting around the sociological exploration of food and care that encompassed “notions of memory, and nostalgia and er upbringing [...] the impact agenda had nothing to do with it, the notion that it would have any kind of valuable output”. Thus, Craig agreed with Hazel in that the impact agenda was not a motivation for his involvement in *Food for Thought*. His reason for this was a rejection of what he considered to be impact as valuable outputs, which did not seem to align with his view of research as valuable in and of itself, perhaps finding an ally in Collini (2012). Jessica also mentioned being unfamiliar with communicating with practice, which she attributed to her identity as a sociologist:

we’re normally wanting to explore what’s going on but we don’t necessarily worry so much what happens with it because I see that, well, our role is to explain what is going on it’s somebody else’s [emphasis] role to apply that

Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic)

For both Craig and Jessica being involved in *Food for Thought* was something new and unfamiliar which challenged their phronesis as academic researchers and sociologists (Toulmin 2001). However, in comparison to Craig, Jessica did not consider the impact agenda to necessarily focus on outputs. She noted that the ESRC counted raising awareness as impact, and as a result she maintained a positive attitude towards the funding body “I like the ESRC as a funder [...] it doesn’t have to be about behavioural change or something really concrete” (Jessica, PrimInterviews, academic). It would seem that by placing less emphasis on the impact agenda as obliging measurable outputs, Jessica feels less constrained by the agenda than Craig or Hazel; rather impact (as described by the ESRC) is seen as “quite open ended as to what that might look like” (Jessica, PrimInterviews). For Hazel, working from a social work context which she explained had regular contact with practitioners, connecting with practice spaces was less challenging to her working identity. Instead, Hazel was more concerned with some of the relationships that she had witnessed in the shared spaces between research and practice. As a result, she was cautious not to repeat the relationship in which academics announce to practitioners “we’ve done this bit of research and now I’m telling you for you to be good practitioners you have to do a, b and c” (Hazel, PrimInterviews), an attitude which Hammersley (2014) argues stems from impact language. Thus, opinions from both within the same faculty in Scotland, as with academics in different diverse geographies, suggest almost a unified recognition that the landscape of university research has/is changing and that the

impact agenda represented a centripetal push for university research and practice space to be better connected. However, both Hazel and Craig are clear that the impact agenda as a push for accountability (Lowndes 1997) and framed in terms of 'value for money' (Holmwood 2011: 13) was not a motivation for the development of *Food for Thought*, instead it was posited in terms more akin to ethics of care.

To a certain extent, both Craig and Hazel mentioned a discomfort at the change in academic identity as a result of the impact agenda. Craig (PrimInterviews, academic) observed the process of setting priorities for ESRC funding involve "people down in Swindon or wherever they're based [...] every couple of years they just reassess what's gonna be the priorities [...] then that has a massive influence". For Craig, the process is the wrong way round, being driven by centripetal forces rather than allowing academics to organically discover topics. Indeed he notes that allowing academics to follow their interest is now considered "self-indulgent". Hazel elaborated on how this process might impact on academic research practice

... the danger is, I suppose, is that they become buzzwords 'I've done impact, I'm in an impact case-study' but I you know at a really kind of meaningful level, has your work made a difference I don't know and at what point would you expect it to have made a difference

Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker)

As such, in the primary interview space, Hazel and Craig considered the potential for negative impact of the impact agenda on both the process of academic research and the integrity of academic research (Chubb and Watermeyer 2017). Thus, the reshaping of the spatial boundaries of the contemporary university (Smith et al. 2011), through centripetal forces (i.e. the impact agenda) may be considered to be threatening to both meaningful academic research and meaningful relationships between academia and practice. This finding suggests a link between centripetal languages and value in which the centralised push for impact has the potential to undermine relationships between academia and practice.

In Australia, the conversation around impact seemed less focussed on working identities, as in Scotland, and more on the practicalities of communicating across different workspaces. For Fiona and Lindsay the role of research was discussed in relation to a healthy food and living project tied in to the doctoral research of Lindsay, as well as the general research climate within an Australian university context. Fiona's discourse identified research and society as distinct locations as she explained communicating from her workspace:

you often hear about from bench to bedside, so you know in the lab, and then they translate, you know, they generate new knowledge [...] you've gotta, sort of like, a bench-side program that you've been working on and tapping away in, in like a very protected lab environment, but then you've gotta say how will that work when it's in the real world, with lots of barriers and lots of systems issues that don't necessarily come up when you are working as a scientist

Fiona (PrimInterviews, researcher, Health Sciences, Australia)

This architectural assemblage of the workspace does not explicitly reference the ivory tower; however it evokes similar imagery of a place that is perceived to be isolated from social and political spaces. Hanson and Hillier (1987) highlight the role that architecture can play in the relationships between self and other. Fiona (PrimInterviews, researcher, Health Sciences, Australia) too considers the construction of the scientist through the spaces they occupy: the lab. The relationship between the two workspaces 'the lab' and 'the real world' is built on translating new knowledge from the former space to the latter. Thus, as elsewhere in the literature, there is an alignment in the way that Fiona constructs her academic workspace in relation to society focussed on the lineal relationship between research and practice, as implied in research by Chubb (2017), which might be linked to her 'home' in a particular academic discipline. It could be argued that, in Bakhtin's terms (1981), as a university academic, Fiona navigates the impact agenda using the centripetal language of the agenda without any ideological or philosophical trouble. Throughout the interview, Fiona (PrimInterviews, researcher, Health Sciences, Australia) did mention engaging with practitioners, however, her focus was communicating with policy makers as they were perceived to have more authority over what is prioritised in the practice space (for more on authority see 'Authority and Space' below).

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, early career researcher, Australia) in the same academic faculty in Australia as Fiona, shared a framing of the relationship between the two workspaces similar to Fiona. In her interview Lindsay discussed her future implementation²⁰ plans for a healthy eating project she worked on for her PhD. As well as speaking about strategies to target policy, she mentioned "a multi-pronged approach" in which

...we're gonna work with the department at the top level [...] then we'll do like an individual, to each organisation, we'll do assessment of how they can make some

²⁰ In Australia, their equivalent language for impact and knowledge exchange was implementation

changes that will improve health. So whether that's developing policy within that organisation or, one of the things I would like to do, is reassess their position descriptions for the carers because they currently don't have a focus on health in their position descriptions, things like that. We are hoping that if we can make these changes and then we'll do stuff obviously at the ground level, um we're hoping if we can do that then over time we might see a shift in culture around health if that makes sense

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, early career researcher, Australia)

The ultimate aim for Lindsay is to "embed" her research in residential care practice, which could be seen as an architectural reference to the relationship between research and practice in which the former helps structure the latter; practice that is built on research. Similar to Fiona, Lindsay sees the importance of macro level policy changes in order to make structural shifts in practice in line with her research – a finding that echoes the literature which proposes evidence-based practice in social services (McNeece and Thyer 2004). However, she was also aware of the diversity of organisational context and identifies that some changes will be different depending on different institutional structures. Additionally, Lindsay imagined having to navigate a cultural practice space (Shaxson et al. 2012) in order to be able to change attitudes around health in the context of practice with looked after children. Lindsay's multi-pronged approach to impact is a result of constructing the practice workspaces as both diverse and complex. This slight difference in strategizing between Lindsay and Fiona might also be an indication of the extent to which Lindsay, as an early career researcher, dealt with the day to day communications and relational work within the practice space which she explained required a lot of relational work. Fiona on the other hand, in a more senior role at the university, occupied a position which oversaw much of the work from a university workspace. Furthermore, Lindsay considered how her position as an ECR had an impact on her ability to create relationships with stakeholders, she explained

I think too for me a, a very junior researcher, I don't know how to contact the decision makers and I think that can be a barrier too because you might be meeting with people, but they are not the decision makers

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, early career researcher, Australia)

This finding coincides with the research of Page and Strathern (2016), which suggests that early career researchers can struggle with navigating the impact agenda.

It is suggested that although the impact agenda is architected by centripetal forces, and reinforced by organisational culture in the university, there are diverse responses from academics. Some considered their way of working as always having been driven by behavioural change (Fiona, Australia), others found a way of navigating the process on their own terms and considerate of the potential to reinforce disparate power relationships between academia and practice (Hazel), or ceded the organisation of the impact journey to someone with more familiarity with the practice space (Jessica and Craig). Not all academics agreed on the emphasis of the impact agenda: Craig, Hazel and Fiona considered an increasing emphasis on outputs – an issue for Craig and Hazel but not Fiona, whilst Jessica viewed the ESRC to be quite open ended about what impact might look like resulting in her feeling less constrained. Particular to the situation of Lindsay is her position as an early career researcher which she considers to impede her ability to have impact as a result of a lack of relationships with policy decision-makers. Discussing the differences and similarities in the way that academics inhabit the impact architecture may facilitate a better understanding of the ways in which academics frame successful impact, beyond dichotomies (Drury and Reicher 2005).

Food for Thought foundations: exploring relationships between academia and practice with looked after children and conceptualising ‘success(es)’

The previous sub-section focussed on the spatial relationships between university research and practice, considering both the gulfs and the bridges that academics perceive information has to traverse. The proceeding sub-section moves on to consider how space and relationships create individual and shared frameworks of success. Success was not mentioned in the secondary data transcripts and so the understanding of how the academic participants frame success is best found in the primary (hi)stories.

Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) spoke initially of the international, Australian, reach of *Food for Thought*, where she was confident that it was being “embedded directly in to modules of online training”, using a language that seems more aligned with Lindsay (PrimInterviews, ECR, Health Sciences, Australia) in Australia than Craig. Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) expressed a disappointment that we “haven’t managed to embed it quite so much a bit more systematically in Scotland”. Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic and social worker), however, was less sure about trying to push for big changes, considering “I guess in the quieter day to day I think people, I think it did change, I think it changed enough individual people’s understanding”. Despite this, Jessica maintained

my worry is that eventually it will just die out and there will be no more ripples because there's not been any kind of not been any policy shift or organisational shift as a result

Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic)

To which Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic and social worker) responded, "I would like to think to think that in some very small way we contributed to that there's been this growing momentum about relationship based care". Craig seems to be more aligned with Hazel than Jessica in his exploration of success, admitting to having "quite very low level notions of impact" which were satisfied by the interest shown by the people that engaged with the project; "I didn't think it would change, erm, change the world or necessarily change even the Scottish government's view on how the treat and use food within a whole different range of contexts". As the dialogue between Hazel, Jessica and Craig suggests, understanding criteria for success in the case of impact is not prescribed. As such, measuring the outputs of research as a binary cannot result in a meaningful understanding of successful research impact – as the multiple narratives of the relationship between academia and practice suggest a more complex picture (Drury and Reicher 2005). Perhaps this also chimes with Bakhtin's (1981) view of languages of self/other that illuminate each other which do not necessarily incur a behavioural change, but encourages a consciousness of the other.

Hazel's focus on the small and the relational successes seemed to mirror the way in which *Food for Thought* was built on the reactions of practitioners to whom they presented the *Food and Care Study*. It also encompassed the positive work that was already being done – work that did not need to be changed but instead "confirmed I suppose how good a job an awful lot of carers and residential workers are doing" (Hazel, PrimInterviews, academic /social worker). Impact in practice was not the only way that success was framed. Craig noted "I didn't start out with a view that this must be a success, it's just the fact that the fact of actually doing it is successful enough". As a result, the existence of *Food for Thought*, without requiring it to translate in to the practice space, was enough to qualify it as a success for Craig. Arguably, this perspective extends from the way in which Craig, as identified in the previous section, envisaged academic research as intrinsically valuable. In comparison with Craig and Hazel, Jessica used similar language to the academics in Australia – referring to the extent to which *Food for Thought* had been "embedded", "systematically" in Scotland. This seems to be a diversion from the manner in which she considered the ESRC's definition of impact which did not require tangible outcomes of change but could be satisfied with smaller movements such as raising consciousness of the other (Bakhtin 1981), which in the above extract Jessica

appears to be unsatisfied with. Instead she favours larger, structural shifts which, arguably, are aimed at changing practice behaviours.

In the interview with Fiona and Lindsay together (PrimInterviews, academic and ECR respectively, Australia) they noted that despite seeing the value in the *Food for Thought* project, their expectations of change were still framed by their discipline. Fiona (PrimInterviews, academic, health sciences, Australia) was clear “because we are behavioural psychologists we’re still adamant that we need to, you know, think about behaviours and try and engage and motivate and use our health behaviour to change knowledge”. Lindsay (PrimInterviews, early career researcher, Australia) concurred, further pointing to the positive context of nutrition regulation in Scotland, which she interpreted as greater pressure on UK practice with looked after children as needing to demonstrate behavioural changes around food habits.

To conclude, arguably, the manner in which impact is conceptualised by each academic corresponds to the way in which they imagine their working identity and their view of ‘change’, some of which might be rooted in academic discipline (perhaps most clearly Fiona and Lindsay). For Hazel change seemed to be best understood as small, gradual and in the day to day practice of individual practitioners who ‘carry’ practice culture. For Jessica and Fiona, change appeared more structural and required policy backing. For Jessica this ensured that, should there be a turnover in staff the life cycle of *Food for Thought* would not end. Lindsay considered both approaches to be important in order to be able to change practice; this was particularly relevant for practice situated in a national context which places great emphasis on nutritional standards (i.e. the UK).

Building the relational landscape between research and practice with looked after children: views from practice with looked after children

Participants from a practice workspace also held diverse opinions on research and practice spaces. Reflections from the primary data enabled an understanding of the manner in which practitioners narrated their experiences of research in general terms in their praxis. Comparing and contrasting the different experiences of research in practice for different roles involved with the care of looked after children, as well as across different national contexts, facilitates a heteroglossic exploration of the view of the landscape between research and practice as explored from practice perspectives.

Reflecting on the physical location of the university workspace Josef, from a base in a children's residential care home opined (not referring specifically to *Food for Thought*)

sometimes it feels like research, maybe they're in a bubble. It's done in a way that you're not going to have somebody go in and trash it and destroy it, for example, like growing gardens and things. Where you do the research and you do it in an environment where that isn't going to be a risk

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

Moving between the, seemingly sterile, environ from which research develops, to a complex context (similar to Fiona) Josef) wondered "how does that transfer for us?" Therefore, between the physical location of academic research and his practice, for Josef, is a gulf and he cannot see how the information moves from one space to the other, so that it might be meaningful to him. Perhaps, some of the values that can be attributed to the academic space, such as abstract knowledge, are incompatible with the complex and emotional context of practice of looked after children (Webb 2001).

Frida (PrimInterviews, social worker) and Cecilia (PrimInterviews, foster care support worker) explored some of the darker elements of research and science. Frida ruminated

I think the research is really to try and understand the world and to try to develop our abilities to live in that world with everybody else. Not that it always works out well [...] I mean a lot of the research say for example has a danger

Frida (PrimInterviews, social worker)

Cecilia gave an example of research which has had a detrimental impact on society, referring to the incident which led to MMR vaccinations being associated with autism. The issues raised by Frida and Cecilia demonstrate that, far from a gulf between academic research and practice there are examples in which research has made an impact on practice, but the impact has not necessarily been positive. The positive impact focus of the RCUK and the ESRC have the effect of silencing concerns of how academic research is used, despite acknowledgements that 'even great forces and abilities do not seem to carry with them clear instructions' (Feynman 1988: 5). Fuller (2014: 5) attributes this defence of science on the basis of 'what it makes possible than for what it actually does', in which other scholars have noted the end justifies the means (Solesbury 2001). Working from practice, academic research does not always positively contribute to looked after children practice as it seems to be assumed in the UK science

strategy paper: ‘the benefits of scientific research will accrue to society at large’ (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1993). It could be argued that this finding encourages a re-examination of the role of higher education institutions in society (Bengsten and Barnett 2017) in which a consideration of ethics appears to be missing from the conversation.

In Scotland, the relationship between academic research and practice was deliberated carefully by the participants, and not always favourably. This was true too, of some of the Australian participants. For Hermione, research does not have particularly good links with the practice space in her organisation, she explained

it doesn’t kind of talk to them [carers of looked after children] and in their context [...] they often, especially resi, see themselves I’m like their aunty or their mum, I am just here to look after them like I would my own kids there’s no research about that

Hermione (PrimInterviews, manager of practice development, organisation A, Australia)

As a result, it is suggested that in organisation A in Australia, research does not fit in to the residential care worker’s identity (Webb 2001) and so it is not considered as helpful to practice with looked after children. Malala (PrimInterviews, manager of practice development, organisation A, Australia) also considered some of the difficulties in engaging with learning and development in the same organisation as Hermione: “I think in reality [it’s] really really hard, people find it [learning] very confronting”. One element of the impact agenda which is overlooked by both impact evaluation research and commentary on the impact is the potential for the relationship between academia and practice to be emotionally and physically challenging (for more on this please refer to Chapter Seven). This parallels some of the earlier concerns made by Hazel.

Notwithstanding some of the more critical reflections of the relationship between research and practice, positive associations of research supporting and informing participants’ practice with looked after children were also made. As such, differential spatial configurations of the workspaces of research and practice were not so obviously prominent. Instead, the role of research seemed to act as a bridge: bettering understanding of looked after children’s issues within the workspace (Madeline) and “uniting” those working with looked after children in best practice (Matilda). Research for Grace (PrimInterviews, project manager, England) and Harriet (PrimInterviews, nutritionist, England), working from a social health enterprise, was useful in order to argue for “the best approach” to health inequality issues (Harriet), and to

defend decisions: “the reason we are doing something is a, b, c” (Grace). Emma best surmised the possibilities for research to positively impact on practice by saying

the purpose of research is to find stuff out that can, from my point of view, that can help us undertake safer and more productive practice in what we do. So I mean the point of research, in general, if you’re talking about any kind research is to find something out that will help us to do things better or help us to avoid doing things that are harmful, but in the context of social work I think it’s often about finding, you know, finding out things that will help us work in a safer, more productive way with the children and families

Emma (PrimInterviews, learning and development manager)

Here Emma), as others have done, suggests that research with looked after children should have practice implications, and possible effects for practice behavioural change – reminiscent of the pledge of doctors to do no harm. Thus, where research was seen to have potential relations with practice, when talking about research in general, the relationship was framed using language typical to the impact agenda and evidence-based practice. That is to say that it was lineal (Holmwood 2011; Pain et al. 2011; Watermeyer 2012) and considered decision-making to be a rational/cognitive exercise (Webb 2001).

Several participants in Australia also employed language that seemed to mimic some of the centripetal discourse around the role of research in practice, as per evidence-based practice, which did not appear to the participants to be problematic. Marta (PrimInterview, a coordinator of Lindsay’s health project in residential care homes, Australia) considered that, it was important to have research in order to improve practice. Serena (PrimInterview, regional director for organisation A, Australia) saw the opportunity in research to help her organisation as “we have amazingly beautiful stories to tell but we can’t articulate [them] very well, how we got to those outcomes”. She noted the importance of being able to construct a clear story that explicates their outcomes as important in a context where “the world [is] moving towards evidence based funding”. Thus, some of the suggestions of the participants who were working from both a Scottish and Australian practice spaces, showed a positive view of research within their practice spaces. In the cases in which practice participants did speak of research aiding their practice, the language used tended to echo the university -society relationship suggested in the impact agenda and evidence-based practice. This finding parallels those from Chubb (2017) which found that some academics did not find difficulty aligning the principles of policies which push academic research and practice closer.

Miriam (PrimInterview, manager of a therapeutic children’s residential home, organisation B, Australia), who was confident in her own knowledge base, explained, “the purpose of research [...] it’s just to kind of build all that knowledge and piece all the information together”. Thus, Miriam demonstrated a fluid ability to engage with research in her practice without feeling the pressure for her practice to be constantly drawn from any one model of working. This is something that Emma (PrimInterviews, learning and development manager) demonstrated also, saying “I think research is really important and I really value valuable research but I have there is a sceptic in me around some of the research that is out there”. She considers this important in being able to distinguish between academic research that contributes to the way she thinks about key issues around practice with looked after children, from reading information she can deduce using common sense. Alice (PrimInterviews, social worker) also takes her time to consider how research benefits her practice; she pointed out that “you have to think how you use it [research] to be relevant to the child and the situation”. As a result, it would appear that for some participants, engaging with research required the time and judgement skills to be able to critically reflect on how the information might be adapted to particular self/other relationships, which is more compatible with reflection-in-action frameworks for research-practice relationships (Schön 1996), rather than mechanistic frameworks (Wells 2007) that are measurable.

According to Lavis (2006: 38), ‘battles can be fought over [...] appropriate framing because the viability of policy options will often hinge on how the underlying problem is framed’. Thus far, this research has suggested that the relationship between academic research and practice is experienced variously within the community working with looked after children. In some cases, participants were unsettled by the broader context of research and society which caused them to question the limits of science and research. For others, research enabled the participants to carry out their practice, although in Australia they struggled with mechanistic relationships with research. With these background discussions in mind, it is interesting to explore how *Food for Thought* is framed by practitioners in terms of research use.

Food for Thought: exploring if/how Food for Thought has been useful

Understanding how *Food for Thought* is conceptualised as ‘useful’, or not, builds on both the secondary, evaluation data responses to attending a *Food for Thought* activity which represent immediate responses to the project, and the primary interview data with participants of *Food for Thought* who agreed to take part in a follow up interview who considered how/if the

project had been useful to their practice. This enables the term 'research use' to respond to the hopes and concerns of the practice community.

In the evaluation comments, participants noted an appreciation of re-viewing some of their living and working spaces. For example, the kitchen was considered to be a space which could be shared with the children and young people in care, thus reframing the relationships between the looked after children and the adults through participation in food practices. As an extension of this, processes such as buying and planning meals profited the opportunity of opening channels of communication between young people and their carers, according to the carers. This was more common in the responses of foster carers and residential carers, those in direct contact with children. However, in some instances in which the participant's role was not with looked after children, they considered the impact that *Food for Thought* would have on their personal life and their own families; "while not part of my role, I found the session really interesting, and prompts thoughts of how food is working in my family" (other, reflective workshop evaluation data, Scotland). The usefulness of *Food for Thought* in this context, was the way in which it encouraged the participants to assemble spaces and opportunities for sharing, not just with looked after children, but also within the conjugal families of the workers.

It was mentioned that this space to reflect on the relationships involved in food and food rituals was not often available to carers; noted by all participants but foster carers. Thus, comments such as

...it was useful to have the space and time to think about the crucial role that food, rituals and family values directly affect our relationship with food and other people

(Supervising Social Worker or Manager, reflective workshop)

...it was refreshing to be able to discuss this in an environment that understands what every day resi is like

(residential carer, reflective workshop evaluation data, Australia)

Suggest that across different contexts, both organisational and geographical, the participants of *Food for Thought* benefited from the space created by the project to reflect on food and food practices with looked after children. In Bakhtin's terms (1981), *Food for Thought* was internally persuasive as a result of encouraging the participants to deliberate on their food practices in relation to the other(s), the children in their care.

Some individuals noted *Food for Thought* confirmed what the participant already knew; this observation was shared a few times in Scotland and Australia, but not dominated by any particular job role. For example, one foster carer (presentation, Scotland) said of the experience of *Food for Thought* that it was a “confirmation of thoughts we’ve had on the subject”. After a Train the Trainer event (Scotland), a therapist noted that it “raised awareness of issues I know of – but has brought it to the fore of my mind”. Therefore, for some, *Food for Thought* was about renewing known concepts, and being able to communicate their practice using a new language drawn from research, demonstrated by a residential carer who attended a reflective workshop in Australia: “I have much more confidence explaining the importance of food and food relationships”. This was a finding that was repeated throughout the primary interview (hi)stories as well. On one hand, that *Food for Thought* did not necessitate behavioural change, but gave space to revisit and reflect on daily interactions around food allowed all the participants of the primary interview research a way to adapt *Food for Thought* to their context. This suggests a delicate balance between research findings and practice wisdom in *Food for Thought* (Collins and Daly 2011). On the other hand, it could be argued that research that has the ability to validate practice, has reinforced some of the asymmetrical power relationships between academic research and practice (for more on this please see Authority and Space, below).

In Australia, participants alluded to a complicated relationship with research use, which is entangled with experience of large scale, systemic intervention programs. What this can mean for practice is a reviewing of ways of working that incorporate a different vocabulary, as Michelle (PrimInterview, residential care unit supervisor, Australia) observed “with the TCI we have like they would do it anyway but they wouldn’t use the specific words”. Hermione recalled a scenario which highlighted how carers interpreted interventions, in this case Therapeutic Crisis Intervention (TCI)²¹, as rigid structures for practice with looked after children

some staff walked away from that saying to the other guy who runs the training, oh it’s great now we’ve got a model of, like resi, what resi is all about, we’ve got TCI that’s the model we use. Like they’re talking about it as if that is the whole model of residential care, and he felt like, what no it’s not the model, it’s a very specific thing around dealing with crisis

Hermione (PrimInterview, manager practice and development, organisation A, Australia)

²¹ Developed by Cornell University

Neurosequential Model of Therapeutics (NMT)²² also appeared frequently and required staff to attend multiple training sessions, complete online modules, and a test of 'fidelity' which matches their test score with that of the author of the model. It could be argued that in Australia, the practice space has internalised the lineal relationship between research and practice proposed by evidence-based practice (Beddoe 2011) which was reinforced by some learning strategies. Perhaps participants struggled to be able to commit to saying that *Food for Thought* had been useful in terms of the slow ripples of day to day practice (Whincup 2017) that Hazel seeks, because their language for change is entangled with an insistence that their practice should be changed according to academic research findings.

Comparing the language that the participants used to refer to their experiences with *Food for Thought*, to the experiences of research more generally in practice, it can be argued that *Food for Thought* engaged the participants through a different framing of research and practice than usually experienced. This has the advantage of not encountering some of the issues outlined above. However, it might also contribute to the hesitation of the participants to confidently say that they have used *Food for Thought* in their practice. Reflecting on the self in self/other relations might not create any seismic changes to the practice of the participants, however it could be meaningful to the day to day experience of care for the looked after child, as suggested by Whincup (2017). Perhaps then, focussing on language has constrained the exploration of impact, where participants might not have thought to discuss practices they would not consider important enough to raise. This might be particularly important in Australia, where research use is framed by evoking particular language, such as attending multiple training sessions as well as completing a test. As a result, including a looked after child in the decision for tea might seem insignificant.

Authority and space

Many of the (hi)stories told by the participants indicated complex authority relationships within their institution which mediated their ability to enact learning generally, as well as specific elements of the *Food for Thought* project. This finding was more prevalent amongst participants working with looked after children, across the diverse roles, although it is not unconnected to previous comments made in regards to some of the centripetal pressures on academics to demonstrate impact. An impact research, based on a case study, provides the perfect conditions to critically reflect on how academic research is experienced in the

²² Developed by Dr Perry at The Child Trauma Academy, Texas

workspace in terms of authority, which intervenes in the relationship between academia and practice with looked after children. As a result, this section builds on general research/practice relationships as well as considering experiences specifically linked to *Food for Thought*.

Institutional responses to academia/practice relationships

In the secondary data interviews, participants who were part of the *Food for Thought* journey were asked how their organisations viewed the project; four (of twenty two) responded positively and others raised challenges and ambiguities. Lynne (SecInterviews, steering group) replied “very positively” identifying that “senior managers that have been involved in it are already having discussions about it in terms of incorporating into our learning”. Similarly, Karen (SecInterviews, working group) talks of positive views of the project and trying to communicate with her superior and peers about it. This finding might indicate that individual experiences of research in practice are tangled with institutional contexts.

In some cases, the positive attitudes of organisations toward research were expressed in terms of managing external perceptions and relationships of the institution of the participant. For example, Robert (SecInterviews, steering group) noted that his organisation is one of the larger in the country, thus, there are concerns with the type of reputation they hope to emulate in which “we’re up there amongst the leading lights of research”. Additionally, Rosa (PrimInterview, practice and development manager, therapeutic service, Australia) considered her organisation’s intention to have “an active role in positioning itself in the service system around family violence”. Craig (SecInterview, academic, steering group) referred to a social hierarchy of funding, of which ESRC funding is at the top. Therefore, *Food for Thought* benefitted the university both in terms of prestige and income. Thus, Robert, Rosa and Craig, although working from different institutions and different geographies, seem to suggest that, institutionally at least, research is not recognised as intrinsically valuable, but a means to an end.

Some of the issues that were highlighted by participants in the secondary interview data included “in terms of priorities it doesn’t hold” (Caroline, SecInterviews, steering group), and a lack of conviction in the workplace to see research, more generally, as an opportunity (Lynne, SecInterviews, working group). Additionally, Dianne (SecInterviews, steering group) explains that institutional cuts have had implications for internal reorganising which has interrupted established channels of communication, making talking about *Food for Thought* difficult. The implications of being involved in *Food for Thought* for practice were discussed by Caroline (SecInterview, steering group) “I think the organisation [...] it was the attitude yea it would be

a really good thing to do but we're not really that bothered" which in turn hindered her ability to engage with the extension of *Food for Thought* in her organisation. Julie (SecInterviews, steering group) explains how she had to package the project and sell it as a business model in order to extol the benefits. Andrew (SecInterviews, steering group) noted that, especially where there are instances of being short staffed and other organisational pressures, the importance is in communicating the value of the project in order to "let people see that this is worth doing". These remarks seem to run parallel to those made above by Robert and Rosa in which practice institutions embrace being part of research and leading change. Due to a lack of information on the roles of Caroline, Julie and Andrew from the secondary interview data, it is difficult to attribute the diversity of organisational attitudes to research as fragmented perspectives from across the different levels of the organisations in which they work. Perhaps future research could consider the academic/practice relationship as a symbolic artefact to better understand the different values and meanings placed on it (Strati 1998).

One participant (SecInterview, not named at all for discretion) noted that, as a result of the type of funding that their institution receives as dependent on the government, their strategy favours being involved in policy level initiatives rather than those that might develop the work force. This shifting situation has left this particular organisation in a state of flux, undergoing many structural changes both internally and in regards to the relationships and interactions with external bodies. These findings run in contrast to the suggestion, in the late 80s, that public sector organisations 'have been motivated less by financial considerations than by political considerations' (Perry and Rainy 1988 in Parker and Bradley 2000: 130). Instead it would appear that the types of relationships architected between academia and practice spaces are changing in response to the entanglement between the economic and the political. In the case of this particular participant, this change seems to mean working more closely with policy rather than alongside day to day practice with looked after children.

Specifically regarding food practices, Linda (SecInterviews, pilot study) identified an issue with organisational guidelines restricting her from changing her practice as a catering supervisor: "there's a lot that I wouldn't be able to put in practice here because obviously we have got guidelines and nutrition guidelines". Comments to a similar effect frequented the evaluation data, where the participants were asked to reflect on some of the opportunities and threats to *Food for Thought* being taken forward in their workspace. In the case of residential care, one participant (EvalData, anonymous, Train the Trainer) notes "there may be resistance within the team since protocols are set and quite prescriptive with regards to how staff react/deal with given situations". This was corroborated by Josef (PrimInterview, local authority, residential

care worker), who notes the rigidity in food rituals “our mealtimes here are about half past four and that’s quite common that is about an organisational need”. These findings seem to suggest what Harlow (2003) calls a ‘managerial-technicist’ approach to practice in which knowledge and learning are focussed around ‘law, policy and organisational procedures to carry out their duties’ (ibid: 33). This is in contrast to the implications of learning in which ‘knowledge allows workers to act skilfully and without risk to clients’ (ibid: 33). As a result, it could be argued that knowledge which encourages individual skills to work with clients, in this case looked after children, rather than reinforce systemic, centralised, regulations might struggle to have widespread impact in a social service with a managerial-technicist approach to management.

Individual experiences of academia/practice relationships

Some of the primary concerns for participants of *Food for Thought’s* Train the Trainer from both Scotland and Australia were centred on how carers might receive the information: “staff resistancy”, “lack of interest” and “carers mind sets may be fixed and not want their value base challenged/explored” (EvalData all anonymous). Although some of the research findings coincide with the literature that suggests carers in this sector can, and sometimes do, resist learning/training opportunities; participants reported that *Food for Thought* activities experienced lesser resistance than other, mandated, training. Indeed, the secondary interview (hi)stories revealed that one of the most enjoyable elements of being involved in *Food for Thought* was linking practice and theory (Debbie, Caroline and Julie). The apprehensions raised above in the evaluation sheet data were not discussed by the primary interviewees. Instead, difficulties to enact learning from *Food for Thought* in the workspace were often tied to either the boundaries of the role of the participant, or limits to the extent to which the participant imagined their own authority in different spaces.

On one occasion a facilitator of a *Food for Thought* workshop encountered resistance to the learning space (EvalData). However, the reasons were attributed to a disillusionment with their organisation more generally and a “scathing” view of training; by the end of the day they were fully participating in *Food for Thought*. From the interviews with the primary participants, it was clear that those with roles which encouraged carer engagement with learning and development struggled with attendance to training. Participants who expressed difficulties in getting carers to attend training were Frida (PrimInterviews, local authority, social worker), who noted “it’s sometimes to do with attitude towards learning and experiences of training”; Emma, working from the same local authority as Frida, explained

we have compulsory training we now have a lot of people going, but we've had to really work hard to get people get there this is stuff, you know, they are being told you could lose your registration if you don't attend

Emma (PrimInterviews, local authority, workforce development officer)

This strategizing to push for training attendance was also implicit in the charity that Cecilia (PrimInterviews, charity, foster care support worker) worked for in which "if they attend 90% of the training throughout the 12 months they'll go forward for like a competition".

In Australia, the participants spoke less of the struggle to get the carers in to the training space, instead they were more concerned about the sustainability of learning from the learning space to the work space. This is discussed in more detail in the proceeding chapter on time. It was unclear from the research findings to what extent the way in which the learning space in practice with looked after children was read as a site of tension between management and care workers impacted on the reception of *Food for Thought*. In some cases, it was suggested that because the content that the *Food for Thought* activities offered was so different from the training carers were used to, this attracted more to attend than usual training might (Cecilia, PrimInterviews, charity, foster care support worker). On the other hand, Emma (PrimInterviews, local authority, workforce development officer) connected a general resistance to the training space which extended to *Food for Thought* and a lack of interest from the carers beyond the initial presentation. Therefore, it would seem that the architecture of impact should also attend to the reading of the practice spaces which act as an interface for academia/practice relations. Through the narratives of those caring for looked after children, that it appears that this meeting place – the learning space, might be a site where the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces comes to bear, and, therefore, is not a straight forward access point for academics to connect with practice.

For many of the participants across the different data-sets, the information from *Food for Thought* was not necessarily new knowledge. Arguably, *Food for Thought* then, is both authoritative, due to the generation of the knowledge being located within a university, as well as internally persuasive – as the responses from carers that suggest that they have gained a new (authoritative) language for a praxis/phronesis that they were already working with. Three participants from the secondary interview data drew on the concept of validating their, already established, practice. Marie (SecInterview, senior supervising manager), Karen (SecInterview, working group) and Lily (SecInterview, foster carer) talk about the project in terms of it not necessarily being new in content but legitimising any decisions that might be in

contention with healthy eating. These types of comments implicitly reference wider pressures and societal focuses around the topic of food which focus exclusively on nutrition. The participants represent both residential care (Marie), foster (Lily) and adoptive parents (Karen) which seems to suggest that healthy eating pressures are ubiquitous across the different contexts; *Food for Thought* offers a language to resist an isolated perspective of food practices, based solely on health. For some, the experience made them more confident in their decision-making. Stories told in the evaluation data mirror those from the secondary interview data. For example one foster carer (EvalData, presentation) said of the experience of *Food for Thought* that it was a “confirmation of thoughts we’ve had on the subject”. Therefore, for some, the learning was about renewing known concepts, and being able to communicate their practice using a new language drawn from research, demonstrated by a residential carer who attended a reflective workshop in Australia “I have much more confidence explaining the importance of food and food relationships”.

In examples from the evaluation data, some participants felt emboldened to ask more questions; on several occasions residential carers considered in what ways organisational structures might be questioned as a result of being involved in a *Food for Thought* reflective workshop (EvalData); stating that s/he would “at a staff meeting ask for a review of some of our rules around cutlery”. These findings from the secondary data imply that not all the participants of *Food for Thought* considered that they lacked authority in the workspace to exert change, even if it was not large scale, structural change but in regards to smaller rhythms. However, it should be noted that these comments, particularly from the evaluation data, were the participants imagining possible actions on the basis of participating in *Food for Thought* activities, whereas the primary interview (hi)stories offer a view of the benefits of *Food for Thought* from a practice space.

Despite optimistic comments from the secondary data about *Food for Thought*'s ability to help challenge organisational rituals and reinforce their practice knowledge, (hi)stories from the primary interviews suggest that different roles did have different power in the workspace to act. A poignant example of different working spaces offering different opportunities is Madeline (PrimInterview, catering supervisor at a primary school, and children and young person's support worker), who, in her work as a children and young person's support worker, felt

I have got a little more control like that's my job whereas in catering I kind of have to stand back [...] I can maybe mention something but it's not really my business [...] I need to know my place

Therefore, the spaces in which Madeline can use *Food for Thought* relate to the perception of how much authority she has in that space, mediating the relationship between research and her working practices.

As a support worker, Madeline explained that for her, research

...it's not always something you didn't know but eaa sometimes it gives you backing that there has actually been research and that has been proven sometimes when you're especially when you are out on your own as a support worker

Madeline (PrimInterview, catering supervisor at a primary school, and children and young person's support worker)

The distance that Madeline experiences as working on her own as a support worker for children and young people is bridged by research which offers a connection across the different elements of care for looked after children. On the other hand, as a foster carer Imogene spoke about not being able to work with the children without the permission of others, such as social workers

I can't move on with these kids because you know it's a whole parenting thing it's not one person it's social workers, link workers and anybody else that's involved in it you have to have their blessing

Imogene (PrimInterview, foster carer, local authority)

Therefore, it can be said that the experiences of carers from a spatial perspective are conflicting, depending on their role. On one hand, some direct carers can feel isolated and alone, on the other hand, some are unable to act independently from a team. It is suggested that the movement of research can aid feelings of seclusion; however, this movement should not automatically assume action where the authority to act is tied in to working within a team. Thus, self/other landscapes in care are not just about carer/children but also about other colleagues and how those relationships might enable or challenge extending learning in to the workplace.

Alice (PrimInterviews, social worker) spoke of the boundaries of research in relation to her role, she explained that the running of her own *Food for Thought* event involved editing out some of the details from the research that underpinned *Food for Thought*: “I mean it is a shame but some outcomes from research we dropped out [...] I think is research is more for the professionals”. In the case of Alice, in her role as a social worker, acted as a gatekeeper between carers and research that mediated the spaces in which the research reached. This idea of bounded spaces where research ‘does not belong’ is not something considered in either the impact agenda, or evidence-based practice frameworks. It is more often in the literature on the role of evidence in social work practice (Collins and Daly 2011; Webb 2001). On one hand, Alice’s position might encourage greater debate around the limits of research in the practice environment. On the other hand, it could be observed that there are asymmetrical power relationships in the practice space in which some roles have greater access to research than others.

For some of the carers, their practice relationship with research was mediated by fears of other institutions such as the media. Matilda (PrimInterviews, permanent placement carer, charity organisation, Scotland), despite attending many of the training opportunities that her workplace offered her, deferred many decisions to statutory social work, noting that despite engaging with the training she is offered in her organisation, she can “see the good and the bad in it all”. This coincides with Munro and Hubbard’s observations that

...learning maybe be encouraged only in organisational contexts in which a just and fair approach is taken in assigning blame and the reporting and review of mistakes is carried out in the expectation of genuine change

Munro and Hubbard (2011: 741)

Matilda struggles with decision-making in her practice with looked after children, which she attributes to a potential backlash; a worry for Imogene too. Therefore, some carers suggested that using learning and research in day to day decision making with looked after children was problematic as a result of a context in which “people get absolutely lambasted [...] you’re going to be thrown to the wolves, it’s going to be all over the papers” (Matilda, PrimInterviews, foster carer) where mistakes are made. This suggests that the learning environment encouraged by Munro and Hubbard does not correspond with the experiences of Matilda and Imogene, which has a negative impact on their ability to connect research to their practice where they foresee societal judgement.

To conclude, it is suggested that there are complex power relationships between the different actors in an organisation which mediate the way in which the research/practice relationship is experienced. In the secondary data, organisations appeared cognisant of their external, public image and using close research relations as a means to appear to be at the forefront of academic/practice relations. However, those involved in the *Food for Thought* journey did not often feel that their institution facilitated their participation. Some of these institutional struggles also surfaced in the (hi)stories of the primary interview participants as they shared some of the challenges they faced enacting learning from *Food for Thought* in the work space. Notwithstanding the problems outlined, there were also examples in which participants felt enabled by research such as *Food for Thought* which confirmed their practices, thus giving more confidence to their daily decision-making.

Concluding thoughts

It is argued that the impact agenda architected by the UKRI and ESRC creates a distinct set of spaces: academia which is envisaged as being located within the university, society and the economy. Foregrounding these spaces highlights the structural composition of impact as it exists in the centripetal language of the impact agenda. However, neither academics nor practitioners with looked after children are passive recipients of policies which seek to push academia and practice together. As a result, this chapter was mainly composed of how the participants navigated external pressures for academia/practice to form closer relations.

This chapter suggests that all of the academics involved in the study were cognisant of the changing landscape of the university, both in Scotland and Australia. However, motivations for being involved in *Food for Thought* were diverse. In both the secondary and primary data interview, Hazel and Craig were clear that centripetal pressures to have impact did not instigate the development of *Food for Thought* from the original *Food and Care Study*. Instead their stories focussed on the relationships formed as a result of *Food and Care Study*, both as an academic team and with practice. Information on the motivation for Jessica to be involved was not available from the secondary data, and her responses in the primary data focussed on the opportunities that the impact agenda offered in terms of resources which enabled them to apply for funding for *Food for Thought*. Therefore, although Hazel and Craig are willing to distance themselves from the impact rhetoric, they did make use of the structures in order to inhabit impact spaces that reflect their views of the research/practice relationship. These views were often built on a combination of personal identity and the extent to which the academic attributed intrinsic value to research.

Concerns were raised by Hazel and Craig around the impact of impact on research within the university where they constructed a view of impact which focussed on outputs. Jessica avoided these worries as she took a more open approach to impact, placing greater emphasis on the way in which the ESRC considered awareness-raising as impact and not obliging behavioural change. In comparison, for Fiona, in Australia, the centripetal separation of workspaces seemed to mirror the way in which she assembled the university space and the practice space. Both Fiona and Lindsay place importance on disciplinary understandings of change which involve tangible and measureable changes in food habits and practices.

Success for Fiona, Lindsay and Jessica was couched in terms of 'embedding' research in to practice. These larger scale changes required the participants to focus on communicating with policy makers in order to be able to effect practice change. Meanwhile, Hazel was more content with smaller movements between research and practice that foregrounds the potential affect of *Food for Thought* on the relationships in care for looked after children. For Craig, the success of *Food for Thought* did not tie into research/practice relationships at all; he was content to say that success was inherent in the value of doing research.

Speaking from practice, the participants had multiple ways of discussing the research/practice relationship. Some of the experiences demonstrated a distant relationship (Josef and Hermione), others gave examples of research that has had negative impact (Frida and Cecilia) as well as Emma, who was sometimes frustrated with money that was spent on research to generate 'common sense' knowledge. However, there were also positive reflections of the role of research in the research/practice relationship: it has the capacity to deepen understandings (Madeline) and unify practice (Matilda). Effecting behavioural change in practice was also considered by a couple of the participants (Harriet, Grace and Emma in Scotland and Marta and Serena in Australia). Alice concurred, although she was clear that the implications of research for children had to be adapted to the child and the family with whom she was working, and she could not just apply research findings without taking the time to consider what was relevant.

Despite the discussions around general research/practice relationships in Scotland being tentative and exploring a lot of the various challenges, *Food for Thought* was embraced by all of the participants of the primary data interviews. That it was framed as a space to explore self/other relationships in food and food practices meant that the research/practice interactions were centred in practice spaces and experiences which seem to contribute to its favourable reception. In Australia, the participants of *Food for Thought* were more reluctant to

commit to saying that project had been useful to their practice. However, it is unclear whether this is a result of impact and change being interpreted as implementation of formal programs with a corresponding language.

Critically reflecting on authority and space suggested the importance of understanding the role of institutions in mediating the relationships between academia and practice. In some cases, practice links with academia were used to manage the external image of the institution. Internally, however, one participant explicitly mentioned that the benefits of research had to be 'sold' for research to be valued, whilst other participants struggled to facilitate positive views of research as a priority. A final concern, specifically for *Food for Thought*, was the extent to which institutional rituals of food in residential care might interrupt the movement of *Food for Thought* from the learning space to the practice space. Participants in the primary data interviews did not demonstrate the reluctance to critically reflect on their practice, a concern that was expressed in evaluation data feedback. Instead, tensions between the boundaries of the authority of their roles inhibited the flow of *Food for Thought* in to certain working spaces. Another issue that was mentioned by carers, particularly those in foster and support work, was their role as working between isolation and team work. Thus, in some cases academic research offered a bridge to others that worked alongside looked after children, whilst simultaneously for another participant the presence of others impeded her ability to make decisions without consent. Alice raised the question who is research for which engages with wider issues around access and the choice in terms of learning. Finally, fear of societal judgement is also considered as encumbering relationships between academia and practice decision making in the context of looked after children.

This chapter has introduced and developed the concept of impact architecture, seeking to demonstrate how the participants actively inhabit the agenda, each individual building on their values and experiences. Concepts such as meaningful practice/research relationships, successful research impact and research use built on the motivations of the participants and show the diverse manner in which workspaces are framed and traversed by academics and practitioners. The next chapter continues by exploring practice/research timescapes.

CHAPTER SIX.

WHOSE RHYTHM(S)?

Introduction

Time, it is suggested, is often taken for granted as an objective measurement (Bastian 2017), a ‘fact of life’ (Adam 1990: 1). As identified in the literature review, this has been problematized variously by philosophers and critical theorists amongst others. As a consequence, this chapter is premised on a construction of time that is not neutral (Alhadeff-Jones 2017) but is tied to value (Ghiselin 1971) and is therefore both political and economic. This way of reading time facilitates a better understanding of the complex entanglement between individual and social rhythms in the workplace, with a consciousness that for some, in a care context, the workplace and the home for some constitute the same thing (Punch et al. 2009b: 21).

This chapter builds Chapter Five’s attention to architecture and space by experimenting with the metaphor of music in order to transcend some of the current linguistic devices mobilised by impact rhetoric; how time is ‘spent’, ‘wasted’, and ‘made’ in an economic paradigm. Instead, beats²³, rhythms²⁴, tempos²⁵, rubato²⁶ and legato²⁷ help to reflect the polyphonic way in which the participants spoke of the relationship between academia and practice. As previously discussed, metaphors are challenging (Kelly 2011); music has its own socio-historical associations that are acknowledged as both complex and important, but a discussion of these lies out with the boundaries of this study. However, the borrowing of music terminology does not seek a better truth but a journey through alternative ‘perceptions and inferences’ of impact and, as a consequence, a review of ‘actions that are sanctioned’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 133). It is envisaged that the metaphor takes the discussion beyond dichotomies of slow/fast and good/bad time, arguing that ‘individuals are not victims of time’ (Hirvonen and Husso 2012: 365), but find ways to reconcile the different rhythms they experience (Jones 2017) – although this can be at the expense of mental and physical well-being (Yuill and Mueller-Hirth 2018).

²³ The unit of musical rhythm

²⁴ The element of music pertaining to time, played as a grouping of notes into accented and unaccented beats

²⁵ Indicating speed in music

²⁶ An important characteristic of the Romantic period, it is a style where the strict tempo is temporarily abandoned for a more emotional tone

²⁷ Playing musical notes smoothly and connected, transitioning from note to note with no intervening silence

Impact tempo(ralities)

Time is not often discussed explicitly within the impact guidelines produced by UKRI. This section briefly reviews the impact agenda as it exists in its present form on the UKRI website, as well as ESRC advice. As stated in the methodology, UKRI and ESRC have been chosen as examples of the construction of impact as the latter was the funder for the *Food for Thought* project and the former influences the ESRC's approach to impact. Both the UKRI and ESRC are considered to contribute to the centripetal rhythm of impact which is experienced and managed by the participants of this study, both in academia and practice with looked after children.

The UKRI (n.d: paragraph 1) states that 'UK Research and Innovation collectively invest £6 billion in research and innovation each year to meet tomorrow's challenges today'. Arguably, this extends the concept of 'present future' which

...approaches the future from the standpoint of the present through which we seek to predict, transform and control the future for the benefit of the present. It projects the future as a terrain that is *empty, open* and subject to colonisation

Adams and Groves (2007: 200. Emphasis in the original)

This presentation of time echoes Ball (in Bastian 2017: 49) who argued that 'time must be regulated [...] to suit man's [sic] convenience'. Therefore, it could be argued that the attitude of the UKRI towards time is that the future is empty, ready to be colonised by the present according to the needs of humans. The only other direct reference to time on the webpages is a rejoinder to the question 'why does impact matter?', to which one of the responses is 'shortening time to benefits, and increasing the impact we know our investments have = maximising benefits [sic]' (UKRI no date: paragraph 6). Accordingly, time is presented lineally and attribution is framed through simple causal explanation (Holmwood 2011: 2).

Although the ESRC (2018b) online 'Impact Toolkit' offers no guidance on impact temporalities, time is mentioned six times on the ESRC (2018a: paragraph 10) online article entitled 'Developing Pathways to Impact'. Predominantly it is stressed that knowledge exchange, espoused as interweaved with impact, requires 'substantial' time. Other ways in which time is referred to is in identifying that 'the participation of users is supported by the inclusion of funding towards staff and volunteer time (ESRC 2008a). As a result, the dominant metaphor that underpins the rhetoric of time, in terms of the impact agenda, is economic; governed by

considering how time is spent in order to secure maximal benefits from the financial investment in funded university research.

It is argued then, that political and economic rhythms have aligned to create a relationship between academia and practice which pushes for quickened tempos; directed by the centripetal interests to truncate time in order to maximise the benefits of the financial investment of UKRI/ESRC in academic research. This basic rhythm, and the temporal relationship between academia and practice that it obliges, is mapped out against the language of the participants of *Food for Thought* in order to better understand impact and ‘temporalities in the plural’ (Alhadeff-Jones 2017: 5). Although time/temporalities does not feature extensively in the centripetal language in the guidelines from UKRI or ESRC, it did emerge as a concern for many of the participants of *Food for Thought*, across the different roles, geographies and data-sets. The proceeding sections of this chapter foreground temporal experiences of the impact agenda through a consideration of political time, economic time and material time.

Political time

Political rhythms were mentioned in the secondary data evaluation sheets and also arose in the narrative of the primary interview participants. Most often they were seen as a hindrance, with “new policies (faddism)” (EvalData) being cited as an obstacle to *Food for Thought*. In the evaluation data, some of the difficulties of taking *Food for Thought* from the learning space to the workplace were identified as time, space in the training schedule and priorities. It could be argued that the temporal rhythms of politics (Foucault 1998; Henriques et al. 2014) were seen to obstruct the possibilities for the relationship between academia and practice, in the context of *Food for Thought*. As a result of these findings, it is suggested that for both academics and carers of looked after children, time and priorities reflected values that were tied to the wider political context. This was a finding that found parallel manifestations across the different geographies: Scotland, England and Australia.

Academic priorities: accented beats

In the focus group with Scottish academics, Hazel and Craig debated the impetus for, what is presented as, a constantly changing research agenda

Craig: if you’ve been around for a few years you know what the agenda the agendas change so it’s really difficult to get committed to particular you could sort of go through

every 3 or 4 years the priorities the range of different things change and shift I can't reel them off but they can't be hard to find so the impact agenda and co-production knowledge exchange the names the terminology changes and the em- the priorities get tweaked and

Hazel: interdisciplinarity

Craig: interdisciplinarity

Hazel: and internationalisation that's the super thing

Craig: and it kinda it just there's a constant fiddling or changing of agendas throughout we've been so it's kind of a moving feast so

Hazel: and I think that is the tricky thing isn't it, it's like do you hold your line and say these are the things that I am curious about and interested in from a kind of scholarly position, or if we use the term a game

Craig and Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic and academic/social worker respectively)

It would appear that one of the key premises of the impact agenda in which research drives innovation (UKRI no date) is problematized as a result of a process which accentuates certain beats – foregrounding certain topics whilst minimising others. It is unclear to what extent this process silences the heteroglossia of academia, making it difficult to speak about quiet quotidian rhythms, for example food, in favour of responding to centripetally accented beats. It could be argued that, for both Craig and Hazel, the changing academic priorities seem to reflect a symbolic display of power (Zerubavel 1981: 147) in which cultural trends which structure reasoning and learning (Clark 2011: 62) exert their control over the manner in which academics spend their time. Furthermore, it could be argued that this “moving feast” creates ever changing indicators of success for academics, creating a rhythm of constant production. Pink (2009) has highlighted the damaging results of using a ‘carrot and stick’ approach to encouraging motivation. He cites multiple research findings that suggest ‘contingent rewards [...] require people to forfeit some of their autonomy [...] and that can spring a hole in their motivational bucket’ (Pink 2009: 38). As a result, it is suggested that centripetally dictated tempos and rhythms of academic research practice can, according to both the findings and the literature, demotivate some academics.

Furthermore, Hazel worried about impact operationalization strategies, seeing a divide between academics who play a game and others who resist as a result of tying their research to more traditional values of curiosity and autonomy. Ylijoki (2005: 561) argues that nostalgia for the past 'reveals current tensions and dilemmas through which the idealised past is then socially constructed'. Therefore, Hazel's questioning of the varying responses to the impact agenda encourages critical reflexivity: what academic values might be lost to the newer rhythms and beats of academic research? This leads to asking whether all academics are in an equal position to decide how to respond, which the literature seems to suggest they are not based on level of experience as noted in Chapter Five (for further literature on gender disparities see Chubb 2017: 133). Thus, both the literature and findings from this research project suggest that academics encounter the impact agenda through the lens of workplace values and identities, some of which are challenged by the agenda. However this was not, necessarily, always the case. Jessica's response to the impact agenda suggests she does not experience many conflicts between her working rhythms and those of the impact agenda, instead preferring to see the possibilities that it affords. In Australia, in Health Sciences, both Lindsay and Fiona considered impact as intrinsically connected to their work on health behavioural change. These polyphonic responses to academic beats and rhythms suggest that academics experience the impact agenda in multiple ways.

Temporal conflicts were not solely illuminated from within academia; several primary interview participants noted the temporal limitations of research which is "valid for the time you have done it [laughs] basically" (Alice, PrimInterviews, social worker). Interestingly, the lifespan of research is highlighted as being short-lived; for Alice, research becomes dated by the time it is consumed. Arguably, it appears that research can be compared to technology, quickly obsolete and requiring constant upgrading. In contrast is the view that lifetime learning is a cyclical process, which changes both individuals and the cultural landscape of reasoning over time (Clark 2011: 62). This construction of learning would enable a more complex and entangled understanding of the rhythms of research such as *Food for Thought*, as it engages with the small and daily changes, lived through culture.

Practice learning priorities: accented beats

In Australia more than the UK, the learning space was discussed in the primary interviews as contentious in terms of sustainability. Lindsay (PrimInterview, early career fellow, Australia) outlined her view: "my personal perception is that, like there's a lot of initiatives and programs

that are implemented in this sector, so staff are continuously being given a new program and a new idea". As a result of this, when Lindsay started connecting with staff in the sector

I remember feeling that initial resistance, you know I could nearly feel them rolling internally rolling their eyes thinking, this is just another program it's not gonna stick. In two years time we won't even be talking about [health project] we'll be talking about whatever, the next thing

Lindsay (PrimInterview, early career fellow, Australia)

It is suggested that the accented beats of current politics creates such a pace of change which subsequently results in a lack of both practice engagement and sustainable learning from research. A feeling of 'constant renewal' (Taylor 2014) in practice learning was reiterated by participants reflecting on the issues around workplace learning rhythms. Considering this point from a political perspective, Hermione (PrimInterviews, manager of practice development, Australia) concurred noting that a change in government means "they just like get rid of a whole program and start a whole new one". Thus, political rhythms might be argued as creating time pressure on human service work which 'can create a sense of powerlessness and stress for professionals' (Colley et al. 2003: 376). However, the experiences of Lindsay (as outlined above) suggest that carers of looked after children create their own pauses, through resistance, in learning rhythms as a way of resisting centripetally accented beats, perhaps creating a tension in the relationship between academia and practice. Arguably, these findings link to the concept of identity agency used by Hirvonen and Husso (2012: 360) which is concerned with 'the habitual patterns of behaviour and the practical exigencies created by the organisational and societal temporal framings of working life', characterised by repetition (Hitlin and Elder 2007), that is to say that the social timeframes of knowledge as 'new' rather than 'sustainable', might contribute to a pattern of behaviour – a reluctance to engage with the learning space.

Speaking from a position of management, Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager of evaluation research and policy, Australia) considered that the organisational issues around persevering with *Food for Thought*, on an institutional level, is part of an issue bigger than *Food for Thought* in which she noted:

... we've been pretty lousy at implementation over the years, we've we like the shiny new practice initiatives, um the ideas we're very interesting conceptually in new ways of

thinking and doing, but we have been rather poor at, um, thinking through you know effective implementation um and, you know, sustainability

Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager of evaluation research and policy, Australia)

This interest in the new was reiterated by others in the same organisation as Malala, in which a perceived lack of engagement with *Food for Thought* was framed in terms of a clash with other training. Claudette (PrimInterviews, clinician, Australia) lamented the timing of *Food for Thought*, which she attributes to the decision not to continue pushing for its continuation:

it's that rolling TCI [Therapeutic Crisis Intervention] out has to be, because they're still having problems with rolling that out as well, so they're like let's get one thing right before we move on to the next thing

Claudette (PrimInterviews, clinician, Australia)

To further compound the issue, "TCI is compulsory across [organisation A] where *Food for Thought* isn't, so they're giving priority to making sure their staff roll out TCI properly um versus *Food for Thought*". In this case, as previously mentioned, prioritising certain training has material consequences for resources and time allocated to TCI compared to *Food for Thought*. Additionally, it is difficult to disentangle *Food for Thought* success in Australia, from a context in which often learning came with 'big change' – encompassing a change of language, system wide. Perhaps it might then be said that the 'habitual patterns of behaviour' (Hirvonen and Husso 2012: 360) in Australia, are ones which emphasise change as large scale and systemic. These findings may indicate that the centripetal language of change in Australia does not facilitate experiences of research in practice that concentrate on small gestures and particular self/other rhythms, such as those advocated by *Food for Thought*, as noteworthy.

As well as disrupting decision making, observed in the next analysis chapter, the relationship between the way the media report on children and families involved in the care system was mentioned by several participants in relation to changing the rhythms of learning and the perception of priority topics. Emma used the example of the J report in order to illustrate her experience of the response to high profile cases in the media: "the Scottish government or whoever the power might be might say this needs to happen now [emphasis] right training needs to happen and it needs to happen now [emphasis] ". Emma explained needing to be measured in reaction to "you know people getting panicky about having everything out tomorrow" in which she assumed a role as a buffer between practice and government

I think we have much more measured view in terms of what do ... and what we need to do then to make sure that people have really informed sense of what's going on, because you don't want to put together a terrible training program that's not fit for purpose in order to get it out on Monday, rather than putting it out on Friday and knowing that it's quality stuff that's fit for purpose

Emma, (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Thus, as for academics in the section above, so for practitioners working with looked after children, the symbolic display of power (Zerubavel 1981: 147) that external bodies exert in attempting to dictate the timescape of the work of practitioners, requires tempering. As a result, it might be argued that Emma resists pressure to respond to abstract notions of time focussed on 'measuring labour [...] indifferent to material content' (Colley et al. 2012: 375), that shift caring practices toward 'surveillance and control' (ibid: 385) on the basis of time quality. Instead, her focus is on the particularities of care in her organisation *in relation to* the priorities dictated to by the government, stressing the need to read these priorities with a local lens.

The extent to which priorities have become unquestioningly embedded in practice, is offered by Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer) who, considering the interview space reflected "it's been really interesting today to be able to chat about that, because it does make you reflect, oh god, what has become priority".

Food matters: unaccented beats

Academics in Scotland, England and Australia, although differing in discipline, were united in considering food as an important element of care – whether nutritionally focussed (Australia and Harriet and Grace in England) or as symbolic communication (Scotland). However, transitioning across to organisations caring for looked after children, food rhythms were not considered a priority; important for individuals, it was not considered an organisational priority. As a result, organisations did not seem to offer the participants much support in being involved in *Food for Thought*. This was indicated in the secondary interview data from those involved in the journey of *Food for Thought*, the evaluation data collected immediately after the participant's involvement in *Food for Thought* activities, as well as primary interview participants reflecting on their experience several years later.

Time to dedicate to the journey of *Food for Thought* was considered throughout the secondary data interviews. Susan (SecInterviews, steering group, Scotland) noted

people go back to their organisations and they've got all sorts of constraints on them so they've got policy directives coming at them, they've got organisational restructuring going on, they've got demands of their own workloads going on they've got, people going off sick, they've got people on holiday, all these things that don't necessarily fit within our timescale

Susan (SecInterviews, steering group, Scotland)

In this case, Susan is concerned that the rhythms of the impact agenda, as they manifest in the co-production journey of *Food for Thought*, do not accord with the organisational rhythms of working with looked after children, a point that is also noted in coproduction literature (Flynn 2007: 191). Caroline (SecInterviews, steering group) made similar observations that although her institution considers the project in a positive light "in terms of priorities it doesn't hold". However, more often than not, the literature on collaboration and change seems to focus on large cultural changes, rather than the small gestures that children in care have noted as making a difference to their experiences of care (Whincup 2017). Thus, similar to the case of Australia, it is unclear whether, as a result of linguistic frameworks for change preferring large systemic change, the small micro rhythmic changes encouraged by *Food for Thought* are overlooked.

Andrew (SecInterviews, steering group) identified some organisational issues with *Food for Thought* "there's always the danger that some of it would be seen as a little bit esoteric [...] actually we've got all these reports to get in". It has been argued elsewhere that management has shifted social work, more generally, toward a task-based effort in order to facilitate the measurement of outputs (Harlow 2003). Perhaps as a result of this, submitting reports seems more urgent, and in some cases legally binding, and the paperwork in care comes to dominate how care is imagined. Link back to Food for Thought?

The concerns of the secondary interviews, which were also mentioned in the primary interviews, Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer) considered "I'm not saying this is right but it [*Food for Thought*] wouldn't be necessarily seen or felt as a priority". Emma explained, when considering whether she should have tried harder to push to accentuate *Food for Thought* in her organisation, "I've got to pick my battles". Thus, the learning space is conceptualised as a battlefield in which the dominant presence is that of "urgent subjects and

themes” rather than what might be seen as important but not exigent, i.e. food. Alice, too, found that in her organisation the relationships around food could be lost amongst “service priorities about safety: emotional and physical”. In Australia, Serena (PrimInterviews, regional manager, Australia) spoke less of priority, instead talking of urgent issues although the concerns are paralleled

the difference between what’s urgent what’s important and what’s you can let go to another day, that’s really kicking in so, if I’m saying um, so if you don’t have your fire drills up to 100% scratch, you’ll fail, you’re closed

Serena (PrimInterviews, regional manager, Australia)

It could be said, therefore, that a discourse around urgency and priority dictate the types of research and learning that are accented in practice spaces. The implications for practice/academia relationships are most explicitly expressed by Harriet (PrimInterviews, nutritionist, England) in England. Harriet reiterated the points of Emma and Alice with regard to the low level of priority that food with looked after children occupies “safeguarding is the main priority” and therefore “initially when wanted to do the [food] training we had a lot of barriers because; again, time and priorities are different for them” (Harriet). One of the material impacts of food and healthy eating being an unaccented beat, not a practice priority, for Grace and Harriet was a lack of funding for organisations to be able to pay for resources. Furthermore there was reduced time available to dedicate to food training with carers of looked after children.

Organisational rhythmic clashes were not; however, the only struggle for the primary interview participants. When Josef attended the *Food for Thought* activity, he was newly in the job and, as a result, felt that he personally had to attend to a lot of different things that were competing for his attention. For this reason

it [*Food for Thought*] just got left behind and gradually just disappeared. So it’s not a reflection on the programme, it’s not a reflection on any of the information that we got from it. It was just a reflection of the timing for me

Josef (PrimInterview, residential care worker)

This suggests that the timing of *Food for Thought* was not just difficult on an organisational rhythmic level, but it could also conflict with individual rhythms and working cycles. Literature which highlights the emotional and somatic nature of learning (Sansone and Thoman 2005;

White 2007) accentuates the importance of context in adult learning. Furthermore it is suggested that engaging with the learning process over time (Sansone and Thoman 2005) can create a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between emotion and learning processes. Future research in adult learning might want to consider both individual and organisational rhythms as part of the learning process.

Although these clashes in unaccented and accented beats in workplace rhythms suggest practice/academia relationships are dominated by conflict, reflections on *Food for Thought* show this is not always the case. As noted by a participant of Train the Trainer (EvalData, anonymous, Australia), “we don’t often have the opportunity to reflect on our food practices”. This was not the only such comment made. Thus, what *Food for Thought* represented for some of the attendees, through both content (food) and context (time away from the workplace) was an opportunity for the carers to ‘make time’ to think about food and relationships. It has been posited that neoliberal education narratives focus on a future that is perceived to be open and colonisable, leaving little space for stillness and reflection (Adams and Groves 2007). Arguably, some of the attendees found in *Food for Thought* a way to resist these narratives, holding the time/space to consider self/other relationships through attention to micro-rhythms in care practices. Thus, *Food for Thought* did provide opportunities for carers to engage with the unique rhythms of their self/other relationships.

Economic time

This section builds on the previous section’s attention to political rhythms by highlighting the ways in which the social construction of work through economic language can permeate working identities. Furthermore, it emerged from the primary data interviews that workplace temporalities blurred with non-working time, in order to be able to attend to what was not considered a priority by centripetal forces; the second topic discussed here. Exploring the learning processes of the carers involved in *Food for Thought*, illuminated the nonlinear relationship between learning and caring, and alluded to the embodied nature of caring which led to an energetic debate between the relative merits and challenges of both online and face to face learning.

Worktime boundaries as legato

Considering the different ways of defining ‘working time’, Jessica (SecInterviews, academic) noted that despite the increased emphasis on academics engaging with practice, the timescale and budget to support impact were minimal and always understood in terms of a cost-benefit

analysis. As a result, evaluating the lessons from *Food for Thought* and impact projects, Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic) felt limited in being able to apply some of the learning which might result in an increased budget as “you can’t cost yourself out the market” she added, “you don’t want to be seen as not good value for money”. Ultimately,

...[Y]ou don’t put realistically down the amount of hours you will actually spend on the project because you’ll be way too expensive, so you have to cut your time right down to the absolute sub-minimum which isn’t really realistic.

Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic)

This perspective provides a sharp juxtaposition with the ESRC toolkit, which advises ‘supporting space and time for collaborative reflection on research design and process, findings and overall progress’ (ESRC 2018b: n.p). Using *Food for Thought* as an example, time and resources were dedicated to collaborative reflection, but there appears to be a lack of mechanisms to feedback into centripetal impact rhythms to, where appropriate, ‘unhasten[ing]’ (Pels 2003) them. Thus, impact is built around contract time (Ylijoki and Mäntylä 2003: 65) and Jessica’s view of herself started to slip into the economic marketplace, suggesting that the language and values surrounding impact, in this context, has been ingested and become part of her working identity.

The imagery of a musical legato also helps carry the idea of working time sliding into non-working time and was repeated frequently across the different datasets, evoked to explain how some of the participants overcame other responsibilities which might, and did, take them away from *Food for Thought*. Robert (SecInterviews, steering group) explained that, should his organisation not have granted permission to be part of the project, he would have done it in his own time. Lynne (SecInterviews, working group) acknowledged that she had the advantage of not working on a Friday and therefore had the time flexibility to work an extra day on *Food for Thought*, unpaid. In the secondary data interviews both Robert and Lynne demonstrate examples of extended working rhythms that slide into non-working. Jessica (SecInterviews, academic) mentioned a clash of work rhythms, which meant she took a sabbatical in another country during the funded period of *Food for Thought*. It seemed that this time away, instilled a sense of guilt, and an ethic of care toward the project meant that she, on return from a sabbatical abroad, worked in the evenings and on weekends on *Food for Thought*, in order to meet what she considered were her responsibilities. This is another example of an extension of working rhythms beyond the boundary of the working day in which worrying, ‘spilt over’ the abstract concept of ‘the working’ day into weekends and evenings (Colley et al. 2012: 385).

Harriet (PrimInterviews, nutritionist, England) pointed to the fact that, because of the program that they ran having a nutritional element and not just *Food for Thought*, the *Food for Thought* message was condensed and so the materials provided an opportunity for the participants to leave the learning space and “in your own time you can spend more time if you want to” (Harriet). The assumption is that the presence of materials enables the participants to take further action outside of the learning space. Thus, materials become transitional, moving between different spaces and again suggests a legato between work and non-work time. This was echoed by Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer) “there is a sense that people can maybe read about that [*Food for Thought*] [...] find out a bit more about it themselves”. As such, it would appear that care work falls into the category of professionals that are ‘always on the job’, in which, ‘there is little distinction between who you are and what you do’ (Zerubavel 1981: 148). Gerrard (2014) highlights the paradoxical, political use of education as the saviour of social problems and the central role it plays in the competitive global marketplace, whilst simultaneously noting that the changing pace of globalisation and technology requires constant engagement with education. As a result, ‘much contemporary self-work, learning and education (formal and informal), is shaped by the cultures of commodities, and inextricably linked with the need to accrue value upon the self’ (Gerrard 2014: 836). It might then be suggested that centripetal discourses that prioritise certain learning in the workplace, in the context of care of looked after children, relies on the carers’ integration of learning into part of their working values in order to blur the boundaries around working, non-working and learning time.

In order to mitigate the capacity for learning to be a vehicle for neoliberal capitalism (Garrard 2014: 876), one requires an ethics of learning that is attentive to structural inequalities. The reasons that this is important is apparent in the example of Imogene who explained

...and I can see that this child’s hurting I want to know why that child’s hurting [...] I like all that [learning opportunities] because I think, god, that can only help not just yourself but the kids.

Imogene (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

This coincides with the literature on ethics of care which ‘has to do with feeling concern for and taking charge of the wellbeing of others’ (Waerness 1984: 188), as the learning sought by Imogene is a response to the needs of the children that she cares for. However, a critically reflective approach to learning might identify the ways in which this approach to learning can collide with economics, blurring working, non-working and learning temporal boundaries. As

mentioned above, formal learning as a method for accruing value, in this case as a carer, can extend economic rationality (i.e. competitiveness and entrepreneurialism) into working identities and police their knowledge systems. As a result, the learning systems in place contribute to Imogene's search for knowledge out with her body and experiences to respond to the children. Notwithstanding that this is not necessarily undesirable, given the complex needs of children in care and an acknowledgement 'that more theoretical knowledge does not always improve the quality of caregiving work, should not lead to the conclusion that less knowledge would be better' (Waerness 1984: 193). What is in question, if not the dichotomising of good and bad knowledge, is the interplay between knowledges as they are understood to be linked with economics and value, in relation to the relationships that occur as a result of the impact agenda. Put in other words, to what extent does the impact agenda perpetuate discourses which propose that

...success simply comes if you work hard enough to accrue value, study hard enough, and that a transformation in your character or skill set will always relate to a transformation of the social relations which structure contemporary inequalities

Gerrard (2014: 874)

It is posited that critically engaging with care work and learning could consider learning temporalities and the corporality of learning processes.

Learning rhythms as rubato

This section looks at the participants' experiences of learning more generally, in order to explore learning processes as they engaged with the emotional, somatic work of caring.

In terms of time, carers of looked after children demonstrated a complex relationship with learning. Therefore, frameworks which look to understand the benefits of professional education in economic terms (cf. Cohen and Addison 1998; Hout 2012) are advocated as being inappropriate in a care context. The uncertainty of the future, for the participants, meant engaging with learning in anticipation of imagining a range of possibilities, as in Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992: 22) 'practical sense' which 'reads in the present state the possible future states with which the field is pregnant'. This idea is present in Imogene's (PrimInterviews, foster carer) reasons for attending a self-esteem training course after a child left her care

... it was a bit like bolting the stable door after the horse has bolted, but I'm going to be there with a young girl that I've got now in 10, 8 years time, erm, so I thought it was worth doing

Imogene (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

The objective for Imogene is not a question of efficient relationships, as conceptualised by Taylor (1967) and rhythmatised by the Ford conveyor belt. Arguably, the experience of Imogene is a complex entanglement of past, present and future, which does not correspond to economic tempos, but the embodied experience of sadness and loss, potentiality and hope. This shows the possibility for practice/academic relations to be a demonstration of positive action taken by carers to respond to their experiences.

Some of the ideas that can be drawn from Imogene's experience are also consciously deliberated on by Malala. Explaining her vision of learning, Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager - evaluation, policy & research, Australia) contemplated the importance of holding a safe learning space (Shuck et al. 2007: 113) for those working with looked after children, looking to build a culture of learning around "a much more active learning orientation of teams that is capable of sort of respectful and robust critique, you know of self and other, the purpose of learning". However, developing beyond an oratory is difficult, as "I think in reality it's really, really hard, people find it very confronting". Both Imogene and Malala demonstrate the entanglement between learning and the embodied temporal rhythms in which past, present and future collide. This ties in to Horst's (2008: 1) definition of embodied learning which 'literally means giving a body to learning'. Additionally, Malala's attention to active learning and self-reflective work is more in line with Schön's (1996) reflective practice than learning for future gains as expressed in economic terms.

For the participants involved in generating and running training for those in practice, they demonstrated cognisance of the competing pressures of practice, notably with regard to the embodied rhythms and echoes of the carers' experiences. This position is best explained by Alice, who elaborated on why she chose to have three facilitators for the *Food for Thought* activity she ran

you have to be careful how you train and cannot, to minimise their experience, not to expose them too much but also not to ignore them, if necessary you can acknowledge their experience

Alice (PrimInterview, social worker)

Serena (PrimInterviews, regional director, Australia) also considered the wider context of looked after children noting “probably a lot of our kind of significant proportion of our support workers have got a background of some kind of trauma themselves”. A sensitivity to the experiences and backgrounds that are present in the learning space, mirrors some of the reflection in action proposed by Schön (1996). It also speaks to the feminist social work literature which problematizes the overtly Cartesian and abstract approach to critical reflection at the expense of the body (Sodhi and Cohen 2012: 132), although the latter literature lacks a temporal element that this research has shown is entangled with embodiment and affect. These comments further illustrate that learning is not necessarily future focussed for carers, critical reflective learning encourages facing the past and understanding how that might manifest itself in small, daily habits and self/other relationships.

Furthermore, in Australia, Claudette recalled her experience of working with residential care

It’s challenging [laughs] it’s, it’s quite challenging because, um, it’s very crisis driven work in residential care, so when you’re asking people to slow down and have a think about things it can be a really challenging experience for them, um and, and it’s hard not to get yourself caught up in the crisis of what’s going on in residential care as well, so it’s a lot of um, self-reflection about, is this a time I’m being caught up in the crisis? How do I help myself slow down so I can help them slow down and think about the child?

Claudette (PrimInterviews, Clinician, Australia)

As such, it could be argued that for Claudette, timescales can have an institutional feel which is driven by crisis. In this context, reflective practice can be difficult to achieve because the conditions required are not always facilitated by practice temporalities. Furthermore, Claudette’s perspective might suggest that the crisis environment, aligned with speed, has a gravitational pull to it, as she asks “is this a time I’m being caught up in the crisis?” In this case self/other relations are considered as the slowing down of others being linked to her own ability to slow.

However, opportunities are not always driven by the learning needs and rhythms of carers.

Matilda highlighted the economic concerns of being involved in training opportunities, from a rural workspace

but if we were travelling for training regularly, they would need a support worker in each house looking after the youngsters, and to pay our travel and, you know, we can, we, you can complain and we have sometimes, but you’ve still got to be realistic that’s a huge

cost and they are running a business, I know it's not for profit, but they are still running a business

Matilda (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

Harriet and Grace also highlighted the time commitment to learning; in their role they seemed to have more autonomy than Matilda to decide which learning courses they attended. Explaining the reasoning process, weighing up the time spent is a case of evaluating "is it actually valued, is it going to benefit my role and the organisation", in order to determine "yea, it's worth doing it" considering "it is cost effective or not" (Harriet, PrimInterviews, nutritionist, England). As such, time becomes currency (Adam 1995: 106). For Harriet, this deliberation ensures avoiding 'wasting time' learning: "then you know your time's not going to be wasted. There's nothing worse than going to something and wasting a day and you're like eughh". It can be seen then for some the relationship between research and academia seems to be focussed on economic factors and instrumental gains. So, although Harriet and Grace appear to have more autonomy to choose their learning rhythms, they are still regulated by economic concerns of payback and return on financial investment.

Matilda explained that she was cynical about "training", noting the potential for learning to be a 'waste of time', where the rhythms were overly repetitive and shallow. She recalled

... the health and safety care that was outsourced and the guy came up and he went, oh I worked with you last time, and oh well the good news is nothing's changed – so we'll just go back over what we did last time, and you're like oh come on this is a day of my life

Matilda (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

The regulated, repetitive rhythms of learning reinforce certain elements of care work with looked after children, in this case with health and safety, as with others mentioned by other participants of the primary interviews; arguably engraining risk averse habits and more a institutional elements of care (Hirvonen and Husso 2012: 360). What seems particularly stark is the way in which the learning centralises the body, albeit in terms of staying healthy and safe and yet repeated, unchanged information has the effect of shutting down any embodied engagement with the topic. In this context, *Food for Thought* was received favourably, different from the usual learning/training opportunities and engaged with the embodied relationships that carers experienced between self/other in their day to day, as suggested in the previous section on 'Political Time' and further developed in Chapter Seven: *Food for Thought and the Body*.

Learning and space

The debate between online and face to face learning, in some ways, touched on wider debates on economic pressures and the corporeality of care. For Emma online learning enabled carers to engage with the topic on their own terms

If they do online they can pick and choose, right I know I am going to have an hour here or there, and if I need to leave for an emergency I can save it and come back to it or whatever

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

One advantage is, as Emma outlined, that the format is flexible. However, from a learning perspective it might be argued that learning becomes fragmented – time for learning is time ‘in-between’. Additionally, Rosa noted the benefit of online learning as enabling flexibility because it does not require the coordination of a group

So things are online, things are, more individual. You don't come together as a group to do it, it's usually you are doing it between your clients and your case notes and everything else. So it's more flexible in that regard

Rosa (PrimInterviews, therapeutic workforce development, Australia)

However, both participants also considered some of the issues with online learning. Emma demonstrated a sensitivity in taking time to do face to face training as she described

I do advocate the use of face to face training a lot, even though it actually makes my job more stressful because I have to deliver a lot of it, but the importance of getting people in the room to discuss what's going on so, an example, I mean you talk about the television earlier and someone said, well I heard on the telly blabla, and somebody else can say well actually that wasn't factual because what happened was this, or lets unpick that, I would say let's unpick, what does that mean and how do people look at their anxiety level and how they're managing things, because that's really important because if you've got carers and social workers who are not really dealing with things in a measured way, that's going to reflect on the children the children will pick up on that

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Rosa noted

I think in this field there are also things that can't be online. So, people need to be able to have relational experience of training and share their experiences as well

Rosa (PrimInterview, practice and development manager, therapeutic service, Australia)

Debating whether she thought *Food for Thought* would work as an online module, Rosa highlighted some of the logistical problems that the learning time/space can trigger

Look it would overcome a lot of the difficulties that we had in terms of getting people to training but like I said they have to do it, that doesn't mean it it'll work I think from the two that I've done, having those groups that it's designed it set up for group discussion, group activities [...] I can't really envisage a Train the Trainer online

Rosa (PrimInterview, practice and development manager, therapeutic service, Australia)

Despite the possibilities that online learning affords, most clearly in terms of logistics, elements of *Food for Thought* were not seen as compatible with individualised learning as a result of requiring the learners to inhabit the same space/time in order to share with the collective their embodied experiences of food and food practices with looked after children.

In another example, a view from the university, Lindsay outlined her reasons for establishing an online module for her health project

the reason that we want to do online is coz feedback suggests that doing face to face is very costly for an organisation, because they have to pay that staff member to attend and then they have to back fill the staff member in the unit as well, so it's expensive, so that was the feedback and there's also already quite a crowded space

Lindsay (PrimInterview, early career fellow, Australia)

Her explanation for online learning echoed those offered by Emma and Rosa, centralising economic concerns. However, considering the *Food for Thought* component of the health food program she hoped to offer, she explained

I guess what I would ideally like is to do the online module and then you could have like a reflective session or something where we talk about the learning and have a discussion around that but it going to unique to the organisation about what kind of training package they offer

Lindsay (PrimInterview, early career fellow, Australia)

Offering an alternative view of the relationship between online learning and face to face learning, using *Food for Thought* as an example, Serena explained

we've got a lot of online learning so this [*Food for Thought*] is more kind of like learning in action I see it as that kind of thing [...] learn like the online learning they learn the script and they learn the answer this [*Food for Thought*] is probably more organic than that I think

Serena (regional director, Australia)

Perhaps it could be suggested that online learning corresponds to instrumental use of research in which it is expected that the learning is instructive. However, it would appear that *Food for Thought* is less normative, adapting to the self/other relationships in care practice. Furthermore, as a result of *Food for Thought* being located as "learning in action", it requires a time/space dedicated to exploring food and food habits.

As demonstrated by the various participants from different roles and geographies, there was an engaging debate around the relative merits and challenges for face-to-face and online learning. Some of the issues around reflective practice, self/other relationships and the embodied and emotional elements of care work, were considered from practice based participants, to be incompatible with online learning. This coincides with literature on the affective and emotional aspects of adult learning which highlights the importance of compassion and sensitivity toward social injustice (Allen and Friedman 2010: 8), an overt invitation for the body to participate in the learning space (Horst 2008: 4) and an acknowledgment of the entanglement between knowing, being and doing in care work which requires accommodating 'the dilemmas, uncertainties, and paradoxes of practice' (White 2007: 242). Additionally, it corresponded with the ways in which the participants engaged with *Food for Thought* (for further discussion on affective experiences of *Food for Thought* please see Chapter Seven below). However, as noted too by the participants, online learning does harbour opportunities to create a personal learning experience, as suggested by Morgan et al. (2006). It is therefore suggested that, using learning as an interface between academic research and practice, there should be a prioritising of learning space according to the rhythms and cycles of the needs of carers rather than an economic desire to drive down costs.

Material time

The final section of this analysis chapter is concerned with the entanglement between time and materiality as it manifests in the materials produced by *Food for Thought*. Initially this is discussed in terms of flexible and concrete time in both the authoring and the reception of the resources. The subsequent subsection considers if/how the *Food for Thought* resources function as an extension of the mind, holding the somatic experience of the learning.

Materiality and concrete/flexible time

The intention for the resources, outlined by Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker), was that “there would be options for them and there would also be kind of layers”. In an example, Robert considered the Reflective Workshop Training Pack in terms of its flexibility

... one of the real beauties to me about the package is that [...] it is a little bit of dip in and dip out because each group will be made up of a number of people with different experiences

Robert (SecInterviews, Steering Group)

Underlying the fluidity of the materials seems to be a sense of time that focusses on processes, what Colley et al. (2012) refer to as ‘concrete time’, in which the *Food for Thought* resources are useful to the extent to which they aide in considering the self/other experiences of food. In concrete time or process time ‘needs are frequently unpredictable’ (Davies 1994: 279). Thus, the use of the resources was not imagined by Hazel or Robert to be sequential, but cut, pasted and assembled according to the needs of the relationship(s) between self/other; the carer and the child.

Considering the development of the materials, Jessica recalled that “we didn’t really understand the technology or have the resources to do something really clever with the technology”. Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker) added, “there wasn’t really that many around at the time”. How do the materials get viewed through the lens of what is considered to be technologically advanced now? How can it maintain the feeling of relevance in a world where technology updates and is seen to be advancing and progressing constantly? Other more modern iterations of resources might be better and faster and so *Food for Thought* as a material becomes outdated even if the message is as important. Thus, the perpetual forward motion of technology could render the content of *Food for Thought* outmoded, where the form is seen to be dated. Ideas pertaining to previous times are not lost, despite

technology advancing from ink and paper (Taylor 2014). However, it has been argued that despite technological advances and widened, although unequal, access to information, our knowledge has actually become flattened (Carr 2010).

In practice, the resources received variable reactions. Claudette (PrimInterview, clinician, organisation A, Australia) was struck by the difference in the ways in which she interpreted the resources compared to her colleagues,

I really thought they would be excited by the reflective journal not having to do something at a certain time you just had something sitting there and if you thought of something you could jot it down

Claudette (PrimInterview, clinician, organisation A, Australia)

Claudette seems to suggest a view of *Food for Thought* resources that aligned with Hazel and Robert in which time was flexible to the particular rhythms and processes of care relationships. However, it transpired that, “I was not greeted with very positive feedback about that [laughs] [...] they [residential carers] felt um they would have to structure it [*Food for Thought* resources] in somewhere”. Furthermore, the final products were interpreted as formal: “I just thought it would take away some of the formality around it but um clearly they felt differently they felt that ‘you are being really formal’”. In comparison with the intentions of the resources outlined by Hazel and Robert and the expectations of Claudette, in the context of practice it might be argued that, for some, the *Food for Thought* materials were received through the lens of abstract time. As such, the relationship between research and practice as experienced through material temporalities, seems to suggest, as elsewhere (Ylijoki and Mäntylä 2003), that the pressures of time can be a source of stress for those working with looked after children and leads to tensions between paperwork time and compassionate time, as found by Yuill and Mueller-Hirth (2018).

Materiality and memory

Hermione (PrimInterviews, manager of practice development, Australia), in general, considers the value of resources linked to training as prompting her memory, “I like to have a comprehensive resource because that helps me remember what it was about”. Similarly, Harriet and Grace mentioned the format and content of the *Food for Thought* resources as greatly aiding their memory,

...because after you go back, you finish training you quite often you forget about you have done in the training. It makes you, kind of, like to utilise the knowledge you gained through the session

Hermione (PrimInterviews, manager of practice development, Australia)

Malafouris (2013), in his book *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement*, identifies the use of materiality as an aid to memory in ancient cultures spanning back Before Christ. It is claimed that '[h]uman thinking is, first and above all, thinking *through, with* and *about* things, bodies and others' (Malafouris 2013: 77. Emphasis in the original). Both the participants and Malafouris then highlight the potential for the material resources to extend *Food for Thought* outside the learning space without necessarily inducing a cognitive overload, as the materials function as part of the extended mind. Perhaps this finding contributes to the view that technology (i.e. the resources) can substitute one sensory/temporal experience, the feel of the resources here and now, for another sensory/temporal experience, the feel of *Food for Thought* then; this argument follows Wheeler's (2015: 137) explanation of sensory substitution in extended phenomenal consciousness.

From an academic perspective, Jessica considered the resources pivotal to the survival and extension of *Food for Thought* beyond the learning space, she expressed a concern around the time spent dedicated to the materials, wondering

...why are we rushing the most crucial bit of the project that is going to be what is permanent, and what may or may not lead to sustainability, which is one of the biggest challenges and if the resources aren't right then the project dies

Jessica (SecInterviews, academic)

It can be argued then, that Jessica saw in *Food for Thought*, the opportunity for, if not an immortal life then at least an extended lifespan through the materials produced. Similarly, although speaking in general terms and not specifically about *Food for Thought*, Malala associated resources, generally, with the sustainability of an intervention "so there's a suite of resources that, you know, really support thinking through the likelihood of any of these initiatives getting traction". Lindsay (PrimInterviews, ECR, Australia) considered something similar, but was less sure of the extent to which practitioners actively used learning/training resources – using her project as an example

I just think sometimes that things get lost, so they might do a training, and this is the same for [health project], so they might do an initial training and they think about it, and then how, like, if we're not constantly reminding them, or reinforcing it, will they ever go back to those resources? I don't know

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, ECR, Australia)

These concerns are not entirely unfounded, as suggested by some of the reactions to the resources of *Food for Thought*, in which Emma admitted, "it's been a long time that I've looked at them I have to say", however, she proceeded to say,

I can honestly say that I haven't read it, I remember at the time I thought wow, this is really useful, and there are some, there is some really good work that could be done with this, so I would say yes it is useful

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, ECR, Australia)

Thus for Emma, the interview space prompted her to consider the possibility of the *Food for Thought* resources, a reminder of their value. Both Frida and Josef responded similarly

A reflective tool I remember this [...] which is excellent this one actually and to be honest the good thing is reading over this I may actually use this again for foster carers, it's very good.

Frida (PrimInterviews, social worker)

Do you know, they're so good. See when you look at them, because we do have many kids that we look after that there is real challenges, good and bad, round about food for them [...] Looking at it again it's made me think I need to go back and revisit this. If that's the only, best thing I can say to you is that it has really made me think. Here are some great tools, we never did anything with it, we never used it – here's an opportunity to do something.

Josef (PrimInterview, residential care worker)

Considering the reflections from practice, it is then difficult to come to the conclusion that the materials produced by *Food for Thought* functioned as sensory substitutions (Wheeler 2015: 137) for all the participants, collapsing the different timescapes between the embodied and emotional memory of the project in the learning space and the experience of the project in the

workplace. Participants who worked alongside children seemed to have engaged with the resources in the workplace the least, although the responses varied from viewing the resources as static and formal to, upon reengaging with the materials in the primary interview, re-memorising their potential. Further research could centralise materiality and learning in the context of care work to better understand the role of materiality in the processes of extending learning from the learning space to the working space.

Concluding thoughts

This chapter has highlighted that the impact agenda as envisaged by the UKRI and ESRC orchestrates a particular relationship between academia and practice founded in political and economic tempos and rhythms. Foregrounding these rhythms accentuated the centripetal values that underscore the centripetally driven priorities. Within this context, carers of looked after children and academics navigated multiple temporalities in their workspace, demonstrated throughout the chapter.

The findings of this chapter suggest that the majority of participants, both academics and carers felt different beats and rhythms in the workplace and for some this was more problematic and jarring than for others. For some academics, centripetally driven priorities accentuated a beat that detracted from their working autonomy, exhausting motivation. For some carers, the accentuated beat of their learning rhythms did not lend themselves to sustainable relationships between academia and practice. As a result, *Food for Thought*, due to the lack of prioritisation of food across the different geographies, occupied a peripheral space, becoming a marginalised voice. Thus, although the learning from *Food for Thought* responded to some of the embodied rhythms of the carers, particularly salient in the context of England and Australia, participants from a managerial position struggled to accentuate its presence on the practice learning agenda. This was argued as representative of the clash between abstract time and concrete time.

Economic time manifested itself in complex boundary work as participants tried to respond to what they considered the duty that corresponded to their role, whilst recognising that this equated to time glissandos, sliding from work time into non-work time. As a result, it is argued that the rhythms of both academics and carers of looked after children suggest that they are 'professionals who are always on the job' (Zerubavel 1981: 148) which is attributed to the context of neoliberalism in which 'time boundaries are rendered slippery in a 24/7 culture' (Colley et al. 2012: 337).

Increasingly, technocratic management approaches to children's social care is 'producing ever more detailed procedure manuals and closer monitoring of practice' (Munro and Hubbard 2011: 727). It is argued that this played its part in focussing care work on outputs. In a parallel situation, academics have been instructed to demonstrate how their work contributes to academia, the economy and/or society (UKRI n.d). It has been argued that this, increasingly, is resulting in a focus on impact as material outputs. Despite these patterns, the elements of *Food for Thought* that the carers responded most favourably to and that they could recall most clearly from their experiences, was the embodied, relational work. Sharing time and space with others, regardless of differences in role and organisation was a salient memory. This finding suggests that care should be taken when considering the allocation of resources between material, measureable, resources and holding time and space for carers to come together. Despite being distinctly less measureable in terms of impact, it is argued that this slowing down of the tempo for a more emotional tone better captures meaningful and sustainable relationships between academia and practice.

Moving between general observations from the participants regarding their experiences of academic/practice relationships and specific examples from *Food for Thought* enables a greater understanding of the impact of different rhythms on the working lives of the participants. It is suggested that *Food for Thought* offered an opportunity for carers to consider some of the micro-rhythms of their self/other relationships with the children they cared for, which are not often available in a learning space that is dominated by centripetally driven priority topics. Despite its popular reception, participants in management roles noted a difficulty in enabling further work for the same reason that *Food for Thought* appeared as a more novel learning experience – a lack of space in the learning calendar to include what is not mandated.

The first analysis chapter demonstrated the ways in which participants occupied the impact agenda in relation to the construction of the workplace(s). This chapter looked at workplace rhythms in order to better understand how impact temporalities are experienced. The final analysis chapter, chapter eight, looks to extend both of these, impact architecture and impact temporalities, as emotional and embodied.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

EMBODIED ASSEMBLAGES

Introduction

Bakhtin's emphasis on self/other relationships necessitates bodies which occupy '*simultaneous but different space*' (Holquist 1990: 21, emphasis in original). As a result, foregrounded in the relationship between *Food for Thought* and its participants is space/time pluralism 'in the flesh' and 'responsive to movement' (Bakhtin 1981: 84). This view of the body requires a distancing from 'the virtues of measure, proportion or reason' (Tihanov 2012: 176), and embraces the idea that '[E]mbodiment is not a secondary experience; the human existence is fundamentally and embodied condition' (Pallasmaa 2009: 13) which blurs the boundary between brain-body-environment (Wheeler 2005: 194). The idea of embodied assemblages posits that elements of the whole can be 'detached from it and plugged into different assemblages in which their interactions are different' (DeLanda 2006: 10). Notwithstanding the mechanistic implications of 'plugged into different assemblages', it is proposed that this chapter assembles the metaphors of architecture and music to expand vocabularies of impact to include the embodied experiences of academia in practice, as they exist in the small (Lorimer 2003: 202) and the daily. The reader might go on to re-assemble some of the ideas to create a different assemblage.

Initially the chapter looks at the working body in care, the centripetal push to focus on outcomes and evidence-based practice. Following this is a discussion on how the participants considered the link between learning and their practice, which is more aligned to Garfat's (2004: 9) view of child and youth care as 'the encounter of cultures'. Building on this, the sub-section 'The Cultured Body' looks at the ways in which *Food for Thought* spoke to the habits of carers of looked after children, which is shown as both positive and challenging. Organisational rituals in relation to food and care are then addressed which foregrounds the role of institutions in regulating the relationship between food, control and care (Punch and McIntosh 2014). The final section closes the analysis chapters by ruminating on *Food for Thought* as it engaged with self/other relationships through non-verbal communication, considering how participants deliberated on the responsibility between the individual and the social/collective body to extend *Food for Thought* from the learning space in to embodied working habits. Finally, the symbolism of food and food practices was highlighted in a relation to social discourses around food that focus on nutrition.

The working body

In discussing their working practices, many of the carers noted the tensions between, what they saw as the attention to qualitative care as an embodied, relational epistemology and the pressures to focus on care outcomes. As in both Bakhtin (1981) and care ethics (Hamington 2004: 42), central to the former working identity is the view of the other, the child, in relation to the self. This section explores the tensions between the centripetal languages of care which are argued to be outcome orientated, and the centrifugal languages of the carers' embodied caring identities. This contextualises the heteroglossic ways in which learning is incorporated in to daily habits and rhythms in care with looked after children.

Focussing on outcomes

Oscillating between clear instructions on how to work, and the danger of reducing caring to simple instructions, Anton deliberated on academic research:

I'd rather read something that tells me in 50 words what, I don't disagree that it's good to have the 5,000 words explaining it, but I think to a lot of people would wanna read, if I'm gonna change, something that's the instructions on it

Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager)

However, later in the interview Anton demonstrates a concern around care that becomes too mechanical and prescriptive

[...] you become too mechanical if given too many instructions, whereas I think that bit about coming in, how are you doing today [...] these kind of arguments back to professional dangerousness prescriptive

Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager)

Anton seems to indicate an unresolved relationship between research and practice. It might be argued that this tension between evidence-informed doing and caring resembles the image of research which 'enlightens' practice (Hammersley 2002) which reaches a point, for Anton, in which it converts in to prescriptive care.

Frank reflected on the changes that occurred in his time working with looked after children over his career

when I started out in my work nobody thought about outcomes, but now everybody uses them, the word outcome, but its, as I liken it to somebody was gardening, and would

spend their time thinking about creating a garden, and getting the soil right, and then sitting back and watching the plants grow. The focus on outcomes would be like the gardener looking at the pack of the seeds with the photograph of the flower on, and then holding it up to the seed and saying right, this is what we're gonna achieve, I mean it would be just nonsense

Frank (PrimInterview, retired/previously the head of a foster care agency, England)

Frank explained his metaphor in terms of caring for looked after children

I think looking after I mean helping people grow and develop is not too dissimilar to gardening in the sense that you need to focus on the conditions for growth not on the end result and yea that worries me

Frank (PrimInterview, retired/previously the head of a foster care agency, England)

For Frank, who was at the point of interview retired and reflecting back on a career working with looked after children starting in the 70s, the movement towards outcome focussed care is not just concerning but ineffective. It might be argued that underlying Frank's view of care work is an acknowledgement of the importance of attending to external factors – not for the purposes of dominating nature as posited by Bacon (Rose 1994), but as a relatively unstable environment (Schön 1996). The carer is presented as a gardener, perhaps aligning himself alongside Eisikovits and Beker (2001: 418) who propose child and youth care workers as crafts[wo]men, in which 'work cannot be effectively standardised [...] because its success is a function of the practitioner's interpretational sensitivity'. Once again, care is conceptualised as that which responds to the self/other relationships as they assemble (DeLanda 2006; Skott Myhre et al. 2016) – care is a process (Tronto 2010). As a result, it is difficult to rectify a view of academic/practitioner relations as instrumental, perhaps instead it is incorporated in to the moral-political judgements of carers (Schwandt 2000: 218).

Another carer who was sensitive to the ways in which his working practices were framed, was Josef who did not envisage his work in the same language as the measureable and accountability of techno-managerialism

we don't work with data, well I don't see it that way [...] it's soft touch, it's caring, it's language so when someone tells you you're doing a good job or a very good job they start using words like excellent and amazing

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

For Josef, language is tied up with value. Thus, care with a quantitative emphasis results in a different framing of the work he does, reduced to “we’ve only had 3 physical interventions in the last 12 months, we’ve only had 12 police involvements in a 6 months period”. This is not something that resonates with the manner in which he constructs his working identity. Both Josef and Frank advocate for a view of care that does not necessarily utilise the language of outcomes and evidence, which is premised more on concepts of proof and scientific rationality (Webb 2001). Instead, they emphasise care as relational and, contrary to Bacon’s call for binding knowledge and power to dominate nature (Rose 1994), in the embodied attendance to the fertile conditions for care to flourish (Petterson 2011).

Serena outlined working practices in her context in terms, locating governmental involvement as central to framing care work

... so um so an audit it, so we’re experiencing forensic audits like we’ve never been before, so the old audits were like yea we’ve got policies, yes we’ve got this there [now] they actually drill right down and kind of, you know, a great detail check so we’ve had to get much better at um having the evidence of our work

Serena (PrimInterviews, regional manager, Australia)

The reason for this recent change is because

...the government has got in itself in to a reputationally tough spot, um there has been you know a lot of children that have made the front page of the newspapers who are in residential care or foster care, um, they have been kind of wrapped over the knuckles for not having paid close enough attention

Serena (PrimInterviews, regional manager, Australia)

It is suggested, then, that institutional interests in the regulation of the body, notions of accountability and ways of working in care could be linked to a culture of blame, which coincides with the literature on Child Protection and scapegoating (Ruch et al. 2014). This example demonstrates one of the ways in which care for looked after children is political, and the policies that are put in place are linked to wider, cultural depictions of working with looked after children. According to Schedler (1999: 14) accountability has two main tenets: answerability and enforcement. The way in which answerability is conceptualised overlaps with Bakhtin in that it is dialogical, requiring ‘accountable and accounting actors’ (ibid: 15). Enforcement is the extension of accountability as it is mediated through behaviour (ibid: 15). However, it is argued that in the case of care accountability has, to some extent, limited the

actors involved in the debate of care – silencing voices. Gaber (2001) talks about this explicitly in the case of the media presentation of social workers as scapegoating, with no space for social workers to respond. It is also implied by Serena in the case of residential care, in which governmental accountability is ‘experienced by’ residential care (transferred accountability from government to care institutions) in the form of ‘forensic audits’ (enforcement through behavioural change).

Evidence-based practice

A concern for outcome focussed work in care was also expressed in Australia, by Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager - evaluation, policy & research, Australia). She deconstructed evidence-based practice, contemplating

... evidence-based practice is a way for people to assuage their anxieties about complexity um you know it’s just deeply sort of troubling for people that we can’t fix these problems readily

Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager - evaluation, policy & research, Australia)

Instead Malala tries to work towards “a critical and erm erm you know enquiring approach” which requires “a more fundamental shift in orientation in thinking about you know, how you generate knowledge”. When pondering this further Malala recognises that there are “very erm thoughtful critical experienced practitioners and program managers”. Furthermore, Malala argued that evidence-based practice

... wants quick answers it wants definitive answers and it doesn’t have a lot of tolerance for the sort of messiness, you know, slow kind of action learning that says let’s try this, let’s see whether it makes a difference, and let’s make sense of that

Malala (PrimInterviews, senior manager - evaluation, policy & research, Australia)

As a result political and ethical action requires practitioners to ruminate on “our best kind of judgement at this point in time” in much the same way as it is posited by Schwandt (2000). The extent to which Malala deliberated on this topic, compared to other participants, and across the different geographies, might relate to her role being focused on the evaluation of practice; she resists centripetal pressures to act uncritically according to the principles of evidence-based practice through reflective practice (Schön 1996; Waerness 1984; White 2007).

Another participant in a learning and development role, Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer), considered the relationship between ways of working, evidence, and

outcomes. She recounted one experience of research into communication with reluctant families, in which the outcomes might be considered unnecessary

without wanting to sound dismissive, like everything that was in it, I didn't really feel you needed research to evidence it, so it was things like you know make sure you listen to the family, it's important to get their views

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

She regarded these findings to be integral to the role of caring for looked after children. Thus, it is not enough for carers to recognise that they might create better relationships with families if they listen, the fact has to be empirically proven. Bransen (2013) attributes this necessity to have everything verified by scientific expertise at the expense of 'common sense', which he defines as a collection of interrelated skills. Schön (1996: 13) too is critical of the emerging view of science, as epistemology, from the 1800s which sought to rule over [wo]men. Perhaps it could be argued that the push for proof and evidence in care has resulted in resources being channelled to research projects which reinforce paradigms that create hierarchies of knowledge where science dominates over tacit, embodied knowledge.

The learning body

For practice based participants of the primary interviews, linking the relationship between academia and practice, through learning opportunities, was never discussed in terms of 'outcomes', or 'proof' but corresponded to the embodied journey of care. For example, Josef highlighted

the job's difficult and emotionally draining, it can be physically draining, you know, and you can go back in, it's the same thing – a person's being difficult, a crisis. And, you know, you can get really beaten down with it all and just banging your head and really not knowing what to do

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

However, learning opportunities present the possibility of "open[ing] your horizons and makes you see the world in a different way, or see the role of your job and gives you this hope of doing something different". The literature on emotions and embodied learning suggests that '[E]motions convey a deep and intimate connection with our world, and this connection is often manifest neurophysiologically through the body' (Dirkx 2008: 15), and transformative learning involves 'a fundamental change or shift in our understanding of ourselves or our relationship with the world in which we live' (ibid). It is suggested that Josef's shift in

perspective as a result of learning opportunities might not result in systemic change, but is transformative for his practice in the sense that it gives him hope.

Speaking as a foster carer, Matilda elucidated the different learning experiences she has had as meaning different things for her.

... that was very academic, so we did all the child development, we did the sociology, the EU rights of the child, you know, all the different drugs and alcohol and the effect and carer control, and it was all very theory based, so, the degree was here [gesture: frames her head with her hands in a square shape]; the counselling's been the rest of me [gestures from her shoulders down to the rest of her body], if that makes sense, that's the only way I can describe it so I could stand up and give a great lecture, but then the counselling's just brought all that theory down to like, wait a minute, this isn't just an essay, this isn't just you know black and white, this is like people's like shitty lives they are trying to get through be them adults or children

Matilda (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

Waerness (1984: 193) warns 'that more theoretical knowledge does not always improve the quality of caregiving work, should not lead to the conclusion that less knowledge would be better'. Matilda's engagement with different types of learning suggests the way in which different ways of knowing come together in the body, and indicates that these knowledges situate themselves alongside each other, a web of entanglement of being, knowing and doing (White 2007).

This location of knowledge as within the body resonated with Cecilia's learning life stories/Bildung in which she accented the role of her supervisor in assisting her recognise what has become an embodied way of working; learning that she carries around with her without being cognisant that others might not work in that way. For example, within her support work team she recollected

we've come from all different places and they've been making us think about our past trainings and knowledge, like at the residential school I was trained in Makaton and sensory timetables, and things and there's a lot of things I do second nature, I forget maybe to most people it's not normal

Cecilia (PrimInterviews, support worker)

As such the things that she has learnt have become a part of who she is and have been integrated in to the way in which she worked with her own daughter; they have become

entangled embodied habits. This connects with literature on knowing, being and doing which seeks to emphasize the interconnectivity and entanglement between the different elements of care work (Lefevre 2007; White 2007) in which learning is imbued with emotion (Meyer and Turner 2007) and entangled with the embodied self (Dirkx 2008).

Considering some examples of the engagement with *Food for Thought*, measuring the engagement of practitioners with the material resources and proving quantifiable behavioural change, it is suggested, might indicate that *Food for Thought* has not been successful. However, this language/value is not how the carers of looked after children considered the learning from *Food for Thought* to be meaningful to them. Contrasting *Food for Thought* with other learning, Serena noted

the online learning they learn the script, and they learn the answer this is probably more organic than that, I think, when I saw it, how I saw it possibly being implemented that each house would have a little bit of a different take on it, and so they should probably depending on the clients

Serena (PrimInterviews, regional director, Australia)

Alice (PrimInterviews, social worker) too considered that *Food for Thought* initiated a conversation around food, rather than dictating how to work with food as a positive. Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager) recalled *Food for Thought* as encouraging reflection on “what are the possibilities” of creating relationships through food and food habits. Emma noted the optimistic message that encouraged a view of food that was

something that’s really pleasurable and fun and you know something that’s social, brings people together erm and that’s very different from [...] societal messages, [...] oh don’t eat too much of that you know

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Thus, that *Food for Thought* built on the possibility of creating positive relationships between carers and children, relationships that take in to account the unique rhythms of both the children and the carers rather than homogenising food rituals, although difficult to measure, is considered successful, according to the participants. Perhaps then, the heteroglossic ways in which the participants considered *Food for Thought* contributes to an unflattering (Sousanis 2015) of the relationship between academia and practice. This, as for Square’s learning journey in Flatland (Abbot 2008 [1884]), seems to imply for the participants a self-reflective

approach that extends possibilities of knowing and caring rather than knowing narrowing ways of caring.

The cultured body

Building on the previous section, which observed discussions of *Food for Thought* being linked with understandings of care framed by unique, particular rhythms between self/other, this section deliberates on the ways in which, as Merleau-Ponty (Hamington 2004: 46) would argue, 'the body captures meaning in the form of habit'. Thus, knowing, being and doing come together in the embodied relational work between self/other and offer narratives of practice that engage with the complex environment of care (White 2007). As a result, the salient memories and learning from *Food for Thought* were located in food and food habits that are difficult to disentangle and measure, resisting the image of academic/practice relationship as instrumental; oscillating between the conscious and subconscious, and mediated by care organisations' rules and rituals.

Knowing, being and doing

Reflecting on the introductory video and resources that *Food for Thought* created, Hazel notes the importance of the non-written in communicating sentiment

the thing that people have liked are all the relational things the training the train the trainer the peer support, that stupid video like loads of people have watched that video I think there is something about, because you can communicate a tone, you can communicate an, ethos is too big a word, but I think it's really difficult to do that in written resources to sort of make those part of, to communicate if like you're recognising someone's expertise, and I also think given the workforce it is the nature of the job is relational

Hazel (SecInterviews, academic/social worker)

It could be argued, Hazel applies the ideas of caring relationships and embodied communication between child and carer that are proposed by *Food for Thought*, to the relationships between academia and practice. This respect for the knowledge of the other overcomes Schön's (1996: 11) critique of researcher/practitioner relationships which overlook the skills of the practitioners. Furthermore, it suggests that *Food for Thought*, from the perspective of someone involved in creating the resources, was conscious of the possibilities of engaging with practitioners relationally as it corresponded to their embodied ways of working (Schön 1996; Waerness 1984; White 2007).

Comments from participants of *Food for Thought* activities seem to suggest that the sentiment of embodied and relational communication was successfully transmitted to the practice environment. It is argued, as elsewhere by White (2007: 242) that working with children and young people is more complex than translating learning from the classroom to practice as a purely cognitive exchange. For instance, Cecilia recalled *Food for Thought* as a successful experience because, for the carers that attended the training alongside her, they considered it to be related to their care work

I think they just found it very relevant, you know, erm, something's are a bit like why are we being told this, or trained this, what's this got to do with anything, but I think with the *Food for Thought*, I think you know it sort of hit a nerve with them, they got why it was relevant and it made them think

Cecilia (PrimInterviews, foster care support worker)

In recalling the experience using the phrase 'it hit a nerve', it is possible to situate the learning experience within the body. Some of the literature that has considered the role of emotions in learning remains centred on cognition (cf. Meyer and Turner 2007; Shuck et al. 2007; Ainley 2006) whereas it is argued here that the emotional body also plays an important role in the learning journey (Dirkx 2008). In some cases, participants highlighted the positive association between the body and learning. For example, Serena (PrimInterviews, regional director, Australia) recalled her response to *Food for Thought* using the expression "show me and I forget teach me and I'll, you know that one, and don't do it for me let me do it and then it will go in" to demonstrate how the experience of *Food for Thought* was inhabited by the body. This is further accented by some of the primary interview participants recalling *Food for Thought* themes through the experience of reflecting on the lunch activity²⁸. In one instance, Alice, who went on to train others after attending a Train the Trainer, emphasized the importance to make

time for sharing and for experiencing, how they would start to learn about each other just simply by doing their sandwiches, and whether they help each other, or do they do new relationship or not [...] and we didn't want to do just the power presentation and some information, because this would not bring effect it is allowing them to experience it

²⁸ As a reminder, the lunch activity involved participants of Train the Trainer reflecting on their experience of lunch time, which was a buffet laid out in the packaging, to consider how they approached eating with (potential) strangers. The participants were unaware that this would be incorporated in to the day

Alice (PrimInterviews, social worker)

In this case, Alice argued that the learning from *Food for Thought* was embedded within the experience of 'doing' lunch, accompanied by a space for reflecting on the individual and social aspects of the body (Bakhtin 1990 [c. 1920-1923]). Alice was more concerned with the experience of *Food for Thought*, in which the embodied lunchtime activity played an important role in reflecting on the cultured body (Garfat 2004: 9) in the context of food and food practice. From another perspective, Madeline recalled

the thing that really stands out for the *Food for Thought* day was when they had the buffet out, and then we went up for, for lunch and then we kind of talked about that after, that was a, I quite liked that because at the time you didn't realise it was going to be something you were reflecting on, so you were so natural

Madeline (PrimInterviews, catering supervisor at a primary school, and children and young person's support worker)

This is juxtaposed with earlier comments from Grace and Harriet in which the resources offered to run food training were limited, meaning they could not offer a similar activity. In this way the centripetal languages around food, which as previously mentioned dictate priorities in the learning of carers of looked after children, seem to disable the potential for *Food for Thought* to have the affective impact on carers which, as suggested, seem to be linked to its successful reception.

Further developing the idea that the learning from *Food for Thought* lies within the body, Matilda recollected

it stuck with me it was a really good course [...] I do meals three four times a day and there are different things I might be serving 4 different times during the day so I do think of it a lot

Matilda (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

As such, the memory of the course is etched in to the 'doing' of food, giving it continual impact for Matilda and speaking to her identity as both carer (Leidner 1993: 155) and her habits of cooking.

However, *Food for Thought* also challenged some of the participants. For Josef, not all of the learning as a result of *Food for Thought* was comfortable and required him to consider some of his habits

it made me think of all the times that we'd been in places where food is locked away and just suddenly going, I did that, I was part of that power and control and feeling terrible about it

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

Emma too observed that some of the messages from *Food for Thought* were challenging

people were just blown away, oh god, actually all the time I am telling them, oh let's sit at the table together, let's do this but actually it's quite an anxiety provoking

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Both Emma and Josef demonstrate the ways in which embodied learning can be emotional as it places the self as an active agent in the process – an element of active learning (Prince 2004: 223), which has been shown elsewhere to be an effective approach (Dewing 2008; Michael 2006). As a result, the self in self/other relationships is examined and habits around food are re-viewed as communication. This is a process which should not be neglected when constructing academic/practice relationships, where caring is entangled with being (Sodhi and Cohen 2012; White 2007) and learning is not in response to some stable, defined issue 'inherent in pre-defined outcomes to pre-given problems' (Horn and Wilburn 2005: 758), but in relation to self/other.

Ultimately, *Food for Thought* encouraged Emma to critically reflect on a widely accepted paradigm

we need to think carefully about what we might consider nurturing techniques, might in fact provoke anxiety in children because of their different experiences

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Thus, the experience engendered a learning that could not be applied normatively and was more closely aligned to encouraging reflexive habits (Shön 1991) as they constituted a type of reasoning that emerges from embodied ways of knowing (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Waerness 1984). The resulting diversity in interpreting the learning in the practice space is considered too complicated to be captured in standardised outputs, as noted previously by Malala, which have the effect of minimising the experiences of both those in practice and the academics.

The subconscious body

Building on the previous section and observations of the ways in which participants considered the body and food habits, it is noted that learning does not necessitate changed habits. It is suggested instead that learning is a cyclical journey, moving from the conscious to the subconscious (Deamer 1996) and difficult to disentangle to locate an origin.

Frank (PrimInterview, retired/previously the head of a foster care agency, England) highlighted that the work he did whilst working in residential care, was much like the work that parents might do with their children in which they respond to the likes and dislikes of the various family members, without theorising what they are doing. However, as a result of the context of working with looked after children, Frank noted that “we were having to be more conscious about it”. Thus, the requirement of looked after carers to be conscious of the care work they are doing requires naming the work that they might do out of habit in other family settings. This seems to resonate with many of the participants of *Food for Thought* in which the learning was not necessarily new, but enabled them to speak authoritatively of their embodied habits and movements, in the intersections between care and food (as discussed in Chapter Five). This reiterates issues of ‘successful’ impact where it is taken for granted that habits need to change – behavioural change as the benchmark of success. It is argued that the participants that recognised care in their habits and gestures around food make *Food for Thought* important and successful. There is a struggle, then, between the habits of care and the conscious language used to recognise these habits that is accented by both the impact agenda and evidence-based practice frameworks. For example, Michelle recalled her work with a child in her residential unit

I have used it [*Food for Thought*] a little bit because one person [...] in the last probably 4 weeks I’ve started making breakfast for her every shift that I’m on, and she sits up and she chats with me, we sit out the back and we have breakfast and I was like, hm, interesting so

Michelle (PrimInterviews, residential care unit supervisor, Australia)

The resulting relationship between self/other was described: “I had breakfast with her and she actually said hello to me instead of fuck off, so it was very exciting”. However, the connection between what she was doing and *Food for Thought* appeared to take place within the interview space “but then I’ve only thought of that just then so, technically I haven’t really thought about it”. Frida too was wary to commit to a changed practice as a result of *Food for Thought*,

[...] because I don't think I have taken it much further, I don't think that it has a lot of impact on my day to day practice. I sometimes mention this with eating, and sometimes have this, background idea that then contributes towards my practice and how people eat when they eat

Michelle (PrimInterviews, residential care unit supervisor, Australia)

The experiences of Michelle might be argued to echo Deamer's (1996) postulations that learning, particularly that which takes place in organisations, should be considered circular rather than lineal; knowledge can move from the conscious to the unconscious in such a way as to make it difficult to identify where the knowledge came from. Miriam (PrimInterviews, team leader, Australia) echoed these sentiments, noting that in general, the things she has learnt in her practice have remained present in her day to day rhythms; however, she does not find it easy to create causal links

[...] my awareness has remained strong with some of those things that I have learnt, in that, whereas I don't actually, you know, say things to people ah yea I relate that to this course I did a few years ago that, you know, that's why he won't do this or won't do that, you know, like kind of kind of just gets a bit lost

Miriam (PrimInterviews, team leader, Australia)

Thus, the linearity of learning to action that is implied in the impact agenda is problematized, as the "why" in practice with looked after children can sometimes get "lost". It could be argued that this finding reiterates the literature in which it is noted that underlying habits are foundations of embodied skilful work (Noë 2009: 118), and therefore difficult to isolate and measure in terms of instrumental learning. Impact definitions of change and evidence-based practice emphasise might be argued to overlook embodied knowledge, as a result of the difficulty in quantification of such work (Rose 1994). Arguably, an emphasis on specific language and processes of working with children creates a marketised approach to knowledge in which *Food for Thought* is a brand to be referred to, rather than a framework for imaging the construction of possible self/other relationships.

The ritualised body

Josef reflected on the ways of working in residential care "there's a model of carrot and stick – so you've done this, so you need to pay for that". He wondered "do we always need to, you're 10 minutes late – you need to go to your bed now, or you've not got TV tonight", instead of "thank goodness you're back, I was really worried about you, it's good to see that you're

holding safe". The question that Josef asked is "when we have these habits that are ineffective what are we doing to change them?" The issue that Josef raised was the questioning of the role of the institution in stagnated habits. This idea is further developed, in relation to food, by other participants; Debbie explained the value of *Food for Thought*

it really did open up my eyes to how we use food in residential care, and, it made me think of ways like why do we keep the biscuits in the school office locked? You try to make it as much as like a family situation as you can, but it just raises the questions that why is teatime 5 o'clock

Debbie (SecInterviews, pilot study)

In this case the 'other', which dictates teatime, is the structural functioning of the institution. The short Bildung story, told by Debbie, indicates that the impact of the research has led her both to reflect and recognise the habituated rituals and traditions of the meso level organisations on practice. This idea manifested itself too in the (hi)stories of the primary interview fieldwork. Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager) reflected "I actually think that the way we do food is very institutional". In explaining his context Anton highlighted the construction of the kitchen space as belonging to the cook, impacting on the movement through, "our cook, it's very much their kitchen, you've got to go with their set of rules, you can't go in when they're doing this or that". Towards the end of his interview Anton considered that residential care was trying to change their practices to be less institutional but there was a slight dissonance in that "we're a bit confused in doing that [changing to be less institutional] sometimes" which he reasons is a result of being employed to care which coincides with the literature around the contested space of care (Menziés Lyth 1960). Josef uncovered an email in which he had summarised some of the key thoughts that *Food for Thought* had stimulated, including asking "why do we have routines in place such as meal times, types of food available and when the kitchen is open?" These are examples of the capacity for *Food for Thought*, to extend 'surplus of seeing' by reflecting on broader, environmental rhythms in which the interactions around food and food practices are managed (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

Change for residential care was not just focussed on micro-rhythms. One attendee of a Reflective Workshop noted that, in future, they wanted to further explore the "culture and ritual of foods" (EvalData, Reflective Workshop, residential carer) in their organisation. This mentioned on more than one occasion, a further residential worker considered "challeng[ing] decisions made around carrying out protocol in certain situations" (EvalData, Train the Trainer). It is argued that rituals represent collective

institutional rhythms that do not always facilitate unique, individual rhythms. This draws on the recognition of the types of movements and resulting relationships that are encouraged, or not, through ritual and in relation to wider contextual factors. In this case, it could be argued that impact is the process of extending perceptions of the context of 'self/other' relations to reflect on affective environments. This critical reflexivity (Garfat 2004; Schön 1996; Waerness 1984), which was reiterated throughout much of the evaluation feedback from both residential carers and management roles, seems contrary to claims that 'the best management is a true science, resting upon clearly defined laws, rules, and principles [...] applicable to all kinds of human activities' (Taylor 1967: 7). Indeed, for some participants, the learning from *Food for Thought* seemed to interrupt institutional authority to dictate the food rhythms of residential care. Thus, normative understandings of care, it would appear to be observed by the participants, are insufficient as 'although the caring imagination can consider rules and consequences, such considerations never supersede care and its agent, empathy' (Hamington 2004: 75)

In the (hi)stories of the participants, the 'self/other' relationship was not just framed in terms of carer/child. There are also instances of participants who drew on the contribution of other participants to their *Food for Thought* learning story. In one example, Linda (SecInterviews, catering supervisor) mentioned that "I've found it quite interesting listening to what others have said". Joanne (SecInterviews, working group) agreed noting that opportunities to listen and share with others in the area of looked after children are few. Julie (SecInterviews, steering group) made similar comments about having a space in which people come together as an opportunity to connect in a way that is fertile, with a density of experience and projects. Robert (SecInterviews, steering group) spoke of the benefits of bringing together multiple perspectives. The project helped him to think more broadly about child-centred practices to acknowledge "it's not just young people that might get traumatised at teatime it's the adults and how powerful that is". Feedback from evaluation sheets resonates with the experiences of those who were intimately involved in the development of *Food for Thought*, one attendee reported their experience as "very informative and eye opening, fascinating hearing about other experiences which have had an affective reaction on children's lives" (EvalData, presentation, foster carer). Fuhr (2017: 14) notes that Bildung was been used in German humanism to 'marginalise others who were not well educated'. Thus, there is potential for the learning space to create/perpetuate educational inequalities between the different participants. However, there appears to be a general consensus from the responses to *Food for Thought*, across different caring roles, that the presence of the other helped contribute to a

broader picture of care. This ‘surplus of seeing’, the sharing of different viewpoints, expanded both practice and theoretical perspectives, which was considered helpful in a context where children, especially those in residential child care, have often experienced multiple care spaces (Cross et al. 2013; Smith 2009).

However, it was not always the case that the sharing of perspectives was considered helpful, in one feedback evaluation form a foster carer wrote that the experience was “useful in some respects although residential and foster care are so far apart it is difficult to do together” (EvalData, Reflective Workshop). Although this view was far from representative (two of 137 feedback sheets), it is important to note that the ways in which some of the participants constructed their working spaces as different, might interrupt movement of information through different spaces.

Food for Thought and the body

This section ends the analysis chapters with a reflection on the *Food for Thought* journey, considering the interplay between the individual body and the social body in extending *Food for Thought* from the learning space(s) out in to the working space(s). Proceeding that, the language of *Food for Thought* in the context of social discourses around food and food practices is explored. Finally, the relationships between self/other that were discussed and deliberated on through the lens of food are highlighted.

Individual and social bodies

Many of the participants involved in the journey of *Food for Thought* identified as having a sense of duty towards the project and others involved. Four individuals mentioned that, initially, their motivation to be involved was due to organisational factors; however this then fed in to being personally motivated. Lynne (SecInterviews, working group) explains this transition by saying that “it’s hit the right note with me professionally and personally”. Joanne (SecInterviews, working group) and Karen (SecInterviews, working group) experienced a similar journey, in the beginning being involved as part of her organisation until she became personally interested in the project content. Linda’s (SecInterviews, catering supervisor) conversion from organisational to personal interest was developed off the back of sharing stories with others.

A sense of duty seemed to override organisational context for some of the participants, as demonstrated by Lynne (SecInterviews, working group), Julie (SecInterviews, steering group) and Caroline (SecInterviews, steering group). Lynne was asked to take on the project in her

organisation as the individual originally asked to carry the project forward left; however, both she and Caroline moved institutions, taking the project with them to the new organisation. In explaining the reason for carrying the project with her, Julie evoked a sense of duty “I was really committed to it [*Food for Thought*] and I certainly didn’t want to let the project down and so when I moved from [institution X] to [institution Y] I took the project with me”. Sodhi and Cohen (2012), in their research with social workers, found that the body was a site of knowledge which enriched social work practice. It is suggested that embodied knowledge – knowing that emerges from the body as well as held within the body (Nagatomo 1992), also has implications for how knowledge is then carried across different spaces and, potentially, times. This finding is not dissimilar to the proposal that co-operative work with stakeholders can stimulate better relationships between academia and practice, although this is often framed in terms of productivity (cf. Antonacopoulou 2010). However, in light of the previous chapter and time leakages, it is important that the implications of engagement are thought through from an embodied, ethical perspective, and not just framed in terms of impact success.

Reflecting on the process of *Food for Thought* Lynne (SecInterviews, working group) explained that, in the working groups, “the people that attended them everybody always attended prepared, ready to work”. Caroline (SecInterviews, steering group) spoke of a similar set up in the steering group identifying a sense of collective responsibility which was fostered by equal opportunity for everyone involved expressing their views. This sense of collective, arguably, grounded the experience of *Food for Thought* in bodily existence in the plural ‘which implies both that others can count on us and our accountability for’ (Roth 2006: 2). This chimes with Caroline (SecInterviews, steering group) who noted that she hasn’t missed a steering group meeting, considering it part of her responsibility as a member to “make sure that you’re there for the life of it”. The reasoning for this is linked to continuity, flow and building working relationships which Caroline considered to be key when talking about “emotive stuff”. Robert (SecInterviews) noted how the team has managed to overcome any challenges even when things were unclear noting “I think the strength of the group has been that we’ve actually metaphorically held hands and stood firm and got through it because there’s such desire”. All these comments could link to a sense of duty to the project drawn from ownership and moral duty to others in the team. Andrew suggested

I certainly don't have any sense of things being done without me except in terms of, you know, people are doing a lot of work when I'm not there, so it's slightly elves and the

shoemaker, you come in in the morning and there is this reflective tool that has been made by the elves overnight.

Andrew (SecInterviews, steering group and working group)

There is an implicit acknowledgment by Andrew that he has not necessarily engaged with the intricate details of developing the resources: “made by the elves overnight” is a particularly passive statement. Thus, although he identifies as being involved throughout the process, the suggestion that someone else has carried out much of the actioning of ideas and feedback might indicate that Andrew’s contributions are specific to aspects of the development of the resources, rather than across the board. This chimed with others in the process, who might be argued to be one of the elves: Jessica (SecInterview, steering group and working group), spoke, with hindsight, about in future redistributing some of the work across the partnership team, giving each person ownership over a resource rather than concentrating the workload on just a few individuals. Jessica’s comments suggest that despite the romantic notion of various participants of being involved in the heteroglossia of *Food for Thought*, the workload seems to have been absorbed by a few. This reiterates the need to consider cooperative work under a closer lens in order to reflect on the ethical distribution of workload in an instance like *Food for Thought*, in which all involved – academics and practitioners, are balancing multiple demands on their time and energy. Such conversations do not, currently, feature in the centripetal language of impact. Neither does it feature highly in the philosophy of collective responsibility, which is mostly concerned with physical harm (Smiley 2017). Thus, both impact and collective responsibility might want to consider the smaller scale, embodied, implications of collective work and the workload distribution.

These conversations were mirrored in the practice context, when considering the responsibility of individuals to share their learning opportunities with the rest of their team. For Emma, she had hoped that individuals that attended a presentation would assume a collective responsibility for the sustainability of *Food for Thought* “and because those few people didn’t sort of rally to get together again because the idea was that a group would be formed but that didn’t happen”. Considering the role of the collective, and speaking more generally about training, Josef promoted the view that “if someone goes on a course then what we say is okay, you need to feed back to the staff team”. As a result “you build up a body of knowledge [...] rather than getting everyone to do as much as possible and spread it too thin”. Josef advocated for individuals that were passionate about certain subjects to “push that forward within a team so that it becomes more part of our common language and it is embedded in our practice”. For Josef, knowing is embedded within doing

... [some] people need to learn through experience. I think, regardless of your learning style, probably you'll always learn from experience – good and bad, and so that repetition [...] because if no one's really doing it then it's just a, we'll just shrug our shoulders and, kind of, go yea it's a good idea, sounds encouraging, nice colours but what does it mean? And it just goes away

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

This extended quotation from Josef epitomised much of the tension between learning and doing that many of the participants of the primary interview stage deliberated. How to encourage the embodied element of learning which was considered to be located within action. Therefore, the ways in which participants of *Food for Thought* considered the individual-collective relationship, in the context of learning, was mostly interpreted through the lens of collective action. Josef sought the strength to keep learned habits alive lay within the care team as a collective, although it was acknowledged that it was difficult to achieve.

The secondary data evaluation sheets and primary interviews elaborated how participants of *Food for Thought* might or had tried, respectively, to lengthen their experience out with the learning space, identifying the complex role of the body as a vehicle to move in and out of their workplace architecture, navigating the rhythms of their practice. Academic perspectives were divided on the best strategy for extending *Food for Thought* beyond their participation. Lindsay (PrimInterview, ECR, Australia) explicated “we had people who had an interest in health, and they would really drive so we've got champions that really drove the program”. These champions were paid workers whose role lasted for a year and was exclusively focussed on working with carers and looked after children on the health project. In Scotland, *Food for Thought* took a similar tack, in terms of training others although these participants were not paid to work exclusively on *Food for Thought* in their institution. Jessica voiced concern about the approach in Scotland

my concern is that we [*Food for Thought*] did that at the individual level and we were reliant on those individual levels [...] but those people most of those key champions have moved on [...] my worry is that that eventually will just die out

Jessica (PrimInterviews, academic)

Some of the practice participants too considered the role of the individual in propelling *Food for Thought*, once their project ran out of money and time “those champions will be able to train the others, because we wanted to make it cost-effective and sustainable as well” (Harriet,

PrimInterviews, nutritionist/project leader, England). However, both Hazel and Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager) were more concerned with the 'small' implications of *Food for Thought*. Hazel (PrimInterviews, academic/social worker) noted "I think a lot of people who were there on the ground foster carers residential workers they're still there they're still there [...] I think it's that slow ripple". Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager) contemplated his own role: "you gotta keep going and keep chipping away at it and discussing with other people". Thus, conversations of change ranged from the big to the little. The former attitude to change might be likened to the embedded research model in which research becomes part of the architecture of an organisation, Nutley et al. (2007: 210) argue that this approach is 'not directly between research and practice, but indirectly between research and policy/service management, and thence on to practice change'. The latter coincides with literature on social work more generally, and the impact of small gestures in care work for looked after children (Whincup 2017).

Social discourses around the body

Lily (SecInterviews, foster carer) found in the support of others the benefit of being involved. *Food for Thought* helped her realise, through sharing with peers, that "I'm not the only person now that kind of is off the straight and narrow a little bit with feeding my young people healthy all the time". Implicit in this, are the links to wider collective rhythms around food that orchestrate the relationship between the body and food through a nutritional lens. That *Food for Thought* was "thinking about food as more than just nourishment" (EvalData, presentation, foster carer) was a feature of the feedback in the evaluation data as well as in the secondary interviews. One foster carer (EvalData) took away from a *Food for Thought* presentation "how food can affect behaviour issues, how food can trigger emotions, memories, good or bad", whilst another noted "I find it very helpful to discover that food has much wider issues than nutritional value" (EvalData, Reflective Workshop). Imogene (PrimInterviews, foster carer) too recognised collective embodied rhythms around food being focussed on nutrition "most folk [...] yea it's about eating it's about nutrition". Thus, *Food for Thought* enabled these participants to consider food and food habits, as they correspond to the emotional and embodied experience of food and memory; as Proust explores the involuntary memory bound up in a cup of tea and a madeleine, so the self/other relationships between carers and looked after children are re-viewed in light of food as memory and symbolism. It might be argued that this is necessarily small and particular to self/other relationships, however, in the literature Holtzman promotes the view that

[...] [food] has the uncanny ability to tie the minutiae of everyday experience to broader cultural patterns, hegemonic structures, and political economic processes, structuring experience in ways that can be logical, and outside of logic, in ways that are conscious, canonized, or beyond the realm of conscious awareness.

Holtzman (2006: 3732)

Therefore, our understanding of the small in terms of food practices is deeply entangled with wider collective discourses about the relationship between the body and food. A case study such as this offers the opportunity to better understand individuals as they begin to consciously situate themselves in relation to these macro food discourses on nutrition, exploring an expanded view of day to day food rhythms within their self/other relationships.

For the evaluation participants, the consequences of their learning were tied to the micro-movements and habits of the everyday of caring for looked after children, thus it was common for evaluation sheets to note that the experience encouraged the following types of action: “take a step back and think” (Evaldata, presentation, foster carer), “[pay] more attention to the individual routines and rituals of the young people” (EvalData, Reflective Workshop, residential worker/manager). This last comment seems particularly attentive to the unique habits of the children in the participant’s care. Similarly, accentuating the rhythmic element of the self/other relationship between carer and child, one foster carer noted the importance of being “in-tune with your child to recognise this [communication through food] to observe changes” (EvalData, presentation). Comments which reiterated this idea of considering the unique rhythms of children in care were offered by both foster carers and residential carers (five foster carers directly mentioned nutrition in their evaluation feedback, one other whose role was not stated and one residential carer). However, the higher number of foster carers might suggest that foster carers felt pressure around food to conform to the collective discourse that a caring relationship between food and the body is one that focusses on the nutritional. Residential care concerns, on the other hand, considered institutional rituals dictating food rhythms in more depth (See sub-chapter ‘architecting rhythms through ritual’ below) than nutrition – although as suggested above, nutrition and healthy eating were ruminated on. It is argued that manifested within the body are habits of caring that adapt and develop (Schön 1996) responding to the assembling of bodies (DeLanda 2006), as opposed to more directive care work with children. *Food for Thought* responds to these habits of care and, as a result, is it is more difficult (and less desirable) to quantify its impact in practice as it does not espouse a formulaic response. This finding suggests that conceptualising successful impact should consider learning that falls outside instructive action.

In Australia, and two of the three participants in England, as previously indicated, *Food for Thought* was presented alongside health focussed projects, one by Harriet and Grace in England and another; separate one, run by Lindsay in Australia. The explanations given for seeking out research around food that was not nutritionally focussed centralised the experiences of carers; Harriet (PrimInterviews, project manager/nutritionist, England) recalled “what I learned from then engaging with the carers and through that training course provided is that nutrition is very important but it is not enough”. Lindsay concurred, noting

... at that point you know, anecdotally, I had heard so many stories of kids having, like what we would call problematic eating, with like bingeing or hoarding all of that

Lindsay (PrimInterviews, ECR, Australia)

What was found as a result of moving through the different workspaces, was that by including ideas and principles of *Food for Thought* in to their nutritionally focussed projects carers engaged differently with her health program: “the staff just, it spoke their language” (Lindsay, PrimInterviews, ECR, Australia). The journey of *Food for Thought* then, as it travelled across local, national and international borders might suggest that academics are dedicated to working alongside practice. Furthermore, technologies such as the internet were mentioned as facilitating both the sharing of materials, as well as opportunities to establish relationships and the mutually beneficial movement and flows of information. However, what is also important to note, is that *Food for Thought* was considered valuable for its emphasis on the symbolism of food – an element that is little considered in collective, societal discourses around food in which nutrition is salient.

The collective rhythms of food were not just raised in relation to discourses of nutrition, that *Food for Thought* identified that individual understandings of food and care would lead to individual interpretations of food rituals (McIntosh et al. 2010: 296) is difficult to manage in a team work scenario. One participant anticipated this as a possible issue: “trying to get all staff to work together and be on the same page” (EvalData, Reflective Workshop, residential worker). Another noted a potential difficulty in “reluctance from others” (EvalData, Train the Trainer, residential worker) encumbering the movement of *Food for Thought* from learning to practice. Arguably, in these cases, *Food for Thought* was seen as a unifying concept, tricky to enact in a diverse team. However, this interpretation was not universal, and some considered *Food for Thought* to encourage unique rhythms around food which, in certain cases, was seen as a threat to collectivity which “may conflict with need for structure/routine somewhat, also conflict with healthy eating plans in place” (EvalData, Train the Trainer). Perhaps the latter view relates to a history of care which minimised the individuality of the children and their

bodily needs: “certainly in the 1970s institutions were about everybody being treated the same the idea of fairness was that everybody had the same thing that was a definition of fairness” (Frank, PrimInterview, retired/previously the head of a foster care agency, England). Despite these worries, the consequences of *Food for Thought* were small in nature for many of the residential care workers (as their peers in foster care) and were less about the collective action than the unique relationships between self/other, carer/child, as demonstrated by the following example of plans to “discuss food and food options more with staff and young people” (Evaldata, Reflective Workshop, residential worker) as a result of *Food for Thought*. It could be argued that despite the concerns voiced, residential carers focussed on what they considered to be manageable change – in many cases responding to the unique rhythms of the children. This finding coincides with broader research on the importance of relationships in social work with looked after children, in which children note the importance of small gestures in their experience of care (Whincup 2017), as well as considering literature that imagines care as ‘particular and individual’ (Waerness 1984). For those with a more senior role, some of the responses suggested more tangible change: “I will incorporate food more in to my supervisions” (EvalData, Train the Trainer, social/support worker or manager), but did also include comments such as “empathise and have more awareness of the impact of food on looked after children” (EvalData, Train the Trainer, supervising social worker).

Embodied communication between self/other

Speaking generally of self/other relationships in terms of how the other (looked after children) might be perceived, Josef recognised times in which he has experienced looked after children demonstrating great empathy towards their peers. He asks

How do we buff that diamond and get more of that to come out? And all the other stuff that we’re seeing, recognising that’s driven by drugs or drink or past childhood trauma and stuff. That doesn’t need to be who we see them as

Josef (PrimInterviews, residential care worker)

It could be argued that Josef demonstrated a concern for the way in which self/other, carer/child, relationships can often be built on a view of the child that focuses on the difficult behaviours they might exhibit. This might tie in to the literature around care, foregrounding the possibilities of positive relationships that can be founded in active listening and seeing the child, beyond conduct. The concept of active attention toward children is echoed by several other participants as a result of *Food for Thought*. Bryan (SecInterviews, pilot study), who, as a result of being part of the project, gave space to his foster children to express their thoughts

without imposing his preferences on them. Andrew (SecInterviews, steering group and working group) applied the principle more to result in “listening more carefully to the people we work with”. Baltra-Ulloa (2018: 136) urges for an ethic of care in which we come to relationships as ‘learners and deep listeners’, as a result we ‘enter the space of whom we call *other*, *hear* them speak about themselves while they formulate what care is in their language’ (ibid, emphasis in original). Andrew and Bryan, despite some working in management and others working in direct care with looked after children, seem to be joined in their responses to *Food for Thought*, making space for the other in self/other relationships to express care in their terms. This potential for relationships to be deepened is difficult to turn in to a measurable output, yet reflects Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological development theory that, when applied to impact, takes in to account the entangled, reciprocal, situated experience of research in practice.

In some cases, it appeared that the narrative of the individual had an element of Bildung as they acknowledged a changing self after being involved in *Food for Thought*, in comparison with behaviours and attitudes before being involved in the project. An example of this can be found in remarks by Joanne who reflects on her journey:

I think it’s just made me think more about how I approach food um, myself and with my looked after children, and my own children as well. Um, we’ve just recently had children moving from ourselves to a permanent placement and all the issues that they kind of had around food that had kind of disappeared over the last 2 years all started to happen again as they were transitioning. So I looked at it probably differently to what I would have done before which was good

Joanne (SecInterviews, working group)

Joanne uses the narrative from the case study project to identify that behaviour around food can be used to communicate emotions, yet her understanding of ‘self/other’ relations goes beyond this, as we can see from her comments. Food and food habits are identified as being part of heteroglossia, not limited to language but one of the many ways that children communicate their thoughts and feelings beyond the verbal. As a consequence of identifying this, Joanne’s relationship between her ‘self’ and ‘other’ is drawn closer, the ‘ratio of otherness’ is reduced as Joanne finds ways to better understand the unique way in which the children are attempting to communicate. This seems to be confirmed later on when Joanne continues the storytelling concluding that the difficulties around food

was more about his needs emotionally rather than actually what was on the plate, I found ways in which to speak to him and to get him to open up to me about how he was feeling, umm, and once we kind of got through that his eating habits returned to normal

Joanne (SecInterviews, working group)

In this example, Joanne demonstrates how her relationships have changed through drawing the other (the child), and the needs he was trying to communicate with his behaviour, in to the centre of the story. Using Bakhtin's attention to language and relationships, it is possible to suggest that Joanne's learning from *Food for Thought* enabled her to gauge the unique corporeal language of the child. This finding situates *Food for Thought* learning within a view of knowledge praxis which encourages 'ethical, self-aware, responsive and accountable action' (White 2007: 231) and, as above in the case of Andrew, Bryan and Josef, is difficult to articulate in terms of quantifiable language.

Michelle (PrimInterview, residential care unit supervisor, Australia) considered the learning from *Food for Thought* to be "about using food as a tool to engage with the young people umm, working side by side". This physical placement of the bodies alongside each other is read as care as it is defined by Skott-Myhre et al. (2016: 59) as a 'set of practices that is attentive to the ecological conditions of any given assemblage of bodies in such a way as to maximise the diversity of capacity of expression'. Consequently, self/other relationships are not seen through a lens of control but are, as Bakhtin would argue, in the space in between. This was a point made too by Frida (PrimInterviews, social worker), as she explained "It's not about really, controlling somebody's food and saying you have to eat this, and that's a no-no and don't do this, it's really about getting to know people". Both Michelle and Frida demonstrate the small ways in which participants deliberated on relational work as process (Tronto 2010), rather than end product. *Food for Thought* contributed to the skills and judgments of the carers working with looked after children, which enabled them to consider how to respond to the unique language of the children in their care, which might also be referred to by Skott-Myhre et al. (2016: 59) as being able to respond to the 'ecological conditions of any given assemblage of bodies'. In this case, the learning from *Food for Thought* is more closely aligned with a 'reflexive-therapeutic perspective' in which 'knowledge allows workers to act skilfully and without risk to clients' (Harlow 2003: 33) as opposed to a 'managerial-technicist perspective' in which 'knowledge of the law, policy and organisational procedures [is used] to carry out duties' (ibid: 33).

Affect, memory and communication

One response to *Food for Thought* was to be “more aware of the strong link between young people and food experiences – memories” (EvalData, Reflective Workshop, residential worker). The idea of the embodied self as a central feature of the learning process in *Food for Thought* was further echoed within the primary (hi)stories. In her experience of a presentation by Hazel, Emma emphasised “it really grabbed people’s interest because you do relate it to yourself and how you deal with things”, furthermore

...you need to think about your own experiences of food [...] and you know to think back to, you know, the time when you know it made you, you have happy memory of or dadadada and it was really, really powerful stuff

Emma (PrimInterviews, workforce development officer)

Anton (PrimInterviews, residential care manager) noted the importance of recognising “our reactions to negative behaviour and how we deal with that and how we put consequences in place [...] because we’re angry with someone”. Thus, it might be argued that he draws to attention the affective relationship between self/other. Frank (PrimInterviews, retired/previously the head of a foster care agency, England) recalled his practice work, noting the importance of overcoming the pressure to come up with strategies around food, instead “more importantly was trying to get foster carers to think about their own issues around food because I’ve hardly come across anybody who’s not got something around food themselves”. Frank considered memories of food to be bound up with emotion and family identity and recognising the ego in those relationships was important to consider the self in self/other relationships, highlighting “the importance of getting to know yourself”. Another participant, recognised this in herself

I have issues with it [food] because of my upbringing which is why I do the job I do, and I feel that sometimes that can fall in and cause a bit of a problem

Imogene (PrimInterviews, foster carer)

As a result, for Imogene *Food for Thought* benefitted both her and the children in her care, suggesting the complex entanglement of self/other relations

there’s things that happen to you as a kid that will never leave you, I get that, I understand that, and to have somebody to help me with this food for them, well, actually gives me a wee tick in ma box as a personal goal as well to help them

Explaining the change as a result of *Food for Thought*, Imogene “you know we haven’t made huge leaps and bounds, but I’ve made huge leaps and bounds and leave them be and that’s really important.” Thinking about the experience of food foregrounded the embodied way in which memory connected the brain and the body with food was a response found across the different roles involved in care with looked after children. Therefore, it is suggested that affect in this sense links the memories of family and habits around food as they transgress time, drawing past relationships in to present relationships. Arguably, this finding has the potential to develop Ainley’s (2006) work entitled *Connecting with Learning: Motivation, Affect and Cognition in Interest Processes*. It is argued that beyond the ‘cognitive’, the impact of embodied affective response can increase the positive subject experience of learning – although it is stressed that a safe environment is needed to facilitate the affective learning journey (Ruch 2007).

Concluding thoughts

Findings suggest that carers of looked after children struggle with some of the centripetal forces that focus their working identity on outcomes, which imagines the relationship between academia and practice as enlightening (Hammersley 2002), lineal and instrumental (Webb 2001). Arguably, this attitude subordinates care to rational, scientific ways of knowing (Rose 1994; Waerness 1984). The participants speaking from a care perspective, distanced themselves from this view – preferring to consider their work in terms of process (Tronto 2010) and complexity (Schön 1996). As a result, the relationship between learning and doing, in the case of *Food for Thought* as well as more broadly, was not discussed in terms of cognitive exchange. Instead, knowing, being and doing was intimately entangled (White 2007). This made it difficult for the participants to identify a particular ‘root’ to some of their embodied practices (Deamer 1996).

Both discussions with participants in the secondary data interviews with those involved in developing the *Food for Thought* resources, as well as primary interviews with carers speaking from practice spaces ruminated on the role of the individual and the collective in extending *Food for Thought* from an idea to action. Although participants felt involved in the journey of *Food for Thought* as a result of being consulted – the work to enact the ideas was not well distributed, an ethical challenge for co-productive work. In the case of the (hi)stories gathered from the primary interview participants, the collective, social body was seen as important in

maintaining *Food for Thought* within individual habits. However, it was explained that this was difficult to achieve.

One finding highlighted by a focus on the embodiment of care was that participants found it enabled them to consider food beyond the rhetoric of nutrition. This foregrounded the link between self/other in the context of food practices in care in a way that acknowledged affective experiences of food (Holtzman 2006). As a result, the small, daily rhythms of care (Whincup 2017) were recognised as opportunities to deepen relationships by making space for children's communication as encouraged by ethics of care scholars (Baltra-Ulloa 2018) as well as proponents of reflective practice (Garfat 2004; Schön 1996; Waerness 1984; White 2007). .

Much of the chapter suggests that the extension of *Food for Thought* from the initial activities organised by the steering group is difficult to measure. Instrumental understandings of 'impact success' and 'research use' have been shown to be insufficient in capturing the multifarious ways in which the participants of this study engaged with *Food for Thought*. Instead, depth of relationships was central to the ways in which the case study was considered to be important to carers of looked after children which tied in to more general debates around care that was qualitative in texture.

This chapter sought to explore the ways in which impact architecture and music assemble in the caring body, as a result, language and working identities have shown to be important to embodied and emotional caring practices. The next chapter goes on to conclude the thesis, drawing the themes together to answer the research questions outlined at the beginning.

CHAPTER EIGHT. CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis sought to show that language is important to ways in which impact and impact evaluations are framed. Given the themes discussed and the problematisation of some of the key tenets of the Enlightenment as focussing on instrumental and abstract knowledge located in the brain, it feels uncomfortable to conclude the thesis with concrete implications of the study in the aforementioned terms. Therefore, this final chapter reflects on what has been learnt, ponders some of the possibilities for the thesis, including future research and invites the reader to meet the research on Bakhtin's (1981: 293) borderline, between self/other in the utterance, imbuing the work with their experiences.

Impact and evidence based practice, it was observed, are encouraging closer relationships between academia and practice. A careful look at these policies and frameworks, however, suggests that the underlying language imagines academic/practitioner relationships to be underscored by an economic rhetoric. The analysis chapters offered alternative metaphors to explore impact. This re-viewing of the relationship(s), between academia and practice, required a refreshed understanding of key concepts, such as 'academic impact success' and 'research use', without a focus on 'the measurable'.

Three questions were posed at the beginning of this thesis:

- Using the *Food for Thought* Project, how do academics make sense of the impact agenda?
- How do those caring for looked after children narrate their experience of research in practice, using the lens of food and food practices?
- Considering food and food practices, how does 'research impact' change and evolve across local, national and international contexts?

This chapter revisits the explorations of the study in light of these questions.

Key Findings

How academics make sense of the impact agenda through the *Food for Thought* Project

It should be noted from the outset that three academics in Scotland, one academic in Australia alongside an early career research took part in the study. The discussion on the ways in which academics navigated the impact agenda is therefore modest, however, the case study does allow for a nuanced understanding of how the academics involved approached impact, considering the complex, lived experience (Anderson et al. 2005). Initially, it was observed that the ways in which the impact agenda constructed the academic workplace in relation to the practice space was through economic interactions. The academics themselves repeated this rhetoric variably across the different geographies and disciplines. The secondary data interviews, with Hazel, Jessica and Craig, suggested that they were aware of the socio-political position of the contemporary university and the implications this had for *Food for Thought* and impact. It was further considered in the primary interview whereby Hazel considered the university space as increasingly being drawn into the marketplace; which was problematic for her and Craig, but less so for Jessica and Fiona. Despite these comments, the wider socio-political position of the university with regards to impact was not indicative of their personal motivation for being involved in the case study project, which was more closely aligned to a personal interest in the topic for Hazel, whilst Craig was interested in the sociological aspect of food and care. Therefore, it is suggested that academics are not passive toward the impact agenda, and move through/inhabit the space architected by impact in different ways depending on their working values.

Reflecting on impact, not all Scottish academics agreed on what was required of them. Craig, as a result of attributing intrinsic value to the research activities of the university, showed little interest in any sort of outputs. Craig and Hazel were concerned for academic values that were being lost as a result of a marketised university, whilst Jessica felt less constrained by the impact agenda, choosing instead to focus on the opportunities available as a result. In Australia, there was little discussion around academic values, or deliberating on the interpretation of impact. Greater attention was applied to pragmatic strategies to communicate across the different workspaces which were constructed as separate plains, with the possibilities of a link to the values of health science research. Lindsay, as an early career researcher, did not feel confident in the process of impact or, as it was referred to in Australia, 'implementation'; she attributed this to being young and lacking contacts. It can be noted that, although some participants suggested they moved through the impact space on their own

terms, this was not the case for everyone, a finding which coincides with literature that suggests early career researchers struggle with the impact agenda (Page and Strathern 2016).

The different ways in which the academics positioned themselves in relation to the impact agenda, as described in the research of Chubb (2017), suggest that the measuring of research impact overlooks the complexity of impact processes and the diversity of interpretation. Using ideas borrowed from Bakhtin, from which this thesis has placed heteroglossia at the heart of impact, allows the social life of language to flourish rather than focusing on narrow definitions. This was facilitated by a case study research design which centralised the lived experience of impact in relation to the wider social context (Yin 2009). In this context therefore, it is proposed that the combination of Bakhtin's social language and a case study approach offers a new/widened impact vocabulary, depending on the position of the reader.

The manner in which academics have constructed the landscape between academia and practice had implications for the way in which they framed 'impact success' and the types of relationships they endeavoured to build in order to achieve it. Fiona spoke of communicating with policy makers, whom she considered to have the most authority within the practice space, which would enable systemic change. Jessica offered a similar sort of framework for success, looking for organisational movement. Hazel, however, was more interested in the day to day rhythms of the carers, while Craig considered success in the doing of the research, rather than attributing it to any consequences. This reflects literature that suggests that organisational cultures are '...constructed through a social, rather than entirely policy driven, process' (Fine 1984: 243). Consequently, it is suggested that language is imbued with working values that influence the relationships that are constructed, both within and outside of the academic workplace. For example, considering the architecture of authority, Hazel was sensitive to approaching carers of looked after children with the attitude of other researchers that she had seen, in which the academics claimed omniscience over the practice space. Instead, she, along with Craig and Jessica, appreciated practice wisdom and hoped to build on some of the good work that was being done in care with looked after children. This presents a challenge to the rhetoric of modernity, which suggests that change is always necessary. Additionally, the relationship between academia and practice is flattened and academia is not presumed to be in a more authoritative position than those working with looked after children.

Building on the idea that '...architectural work is always the solution to some problem' (Spurr 2012: 2), this doctoral research project posited the impact agenda as imagining a gulf between

academia and practice, one which, in order to get governmental funding, academics are obliged to overcome. Highlighting the multiple ways in which participants envisaged self/other workspaces, in the case of academics, demonstrated the complexity of academic-practitioner relationships as they debated how inside-outside spatial configurations were mediated by numerous factors. As a result, interpretations of impact success, to borrow from Bakhtin, were heteroglossic, mirroring the different relationships with practice that were born as a result. This relational view of impact emerged from the discussions of the participants, questioning the view of academics as detached and objective and research as rational and methodical as characterised by Western thought (Thomas 1998: 142). These findings might speak to what Shapin (2012: 26) refers to as the monologue which plagues the rhetoric of the academic ivory tower, demonstrating the ways in which academics deliberate over the private/public responsibilities associated with their working identity.

Considering academic temporalities, Hazel and Craig were critical of the processes of academia that dictated the rhythms of priority, as they were seen as being logically incoherent with the impact agenda. The constantly changing priorities of research councils, was seen as being aligned to political cycles and public accountability. In outlining some of the inconsistencies in the impact agenda, some of the Scottish academics critically reflect on ‘...who is to be held accountable, for what, to whom, through what means, and with what consequences’ (Trow 1996: 310). As a result, accountability seemed to be less about the relationship between academia and practice, and more about controlling academic time. Other literature has linked accountability with the challenge to academic freedom (Chubb 2017), although what is less discussed is the temporal implications of academics working towards constantly changing goalposts. However, a heteroglossic lens shows that these concerns were not shared, or at least not voiced in the interviews, by all of the academics. As found by Chubb (2017) some researchers considered the centralised language of impact reflected the rhythms of their practice. Thus, the diversity of interpretation of the impact agenda, resulting from a qualitative case study design, indicates that measuring research impact quantitatively offers little scope for understanding how academic rhythms synchronise, or syncopate, with the centripetal language of impact. These findings do clearly fit in to the literature which urges for a slower academia (as Berg and Seeber 2016), or an unhastening of science for academic autonomy (Pels 2003).

Additionally, it emerged that working timescapes were imagined as legato – where non-working time began to slide in to working time as a result of a sense of duty towards others and where physical absences triggered feelings of guilt. Arguably, this indicates that far from

the ivory tower, many academics experience meaningful connections in their work, alongside each other and with those outside of the university; that academic work is relational work echoes Bakhtin's ontologically necessary self/other. These comments suggest that the impact agenda should also consider ethical issues and not solely be driven by consequentialism. It is suggested that making space to consider academic rhythms has shown that the narrow, economic and consequentialist focus of the impact agenda hides some of the more emotive and physically demanding work of academics in the impact process. It is posited that ethics of care offers a language that values the relational and the embodied experience of impact, extending the available vocabulary to encompass some of the centrifugal language that is currently unaccounted for.

Hazel explained that the resources created by *Food for Thought* were meant to be read as part of fluid time, rather than rigid time; adapting to the rhythms of the self/other relationships of practice. Both Jessica and Hazel noted that there was an absence of examples of impact materials and resources when they were writing *Food for Thought* so there was little inspiration or guidance. Hence the technological platform in today's perspective seems a little limited: perhaps this is what Steiner (1978: 269) would refer to as a modal difficulty, a difficulty that renders a different time and space so challenging to access and understand. This sense of distance between 'then' (when the resources were finalised) and 'now' is further exacerbated by the seemingly constant changing technologies. This raises a question of form and content in impact outputs, to what extent is the content of academic research entangled with the form so that, as the technology of the latter becomes dated, the former becomes lost? Monahan (2008: 93) suggests that underlying technological change is the imperative that '...infrastructures require continual attention and constant alteration'. Impact evaluation studies has yet to explore the impact of impact, in terms of the material temporalities of academic work in practice contexts.

The narratives of participants caring for looked after children in regard to their experiences of research in practice, using the lens of food and food practices

For some carers of looked after children, there existed a gulf between academia and practice, although for diverse reasons. One that united many of the practice based participants was the view that academia produced abstract knowledge that was not easily adapted to the context of care, which often functioned in chaos. In addition, examples of academic research which resulted in generating knowledge considered to be 'common sense' to relational work, were offered. It is argued that both of these observations feed into the complicated relationship between academia and practice in the context of a society that is driven by 'abstraction',

‘proof’ and ‘evidence’. In part, this resulted in a view of academic research that was not *for* practice. It might then be argued that there is a view of the working identity of care that inhibits the movement of information from the university to praxis with looked after children, as carers imagine their work is located in the body, the entanglement between knowing, being and doing (White 2007). Meanwhile the work of academics is abstract and decontextualized. Some of these ideological differences can be attributed to the learning space as a contested field. For those in Australia, the struggle was to enable sustainable learning whilst, for those in Scotland, the struggle was to get practitioners into the learning space.

Notwithstanding comments that suggested the landscape between academia and practice is tense, there were also examples in which academic research was considered to act as a bridge, uniting various people working with looked after children. In these examples, the rhetoric of evidence-based practice was called upon in considering the role of research situated in the day to day. As a result, in the diversity of academic interpretations of impact, carers of looked after children demonstrated varied and dynamic ways of engaging with research in their practice.

According to the participants based in practice, *Food for Thought* represented a notable difference to more general learning opportunities. In the case of *Food for Thought*, the learning corresponded to daily rhythms experienced in practice with looked after children and the responses from the evaluation sheets suggest that participants appreciated a re-viewing of some of their living and working spaces. This was valuable because spaces to reflect on food and food habits were not often available. As Schumacher (2011 [1973]: 49) observes, ‘...for his [or her] different purposes [wo]man needs many different structures, both small ones and large ones’. Thus, a strength of the reception of *Food for Thought* was in the way it responded to the small structures of care, the day to day rhythms. This did not necessarily require the participants to think differently about their praxis, but gave them a language to articulate what they were already doing.

Despite the positive response from carers, organisational factors mediated the primary (hi)stories of *Food for Thought* in their practice. For example, although participants noted that their organisation, for the most part, demonstrated an interest in academic research, the logistics of the relationship were not very well facilitated or the connection was not prioritised. This was particularly true in the case of *Food for Thought* which was not considered a significant topic, although it should be noted that this was not observed by the participants who actually experienced a *Food for Thought* activity. Additionally, it was identified that the context of learning in Australia did not necessarily lend itself well to understanding change

outside large scale interventions – thus, the small, daily rhythms and movements of *Food for Thought* might not have been well understood in a context in which the language of change is entangled with the large, systemic tempos.

Although in the evaluation data participants felt emboldened to ask questions of some of the institutional food practices of their organisation, speaking to participants four years on from *Food for Thought* activities, the picture was a little more complicated. Issues recorded by participants from a residential background highlighted the negative impact that institutional rules and rituals had on extending the learning from *Food for Thought* into the workplace. Individuals did not demonstrate a resistance to change which had been reported as a fear in the evaluation data. Instead they were more concerned with the perceived boundaries of their role, or the limits to their decision-making ability, in the workplace. Therefore, to use Bakhtin's terms, *Food for Thought* seemed to respond to the centrifugal rhythms of practice, however, from a centripetal perspective, it was not considered a priority, which meant that organisations did not facilitate its extension from the learning space to the work space. The various ways in which *Food for Thought* was subdued included failing to recognise the importance of the small, but nonetheless important, spaces that it occupied in the daily practices of care of carers of looked after children. The wider, social context could also obstruct the extension of *Food for Thought*; anxiety around judgement was also mentioned in decision-making with looked after children more generally – inhibiting the flow and movement of information between academia and practice. This seems to coincide with research that suggests the social environ plays a role in enabling learning in the workplace (Munro and Hubbard 2011).

Generally speaking, the tempo of practice with looked after children was most clearly regulated by the concept of 'priorities', as they were dictated by centripetal forces. For the Australians, as mentioned, sustainability was an issue. With multiple interventions, according to the latest priority reverberating through the practice space, it was considered difficult for academic research to appear anything but ephemeral. As a result of this wider issue, it was considered by most of the participants that *Food for Thought* had not been successfully implemented. In Scotland, it was identified that centripetal forces were sometimes driven by political urgency to respond to issues raised by the media, which required tempering in order to incorporate specific, localised practice rhythms and needs.

That food was not considered a priority by centripetal forces in the context of looked after children, was considered problematic for participants in both Scotland and Australia. It seemed

that the habitual practice of eating seemed to undermine the importance of learning about food symbolism, for those who had not experienced *Food for Thought* but who dictated practice learning priorities. For one participant, the learning space was referred to as a battle ground, which indicates the environment which *Food for Thought* is trying to speak to. In some cases, the consequences of food not being a priority in the practice space resulted in a lack of resources, both time and money, to dedicate to the lunch activity that some participants considered central to the *Food for Thought* experience. Hence Bakhtin's (1981: 84) time that 'thickens', illuminates the ways in which time tensions are experienced, between the centripetal and the centrifugal in the relationships between academia and practice with looked after children – particularly in relation to the small daily rhythms of food and practice learning priorities.

Timescapes of learning, the participants highlighted, were not lineal and demonstrate an experience of care in which the past and future collide with the present creating situational interest in learning (Ainley 2006). In this instance, it is suggested, care temporalities are entangled with corporeal sensations such as hope and loss, which contribute to Tronto's (2010: 159) observations that, 'satisfying customers may not be the same thing as providing care', as caring has its own embodied and affective timeframes. This is accounted for by the participants who, as part of their role, ran training sessions and demonstrated an awareness of the links between learning and affect with looked after children practitioners. One factor which hindered the ability for the participants to engage with learning according to their practice rhythms, was the institutional speed in which the carers were working – characterised by crisis. It is suggested by one participant that central to resisting this tempo of working is critically reflecting on the self, as self/other rhythms in the workplace were intertwined. Furthering the theme of affect and learning participants debated the benefits and drawbacks of online learning compared to face to face learning. It was suggested that although online learning overcame logistical and financial hurdles in the learning space, an affective, embodied understanding of care work meant that the learning space as a time/space to come together to check in, was important. Thus, Bakhtin's (1981: 84) time that 'takes on flesh', advocates for a view of learning as affective and, therefore, embodied.

In practice, the *Food for Thought* resources received a wide range of responses. For those that went on to run workshops, the information was viewed as well-presented and easily accessible. However, for those working on a day to day basis, caring for looked after children, engaging with the resources was found to be more difficult. Despite the intentions of the academics that the documents be fluid and assembled according to self/other relationships

and rhythms of practice, for the most part they were considered as static, interpreted through the lens of paperwork. Perhaps these findings coincide with broader literature on the shift in social work; from ‘the ‘social’ to the ‘informational’” (Parton 2008: 253). Certainly carers of looked after children were concerned with the extent to which their work was becoming materialised through paperwork to the detriment of self/other relationships. As a result, despite academics considering that the resources would be a legacy of the *Food for Thought* project, it was actually the embodied and affective experience of the activities which kept *Food for Thought* alive for the carers who participated. This finding serves as a reminder that, despite resource pressures, time and space for carers to engage with learning that responds to their practice rhythms is important. This point is particularly important where centripetal priorities tend to dictate the learning journeys of carers and distil a view of change as organisational. Participants noted that the small changes achieved by *Food for Thought* contributed to a deepening of self/other relationships appropriate to their care work.

The evolution of ‘research impact’ for food and food practice across local, national and international contexts.

Food for Thought was based on a study that was carried out in residential care units in Scotland, however, attendees of the resulting activities represented a far broader continuum of roles in the context of looked after care. Foster carers, the care inspectorate, learning and development managers, academics, nutritionists, are just some examples of participants. That this doctoral research only engaged with a select few of these roles, generally focussed on direct care with looked after children, limits the ways in which the evolution of *Food for Thought* is considered. Furthermore, all the primary interviewees attended an activity run by *Food for Thought*, which restricts the understanding of how *Food for Thought* has evolved – another possibility might have been to speak to those that had heard about the project but not experienced it themselves to better understand how the message has morphed in different environs.

As outlined in the introduction, *Food for Thought* reached an audience wider than originally expected. In part this was serendipitous, as access to the online resources was freely available. Primary interview participants, in both Australia and England (although not all), were situated in an organisation/academic school, focussed on the nutritional value of food. In both cases, *Food for Thought* offered an alternative perspective on the social life of food and food practices, one that the participants noted resonated with carers of looked after children that they worked with. Thus, the language of *Food for Thought*, which is argued as the language of the small and the relational, was what attracted a national and international interest in the

project. The impact of the work, in these contexts, was to offer an alternative perspective of food to the nutritional. For Bakhtin, authentic life is achieved through open-ended dialogue. Similarly, opening the conversation around food to the symbolic and the relational seemed to speak to a more authentic view of self/other, relative to care with looked after children.

Some themes emerged across the local, national and international which suggests that there are similarities in the experiences of centripetal forces in the various looked after children systems – most notably that food and food practices were not considered a priority. Carers in Scotland, England and Australia experienced difficulty in emphasising the importance of *Food for Thought* as it responded to small self/other relational rhythms rather than necessarily encouraging large systemic change. Thus, Bakhtin's centripetal and centrifugal forces illuminated some of the tensions between political, centripetal, and care work, centrifugal, priorities. It is argued, then, that current discourses of organisational change struggle to accommodate the diverse ways in which 'change' can be conceptualised (Marshak 2002: 279), including leaving out the small and the daily.

Although viewing the local, national and international provides an interesting lens to research impact, particularly in the context of global university networks and increasing internationalisation pressures, there were multiple examples of similarity across diversity within different contexts. A case study design facilitated a more nuanced understanding of the multiple voices in the impact agenda, without taking for granted geographic divisions. As a result it was established that an academic in Scotland in the faculty of Social Sciences had more in common with academics in Health Sciences in Australia than colleagues within her school, when considering impact implications for academic practices. This suggests that academic interpretations of the impact agenda cannot simply be distilled by discipline (Chubb 2017), or geographical location.

Concluding thoughts

This research raises the possibility to develop certain themes that emerged from the dialogue with the participants. In particular two possible areas are highlighted.

Impact tempo(ralities) in academia

Whilst this study concentrated on practice/academic relations, it is suggested that a study that looks at doctoral students' experiences of impact rhetoric in Higher Education and the implications for how this manifests in working identities would be of interest. This could elucidate how doctoral students navigate the impact agenda, as early career researchers, as a

longitudinal study through their studies and in to the workplace in order to track morphing identities.

Rhythmic analysis of academia/practice relationships

An exploratory qualitative research project might take forward some of the ideas from the second analysis chapter, further interrogating the rhythms of practice in both care for looked after children and academia. This would bring a fresh view of practice/academia relationships that are not confined to economic rhetoric.

In sum, this thesis has explored the impact agenda with a focus on language, using theoretical resources to consider other ways in which academic/practice relationships might be imagined. The academics and practitioners involved in this study, especially those to whom I spoke, were committed to their work. However, the language of the impact agenda did not always accommodate the heteroglossic ways in which academics and practitioners engaged with each other, in the context of working with looked after children. Thus, it is proposed that the theoretical resources that this research has engaged with have been able to present views from both practice and academia of the lived experience of impact.

With the drawing of this Love and the voice of this Calling
We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

The Little Gidding T.S Eliot

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Food and Care Study codes and sub-codes

General

1. How you got involved
2. What's it been like
3. What did you enjoy
4. What did you like least

Roles and responsibilities

5. What has your role been
6. Is this the role you expected
7. Were you able to fulfil your responsibilities
8. How does the organisation view the project
9. Benefits to you
10. Benefits to organisation
11. Challenges to your involvement
12. Challenges to your organisations involvement
13. Motivation for involvement

Learning

14. What have you learned
15. What would you do differently
16. What would Stirling University do differently

Process

17. Project process
18. Which stages have you been most engaged in
19. Which stages have you been least engaged in
20. Have the stages felt separate or linked
21. What could have been done to make it easier for you to be involved
22. Level of involvement

Materials

23. Which products/materials are you aware of

24. Green handbook
25. Reflective workshop
26. Reflective tool
27. Blog
28. Peer support guidance
29. Online tool
30. JOTIT
31. Other materials not listed but mentioned

Partnership working

32. What was it like for you to work with the other partners
33. Previous experience of working in partnership
34. What has been done well in relation to partnership working
35. What has been done badly in relation to partnership working
36. Co-creation
 - 26a. Extent to which materials were co-created
37. Benefits of co-creation
38. Challenges of co-creation
39. How does partnership working and co-creation impact on the quality and usefulness of the materials produced
40. Did you receive the support from your organisation to be involved
41. Interactions with Carol
42. Support from Carol
43. General comments about Carol's role
44. Views on Ruth's role as a coordinator
45. Could Ruth have done anything differently

Impact

46. Extent to which the project has made a difference so far
47. Impact on interviewee's professional life
48. Impact on interviewee's personal life
49. How is the project meaningful to what you do
50. Extent to which the project can make a difference over time
51. What needs to happen to maximise the impact

Feedback

52. Sufficient opportunities to provide feedback
53. How to collect feedback over the next five years
54. How to collect feedback from others

Final comments

55. Final comments
56. Final questions
57. Future follow up

Appendix 2: Interview topic guide

*This interview schedule is a detailed copy, the bullet pointed questions below the question in bold are just ideas to help prompt the participant, focussing on the themes that have surfaced in the secondary data. The highlighted sections correspond to the general theme to which the question relates; this is a signpost for me as I interview. It allows me to adapt the probe according to the way in which the participant responds to the open-ended question. *

1. Intro

Introduce myself, why I am here, the project. Run through the consent process with the form, however, it will not be collected until reconfirmed at the end of the interview. Confidentiality and anonymity will be explained and discussed.

2. How did you get involved in your current role?

Some of the things that might get discussed include: time spent in organisation, views on the organisation, previous experiences, time spent, motivation and qualifications/education

3. SPACE, LEARNING AND ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Can you tell me a bit about training generally within your organisation?

Key probes:

- I am just wondering, what do you think a lot of the learning opportunities you get, what is based on?
- How do you get to hear about different opportunities?
- Who do you go on to share your experiences with?
- In your experience, would you consider it important to use research in your everyday practice?

Other possible avenues to explore:

- What helps motivate you to go to say, Food for Thought, rather than something else?

4. CHANGE, OTHERS AND INTERACTIONS

Has anything happened as a result of being part of Food for Thought?

Key probes:

- What did you take away from Food for Thought as being the main message?
- In your organisation, what makes it difficult to share and act on anything you might have taken away from experiences like Food for Thought?

Other possible avenues to explore:

- What would it mean for research to be useful in your day to day?
- How do you sort through different information and what is helpful to you and what is not?

5. KNOWLEDGES

What do you think foster carers/residential carers might say about the role of research in your day to day?

Key probes:

- What is the purpose of research?
- What does it mean to be able to evidence your work?
- In your experience can you give me any examples of how practice with looked after children has changed over the last 3 years/over the last 15 years and why you think these changes have happened? (if it is too open, ask specifically about changes around food)
- How does Food for Thought fit in to your day to day compared to other messages in society about the role of food?

6. DIALOGUE AND RELATIONSHIPS

(so this might have come up a little, but can you expand on) How Food for Thought compares to other experiences you have had of research/training?

Key probes:

- How do you reflect back on your experience of the Food for Thought activity you attended?
- Does anyone you met during the activity stick out in your memory?
- Have you talked to anyone else about your experience of Food for Thought?
- What has your experience of Food for Thought meant for the children in your care/service compared to other training?
- Have the resources been helpful in any way to you?

7. **Is there anything you would have done differently?**

- With hindsight, do you have any advice for Food for Thought?

- Moving forward do you have any suggestions you could make that might make Food for Thought be more helpful to carers?

8. OWNERSHIP AND ENGAGEMENT

May I ask why you wanted to be part of this research project?

9. **Is there anything you hoped to cover in this interview that hasn't come up?**

Appendix 3: Information leaflet

k.h.roszynski@stir.ac.uk



A FOOD STORY

Katrina Roszynski, Stirling University, Room 333, Colm-Bell-Building, Stirling, FK9 4LA



Meet Katrina

Who am I?
 My name is Katrina Roszynski and I am a PhD student at Stirling University, in the Faculty of Social Science. I have studied at Stirling since my undergraduate, BA(Hons) in Spanish and Philosophy, a Masters in Applied Social Research (MSc) and now a doctorate which is funded by the Economics and Social Research Council.
 Since a young age I always imagined being a primary school teacher. However, in the meantime a number of other experiences have moulded, developed and challenged what I understand to be the lived experience of

childhoods. These include, working with an NGO in Chile, volunteering in an orphanage in Peru and studying child protection professionals' attitudes to childhood in Scotland.

INCLUDED

Who am I?
 The PhD study
 The case study: A timeline
 Participating: What? Where? How?

The PhD study

Following on from my Masters, the aim is to look at how researchers and practitioners, in the field of looked after children, communicate with each other and their reflections on the experience. In order to do this, I have picked an example of research and practice coming together – the *Food for Thought* project (FTO). I am looking to interview people who have heard about *Food for Thought* to ask them about their experience of the project, and find out what have been the barriers and opportunities to sharing that with others. I

would like to emphasise that this research is NOT about assessing your practice, nor does it assume that research is the only information you draw on to fulfil your day to day routine.

Who has reviewed the research to make sure it is ethical?
 The research proposal was submitted to the School of Applied Social Science Ethics Committee at the University of Stirling, who approved the research.

The Case Study: A timeline

From October 2006 to March 2009, the research project *Food Practice in an Institutional Context: Children, Care and Control* took place in three residential care homes in Scotland. The research focused on food and food practices in a symbolic, rather than nutritional, sense. The field work included interviews with staff and children, and observations of meal times.

This was then followed up by another project, *Food for Thought*, from November 2012 to May 2014. The main aim of this was to create interactive resources for those wishing to take the research findings and apply them to their day to day, which has reached across the UK, Germany, Finland and Australia. A working group of carers and a steering group of partner organisations in Scotland helped with the process.

What? Where? How?

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to take part in either an individual interview, or a focus group.

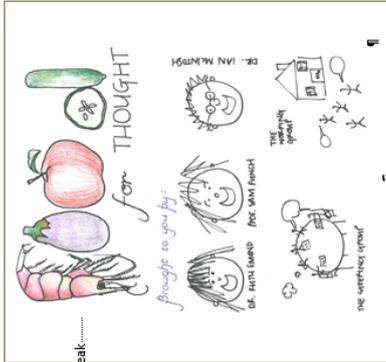
The individual interview will last up to 60 minutes and the topic of conversation will focus on your experiences of *Food for Thought*. The focus group will have a similar central theme, and the idea is to share experiences with others in your organization. It is expected that the focus groups will last a little longer, from 60 – 90 minutes.

Where will this take place?

A calm, quiet space and time will be negotiated with you and the organization that you are affiliated with where the interview will take place at a time convenient to you.

How will the information be used?

"The topic of conversation will focus on your experiences of Food for Thought."



The stories and experiences collected will, primarily, be used to produce a PhD thesis at the University of Stirling. There may be other publications such as journal articles, conference papers and information leaflets as part of a wider plan to communicate the research findings.

How will the information be stored?

All the information will be kept in a locked file at the university on a password protected.

In the case that you, the interviewee, reveal that you, or anyone else, are at risk of harm, the interview will be stopped and we will discuss the appropriate person to advise of the situation.

How will my identity be protected?

I will do my utmost to protect your identity from others: I will change your name and that of your affiliated organization. Additionally, time and space will be given at the end of the interview to discuss any concerns you have of being recognized through your contributions.

Appendix 4: Consent form for participants of 'A Food Story'

If you have read the information sheet about the research, and agreed to take part please complete the following form and return it to Katrina after the interview. Should you have any questions please don't hesitate to ask.

Tick:

- I agree to be part of Katrina's research project
- I have read the information leaflet and she has answered any questions I raised
- If I have any concerns about the research project I know who to contact
- I am aware that I can withdraw from involvement at any time, without giving reason, up to when Katrina's research is published
- I agree for my information to help form Katrina's PhD thesis
- I agree to my information being part of wider plans to share the research which can include information leaflets, conferences and journal papers amongst other things

Please remember that, as with all research projects, if concerns arise about your welfare or the welfare of someone else you would have to pass this information on. This will not be done without you knowing about it first.

Name:

Signature:

Date: