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Collaborative resilience-building: supporting childhood resilience through interaction between adults and children

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Abstract

The article reports on the key findings from a project that investigated children's perspectives on their resilience, including whether they had a positive perception of themselves, whether they believed they were resilient and what support was available. The project formed part of an evaluation of Headstart, a programme funded by the Big Lottery (2017-2021) trialling a range of initiatives for improving resilience and emotional wellbeing in six locations in England. To identify shared perspectives, this study used Q-methodology, which provides a means of gathering quantifiable data from highly subjective viewpoints. In 2018, 55 children (aged 9-16 years) in one of the Headstart locations took part in the data collection during community and school-based activities. There was a clear message from all of the children that, regardless of their self-perception and support networks, they valued the support they received from others, but they did not value the role others played in tackling adversity in their lives. Other findings include a significant link between family support (and the support from other groups) and the child's self-perception and enjoyment of life. Children with limited or no family support sought the support of friends and Headstart. The paper emphasises the need to ensure there is a collaborative resilience-building approach between adults and children where children are listened too in a range of ways and also encouraged to value the involvement they play in tackling adversity in their lives.

This is especially significant given the emphasis placed by all children on accessing their support groups at times of adversity.

Keywords

childhood, resilience, education, adversity, self-perception, self-regulation

Link to Article

<https://educationstudies.org.uk/?p=12892>

Introduction

The present study investigates the views of children participating in the interventions and activities provided by Headstart. This project focused on investigating children's perspectives of their resilience, including whether they had a positive perception of themselves, whether they believed they were resilient and what support was available to them (including whether Headstart had supported them). The paper focuses on key findings from the study that contribute and/or extend existing knowledge in this field.

Literature review

Defining and supporting childhood resilience

The term resilience has become a buzzword in education policy and used in practice. In England, the *Educational Excellence Everywhere* white paper (DfE, 2016: 94) explicitly highlighted the importance of resilience in a section specifically on building character and resilience in every child. It stated:

A 21st century education should prepare children for adult life by instilling the character traits and fundamental British values that will help them succeed: being resilient and knowing how to persevere, how to bounce back if faced with failure and how to collaborate with others at work and in their private lives. [...] These traits not only open doors to employment and social opportunities but underpin academic success, happiness and well-being.

This overlooks the fact that 'resilience' is complex, multi-faceted and difficult to define and significant concerns have been expressed about its conceptual 'slipperiness' and widespread application (Ecclestone and Lewis, 2014). Despite this, common themes can be detected in many definitions that have been posited. One is the focus on

bouncing back in the face of adversity, not least because resilience has its etymological origins in the Latin “resilire” which means *to rebound*. Terms such as ‘bouncing back’, ‘adversity’ and ‘disadvantage’ appear frequently and consistently. For instance, Southwick *et al.*, (2014) define resilience as “the ability to bend, but not break, bounce back and perhaps even grow in the face of adverse life experience”.

There is also a focus in some definitions on significant adversity that individuals have had to try and overcome. Luthar *et al.*, (2000: 543) state that resilience refers to

“...a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptations within the context of significant adversity. Implicit within this notion are two critical conditions: (1) exposure to significant threat or severe adversity; and (2) the achievement of positive adaptation despite major assaults on the developmental process.”

In this definition Luther refers to ‘significant or severe adversity’, ‘critical conditions’ and ‘major assaults’. This indicates a need to focus resilience on specific moments in a child’s life that are extraordinary and pose a significant threat.

Considering individual responses to adversity

There has been a longstanding debate about whether children are born with resilience or they develop it from their environment. This adds further complexity to defining and understanding childhood resilience. Southwick *et al.* (2014: 2) state that there is “...a host of biological, psychological, social and cultural factors that interact with one another to determine how one responds to stressful experiences”. In the literature, many question why some people are able to cope against adversity and others are not (Masten, 2014; Southwick *et al.*, 2014). Rutter’s (1987) early work suggested that children may be born with traits that enable them to rebound from adversity. Personality factors in those who are deemed resilient are said to include having a proactive approach to problem-solving; positive social relationships, including positive attention from family members; persistence and concentration; autonomy and independence; and positive self-esteem and self-concept (Mayr and Ulich, 2009). Tedesqui and Young (2018: 111) regarded “contentiousness, grit and self-control” as naturalistic personal traits that support successful resilience. In fact, terms such as grit, toughness, and courage are also frequently, if not unproblematically, associated with resilience (Middaugh, 2017; Lucas *et al.*, 2015; Arya and Lal, 2018; Smith *et al.*, 2008).

To be resilient, children need to develop resources and skills such as self-regulation (Conkbayir, 2017; Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2011). Petterson and Burke Albers (2003,

cited in Owen, 2018) suggest that if children are consistently exposed to adversity (e.g. poverty), much of their natural resilience becomes eroded. This suggests that home, family, friends and community are fundamental to a child's well-being and resilience so that they can flourish (Miller, cited in Fry, 2016). Rutter's (2018) later work considers that resilience is a process developed by gaining support from those around us, particularly a child's close family and community. This reflects Ungar (2011) who emphasised the importance of physical and social ecologies (such as home and community) in providing resources to cultivate child resilience and well-being. Close, supportive relationships with others (not necessarily family members) can help children overcome challenges, and close cultural encouragement and guidance can support resilience. According to Southwick *et al.* (2014) supportive relationships give the child a sense of hope in the face of adversity, which helps them to overcome difficult situations.

In neuroscience, links have been made between resilience and child happiness, well-being and flourishing (Clark and Senik, 2011). Happiness is considered to be key in developing positive emotional well-being (Berridge and Kringelback, 2011) and only then according to Miller (in Fry, 2016) can resilience be developed. Sroufe *et al.*, (2005) state that positive and happy early childhood experiences and relationships (particularly with parents and community influences such as schools) are essential to influence children's self-regulation and self-efficacy positively. Close bonds with significant others minimizes stressors for children (Berridge and Kringelbach, 2011; Conkbayir, 2017), supports well-being and in turn their ability to use resources available to them to develop resilience (Trevanthen, 2002). Conkbayir (2017) and Ungar (2011) emphasise the need for parents or caregivers to be attentive to their children and communicate effectively with them. However, in order to do this, the parent/caregiver needs to understand the child's ability to control their emotions (which is dependent on their age). Families build their own protective patterns of resilience, in which they also need support (Jopling & Vincent, 2019). The effectiveness of this depends on a number of factors such as cultural influences and the accessibility of resources to support them. Contextual constraints mean that this is inevitably more difficult for some families than others (Ungar, 2015) and it is also important to note that in some cases the family and/or community pose risks to children and they may receive limited or no support from these groups.

Supporting childhood resilience in education

As already indicated, education policy in England has recently proposed that children should be supported to develop skills associated to 'character resilience'. In 2012 the

All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) published a report on social mobility examining what could be done to help children succeed in life, regardless of the circumstances of their birth. The report concluded that “personal resilience and emotional well-being are the missing link to the chain” (Paterson *et al.*, 2014: 10), that social and emotional skills should underpin academic skills, and that skills such as resilience can be taught. In the report’s Foreword, Baroness Tyler stated that character and resilience are “about having the fundamental drive, tenacity and perseverance needed to make the most of opportunities and to succeed whatever obstacles life puts in your way” (: 6). The report linked the development of social and emotional skills, including character and resilience, from the early years through to the transition into employment. These recommendations included developing a robust school readiness measure at reception that included character and resilience, incorporating character resilience into Initial Teacher Training and CPD programmes and encouraging the growth of the National Citizenship Service. However, difficulties in and controversies about the development of such baseline assessments (Roberts-Holmes & Bradbury, 2017; Goldstein *et al.*, 2018) and about the broader concept of school readiness (Neaum, 2016) have made this problematic.

In 2016 *Educational Excellence Everywhere* set out plans for the next five years in education. It highlighted resilience activities that can be seen in many state schools, including activities in sport, art and the Duke of Edinburgh Award, and advocated increased partnerships between local and national businesses, voluntary and sports organisations. In relation to resilience, the white paper also proposed increasing funding for the National Citizen Service so that all 16 year-olds could access it, which would have made it the largest such programme in Europe. However, the service was rebranded in November 2019 after concerns had been raised about its cost-effectiveness and impact.

Additional programmes (such as the UK Resilience Programme and Headstart) have also been developed in order to support childhood resilience by “building resilience and promoting realistic thinking, adoptive coping skills and social problem-solving in children” (Challen *et al.*, 2011: 8). However, this has not been without difficulty. The UK Resilience Programme (UKRP) was established in 2007 in three local authorities (South Tyneside, Manchester and Hertfordshire). The programme used the Penn Resiliency Program (PRP) curriculum to support Year 7 pupils, initially in 22 secondary schools, through its staff facilitator-led workshops. Professionals including teachers, teaching assistants (TAs) and learning mentors were trained as facilitators. The programme included encouraging participants to challenge negative beliefs and to use

effective coping mechanisms in adversity, and taught techniques including positive social behaviour, assertiveness and decision-making. The study concluded that pupils reported a better understanding of resilience and how to deal with day-to-day problems and conflict. However, many of the schools had abandoned the programme by 2009/10 as staff themselves had difficulties in dealing with the real-life problems children told them they were facing (Challen, *et al.*, 2011).

This study was commissioned by Headstart to evaluate their long-term programme funded by the Big Lottery (2017-2021) trialling a broad range of initiatives for improving resilience and emotional wellbeing in 9-17 year olds in one of six locations in England. Headstart involved a number of initiatives including implementing the SUMO-based resilience programme in schools and a range of activities in the community including relax and craft, dance, active bodies...active minds, and flourishing families (Royle, 2017: Brown and Daly, 2019).

Methodology

The present study had three main research questions:

- Do children attending Headstart activities have positive perceptions of themselves?
- Do the children believe they are resilient?
- What support is available to them?

To identify shared perspectives, the study used Q-methodology. Q-methodology is not ordinarily used as an evaluation tool, however the research team felt that this approach would be able to find commonalities in children's perspectives that may not have been apparent if traditional data collection methods had been used. Q-methodology provides a means of gathering quantifiable data from highly subjective viewpoints (Brown, 1997). It investigates the complexity in different participants' positions on a given subject where differences of opinion are expected (Combes, *et al.*, 2004). In doing so, "it is a useful tool for exploring opinions, perspectives and attitudes, without directly requiring participants to expressly state (or even understand) their overall position on a topic" (Rhoades and Brown, 2019: 88). It involves participants sorting a set of statements onto a distribution grid, shaped as a reversed pyramid. Participants sort these cards based on whether they agree or disagree with each statement. This process encourages serious thought about every choice and requires the review of previous choices until they are satisfied that their rankings truly

represent how they feel at that time. There is no right or wrong response in the card sort (Brown, 1991/1992).

The participants were young people, so discussing experiences in the life that relate to resilience may also be a sensitive subject, depending on the children's and their families' perspectives. In reflection of its conceptual complexity, the statements in the card sort did not explicitly refer to resilience. Instead, participants were asked about aspects of resilience, such as bouncing back in the face of adversity, and asked them to consider their self-perception and the support they receive from others. These statements included: *I can work things out for myself; people often ask me to help them; I have never worried about anything really; and I've had support from my family.* There were also two statements included that related to the child's experiences of Headstart. These were included in order for us to evaluate whether children believed Headstart had supported them and their peers. These statements were: *Headstart has helped a lot of kids; and the Headstart programme has helped me a lot.* The distribution had a 9 point scale from -4 (strongly disagree) to +4 (strongly agree) and had 40 statements in total. Figure 1 shows an example of one of the completed Q-sorts, showing the distribution grid and the statements used.

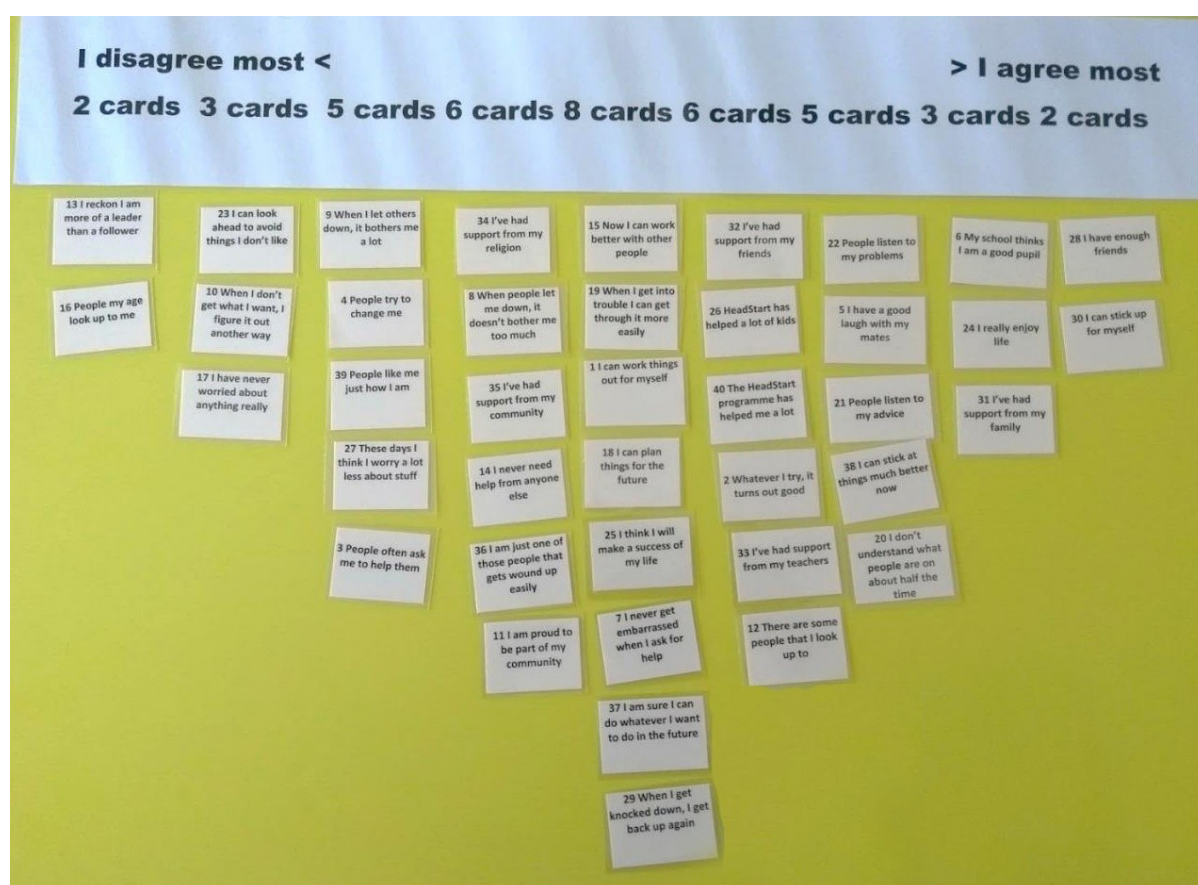


Figure 1

Q data is analysed collectively to produce consensus viewpoints, which have statistical significance (Brown, 1993). These consensus viewpoints are known as ‘factors’ in the analysis. We refer to these factors as ‘groups’ in this article. Q data is usually analysed using specific factor-analysis software and in this study PQ method was used to input the data and produce the factors. While it is possible to analyse the data manually, this can be a lengthy and error-prone process (Rhoades and Brown, 2019). In this study, the researchers used centroid analysis to extract the factors in PQ method for varimax rotation. This used the Q software to run the factor analysis process, rather than manually extracting or rotating the factors. The study retained factors that had an eigenvalue (the strength of that factor in relation to others) of 1.00 or higher. The data generated three factors that were used in the interpretive analysis and are detailed in this paper.

Q is valued for its facility to render large amounts of quantitative and qualitative material from very small numbers of participants (Watts and Stenner, 2005). In fact, it is possible to conduct a Q study on one participant’s perspectives on a subject. Having fewer participants in a Q study means that each individual Q-sort forms a greater proportion of each factor produced and will provide more detail on each individual participant’s perspectives (Watts and Stenner, 2012). This was beneficial for this study as access to participants was difficult. Attendance fluctuated in the community Q-sorts over the summer period. The research team were also only able to complete up to five children’s Q-sorts at the same time due to space available to carry out the data collection and it would have been beneficial to include traditional data collection methods, such as interviews, alongside the use of Q-methodology. However, the environments differed, particularly in the community Q-sorts, depending on the activities the children were involved in at the time. We had originally planned to carry out focus groups at all locations. However, this was not possible at many of the community locations as there were no quiet spaces and the children were eager to go back to their activities.

In 2018 55 children (aged 9-16) sorted the statements onto the distribution grid. Thirty-five children took part in the data collection during community activities led by Headstart and 20 took part in school-based activities that were also led by Headstart. This paper focuses on more unexpected findings from this data collection.

Findings

The Q-sort identified three different groups with common perspectives. These different groups are detailed below using composite statements to create a wider view

of their position. These findings show a clear link for these children between the support they receive from family and their self-perception and enjoyment of life. However, they all valued the support they received from others in helping them to resolve and manage adversity in their lives.

The findings include numbers in brackets that refer to the statement number and its position (for each group). PQ Method finds the commonalities across all the Q sorts to form groups that produce statistically significant points of view. For instance, (22; +4) is statement 22 and this statement was in the most agreed position. Please see Appendix One for the full list of statements and factor arrays.

Group one: I do have worries and everything I try doesn't turn out good, but with support from my family, I have an enjoyable life.

In total, 21 participants developed this factor (14 girls and 7 boys). These participants include 9 from the community Q-sorts (years 5-10) and 12 from the education Q-sorts (years 6-7).

These children held the most positive perceptions of themselves out of all of the groups. They stated that they enjoyed life (24; 4), had enough friends (28; 2) and had a good laugh with their mates (5; 3). These children agreed that they were able to stand up for themselves (30; 2) and when they were knocked down, they could get up again (29; 2).

However, this does not mean that their lives were free from worry. They disagreed that whatever they tried turned out good (2; -2). They strongly disagreed that they never worried about anything (17; -4). Whilst they had positive self-perception, they did not place any value on their involvement in resolving or managing adversity in their lives. Statements relating to their own resilience were mostly placed in the neutral columns of the distribution grid. These included when I get knocked down, I get back up again (10; 0), looking ahead to avoid things they don't like (23; -1) and they can plan for the future (18; 0).

This group disagreed that they never need help from anyone (14; -3). It was apparent from the findings that these participants were well supported by their family (31; 4). This group agreed that people listen to their problems (22; 2). They appeared to go to either their family or Headstart when they needed help (26; 3). All of the other support group statements were in the more neutral columns of the distribution grid. These included friends (32; 1), teachers (33; 0), religion (34; 0) and community (35; -1).

Group two: I have struggles in my life and need to access support when times are hard, but I can access support from my friends and Headstart

In total 14 participants (7 girls and 7 boys) made up this group, mostly community-based participants (1 education, year 7 and 13 community, years 5-11).

In contrast to factor one, these children did not hold positive perceptions of themselves. Most of these statements were placed in the neutral columns of the distribution grid. These included people liking them for who they are (39; 1) and people asking them for help (3; -1). Statements considering the children's perspectives on their resilience were also in this more neutral area. These included: whether they could work things out for themselves (1; 0), figuring things out another way when they don't get what they want (10; 0) and when they get knocked down, getting back up again (29; 1).

This group had clearly experienced difficult circumstances and experiences. They disagreed that they enjoy life (24; -2) and were the only group to agree that people try to change them (4; 2). They did not believe that their school thought they were good pupils (6; -3). They believed they could get wound up easily (36; 3) and they disagreed that whatever they tried turns out well (19; -2). They did however strongly agree that they could stick up for themselves (30; 4).

These children also did not appear to receive support, or enough support from many of the social groups detailed in the statements. They were indifferent about support from the family (31; 0), teachers (33; 0), and their community (35; 0) and strongly disagreed that they had support from any religion (34; -4). Interestingly, they strongly disagreed that they never need help from anyone else (14; -4). These children strongly valued the support they gained from friends (32; 3). Positive statements on friendships were agreed with, including that they had enough friends (28; 2) and they had a good laugh with their mates (5; 4). They also valued support from Headstart for themselves (40; 2) and other children (26; 2) and regarded their role in supporting others as important. They agreed that when they let others down, it bothered them a lot (9; 3).

Group three: I have experienced struggles in my life, but I am well supported and enjoy life

In total, 14 participants (7 girls and 7 boys) developed this group and were split between education (7, from years 6 and 7) and community q-sorts (7, from years 5-8).

These children agreed that they enjoyed life (24; 3), they believed their school thought they were a good pupil (6; 2) and people often asked them for help (3; 2). They did however strongly disagree that they have never worried about anything really (17; -4)

They also did not place importance on their role in resolving or managing adversity in their lives. These participants disagreed that whatever they try turns out good (2; -2) and they did not agree that they can work things out for themselves (1; -1). Again, many of the statements that related to perceived resilience appeared in the more neutral columns of the distribution grid. For instance, when I get knocked down, I get back up again (29; 1) and when I don't get what I want, I figure it out another way (10; -1). They strongly disagreed that they never need help from anyone else (14; -4).

These children were the only group to identify multiple social groups they access to gain support. They strongly agreed that they have support from their family (31; 4), their teachers (33; 4) and their community (35; 3). They were proud to be part of their community (11; 2) and believed that Headstart has helped them (40; 2) and other children (26; 2). They were able to have a good laugh with their mates (5; 3), but did not feel supported by them (32; 1).

Discussion and concluding statements

These findings present a significant link between family support (and the support from other groups) and the child's self-perception and enjoyment of life. Children who had family support (in groups one and three) had positive self-perception and enjoyed life, while those with limited or no family support had lower self-perception (compared to other groups in the study) and did not enjoy life. It is well documented that family support (and support from other networks) plays a significant role in child development (Bennett, Brown and Edwards, 2016) and the development of resilience (Sroufe *et al.*, 2005). As Southwick *et al.*, (2014) state there are "a host of biological, psychological, social and cultural factors that interact with one another to determine how one responds to stressful experiences". It is therefore understandable that across these groups there was interconnectedness between self-perception, enjoyment of life and their identified support groups.

The findings also suggested that these children (regardless of their self-perception and support networks) valued the support they received from others, but did not value the role others played in their lives. Berridge and Kringelbach (2011) and Conkbayir (2017) state that close bonds with significant others minimizes stressors for children and supports their well-being and their ability to engage with resources available to

them to develop resilience (Trevarthen, 2002). In this study, groups one and three appeared to rely on family or other social group support as, while they had a positive self-perception and enjoyed life, they needed the support from others to overcome adversity in their lives. Children in group two had limited or no family support and consequently had lower self-perception and stated they did not enjoy their lives. This group also did not value their own role in tackling adversity, but actively sought support from friends and Headstart when they experienced it. The need for close supportive relationships recalls the work of Ungar (2011) who found that relationships with others (not necessarily family members) can help children overcome challenges, and close cultural encouragement and guidance are beneficial to support resilience. However, all three groups disagreed and strongly disagreed that they never need help from anyone else (14; G1 -3; G2 and G3 -4) and did not agree that they can work things out for themselves (1; G1 and 2 0; G3; -1). These children actively sought support from others to overcome adversity in their lives and had their own limits on who they would talk to when they needed support. They also did not value their own involvement in tackling adversity and instead depended on support from their selected groups to overcome adversity.

The use of Q-methodology has meant that we have been able to explore the complexity of the participants' overall perspectives in relation to their resilience, self-perception and available support groups. It enabled us and the participants to consider these statements in relation to one another. This would not have been achieved if we had asked separate individual interview questions around each statement in the set. This consideration of their overall perspectives has supported us in considering what matters most to these children. In this study, their selected and available support groups were more important than their own involvement in tackling adversity in their lives. All three groups agreed or slightly agreed that when they get knocked down, they get back up again (G1; 2; G2 and 3; 1), which is a sign of resilience. However, many statements that would have evidenced resilience were placed in the neutral columns of the distribution grid across all three groups, as Table 2 illustrates:

Factor statement	G1	G2	G3
1. I can work things out for myself	0	0	-1
10. What I don't get what I want, I figure it out another way	0	0	-1

19. When I get into trouble I can get through it more easily	0	-2	-3
38. I can stick at things much better now	1	0	0

Table 1

All of these children have experienced adversity in their lives. All three groups stated that they had experienced worries in their life (17; G1 and 3 -4; G2; -3) and all disagreed that whatever they try turns out well (2; all -2). Group two also showed evidence of resilience, even while not considering themselves to be resilient. These children noted that they did not receive support, or at least not enough support, from many social groups. This included family (31; 0), teachers (33; 0) and their community (35; 0). Yet when they needed help, they actively sought it from their friends and Headstart. This in itself can be seen as evidence of resilience. Despite this, they still did not recognise their own role in dealing with adversity in their lives.

It is apparent from these findings that while children value support from their selected and available support groups, the effectiveness of such interactions remains in question. Conkbayir (2017) and Ungar (2011) have emphasised the importance of parents and caregivers communicating effectively with and being attentive to their children. Only one group agreed and two slightly agreed that people listen to their problems (22; G1;2, G2 and 3; 1) and only one group slightly agreed that people listen to their advice (21; G1 and 3; 0; G2; 1). This suggests that more emphasis needs to be placed on parents, caregivers and other key people in children's lives both listening to children more carefully and being more prepared to act on what they hear. However, it is important to note here that these statements did not specifically apply to any of the identified support groups and therefore represent children's overall perspective. All three groups placed the statement 'People like me just how I am' in the more neutral columns of the distribution grid (39; G1 and 2; 1, G3; 0). It is also interesting to note that only one group agreed that teachers support them. Although the children had access to teachers, they mostly did not regard them as a source of support (33; G2 and 3; 0; G3; 4). These findings also highlight the importance of ensuring that children with limited or no family support receive effective support from other sources. Children emphasised the need they all had to gain support from others in times of adversity. However, children in group two had limited or no family support and actively sought

support from friends and Headstart. This leads us to ask what would have happened if Headstart was not accessible to them.

Therefore, although all these children had some form of support, we have to question whether they were supported *effectively*. It is also important to consider the difficulties they experienced in feeling listened to also has an effect on whom they decide to approach for support. It may also contribute towards the consensus among participating children that they did not feel part of overcoming adversity in their lives. These findings suggest that a collaborative resilience-building approach needs to be developed between adults (both parents and professionals) and children to ensure that children are listened to and supported through adversity in ways that are not tokenistic and involve genuine dialogue. This would include adults providing children with the space to be listened to (e.g. actively listening to their problems and enabling children to feel that their thoughts and advice are being listened to), encouraging children to value the part they play in tackling adversity in their lives, recognising their ability to identify adversity, and supporting them to celebrate times when they have been resilient. This is especially significant given the emphasis placed by all children on accessing their support groups at times of adversity, but this approach may also increase the availability of support groups accessible to children. Moreover, such localised, interaction-based approaches are likely to be less expensive and more effective, including for young children, than the large scale, national programmes developed in recent years.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Factor Q-Sort Values for Each Statement

Statement	No.	Factor Arrays		
		1	2	3
I can work things out for myself	1	0	0	-1
Whatever I try, it turns out good	2	-2	-2	-2
People often ask me to help them	3	-2	-1	2
People try to change me	4	-3	2	-2
I have a good laugh with my mates	5	3	4	3
My school thinks I am a good pupil	6	1	-3	2
I never get embarrassed when I ask for help	7	-1	-3	0
When people let me down, it doesn't bother me too much	8	-2	-2	-2
When I let others down, it bothers me a lot	9	-2	3	0
When I don't get what I want, I figure it out another way	10	0	0	-1
I am proud to be part of my community	11	1	0	2
There are some people that I look up to	12	-1	1	-1
I reckon I am more of a leader than a follower	13	-1	0	-3
I never need help from anyone else	14	-3	-4	-4
Now I can work better with other people	15	0	2	0
People my age look up to me	16	-3	-2	-1
I have never worried about anything really	17	-4	-3	-4
I can plan things for the future	18	0	-1	1
When I get into trouble I can get through it more easily	19	0	-2	-3

I don't understand what people are on about half the time	20	-2	1	-2
People listen to my advice	21	0	1	0
People listen to my problems	22	2	1	1
I can look ahead to avoid things I don't like	23	-1	-1	-2
I really enjoy life	24	4	-2	3
I think I will make a success of my life	25	3	-1	1
Headstart has helped a lot of kids	26	3	2	2
These days I think I worry a lot less about stuff	27	-1	-1	-1
I have enough friends	28	2	2	0
When I get knocked down, I get back up again	29	2	1	1
I can stick up for myself	30	2	4	1
I've had support from my family	31	4	0	4
I've had support from my friends	32	1	3	1
I've had support from my teachers	33	0	0	4
I've had support from my religion	34	0	-4	0
I've had support from my community	35	-1	0	3
I am just one of those people who get round up easily	36	-4	3	-3
I am sure I can do whatever I want to do in the future	37	1	-1	-1
I can stick at things much better now	38	1	0	0
People like me just how I am	39	1	1	0
The headstart programme has helped me a lot	40	2	2	2