Paper 4: <u>Expertise, Neoliberal Governmentality</u>

<u>and the Outsourcing of Health and Physical</u>

<u>Education</u>

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ABSTRACT

As new markets and opportunities for profit are being sought within and around schools, boundaries between private and public, profit and philanthropy are blurring and the boundaries that circumscribe knowledges and expertise in schools are being reconstituted. This paper considers how expertise is constituted when curriculum work is outsourced to new actors in the Global Education Industry (GEI). Data were generated across four cases: 'The Positive Psychology Institute', and 'The Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden Program' in Australia, and the 'Mindfulness in Schools Project' and 'Youth Sports Trust' in the United Kingdom. Our findings suggest that, in the context of the GEI, conventional understandings of expertise have become problematic. Our data show that under conditions of neoliberalisation and in relation specifically to the outsourcing of Health and Physical Education (HPE), expertise was distributed and expressed in at least four forms: personal experiential knowledge; artefacts and resources; professional expertise (such as teaching) within partnerships as forms of extended complementarity; and the application of science and the consequential reverence for research evidence. In our discussion we advocate for a reconceptualisation of expertise in education in ways that recognise its personal, relational and material nature.

Introduction

The Global Education Industry (GEI) is thriving. The emergence and growth of the GEI, which was worth approximately US$4.3 trillion in 2014 (Verger et al, 2016), has been enabled by the global dominance of neoliberal policy frames and new modes of educational governance (Lingard, 2019). Ball (2019, p. 23) has argued that while the role and growth of the multi-national corporations (e.g. Microsoft, Pearson) and global philanthropic foundations (e.g. Gates, Walton), who are all considered 'big players' in the GEI, has received attention, far less is known about the role of small to medium sized entities. These smaller, often national players are proliferating, and the services they offer are diversifying. Thus, it is necessary and timely that greater empirical attention is paid to their participation in and influence on how education is being marketised, privatised and commercialised.

Furthermore, as new markets and opportunities for profit are being sought within and around schools, boundaries between private and public, profit and philanthropy are blurring (Lingard, 2019) and the boundaries that circumscribe knowledges and expertise in schools are being reconstituted. While expertise about education has historically been considered to reside externally with those who are engaged in the practice of it (Jones, 2013; Thompson, Savage & Lingard, 2016), the latest reimagining of the education marketplace has created 'a role for new knowledges and those actors with expertise based on those knowledges to become significant in the development and enactment of neoliberal governmentality' (Ball, 2019, p. 45). However, little is known about how the neoliberal policy regime produces its own knowledge base and the kinds of expertise that are privileged through neoliberal governance.

In this paper, we are interested in the empirical realities of neoliberalisation at work in and through local contexts, and specifically in four case studies of the outsourcing of HPE to smaller edu-businesses and non-profits: two Australian and two in the UK. Our primary focus is on how expertise comes to be constituted and understood when Health and Physical Education (HPE) is outsourced. We suggest that under conditions of neoliberalism and in relation specifically to the outsourcing of HPE, expertise comes to be constituted by and expressed through at least four forms, not all of which

are 'new'. The article develops as follows. We begin by justifying the identification of HPE as a generative context for analysis. We then critically engage with the literature on constructions of expertise in education, and identify emerging theories, before casting our eyes over the literature on expertise in HPE. The next sections explicate our methodological decisions. In the findings and discussion section, we pursue a greater understanding of the actants, labour and processes involved in shaping expertise in neoliberal HPE. The article concludes by arguing that expertise, like neoliberalism, can be generatively understood as an awkward arrangement of multiple, tangled, contingent entities, perspectives and practices.

The HPE Outsourcing Market

The HPE outsourcing market is growing. While outsourcing *of* and *in* HPE is not new, over the last few decades there has been a proliferation of external providers creating, marketing and selling their health, sport and physical education goods and services to schools (Sperka & Enright, 2018). New opportunities for profit and influence are being identified at an exponential rate. Thus, HPE has become big business. At the health-education policy interface, it has emerged as a profitable commodity, and one which has proven itself 'ripe for the intervention of market forces' (Macdonald, Hay & Williams, 2008, p. 6). Given historical and contemporary debates over what ought to count as the subject of HPE (Green, 2003; Kirk, 1992, Kirk, 2020), and ongoing struggles to establish its academic and professional status, it was always going to be vulnerable to market-driven agendas. Indeed, one history that might be told about HPE is that of a subject that is remarkably agile, demonstrated through, for example, its capacity to orientate itself to whatever youth health crisis is dominating at a particular time (Gard & Pluim, 2014). The boundaries around 'the shifting amalgamation' (Goodson, 1983) that is HPE are, arguably therefore, more porous than those that circumscribe other subjects/learning areas. It is, perhaps, not surprising then that HPE has attracted a diverse array of commercial and non-commercial actors, social enterprises, edu-businesses, policy entrepreneurs and 'new' philanthropists who are keen to direct HPE curricula towards 'problems', for which their version of HPE is the 'solution'. This history and context makes the commercialisation and specifically the outsourcing of HPE a particularly generative case for analysis.

Moreover, while significant research has been undertaken on the outsourcing of HPE (Sperka & Enright, 2018; Powell, 2015; Williams & Macdonald, 2015), the field has, arguably, not yet fully considered the implications of neoliberal relations for what counts as expertise in HPE. This matters because the breadth of HPE as a field of study makes it challenging for teachers to have a sense of expertise across all content. Thus, in this paper we offer HPE as a context that enables more general reflection on the potentially profound consequences for how expertise is being constructed both within and for schools under neoliberal conditions and practices. We are particularly interested in how different forms of expertise are constituted, and who or what is afforded the authority to speak truth when HPE is outsourced. The outsourcing of HPE, therefore, offers a lens through which to view shifting configurations of the notion of expertise.

Expertise in Education

Teaching has always presented a challenge for models of expertise (Kennedy, 1987; Stigler & Miller, 2018). This is not because researchers have failed to understand how best to conceptualise-and facilitate the development of-teacher expertise. They have. Since the formalisation of teacher education programs, there have been ongoing debates and assertions about the knowledge, skills and dispositions that teachers need to be effective in their jobs (Berliner, 2004; Zeichner, 2006). Multiple different frameworks of, perspectives on, and propositions about teacher expertise have been proposed. One enduring model of teacher expertise is the relative or developmental model, which represents expertise as a continuum, rather than as an attribution of exceptional people alone (Addis & Winch, 2018). Underpinned by this model, novice-expert teacher studies tend to explore participant expertise as relative to some scale of expertise (Berliner, 2001, 2004; Livingstone & Borko, 1989; Schempp et al, 1998a). Common to this scholarship on teacher expertise, and indeed expertise in other professions, is the notion that expertise is a characteristic or set of skills attributed by some to others (Eyal, 2013), is usually associated with having the 'the ability to perform at a high level fluently and effortlessly' (Kotzee, 2014, p. 61), is specific to a particular domain and context (Berliner, 2004,

Collins & Evans, 2008), and is developed over time through practice and experience (Cianciolo et al, 2006).

Emergent models of expertise have emphasised the networked (Hakkarainen, Palonen, Paavola & Lehtinen, 2004), interactional (Collins & Evans, 2008), diffused (Nowotny, 2000), or distributed (Edwards, 2010) nature of expertise. This 'relational turn' has come about, at least in part, because professionals are increasingly working across professional boundaries and interacting with other professionals and 'clients' on complex problems (Edwards, 2010, p. 13). For Edwards (2010, p. 33), this means that a new form of 'relational expertise' is necessary, one that is 'based on confident engagement with the knowledge that underpins one's own specialist practice, as well as a capacity to recognise and respond to what others might offer in local systems of distributed expertise'. Key to this construction is an appreciation that distributed expertise 'includes both specialist knowledge and the material resources that sustain knowledge in action' (Edwards, 2010, p. 31). This more expansive construction of expertise, which recognises the relations between constellations of people (social relations), and relations between constellations of people and things (socio-material relations), is not limited to education. Sociologists, geographers, agriculturalists, economists and climate change activists have all argued that under neoliberalism, forms of expertise need to be analysed as 'networks linking together agents, devices, concepts, and institutional and spatial arrangements' (Eyal, 2013, p. 863), and that distinctive assemblages of expertise have emerged that can be characterised as neoliberal (Higgins & Larner, 2017; Larner & Laurie, 2010). Moreover, sociologists of expertise have proposed that 'we need to distinguish between experts and expertise as requiring two distinct modes of analysis that are not reducible to one another'. Expertise is potentially a more generative focus of study than 'professions' or 'experts', not only because it can take into account a wider scope of actors, but also because it permits that analytic distinction between expert and expertise (Eyal, 2013, p. 863).

These developing models have, therefore, begun to trouble popular constructions of experts and expertise and how they are studied, by acknowledging the multiple and diverse elements and actants that may be involved in any knowledge network, and by advocating for expertise, rather than

'profession' or 'expert' as a more generative focus of inquiry. However, empirical accounts of how various neoliberal practices may be influencing how expertise is understood and practiced are difficult to come upon. In terms of the nature of emerging empirical scholarship on the neoliberalisation of expertise in education, HPE again provides a useful context.

The Neoliberalisation of Expertise in HPE

Expertise is a topic that many scholars in HPE have researched and debated over the years (Lawson, 1998; O'Sullivan & Doutis, 1994; Thorpe, 2003). Similar to the much of broader education literature, traditional constructions of teacher expertise in HPE have been influenced by novice-expert models, and focused on teachers' relative experiences, characteristics, practices (Chen & Rovegno, 2000), content knowledge (including sport specific skills) and pedagogical content knowledge (Schempp et al, 1998b). The topic of expertise has, however, come back squarely into the frame, as researchers have begun to consider the implication of neoliberalism and the increasing marketisation and privatisation of HPE for teachers and students (Azzarito et al, 2017, Evans & Davies, 2014; Macdonald, 2011; Powell, 2014; Sperka & Enright, 2019b).

Macdonald (2011) writing about the new roles of the market related to selling testing expertise to schools and school systems, identified outsourcing as a cause of concern for HPE because, amongst other things, it can 'deprofessionalise PE as PE purchases expertise from those often outside the profession' and 'introduce globalized commodities that may not align with the educational mission of schooling nor the needs and interests of students' (p. 42). Williams, Hay and Macdonald (2011, p. 15) later found through their study, which generated data with 846 schools in Queensland that:

> Overwhelmingly, the most frequently reported reason for using outsourced HSPE [health, sport and physical education] work was to access the external suppliers' expertise. The most frequently reported reason for not outsourcing HSPE work was that existing school staff had adequate expertise.

This work and numerous publications since (Evans & Davies, 2014; Powell, 2014; Sperka & Enright, 2019b) have constructed outsourcing as a neoliberal practice that blurs many boundaries, including

those that circumscribe expertise, and shared many warnings and cautions about the futures that might emerge if we don't intervene, disrupt, and challenge current practices. But, and here's the rub, there are more claims and warnings about the expansion of market mechanisms in HPE and the implications for teacher expertise, than there are empirically grounded accounts of how expertise has come to be constituted in and through neoliberal or neo-HPE.

This article, therefore, takes up the challenge to shine a light on the 'mundane practices through which neoliberal spaces, states, and subjects are being constituted in particular forms' (Larner, 2003, p. 511), by focusing specifically on how expertise is being constituted when HPE is outsourced. We are aware that, for many scholars, the use of the term 'neoliberalism' has become increasingly problematic. Indeed, some have argued that neoliberalism has become an abstraction, a catch-all term whose 'multiple and contradictory meanings' (Venugopal, 2015, p. 165) and unquestioned and inappropriate application is counter-productive (Weller & O'Neill, 2014), and ultimately mean the term is of 'diminished analytic value' (Venugopal, 2015, 165). However, while agreeing with many of these critiques, we remain sanguine about the utility of the concept. Like Higgins and Larner (2017, p. 2) we think it is 'important to recognize *how* heterogeneous elements may come together in ways that assume neoliberal forms and have neoliberal effects', and so we persist.

Methodology

Through the larger project, we sought to gain insight into how outsourcing agendas were interpreted, questioned and enacted in schools, and the interacting processes and labours that produce outsourcing policies in schools. We were specifically interested in why, how and to what ends the goods and services provided by those who enter the HPE market were distributed, and the 'relations between PE and the new forms of governance and school organisations now featuring in countries across the globe' (Evans & Davies, 2014, p. 869). Network ethnography was recruited as the methodological frame for this larger study (Howard, 2002; Sperka & Enright, 2019a). Network ethnography involves: extensive internet searches around particular actors (e.g. schools, private providers); interviews with key actors (e.g. school leadership, teachers, external providers) and attendance at events and

observations of practice; and the use of these searches, interviews and observations to construct policy maps (Ball & Junemann 2012). Methodological details of the larger project and the selection of cases is available in the opening paper of this special issue (Macdonald et al., 2020).

Data for this paper were generated across four cases: 'The Positive Psychology Institute' (PPI) and 'The Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden Program' (SAKG) in Australia, and 'Youth Sport Trust' (YST) and the 'Mindfulness in Schools Project' (MISP) in the United Kingdom. Each of these providers had offered a rationale for their products and services that explicitly noted a contribution to the HPE learning area/subject, a key criterion for inclusion in the larger research project. We provide some brief context for these providers here to enable the reader to contextualise the analysis that follows.

PPI is an Australian service organisation that designs and delivers positive education programs for schools, as well as supporting schools to implement/embed their own positive education initiatives. Their suite of services also includes workshops for teachers, students and parents in schools that focus on positive psychology, neuroscience, mental fitness and wellbeing (PPI, 2019). As a registered not-for-profit charity, SAKG provides educational resources, professional development and support for schools to deliver 'pleasurable food education' to children in Australia. Delivered through a school-based kitchen garden program that is aligned to all learning areas in the Australian Curriculum, it is currently offered in over 10% of Australian Primary Schools (SAKG, 2019). YST is a children's charity in the UK that works ' to ensure every child enjoys the life-changing benefits that come from play and sport'. It delivers a wide variety of programmes in schools including 'active healthy minds' that seeks to address 'the alarming decline in children's physical, social and emotional wellbeing' (YST, 2019). Finally, MiS is a national charity in the UK that aims 'to bring the benefits of secular mindfulness to the classroom'. It offers professional development, curricula and a professional learning network to teachers and schools (MIS, 2019).

In line with the analytical approach of the larger project, our initial analysis was a basic thematic analysis, and involved familiarising ourselves with the data, generating initial codes, and searching for, reviewing and constructing themes (Braun & Clark, 2006). One generative theme constructed early was expertise, and specifically how notions of expertise were interpreted, constructed and practiced by teachers, school leadership and external providers. Our efforts to interrogate these data, in light of some of the emergent, relational theories of expertise, prompted us to revisit the larger data set and reconsider what we were constructing as data. For example, when we returned to the larger data set, we sought specifically to identify if and how material resources were implicated in how notions of expertise were evoked.

Findings: Forms of Expertise in Outsourced HPE

Our data show that under conditions of neoliberalisation and in relation specifically to the outsourcing of HPE, expertise was distributed and expressed in at least four forms, which came together in 'productive relations' (Allan & Youdell, 2017, p. 71). These forms of expertise were *personal experiential knowledge*; *artefacts and resources* (such as program materials and the provision of facilities and equipment); *professional expertise* (such as teaching) within partnerships as forms of extended complementarity; and *the application of science and the consequential reverence for research evidence*. Some forms of distributed expertise were specific to the programme and its circumstances, and not all programmes showed all four forms of expertise. Significantly, not all four forms of expertise were new. At least two, artefacts and resources, and scientific expertise, predate the current prevalence of outsourcing in HPE, reflecting more 'traditional' forms of expertise. These traditional and formerly dominant forms exerted residual influences on new ways of thinking about expertise in the context of outsourcing. For each of the programmes and taken together, these forms of expertise reveal the potential for constant reconfiguration as circumstances change. What we present in the data below then is at best a temporary account of a configuration of expertise at a given historical moment and in a particular field, as an illustration of the forms expertise can and does take in HPE.

Personal experiential knowledge

Personal experiential knowledge was one form of distributed expertise. Expertise in this sense could only be gained through direct experience of a particular activity, and as such was presented as a powerful way of knowing. One example of personal experiential knowledge as expertise was found in the SAKG programme. In response to Eimear's question "is this approach grounded in any knowledge base that's evidence-based?", the SAKG senior officer replied:

> It's experienced based. I mean that's probably the best way to describe it. It's experienced based and it's kind of that we know what we know. If Stephanie has been as successful as she is and Australia's - one of our most iconic chefs, then what she knows is probably right. (Senior Officer, SAKG)

Stephanie Alexander's success and Australian 'icon' status has been derived from her expertise as a chef and food writer. However, here we see a senior member of her foundation unproblematically defending that expertise as an appropriate knowledge base for curriculum writing. While Stephanie's public biography tells a straightforward story about her career, desire to foster culinary literacy and the evolution of her kitchen garden program (Alexander, 2012), the post facto rationalisation avoids any direct engagement with the tensions and contestations involved in the translation of her knowledge and philosophical commitments into a national curriculum resource. Significantly, popular definitions of celebrity posit that it is a state of fame that is not confined to specific contexts (Bonner, 2005). Thus, while an individual might have achieved their celebrity from accomplishments or expertise in one field, notoriety can carry that celebrity and attribution of expertise into other fields. In this case, Alexander's personal experiential knowledge has allowed her and her program access to over 10% of Australian primary schools.

In MISP, this location of expertise in personal experiential knowledge was in the practice of mindfulness by both the project team and by the teachers who would implement the paws b and .b programmes in their schools. Anyone who was either training teachers or teaching mindfulness themselves had to 'walk the talk'.

Nearly everybody on the team, certainly in the core team, has got a longstanding mindfulness practice. Most of us have trained to teach adult mindfulness and have studied mindfulness in lots of different capacities. So, we hope that we walk the talk with whatever it is that we do. (Researcher, MISP)

Charlotte in MISP Operations commented, "we made this really critical shift towards encouraging the teachers to develop their own practice because you can't expect kids to buy in to mindfulness as a practice or even an exercise unless the person or the people around them who are teaching them are clearly walking the talk".

The teachers were by and large supportive of this requirement to have their own mindfulness practice. One teacher said:

They (MISP) have strict criteria about joining. You have a six months' practice of your own. (…). So, they have (…) criteria, have an application form to fill in, because I think the places are quite sought after. One of the very strict criteria is that you have an ongoing mindfulness practice, because you have to be able to understand it yourself, to be able to pass it onto other people. (Teacher, state school)

There was a perception among some teachers that engaging in mindfulness as a personal experience for six months was a sign of commitment to the programme. Moreover, one senior teacher in a private school saw this requirement not simply as a matter of being a committed or more effective teacher, but of quality control.

You have to have been through all your training (…) you're not going in and doing anything until you've (…) learnt it. So, I've got to improve myself too. I can't just wander in and sort of – but it's right, you have to have an understanding. And if you have that understanding and practice in it, it enables you to have good discussions with the children as well and be honest with them. (Senior Teacher 1, private school)

Personal experiential knowledge was one form of expertise valued through these two programmes, SAGK and MISP. One effect of this insistence on experiential knowledge as a form of expertise was to make it inviolable, almost beyond questioning. Presumably, only someone with the same or similar expertise could do this. In the case of Stephanie Alexander, this would be difficult indeed, given her celebratory and iconic status. Even for the MISP where there were many more individuals with personal experience of mindfulness as a practice, the six months minimum requirement for entry into the MISP programmes set the bar high. Without doubt, the location of expertise in personal experience was a powerful means of exclusion in these cases.

Artefacts and resources

At the same time, it was not only human agents who mattered or figured in how expertise came to be understood. The resources made available by the external providers, the digital platforms that facilitated particular kinds of communication, the various tools and 'glossy resources' (Teacher, state school, SAKG) they shared with, or sold to, schools and the facilities and equipment they had access to were central to the performance of expert activity. They were also simultaneously constitutive of expertise itself and accumulations of the different kinds of expertise that shaped the practices they made possible.

In MISP, once trained, teachers had access to the paws b and .b programmes, consisting of lesson by lesson power point and accompanying support materials for teachers and pupils. A key feature of the power point was that they were 'locked down' and so could not be changed by teachers. The teachers were required to give lessons that were effectively scripted.

> They're (MISP) very much 'you can't change the resources' and everything is locked down. We just feel that because we're doing it with P6 and P7, because we have quite an able cohort we're actually looking at adding to it as opposed to taking bits out. We're looking at actually trying to find a parent who is a neuroscientist or a brain surgeon and actually coming in and giving us CPD on the brain because the kids are asking us questions that perhaps we don't know the answers to. (Senior Teacher 2, private school).

The assumption this teacher makes is that the reason for the locked down nature of the power point was to prevent teachers taking some content out or changing it. In her case, she wanted to add material that would challenge her pupils. Whatever motivation teachers might have for wanting to change the set script of the paws b and .b programmes, a sense of frustration is evident in this teachers' comment. Local needs were clearly not catered for.

In response to this criticism, a MISP Senior Trainer provided a justification, countering that even though the slides were sealed teachers could use language appropriate to their pupils and, in any case, their own practice should come 'up and through' the materials. The alternative, for him, was to risk subverting the expertise embedded in the programme materials.

> We have very strict terms and conditions that tell people if they're going to use our .b curriculum and paws b curriculum they can't change it. The language may be different, but the slides that they use are all sealed and they have to teach as-is with their own - as I said before, with their own practice coming up and through (…). If we're all teaching, as I say, 1400 people had open power points, there'd be 1400 different versions of .b, so what would .b be? (Senior Trainer, MISP)

One of the Senior Teachers in the private school commented on what might have been an unintended effect of this locking down of the primary resource for teaching mindfulness. Repetition in itself was problematic, as too was the authenticity of the teacher's voice.

> Senior Teacher: I found the notes very helpful, (and) I think for a class teacher the notes would also be extremely helpful. I'm teaching this, I could be teaching this six times in a week. So, by the end of your sixth time, you know…
>
> David: You'll know everything off by heart.
> Senior Teacher: You can start to make it more - as a teacher…
> David: Sure.
> Senior Teacher:…using a script, you know, teachers don't tend to…
> David: No.

> Senior Teacher: It's quite a difficult balancing act. I think having spoken to some of the teachers at (the state school) she was saying, one of them was saying to me S____, I don't speak like this.
>
> David: No.
>
> Senior Teacher: I was like I know. So, it's trying to kind of match how you teach with what they've given you I think at times is a bit tricky.
>
> (Senior Teacher 2, Private School)

Locating expertise in the curriculum materials may have been one way of facilitating fidelity of implementation of the paws b and .b messages, but clearly this led to some possibly unintended consequences when the programmes met practice in schools.

In the case of the SAKG foundation, the program website, the 25 'teaching resources' that are available to purchase, the online community forum and resource library ('The Shared Table') and the Kitchen Garden Support Line all establish a relationship between different people, different social groups, and different knowledges. For example, a 'Food and Sport' unit designed by SAKG explicitly links to content descriptions for the Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education, and to national cross-curriculum priorities. The unit references National Health and Medical Research Council data that 'indicates that children aged 8-12 generally do not eat as many or as varied vegetables as they should' (SAKG, 2013). Moreover, the teacher's enactment of this unit is supported by access to the online community forum and resources library, and to a SAKG hot line, which allows 'members of the Kitchen Garden Classroom and the cohort of Kitchen Garden Program Schools' access to a 'Support Team who are just like colleagues and friends they can turn to when they need a hand, only off-site' (www.kitchengardenfoundation.org.au/content/contact-us). This heterogenous arrangement of people, technologies and affect, which arguably represents competing regimes of expertise, would not have been possible two decades ago (for many reasons, including technological advances), illustrating how expertise has been historically and materially situated.

Expertise grounded in teaching as complementary

A third form of expertise was grounded in teaching which was complementary to the expertise of external providers. This is not surprising, on the one hand, given the programmes were each operating within schools. Expertise 'on the ground' (Operations officer, MISP) was, then, considered to be valuable in relation to the implementation of these programmes. MISP programme members commented that it was important that many of them were teachers and were thus able to create materials that were sensitive to 'what it's like on the ground'. One of the state school teachers commented that .b and paws b were created 'by teachers for teachers; that's what we liked about paws b'.

On the other hand, this expression of expertise somewhat contradicts the notion just discussed, that expertise is in the programme materials from which school teachers are shut out in terms of altering them. Notwithstanding the 'locked down' nature of the MISP materials, we saw in relation to the notion that expertise is in the experiential knowledge of mindfulness, that the teacher had to be equipped to handle the programmes, and that this required private study and practice. One teacher working with the SAKG programme made this point explicit, stating that appropriating external expertise into her own professional practice would enhance her ability to work with this programme.

> I wanted to be there, to read their literature and know their knowledge base, and understand their resources to enhance my own expertise, so that I not only have them but know how to talk about them if I ever need to. I want to be challenged and develop innovative solutions myself. Teachers as researchers and all that. (Teacher, state school, SAKG)

This teacher does not see herself as a passive recipient or mere relay of other people's expertise. She acknowledges and values Stephanie Alexander's expertise, but she also wants to have some of this herself. She wants to 'know their knowledge base' in order to create her own solutions.

A high regard for the expertise of the teacher was not universal however. While acknowledging that teachers work under challenging circumstances, that they 'are very busy people', a senior manager from PPI felt that this programme had to be toned down in order for teachers to be willing to engage with it. He said:

They love it, particularly if you can present it to them in such a way that it's not going to add too much extra work to what they do because teachers are very busy people and they get a bit nervous about anything new. That's why you've got to keep it - the KISS model. (Managing Director, PPI)

More typical was a view from external providers that teachers have unique and particular expertise in and knowledge of their own local settings that complements the expertise of the provider.

We've got now 100 head teacher ambassadors from our member schools who are signed up believers but also can talk about the impact in their school. Again, being an expert in PE and sport doesn't necessarily put you in the strongest place to influence the school leader but another school leader does…So I think it's always been a part of what we've done but the future of the YST and our work does still exist in the power or voice of a movement - of a community of people - not in us as an organisation. (Jessica, Senior Officer, Youth Sport Trust)

The use of head teachers as ambassadors was a strategy deployed by the YST. Jessica recognised that the YST's own expertise notwithstanding, school leaders were more likely to be convinced of the importance of a programme by other school leaders, who were 'signed up believers', than by the YST working by itself.

Jessica developed this notion of expertise existing in the complementarity of the relationships between her organisation, the YST, and teachers in schools. She also proposed that expertise existed in partnerships more broadly conceived. Indeed, Jessica saw this expanded complementarity as a necessity in conditions of neoliberalism.

That's the other thing going forward into an environment where there is more austerity and more competition is actually for us to be embracing collaboration with organisations that we can work with in a complementary fashion. I don't know if you've come across an organisation called A……...who work with the lowest achieving 10 per cent of kids (…). We're in the early stages of a useful alliance there where we know that PE and sport can be effective at engaging some of those young people. (…) We need to hand on the baton to them and they can then do

the journey and bring in the school and the parents, et cetera to make sure that the access to learning is then realised through improved support. So, I think working with organisations that can complement what we're doing and also collaboration because there's less money around and yes, we can go head-to-head with people, but there'll be winners and losers, and (so) there will be more consortium-based approaches to some of the [bids] and opportunities that come our way. (Jessica, Senior Officer, Youth Sport Trust)

For Jessica, scarce resources and increased competition suggests the need for a collaborative approach in which organisations not only pool resources but also pool expertise. This notion of expanded complementarity arises out of the conditions neoliberal practices create. Jessica's comments can be read, in one sense, as a refusal to accept that whatever resources are available should go to the 'winners', which is a refusal also of an assumption that underpins prevalent views of how outsourcing operates. Here, as with other external providers, commitments to young people and their wellbeing trump the profit motive often attributed to such providers.

The appliance of science and reverence for evidence

A fourth expression of expertise can be found in the appliance of ideas from 'philosophy' and 'science' to practice and the reverence for research evidence. In the case of MISP, there was reverence, first of all, for foundational ideas that were generated outside the MISP as an organisation. The Operations Officer said:

Jon Kabat-Zinn has written a series of wonderful books and he's the person who first devised the MBFR course. John Teasdale, Mark Williams, Danny Penman are the key figures in the UK. In particular, there's a book called *Finding Peace in a Frantic World* which is the seminal introductory work on mindfulness for wellbeing. That's sold many, many millions of copies now. (Senior Officer, MISP)

External ideas also influenced the paws b and .b programmes. This was acknowledged explicitly as a 'top-down' process.

The curriculum itself is quite heavy on the neuroscience. So, children learn about how their brains work because the brain is responsible for which aspect of their experience. That's been informed by Dusana Dorjee's empirical work on neuroscience and mindfulness. So, the evidence is feeding in top down into the curricula all the time (…) the evidence is always the essential key to our message I think. We have summaries of the evidence on our website, the evidence of the children and the evidence of the teachers. (Research officer, MISP)

Evidence was then viewed as of crucial importance to judging the effectiveness of the MISP programmes. There was an acknowledgement, however, that the impact of mindfulness on pupils was mainly anecdotal to date, or at least relied on qualitative research. A state school teacher observed:

I think a lot of the research is showing that children who do mindfulness before exams are performing better, because they are more receptive to allowing that information to come because they are calmer. (Teacher, state school)

While this evidence was seen as useful, there was also a sense within the MISP team in particular that there needed to be more 'scientific' research done to verify its impact. A RCT was planned.

In Finland there's a large RCT going on with a translated version of the .b program which is the secondary schools' program. I consulted on the [research design] for that, and have supported things going along as well (…). We're hoping to be able to run a larger RCT in the future. (Research officer, MISP)

Significantly, where this evidence came from mattered. Old colonial discourses of expertise could be traced through some of the data, such that in a number of cases, there was a direct relationship between the level of expertise attributed to a person and their geographical and disciplinary distance from the education system being studied. That is to say, if they were not from the country that the case study was being constructed in, and if they were from a discipline other than education, their 'evidence' was likely to be held in higher esteem that of any 'expert' that might have been sourced locally. A teacher in a boy's private school in Australia offered the following response when asked why their school chose to engage with PPI:

They've been leading the way in terms of that side of things. I think they had a cultural issue

at the school and wanted a revolution in their school. So, they saw Seligman's work from the

US as the way to go about doing that. They fundamentally have all their staff trained and

they have all of their classes in all of their subjects basically linking into positive psychology.

I think they have a direct link with the university down there doing research. They have a

Department of Psychology - basically Positive Psychology set up with a head of Positive

Psychology. They have invested an extraordinary amount of money.

(Teacher, private school)

What we see playing out in this extended quote are multiple overlapping and competing discourses

and agendas. The school wanted a revolution in terms of how they engaged with a particular issue -

mental health in this case - and saw positive psychology and Martin Seligman's work in particular, as

providing the 'turnaround service' (Ball, 2007) they needed. They wanted access to the best expertise,

to those who were 'leading the way', and they were prepared to pay 'an extraordinary amount of

money' to recruit that expertise. Indeed, the private school data suggested a direct relationship

between the amount of money paid and the level of expertise attributed. These schools associate

themselves with particular kinds of expertise as a way of marketing themselves in a very competitive

market-they know how to select expertise when they see it; have the funds to purchase expertise; are

at the cutting edge of evidence-based practices, and suggest that's the way they operate with due

concern for the seriousness of the schooling enterprise.

In their post-hoc rationalisations of why they bought in expertise, teachers and school leaders often

denigrated local knowledge and practices, including teacher research, privileging what 'external'

expertise offered.

No, for us, for the fact that - look, the fact that [Sarah] presented so well with all the staff that

had been inducted, I'm very happy to say that we use an external provider, and to be honest

that was one of the things that I covered in my paper at [x] and there was as I say 20-30

schools there. I said if you're going to do this, get an external - get someone like [Sarah] to

come in. Get an external provider as an expert with some evidence behind her to back it up, rather than just saying oh, I've been doing some reading. This sounds pretty good. Because those kind of things tend not to work, or tend not to be sustainable.

<div align="right">(Deputy Principal, private school, PPI)</div>

In terms of 'local knowledge', it is worth noting at this juncture that students' knowledge was a valuable form of local expertise that was overlooked by our participants. The hierarchical relations constructed between local knowledge and the knowledge of external providers reveals, at least in part, the role of affect in shaping the subjectivities of teachers. The notion that teachers should use 'solid research' and 'evidence-based practice' could also be interpreted as demonstrating the technicisation of knowledge, and colonisation of education accountability by business language (Connell, 2013). Significantly, these data on the importance of having a 'solid evidence base', 'research behind them', and so on, stands in contrast to, but co-exists with the data that we have shared on celebrities, who were clearly not subjected to the same kinds of evaluation as 'travelling technocrats' (Larner & Laurie, 2010), like Seligman.

Conclusion

These data could easily be interpreted as suggesting that participants' criteria of expertise converge around a particular concatenation of neoliberal ideas. For example, where external 'experts' came from, their celebrity status, networks, perceived 'value for money' and their potential to offer schools a market advantage often did seem to matter more than the extent or form of their knowledge. However, we argue that it is difficult and not very useful to sweep these kinds of data, this empirical detail, cleanly under the analytical carpet that is global neoliberalisation. Fine grain practices in schools and classrooms force us to move away from monolithic understandings of neoliberalisation. Certainly, in some cases such as MISP and SAKG, profit making and taking did not seem to be a primary concern of the outsourced service nor its users, with a business model that actively encouraged the business not to grow too big or too fast in the case of MISP, and a model that aimed to 'do themselves out of a job' (Senior Officer, SAKG) in the case of SAKG.

Rather, the neoliberal imaginary was being configured and reproduced in and through multiple and diverse elements and perspectives. The data illustrated, for example, that when teachers and external providers explained or rationalised their role in the outsourcing relationship, they frequently drew on different and contradictory neoliberal drivers. Some teachers, for example, were clearly invested in the construction of the entrepreneurial self (Olssen & Peters, 2005). When these teachers spoke about their own expertise and why and how they engaged with external providers, they frequently referenced a desire to enhance their ability to innovate in the classroom, engage more flexibly with content and context, and acquire advantage in an increasingly competitive teaching workforce. However, when external providers spoke about their relationships with teachers and schools, it was market-orientated efficiencies and prestige, and the time-poverty of teachers that were the most frequently cited factors influencing why and how they delivered the services that they did.

Our analysis also highlighted that not everything that happens under neoliberal regimes is neoliberal, and not all identified discourses of expertise were new. In some cases, for example, old colonial discourses better explained our data. That being said, our data did show that when HPE is outsourced, expertise came to be constituted by at least four heterogenous elements. These were personal experiential knowledge, professional expertise (such as teaching) and within partnerships as forms of extended complementarity, artefacts and resources, and the appliance of science and reverence for research evidence.

Significantly, what our analysis also supports is the redundancy of conventional, and overly simplistic, understandings of expertise. Expertise is clearly a knotty and fluid concept. The data generated through this study calls for a reconceptualisation of expertise in education in ways that recognise its personal, relational and material nature. Expertise as constructed through these data is informed by a much wider set of knowledges and actors than is allowed for when more conventional conceptualisations of experts and expertise are recruited. Consider how courses in teacher education programs often deal with the concept of teacher expertise. It is frequently discussed in conjunction with teacher professionalism and

teacher standards, and students are taught, for example, that teachers as experts possess sophisticated content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge, and so forth. One implication of our research is that, perhaps, teacher education has overly focused on the teacher as expert, on one actor. The notion of distributed expertise or 'networks and communities of expertise' (Thompson, Savage & Lingard, 2016), then, are more generative at this juncture because they don't prejudge where the boundaries between various actors exist. Expertise is closer, for example, to the term discourse than it is to group (Eyal, 2013). Constructing expertise as a network or assemblage, rather than an attribution or a possession connects people, institutional arrangements, resources, devices and so on.

While the data we have shared thus far begin to help the reader construct an expertise network to which teachers and other entities contribute, what it hasn't done explicitly is address some of the many other networks that are implicated through our data. A constellation of networks were there, if you looked for them closely. Take a 'travelling technocrat' (Larner & Laurie, 2010), such as Seligman, for example, who offers schools considerable knowledge on human flourishing, and building human strengths (Seligman, 2012). He also, of course, offers his networks and resources and lends credibility and authority to whatever 'revolution' the school pursues and markets. In return, access to schooling systems offers academics, like Seligman, extraordinary reach and opportunities for public intellectualism and engagement, as well as financial gain. In the blueprint for academic success in the neoliberal university (Blackmore, 2014), these opportunities are highly valued. Indeed, entrepreneurial academics are used by universities as a marker of their expertise and impact and thereby the quality of the programs that they offer. Thus, we see how the network of expertise we have focused on in this paper is entangled in the assemblage that is the neoliberal university.

This is certainly one of those datasets where what is not there is as interesting as what is. In these heterogenous arrangements of expertise that we have identified, student knowledge and expertise is notably absent. HPE expertise, as traditionally conceived, is also relatively silent in our data, while psychology and neuroscience disciplinary expertise is clearly popular right now. This might, for some, be read as troubling data, and at the very least it raises some significant questions for the HPE

field. For example, is this rejection, or relegation of conventionally understood HPE expertise at this juncture, a concern? Or has the rewired network of HPE expertise, which leaves no room for knowledge monopolies, become a much stronger and more stable arrangement which HPE might use to its advantage? Perhaps this new arrangement has the potential to legitimise rather than undermine HPE? These questions reach out for further analysis.

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