3 How can I improve the writing of boys in my Year 3 class?

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I am a Primary School Teacher, working in a school in Bromley in South East London. I am currently in my third year of teaching, having previously taught in Year 1 for 2 years. I am currently teaching in Year 3.

This project will explore the topic of boy's engagement with writing. My interest in this issue was sparked when the school begun a new strategy to promote writing throughout the school. Each week the class teacher was asked to choose one member of their class who had produced a piece of exceptional writing. Their writing would then be displayed on a 'Writing Champions Wall' in the school's main corridor and the selected child received a 'Writer's Champion' badge. This was intended to demonstrate the progress made by each year group as they journeyed through the school and highlight what it means to be a 'good writer'. Initially this idea proved highly motivational but as the weeks went on I began to see a worrying trend. Week after week teachers, myself included, chose girls writing as the 'best' the school had to offer. It wasn't until the fourth week that a single boy was selected. This made me feel uneasy and prompted a myriad of questions: Why were boys not producing quality writing deemed worthy of display? Are the schools'/teachers' perception of 'good writing' skewed to favour girls? Are girls more naturally disposed to be good writers? Surely not. Some of these questions are far too vast and multi-layered to be fully explored in this project but it definitely gave food for thought. The literacy gender gap is mentioned frequently in the teaching profession so much so that it is almost met with a complacent 'boys will be boys' attitude. As teachers it is imperative that we are reflective practitioners who constantly reflect and improve our practice to ensure the best outcomes for all pupils. Therefore, I decided that this often remarked upon achievement gap needed to be addressed in my classroom as clearly current strategies were not doing enough.

This project took place over the course of the 2017/2018 academic year with the majority of the actions taking place in the Summer Term. It involved trialling a number of strategies to engage a target group of Year 3 boys that exhibited a distinct lack of enjoyment and engagement when writing. Collectively, the boys (I use this term very generally, there were of course some boys who this comment does not apply to) tended to display disruptive behaviour during writing tasks, they often lacked originality and creativity and relied heavily on adult support. Through the project I aimed to develop the boys' independence as writers and promote an enjoyment of writing.

I shall start by introducing the action research approach to this study, then I will outline my concern in more depth, introduce the literature around this area and explain why this approach suited my specific area of need followed by an outline of the ethical considerations and how I have evaluated the data. I will then then go onto discuss my actions, the evaluation of these actions and how my practice has been shaped by my findings.

Methodology

I am using an action research approach to explore the issue of boys writing as this approach is concerned with asking questions that have arisen from practice (Baumfield et al, 2012). Action research is concerned with finding answers to simple "How to..?" questions (Stringer et al, 2010). In this instance how to provide successful writing activities for this particular group of boys. Although it does probe deeper than this. Baumfield et al. (2012, p.1) explain that "a successful enquiry is not simply finding an answer to the original question but one that deepens understanding by throwing up new questions"

Action research operates in a cyclical process of Look, Think and Act (Stringer et al, 2010):

LOOK	Involves Gathering Information, Observing students
THINK	Reflection and Analysis of Student's Activities/Noticing Patterns
ACT	Plan Teach and Evaluate

Through this systematic process of inquiry I can learn more about the children in my class. Using this information I can enhance the learning opportunities on offer to them (Stringer et al., 2010). McNiff (2010) argues that as a teacher I am best placed to carry out this research and am more likely to implement my findings as a result of the new knowledge that has been created. Some have expressed concern that research was not always being distributed to practitioners (Rose, 2002). It was therefore not having an impact on classroom practices. Action research allows findings to be acted on immediately as it directly relates to their situation (Koshy,2005) As each class is different it is important to note that the strategies that are developed within one classroom may not yield the same response in another, as such action research is a highly individualised exploration of a particular topic and can only ever really reflect one class at a particular moment in time (Stringer et al, 2010).

What was my concern?

As I have already begun to outline, in my Year 3 class I noticed a concerning disparity between the boys and girls engagement with writing. When observing a number of boys in my own class I felt that writing was an activity that they found distressing and for several of them they displayed their most challenging behaviour in the subject. In other subjects these pupils would take risks, contribute ideas and work independently but seemed to really struggle with English. Their writing was barely more than a page long and usually relied heavily on modelled texts and ideas generated by the class. One particular boy showed an extreme amount of anxiety around writing and took any suggestions of improvement as a personal affront and would furiously scribble or rub out the few lines he did manage to get onto paper as he felt it did not 'look right'.

It is also noteworthy that my current class had 16 boys to 10 girls with many of the boys seeming to hold fairly stereotypical views of gender roles. For example, in a PSHE lesson on roles in the household an overwhelming number of the class (of both genders) labelled the majority of domestic duties as women's jobs. In another instance in a discussion with a boy who had been physically aggressive with another boy he made the comment that "Girls never get punished, they never get in trouble because they don't get as angry and they can't punch anyone". It seemed that this polarisation of what it means to be a boy and a girl may be affecting how the boys engage with different activities and the types of things they feel they can be successful at.

Literature Review

Boys writing has been on the national agenda for some time. In Ofsted's report 'Yes he can: Schools where boys write well' from July 2003, incidentally around the time that I was leaving Primary School, examined schools where the gender gap in writing was considerably smaller than in most other schools. The fact that I still see evidence of a gap in my own classroom, 15 years later is arguably evidence for the view that the difference in the development of boys and girls cannot be 'fixed'. The Ofsted report raises a similar question; can the 'gap' between boys and girls in writing ever be closed completely? The report does not explore this matter but does go on to detail practices that aid the achievement and engagement of boys in writing. The practices that the report endorses include: developing a school culture where succeeding is seen as 'cool', the use of male role models, the frequent use of boy-girl pairs, focus on personal best over comparison with others and the use of quality texts. Interestingly the report found that boys' success in writing did not depend on the use of boy-friendly texts. Furthermore, boys writing was strongest when coupled with the promotion of a reading culture throughout the school. (OFSTED, 2003)

Another interesting point raised in the report was the focus on length. The schools where boys enjoyed writing consciously valued quality over quantity as it found that boys tended to write the shortest possible amount. (OFSTED, 2003) Maynard and Lowe also comment that boys perceive writing to be difficult because of the "demands of story-writing: for example, the importance of quantity, and the requirement to take into account a multitude of demands — characters, plot, structure, as well as spelling, punctuation and the like" (Maynard & Lowe, 1999, p.8).

Poetry has been shown to appeal to boys because it takes away many of the other preoccupations and demands that are present in story-telling and allows them to focus solely on one subject. Additionally, the demands of writing a whole page does not apply. This often enables the boys to concentrate on their use of language to express their ideas more freely when the structure is already set before them (Maynard & Lowe, 1999). Similarly, OFSTED found that most boys engaged well with poetry or writing forms where the structure was rigid. They seem to prefer to follow strict instructions on what a text should be and focus their attention on their creative language choices. They were drawn to poems such as sonnets and haikus as it was similar to solving a problem and limited the number of decisions they had to make (2003). Conversely in Merisuo-Storm's study of what texts boys and girls like to read and write she found that poetry was a form least favoured by both boys and girls, with the boys favouring it least of all (2006). This may be due to the nature of the study which had more to do with boys' opinions on writing types rather than an

observed engagement with the form. Boys may be reluctant to admit to a love of poetry, perceiving the 'flowery language' used in poems as anti-male (Maynard & Lowe, 1999).

The use of boy-girl pairs is also often suggested as a means of addressing the gender imbalance in achievement in English. Casual conversations with teachers in the staffroom about this project revealed that this is an instinctive strategy employed by most teachers. The use of girls as a civilising influence on the boys and therefore an enabler to successful writing in boys has been highlighted as a key strategy in the OFSTED recommendations to schools (2003). However, some have argued that this only served to reinforce gender stereotypes with the girls being asked to serve the boys and aid their progress, calm them down, make them feel safe etc. (Epstein: 1998). She also comments on the danger of the common supposition that all girls are achieving well (1998).

Another strategy often highlighted as a means of engaging the boys is the use of popular culture. "Children's voices have become a significant strand in both educational research and educational policy", their views should certainly be the focus of our actions. (Dunn et al. 2004, pg 25) There is an enormous amount of literature recommending the use of popular culture to engage boys in writing with many believing that it is crucial to boys' and girls' engagement with writing (Dunn et al. 2014). The general consensus being that if children like a certain topic, they will want to write about it and schools should be capitalising on this knowledge (Dean, 2010, Merisuo-Storm, 2006, Dunn et al. 2014). Marsh explores the use of popular superheroes in the teaching of writing and found that the use of Batman and Batwoman motivated children who were usually reluctant to write, creating a plethora of rich writing opportunities (Marsh, 1999).

However, there is a danger in the use of popular culture in the classroom. In some instances popular culture, in particular within superhero discourse, raises issues relating to sexism and racism that cannot be ignored (Marsh, 2000). As teachers we should be moving children away from these negative stereotypes especially if these stereotypical views may be contributing to an anti-writing culture (Parajes, 2001; Edwards & Jones, 2018; Merisuo-Storm, 2006; McGeown, 2015). There is a danger that by introducing these tropes into the classroom we are reinforcing them further. Skelton highlights that some boys may be uncomfortable inhibiting the position of the 'tough' superhero and feels that it can contribute to the creation of a 'macho' culture in the classroom, an environment that is often anti-Literacy (Skelton, 2001). The use of popular culture therefore needs to be used carefully to ensure that it motivates children to write without cultivating unhelpful views on gender.

At the root of the issue is the clearly detrimental view that writing is inherently 'girly'. It is suggested that particular subjects are perceived to be 'boys' subjects and therefore impact upon how a subject is approached. For example, boys display confidence in Maths and girls show more self-belief in English (Parajes, 2001). Boys are often more aware of the social climate of their classroom and their desire for peer approval is often more pronounced than in girls and may therefore cause them to reject writing as it is stereotypically linked to being female. (Edwards & Jones, 2018, Merisuo-Storm, 2006, McGeown, 2015) Intervention and strategies therefore may be needed to reduce the view of English as a feminine activity (McGeown, 2015)

Exploring this idea in a different way Parajes argues that teachers need to encourage pupils to develop masculine and feminine traits in order to create a 'non-macho' culture that values writing (2001). It is argued that children need to be taught that they can both possess masculine and

feminine traits and that their gender should not restrict their achievements in any subject. Parajes argues that success in writing has little to do with the physical gender of a student, but with the level to which the particular child subscribes to gender stereotypes (2001). A boy who has a more fluid understanding of gender and who happily takes on 'feminine traits' is more likely to engage with and enjoy writing than a boy who sees writing as 'girly' and therefore a threat to their masculinity (Parajes, 2001) Thus is important to create opportunities in the classroom for children to have their ideas of gender challenged in order to make writing more appealing.

Collecting Data

I decided to plan and deliver a series of lessons which incorporated different strategies and activities that have worked to engage boys in writing. In order to evaluate their effectiveness I intended to observe the class, taking on the role of a non-participant observer. (Cohen et al, 2011) I made 'field notes' and kept a journal of events that were pertinent to this study. Whilst there is a danger that my observations would be too personal and only reflect my viewpoint, I feel that it is part of teacher's role to be reflective and strive for objectivity. I also think that this method limits the disruption to the children's regular routines and thereby minimises the impact of my research (BERA 2011 guidelines).

In addition I conducted informal conversation interviews with the boys in my class. If we are to fully understand boys' underachievement in writing then we need to explore their perspectives and experiences of writing in the classroom by asking the boys themselves (Flutter, 2007; Edwards & Jones, 2018) Children are capable of expressing their opinions and have a right to "be involved in sharing their views on issues that affect them." (Dunn et al. 2014, pg 25) I decided to use the same interview guide that was used by Edwards and Jones used in their study of perspectives in the learning and teaching of writing in three primary schools as it guided children to consider both their identity as writers and their perception of gender (2018). Furthermore, I interviewed the boys in groups of 3 or 4 as opposed to 1:1 as I felt that not only was it less time-consuming but also less intimidating. It would also enable the boys to react and build upon the responses of others (Cohen et al, 2011).

There is potential for bias in semi-structured interviews where children say what they think their teacher wants to hear (Grover, 2004). However, I was confident that this could be overcome if I properly explained my desire for honesty and assured the children that they could say anything without it being taken as an offence. I conducted the interview in our school library, sitting with the children on comfortable cushions, using informal language and not requiring the children to put their hand up in order to establish a more relaxed environment (Alderson, 1995) The advantages to conducting research in this way is that would allow me some freedom to probe further and react to what the children are saying, following new lines of enquiry (Denscombe, 2001) Furthermore it allows for a deeper understanding of the topic as the child can elaborate on issues that are important to them. Other methods such as a written survey/questionnaire would require a lot of writing in order to get a full picture which considering the focus of this study would seem incongruous.

Ethical concerns

Before beginning my research, I ensured that I had considered the ethical implications and ensured that appropriate measures had been taken. Firstly, I obtained consent to carry out my project with my Head-Teacher. I ensured that the children I talked to were aware of the intent behind my questions and they were made aware that they did not have to participate and could withdraw at any point without giving any reason. Before beginning the Informal interviews/focus groups I obtained verbal consent from the children involved. As I was selecting a particular group of reluctant boy writers the children were asked to take part and were happy to do so. I adhered to BERA guidelines with regards to confidentiality and safeguarded the identity of any participants. Furthermore, all participants are anonymous and I have used pseudonyms (BERA, 2011).

Action

Firstly, I wanted to explore Parajes idea that success in writing was intrinsically linked to the boys' understanding of gender and how much value they placed in being 'masculine' (2001). I felt that this is a difficult idea to tackle as a boys' identity is shaped by so many enormous factors that extend far beyond the classroom (upbringing, peer group, pop culture, and patriarchal cultural norms etc.) (Parajes, 2001). However, there would be some advantage to a discussion with the boys about their gender and how they feel it affects their achievement and treatment in school. When asked whether boys or girls work harder or are they both the same one boy remarked "Girls like learning more than boys so they work harder". The other boys agreed and one added "Girls are much more enthusiastic." When asked about how the teacher treats boys and girls a boy said "Boys get away with more in school, they can be cheeky and lazy but girls don't want to be like that." This particular group of 3 boys seemed to take a certain amount of pride in not giving their best in their writing with one boy commenting that he knew he was "not very good at writing but I don't try my best anyway." This group were interesting as one of the boys in this group was a gifted writer but when asked to talk about writing amongst his peers he joined them in ascribing to the view that writing was "boring" and that the only part of school he enjoyed was "playing football and lunchtime". I quizzed him about his response later when he was away from the others and he said that "actually I do like writing but I just like football more." This correlates with the literature which argues that boys are often very keen to ensure peer approval and so would not admit to liking writing as it is "uncool". (Edwards & Jones, 2018, Merisuo-Storm, 2006, McGeown, 2015; Marsh, 1999) Although all boys said that they would enjoy writing about video games and football because it's "writing about stuff they like", they also expressed an interest in using computers as they said that they wouldn't have to worry about their handwriting. One boy commented "Computers make everything more exciting and it's quicker which is better." Another boy said "...and you can go back and the computer tells you where you went wrong so you don't need the teacher to tell you." The more formal aspects of writing such as handwriting, spelling and punctuation are often cited as turn offs for boys so this could be a way around this particular issue (McGeown, 2015)

In other interviews the views expressed were more promising and although the majority of boys named Maths as their favourite subject they had a desire to get better at writing despite finding it difficult. One boy talked about the importance of writing in the adult world, remarking that if you

can't write "you would be fired which you don't want, you want to be good at your job and write e-mails and things like that" and he said that this is what made him try his best in his writing. Common themes that did arise included worries about the neatness of their handwriting and a belief that girls always had the neatest handwriting. They also expressed concern that they did not write enough and would consequently miss out portions of their Playtime. These boys talked about liking freedom to write about anything and didn't like being told what to write. Although, quite contradictorily they also discussed that they found it difficult to think of ideas and they said that they often spend so long thinking of an idea and then don't have time to write it all down. One boy described:

It takes ages to think of an idea and then you start writing it and you write a sentence and then you realise that you forgot to include something or you missed something out so you have to go back and cross it out and start again.

He went on to say that "Writing is difficult because in Maths you are really just following instructions but English is much more open and free which means there is a lot more is going on in your brain." Another boy agreed with him and said that he thinks that this is why girls are better "because they have more knowledge and can hold more things in their head." One boy also spoke about one girl in the class who he believed was the "best writer in the class" he said that "Sophie is a good writer because she has so much time. I bet when she gets home she writes all the time and she is getting better and better but I don't have time for that. I have a cat that need me to play with it and feed it, I have to be responsible for it so I can't really get better at writing." This response did make me laugh but it illuminates the point that the boys felt that writing was a long, drawn out process that took a long time to perfect. Therefore, a shorter form of writing maybe more preferred. Perhaps approaches to writing where there is less of a focus on length would be a preferred option as OFSTED (2003) and Maynard & Lowe (1999) had found previously.

Following on from these interviews I decided to implement and explore the following strategies:

- 1. The use of Poetry
- 2. The use of Popular Culture.

Below I will discuss the impact of the 2 methods on the children in my class.

1. Poetry

One of the first ideas I chose to explore was poetry. I wanted to see whether my observations on the boys' lack of engagement with writing applied to this text type too. I decided that the Haiku poetry form would make a good choice due to its brevity and strict guidelines (Maynard & Lowe, 1998). I was interested to explore this in light of some of the views some of the boys had expressed of not liking being told what to write about; I wondered whether this would impact upon their engagement and the end product. Children were introduced to the text form via a series of 'What am I?' haikus. I

created a template that the children used to structure their haikus which, as Maynard and Lowe also discussed, worked effectively perhaps due to the fact that structural choices did not need to be made (Maynard & Lowe, 1999). In addition, the 'What am I?' element had appealed to the boys desire to solve problems. By seeing the haiku as a problem to solve and incorporating a competitive element to working out what the poem was about the boys were engaged and excited from the outset. This mirrors the findings of the OFSTED investigation (2003).

In evaluating the success of the haikus I wanted to explore this apparent desire for structure and clear guidelines further. I decided to create my own poetry form where there would be a similar strict structure but the length would be increased as it could be argued that the brevity of haikus was the main draw for boys. We watched a series of video clips of erupting volcanoes lava and in small groups the children recorded vocabulary inspired by what they were seeing. I asked the children to feedback the words and phrases that they had generated. Children were then given the template and asked to complete it independently. At this point all the creative language groundwork had been done and was displayed around the classroom. It was therefore a simple case of assessing the effectiveness of a phrase. The boys who usually took upwards of 10 minutes to even start writing, quickly completed the task. Furthermore, I was astounded by their enthusiasm and desire to read their learning aloud to their peers.

After this I decided to explore free-verse poetry. This would be a deviation from the previous tasks as rather than having a set of strict rules free verse poetry has no rules. Ultimately though the focus, just as before was not on form but on selecting interesting vocabulary and stringing it together in basically any way the writer sees fit. I made sure to highlight that it was impossible to make mistakes with the structure of their poem. This seemed to play on the boys strengths as writers with one singular topic in mind, expressing them in a succinct way with a definite emphasis on quality of certain phrases over the length of the piece (Maynard & Lowe, 1999; Merisuo-Storm, 2006).

We had been reading *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* by Roald Dahl as our class text so initially we wrote a free verse poem about the character Willy Wonka as an introduction to this particular text type. In the following lesson as an independent writing task the children were asked to write a free-verse poem about anything they wanted which they really relished.

When I consulted the boys on their favourite writing activities at the end of the year, poetry was stated as their preferred method more often than any other text type. One boy, who I had previously highlighted as a very reluctant writer, wrote a free-verse poem about the World Cup at home and bought it proudly into class to share with the rest of the class. It was interesting and so promising that he had thought to express his love of football in the form of a poem. This ties in with the argument for using popular culture in the classroom as a highly motivational tool for boys (Marsh, 1999; Dean, 2010; Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Dunn et al. 2014). So much so that, in this instance, writing was undertaken outside of the classroom.

2. The use of popular culture

Based on the views expressed by the boys in the initial interviews and the literature on the motivational impact of using pop culture I decided to capitalize on many of the boys' (and many girls') love of football. The World Cup had also stirred up a frenzied interest even in children that showed none previously. We were having an enrichment week where each class was assigned a competing country and took part in activities inspired by that country. My class was allocated Argentina and so I decided that we would work on creating a biography of Lionel Messi who many children believed to be 'the best player in the world'. I felt that non-fiction texts would also suit the boy's preference as previous research suggests that they are often more drawn to reading Non-Fiction (McGeown, 2015) We began by using laptops to research Messi and the children were given headings with which to record their findings. Initially the children were excited and highly motivated to learn as much as they could about the footballer. But once the children had completed their research and the time came to write their biography it did not take long for the boys to tire of the process. Several of the boys skipped whole chunks of information that they had researched and 2 boys simply copied word for word their plan which I suspect had also been copied from a website. One possible reason for this reaction is the sustained interest needed to see the biography through both research, planning and writing stage which may have been problematic for the boys (Maynard & Lowe, 1999). On the other hand, it could be that, as several boys mentioned in the interview stage; "writing is fun when it's free and you can let your imagination take you wherever you like", maybe a story about football would have yielded better results. Once the children knew the facts about Messi perhaps there was no longer an element of discovery and the task was meaningless to them. It seems that the form of the text rather than the subject matter is a bigger determiner of whether this particular group of boys would engage with writing.

Conclusion

In this project I feel there have been two main lines of inquiry. Firstly and predominantly I have looked at how to give boys the skills to access a writing activity? **Can** they do it? I feel that using writing forms with a strict set of guidelines, in this instance, poetry enabled boys to access writing more easily and was a form that they could do very successfully. The frustration many of the boys displayed when writing stories for example was less present when writing poems. Boys were empowered by the brevity and preciseness of this format and they often found they had the skills to write effective poems. These results corresponded with the findings in the literature I had read. (Merisuo-Storm, 2006, Maynard & Lowe, 1999 and OFSTED, 2003)

The second line of inquiry proved much more difficult to tackle and evaluate. It was less concerned with their <u>ability</u> to write and more to do with the <u>attitude</u>: did they <u>want</u> to write? I wanted to explore how writing could be made more attractive to these group of reluctant boy writers. I feel that this is something that wasn't fully addressed in this project and using popular culture did not incentivise the writing experience enough. This may have something to do with the types of activities I chose, I think moving forward writing with a purpose needs to be probed further as does the idea of writing briefer texts with short-term gains, for example writing the end or start of a story.

Conversations with the boys before and after the project revealed that the boys found the time-consuming element of writing off-putting. However, it may also have something to do with ideas I mentioned previously about how boys view writing as an inherently 'girly' activity and no amount of 'boyish' topics could convince them otherwise (Parajes, 2001) I observed that boys who appeared to have more 'feminine' traits as outlined by Parajes, for example gentleness and friendship with girls, were more likely to express a love of writing. I therefore feel that more intervention is needed to challenge boys' perception of masculinity and thereby embed a more favourable view of writing.

This project took place against the back drop of a growing global conversation about masculinity and the potential toxic effect it has. Recent publications such as *How not to be a Boy* by Robert Webb and *The Descent of Man* by Grayson Perry bring this discussion into the popular consciousness. Furthermore, documentaries such as the BBC's 'No More Boys and Girls: Can Our Kids Go Gender Free?' are asking the question of the impact of societal and gender constructs on children's experiences in the classroom and how these are shaping who the children become. The fact that these questions are being asked does give me hope and I feel that looking at gender should have a positive impact on boys' writing.

The issue of gender in the classroom (and society more generally) is such an enormous issue and pinpointing the type of intervention needed is complicated. However, it is something that I'd like to work on perhaps in our PSHE lessons. I would hope that by encouraging children to see value in both feminine and masculine traits, writing amongst boys would improve. As I stated in the beginning action research often throws up more new questions and lines of inquiry than it answers (Baumfield, 2012).

On such additional line of inquiry that frequently recurred in much of the literature was the question of male role models. Some stated that often boys lacked a male role model who actively took an interest in reading and writing. (Epstein, 1998) As a female teacher I obviously found this a problematical idea and if I accept it I admit a limitation on my ability to inspire the boys in my class. Nevertheless, perhaps by discussing with parents/guardian at home the importance of modelling an interest in literature this strategy could be utilised. I think another line of inquiry that could be explored is whether my male colleagues had similar issues around boy writing.

This project has highlighted to me the importance of seeking out the children's opinion and it is the part of the project I have most enjoyed. Talking to the boys about what they struggled with when writing was incredibly helpful. They gave me an insight into what was going on in their head as they tried to juggle the various requirements and demands of writing. I really got a glimpse of the difficulties they faced in a way that I hadn't appreciated fully before — and all because I'd simply asked them.

Seeing for myself how astute children are on where they are in their learning has impacted my overall teaching. Moving forward I'm hoping to find opportunities for children to discuss their learning and be honest with me about how things could be better, how they could be more supported and ultimately whether they are enjoying themselves.

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