

“My Vision isn’t the Only One”: Visioning Abolition in School Counseling Through Arts-Based Exploration

Riley Drake

Department of Counseling, Rehabilitation, and Human Services
University of Wisconsin-Stout

Renaë D. Mayes

Department of Educational Psychology
University of Arizona

Abigail Smith

Bridges Elementary School
Sauk Prairie School District

Ingrid Lyberg

Department of Counseling, Rehabilitation, and Human Services
University of Wisconsin-Stout

Abstract

School counseling is built on the American School Counselor Association National Model (2019, 2025), which includes heavy emphasis on individualist-focused student standards and isolationist practice (Drake et al., 2024b). While the field has undergone some revision, we continue to lack methods for visioning and visions for abolition in our praxis. Without liberatory visions for abolition, our traditional approaches and models of school counseling will only prefigure more racial capitalism, more white supremacy, and more state violence in schools. As part of a larger, year-long Critical Participatory Action Research project, this article focuses on the abolitionist visioning generated by a community of practice, including school counselors, community organizers, and a school counselor educator, using arts-based exploration. Our findings center the collective analysis and meaning-making of our community of practice, elevating the visions of on-the-ground school counselors and organizers and honoring local wisdom to guide practice rather than relying on Westernized, meritocratic school counseling models.

Keywords: school counseling, abolition, K-12 schools, visions, counselor education

“My Vision isn’t the Only One”: Visioning Abolition in School Counseling Through Arts-Based Exploration

School counselors are regularly trained to implement the American School Counselor Association (ASCA) National Model, including creating a program vision statement (ASCA, 2019). Vision statements “communicate what school counselors hope to see for students five to 15 years in the future” (ASCA, 2019, p. 30). As school counselors, we believe in visions as guides for school counseling practice, and as abolitionists, we believe in visions to move us toward social change. As Rose Braz, a co-founder of Critical Resistance, an abolitionist organization, shared: “A prerequisite to seeking any social change is the naming of it. In other words, even though the goal we seek may be far away, unless we name it and fight for it today, it will never come” (Bennett, 2008, para. 14).

Yet ASCA’s approach prioritizes the school counselor’s role in single-handedly creating the vision, which contributes to a reductive, individualized process, limiting “hopes” to what school counselors alone believe, value, and dream (ASCA, 2019). The recently released fifth edition of the ASCA National Model (2025) similarly privileges the school counselor’s individual perspective by calling for them to prepare statements that describe how the school counseling program aligns with the school and district’s vision, both of which are regularly devoid of diverse community perspectives, dreams, and wisdom. In a field that has relied historically on traditional approaches that engage policing, vision statements or statements describing program alignment with school and district visions built without the ideas and imaginings of those most directly impacted by them, including community members most intimate with state and structural violence, are positioned to contribute to further harm (Drake et al., 2024b). School counselors who are committed to liberatory care work must rethink their approaches and vision differently.

Abolitionist school counseling is a disruptively loving approach to counseling in schools that centers collective well-being and safety. Instead of being driven by academic achievement, abolitionist school counselors are driven by community—every member of the community deserves care, and no one is disposable. With students, families, educators, and communities, counselors in schools who commit to abolition do so by uprooting policing in their practice and co-constructing life-affirming approaches to counseling as solidarity.

This article draws from a larger, year-long Critical Participatory Action Research (CPAR) project that explored the co-construction of an abolitionist approach to school counseling. In our final meeting, the partners (i.e., school counselors, community organizers, and a school counselor educator, all of whom identified with a commitment to abolition) of the research collective came together to playfully and artfully engage with intuitive collage, an arts-based method we used for collective visioning for abolitionist school counseling. Drawing from the visions of school counselors and community organizers committed to abolition, this article asks: *What do school counselors and community organizers vision for abolition in school counseling? How might they vision in community?*

School Counselors and Community Organizers as Partners for Abolition

School-family-community partnerships are historically critical for students’ academic achievement (Bryan, 2005; Bryan et al., 2019; Castillo, 2023; Haynes & Comer, 1996; Teemant et al., 2021). School counselors are tasked with building these meaningful relationships with families and community members, ensuring those connections are collaborative and reciprocal (Bryan et al., 2019; Dunn et al., 2019; Washington, 2010). Often missing from partnerships, however, are community organizers, who engage in the everyday work of creating real change that challenges injustices. Some have advocated for school counselors to build nontraditional and culturally aligned partnerships that integrate the needs and perspectives of students and families (Bryan et al., 2019). Others have explicitly called for school counselors to deeply align with community organizers for abolition, who know community best (Drake et al., 2024b). To create life-affirming relationships, school counselors must practice reciprocity, expanding beyond traditional boundaries of therapeutic relationships toward acting as comrades in

solidarity. Rather than individualized care, abolitionist school counselors know that care is not radical if it is not free for everyone (Nadasen, 2023).

Some educators are organizers themselves, while others build relationships with community organizers to address social injustices (Hernandez et al., 2022; Pour-Khorshid, 2016). Community-based pedagogy is a practice in which “the knowledge, assets, and imaginations within students and the local communities are the potential antithesis to systemic oppression in PreK-12 classrooms to co-create justice-focused education” (Popielarz, 2024, p. 439). Drawing from community-based pedagogical implications, school counselors might co-construct programs that elevate community, centering community care and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) and building and sanctifying homeplace (hooks, 1990), or “a space where students are seen as whole human beings, allowed to grow and heal” (Mayes et al., 2022, p. 2). Here, school counselors can love and protect youth as an antiracist act (Mayes & Byrd, 2022).

Beyond schools, school counselors must join movements and learn from leaders in the context of education in movement spaces. In movement, learning happens in community and is intergenerationally curated, with pedagogical practices emerging from the people (Shield et al., 2020). This is a pedagogical practice of solidarity, a “set of practices directed toward specific political goals and rooted in the specificities of relationships” (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2022, p. 253), allowing diverse wisdom and expertise to be honored and valued.

Abolition in School Counseling

Abolition in school counseling rejects reform (Drake et al., 2024b) because it is exactly that: a re-formation of existing arrangements that leaves the prison industrial complex (PIC), or the merging government and capitalist interests that use policing and prisons as reactions to social problems, intact. Abolitionists challenging the PIC, including school counselors committed to abolition, collectively resist to “dismantle, change, and build,” (Critical Resistance, n.d., para. 5), a theory of change in which everyone, particularly Black, Brown, working class, immigrant, trans, and gender queer communities, can experience life-affirmation. Ending policing means dismantling all forms of it, including how it manifests in school counseling; changing conditions, practices, and logic that disenfranchise communities; and building ways of being, practices, and resources to empower communities by meeting our needs and enabling everyone to thrive (Critical Resistance, n.d.).

Kaba and Ritchie (2022) described soft policing as the coercion, forced assimilation, and punitive practices that public employees, including educators, use to maintain the carceral state and, thus, existing racial and economic hierarchies. School counselors often act as soft police, surveilling students, identifying perceived deficiencies, and teaching young people how to act and what to think, guided by the ASCA Mindsets and Behaviors (ASCA, 2019). Providing an essential function for the PIC, traditional school counseling acts to control students and maintain the social order.

Educators, however, can dismantle soft policing in their practice and build abolitionist practices in K-12 schools and higher education (Meiners, 2011; Sabati et al., 2022; Stovall, 2018). School counselors, in particular, who aspire to abolitionist praxis, must center the visions and theory of change promoted by PIC abolitionists. Focusing on critical connections with community organizers, centering collective well-being, and practicing community healing (hooks, 2000) instead of prioritizing achievement above all else, school counselors might define their roles differently (Drake et al., 2024a). There are other ways to be in school counseling, and organizers have provided school counselors with the tools, resources, and skills to approach harm and systemic violence in ways that do not contribute to more harm. By actively listening to students, their families, and communities and integrating their visions, we might dismantle the reductive role of school counselors in schools with more expansive hopes for our collective future (Mayes & Byrd, 2022).

Abolition as Vision and Practice

Abolition is both a vision and practice. “Vision and practice are not contradictory, but rather inseparable—the insistent prefiguration of the world we know we need” (Davis et al., 2022, p. 15). Many abolitionist organizers

and scholars highlight that we must envision the future we want and work collectively toward it. Davis et al. (2022), for example, elaborated on how vision and practice intersect to inform abolition: “The productive tension of holding onto a radical, real, and deep vision while engaging in the messy daily practice is the feminist praxis: the work of everyday people to try, to build, to make. And this requires collectivity. Always” (Davis et al., 2022, p. 16). Abolitionists must both believe in and imagine more liberatory futures while practicing new ways of being in relationship, fighting for change, and doing so together. Importantly, visioning and practicing are contextual, informed by local communities and their distinctive, yet not new, struggles. Abolitionist geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore explained abolition as an orientation to struggle, suggesting that it serves as a method to inform our resistance (Gabriel, 2022). Said differently, there is no map toward the perfect practice of abolition, yet our visions can orient us in the direction we need to collectively move. Being “vision-oriented” can help us discern how to intentionally practice our visions and focus on care rather than control (brown, 2020).

Methods

Hoping to bring forth and unearth collective visions for abolition in school counseling required us to think differently about our methods. Encouraged by artists as cultural organizers, we studied abolition feminism aesthetics, specifically art created to “denaturalize the carceral state” (Davis et al., 2022, p. 8). We engaged arts-based exploration for aesthetic provocation, intentionally challenging traditional research norms and pushing the boundaries regarding what was considered legitimate in scholarly work. This qualitative study used intuitive collage, an arts-based method, to generate “new ways of seeing” (Fine & Torre, 2021, p. 74), allowing us to bring forth our imaginations and collectively generate complex, often obscured visions (Bhattacharya, 2013).

Positionality

Guided by our commitment to creating possibilities for abolitionist counseling approaches in schools, we came to this study with varied and similar experiences in PK-12 schools, school counseling, and abolition.

Riley, a white¹ woman, is a former elementary school counselor who practiced abolition in school counseling before she had the language to define it as such. Now, as a school counselor educator at a Midwestern public university, she struggles alongside those in the field and on the ground to build abolition into school counseling. Importantly, she is deeply committed to the abolition of prisons and policing, organizing with communities in the Twin Cities to practice abolition daily.

Rena, a Black woman, is a former school counselor and school counselor educator with a specific focus on Black joy and liberation in school counseling practice. As a Black woman, she often is the miner’s canary facing similar structural challenges as her students while working to dismantle such systems. She is committed to collaborating with schools and community members to creating homeplace to both cultivate and protect Black joy across all spaces.

Abby, a white woman, is a first-year school counselor in an urban metropolis. They practiced social justice in school counseling throughout their education and currently use social justice and abolition in school counseling.

Ingrid, a white woman, is a second-year graduate student in school counseling and a first-year school counselor. After putting herself through intensive mental health treatment, she saw disparities in care and institutions firsthand. That led to a drive for equity and inclusion in her future role as a school counselor.

Study Context

As part of a larger, year-long CPAR project, which had received Institutional Review Board approval, school counselors and community organizers, all of whom described a commitment to abolition in initial interviews, came together as partners in a research collective with Riley, a school counselor educator, to explore abolition in school

¹We draw from Dumas (2016) and lowercase white, because “it is nothing but a social construct, and does not describe a group with a sense of common experiences or kinship outside of acts of colonization and terror” (p. 13).

counseling in a community of practice. (Refer to Table 1. All names are pseudonyms chosen by the partners.) They virtually convened biweekly from August 2023 to June 2024 to deepen their political commitment to abolition, learn from one another, and discern how to practice abolition in public schools, despite the contradictions and constraints they experienced. Meetings lasted approximately one and a half hours and were audio-recorded. Every partner was financially compensated for their participation.

This article focuses on our final meeting, during which Riley guided partners through an intuitive collage activity. Intuitive collage is an expressive arts-based, spontaneous process of selecting magazine images without thinking and allowing the imagery to draw from your inner world to answer a question (Klammer, n.d.). Of the research collective, Amber, Fay, Irene, Emelia, and Lex were present; Jesse had prior obligations and could not join the meeting until later. Therefore, she was unable to contribute to the collective analysis. Riley requested that the partners prepare supplies (i.e., paper, magazines, scissors, glue) before the activity and began by asking partners to sit with the following question: *What do I envision for abolition in school counseling?*

Riley invited the partners to keep the question in mind, begin flipping through magazines, and tearing out pages to which they were intuitively drawn. Then, they arranged four to five images in whatever way felt most compelling to them. Riley instructed the partners to glue those images to a sheet of paper and sit with their final collage, considering each image and relationships amongst the images. Then, she directed the partners to reflect on the following: (a) What message is my collage conveying? and (b) How does my collage answer our question? (*What do I envision for abolition in school counseling?*). The partners journaled their responses and uploaded a photo of their collage to a shared folder (Refer to Figures 1-5.).

Then, partners shared their collages with the research collective and intuitively responded to the original question. Each partner shared their meaning-making, and Riley took field notes regarding their comments. When all narratives had been shared, the partners considered salient ideas or patterns across their collages as a form of “participatory reading across texts” (Fine & Torre, 2021, p. 55) to center collective analytical interpretations and meaning-making. Using “arts as analysis to reveal patterns that might otherwise have been obscured” (Fine & Torre, 2021, p. 74), partners identified the following ideas as collectively shared: (a) community; (b) feeling free; and (c) moving beyond the comfort zone.

Data Collection

The data collected and used for this study included the partners’ collages, which must be understood as contextualized by each partner (Bhattacharya, 2017; Hodder, 2000); the meeting audio transcription (i.e., partners’ interpretations of their collages and their reflections of one another’s collages); and Riley’s field note (i.e., analytic memo). While partners shared their collages, Riley wrote fieldnotes, which were sketches at first, or rough attempts to capture what she was hearing and seeing from the partners’ collages and interpretations. As the meeting continued, Riley attempted to fully flesh out the notes, drawing from what she remembered a partner speaking to earlier to deepen her understanding of a salient idea (Emerson et al., 2011). At the end of the meeting, she structured her fieldnotes into a brief memo in which she attempted to capture the research collective’s reflections, questions, and conjectures (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

Data Analysis

Ingrid, a graduate assistant and school counseling student familiar with abolition in school counseling, transcribed the audio from this meeting. The transcription was made available in a shared, secure folder for partners to review and edit. Then, using the partners’ initial ideas captured in Riley’s memo as a coding framework, Riley began coding. She is a critical qualitative researcher with a background in abolitionist organizing and has trained with researchers leading critical qualitative inquiries and analyses. Later, in round three, Riley trained Ingrid to analyze the qualitative data. They centered the collective analysis of on-the-ground school counselors and community organizers, engaging in three rounds of coding. As a reminder, the initial coding framework included: (a) community; (b) feeling free; and (c) moving beyond the comfort zone.

In the first round of coding, using the research collective-generated coding framework, Riley began the coding process thinking about, as Dr. Cathy Compton-Lilly invited us to imagine, theories as frames and lenses (Halverson, 2017). In this round, Riley engaged in open-coding (Emerson et al., 2011) using the coding framework (i.e., theory) as a conceptual frame (Halverson, 2017). She thoroughly read the data for significant passages (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). She considered a passage significant if she noted a pattern in the data and/or if the passage contained a concept or idea conceptually related to a code from the coding framework. She then held the data, namely the significant passages, up against the framework to see how the data reflected the frame. Riley asked: How does the data reflect (a) community; (b) feeling free; and (c) moving beyond the comfort zone? Using the coding framework in this way, alongside contextual understandings and her positionality, helped her to conceptualize the data broadly, build a sense of organization, and identify meaningful segments.

In her second and third rounds of coding, with the segments in mind, she engaged in focused coding (Emerson et al., 2011). Riley interpreted the data to make meaning (Dyson & Genishi, 2005), studying the partners’ collages, the final meeting transcription, and her memo, which allowed her to refine the codes. She used theories as lenses, pulling out ideas to see particular things happening in the data (Halverson, 2017). For example, she sought to identify patterns and connections amongst abolitionist “ideas” (Halverson, 2017) previously discussed in past meetings throughout the year-long CPAR project. Riley moved from theories as frames to conceptualize and organize data to initially make sense of it, to theories as lenses to see how partners’ visions of abolition in school counseling (as ideas) were showing up in this data.

In the third coding round, with Ingrid, they continued focused-coding (Emerson et al., 2011). Riley and Ingrid coded the data separately, and Riley compared their codes to refine central themes unifying various categories. No significant disagreements emerged. Riley and Ingrid re-read the data to refine themes and engaged in member-checking; partners agreed with the final overarching themes drawn from the initial coding framework. Throughout data analysis, Riley continued to refine themes as patterns were identified and reflected upon. Notably, she recognized that themes did not emerge (Bhattacharya, 2017; Rodriguez, 2020); instead, they were identified through her analytical process in which she looked for patterns that could be organized and characterized to make meaning (Bhattacharya, 2017). The final themes then served as findings, depicting the collective visions and visioning processes of on-the-ground school counselors and community organizers.

While we triangulated and member-checked for purposes of trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), we were primarily concerned with the type of strong objectivity (Harding, 1995) to which Fine (2018) referred that is the result of the wisdom of differently positioned people coming together. Critical qualitative research, especially CPAR, opposes traditional notions of validity, and instead centers critical construct validity, or how deep, local meaning is made and confirmed through analyses (Fine, 2006; Fine & Torre, 2004), and theoretical generalizability, or how thorough theoretical analyses may translate across communities (Fine, 2018; Fine & Torre, 2004). To support critical construct validity and theoretical generalizability, data analysis in this study started with the partners, whose interpretations and reflections drove the initial coding framework. Further, we elicited feedback from the partners throughout the analysis, which guided the process and was integrated into the final results presented in this article.

Results

The final themes included *Solidarity in Community*, *Freedom to Be*, *Experimentation*, and *Abolition as Method*. Together, these themes represented our research collective’s vision of abolition in school counseling and the power of intuitive collage to “unlock” the imagination (Kaba, 2021). Our themes were not wholly disparate but intersected in ways that made it difficult to separate them into siloed themes. As such, we intentionally selected quotes that dynamically captured this interconnectedness, oftentimes merging into another theme or seemingly shifting shape partway through the line. Refusing to “let go of the visionary—that which does not yet exist—and the radicalness of the imaginary as a space for what is yet unthinkable, at the edge of the possible” (Davis et al.,

2022, p. 16), what we imagined was not a prescription for one vision or one way to approach abolition in school counseling but represented a profound shift in how we vision toward life-affirming practice.

Solidarity in Community

The school counselors and community organizers strongly emphasized community as central to their vision for abolition in school counseling. Many disclosed how much they needed community, while others discussed their desire to connect more deeply. Community is “a radical vision” (Davis et al., 2022, p. 14) for everyday practice and offers coalitional possibilities to build solidarity. Indicating community as a need, Irene, a community organizer for mutual aid and liberation projects, shared her collage and pointed to an image of outer space:

I need people that can help ground me and balance me, too, and bring me back down to Earth... And so, yeah, that's what I see... is finding community, finding balance in our lives.

Describing her need for balance, Irene suggested community as a leveling agent that could offer stability during challenging times. Community creates fortification through its relational commitment to solidarity; no one practices solidarity alone (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2022).

Similarly, Fay, an elementary school counselor, suggested community was critical for both challenging and joyful times:

I realized [we need to be] bringing people together for not only joyous things, but also for difficult times... so the importance of how you need to bring people together for both of those things.

For Fay, community was a respite to sit with grief, an emotion that school counselors frequently attend to individually, but rarely in community. Yet we are reminded that “Rarely, if ever, are any of us healed in isolation. Healing is an act of communion” (hooks, 2000, p. 215). In other words, Fay recognized that we need one another across different experiences, offering a dynamic understanding of when and how we must come together in intentional and critical engagement grounded in reciprocity (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2022).

Emelia, a community organizer for mutual aid and educational justice, shared that her vision of abolition in school counseling “looks like sharing in dinner.” Referencing an image of a group of people seated at a table and eating together, Emelia went on:

This definitely looks like these are people who are a part of the same community, possibly the same family. But I was drawn to this just because of them having an opportunity to share with one another, creating space for one another.

For Emelia, creating space for one another requires community and is animated by relationships shaped by different contexts and conditions. For her, the kitchen table was a space where solidarity was constructed, not with others who were distantly suffering, or offered by those seeking to engage in an individualized form of care, but among people who were “a part of the same community.” Emelia’s framing distinguishes community solidarity from “ironic solidarity,” which is dependent upon the suffering of the “other” to maintain an isolated, individualized notion of oneself as caring without genuine commitment to dismantling, changing, and building toward liberation (Chouliaraki, 2013; Critical Resistance, n.d.).

The school counselors and organizers discussed community and solidarity as both a process and a goal. By being in the struggle, in which we are all implicated to varying degrees, the partners uplifted solidarity, describing an interconnectedness and a stronger sense of one another as essential to our ecosystem’s survival and flourishing.

Freedom to Be

The partners also discussed and referenced the idea and act of freedom. Many connected to images of young people running, dancing, or creating. Several described images depicting what freedom felt like to them. For example, Amber, a middle school counselor, pointed to her collage:

You can see there's a picture of a child on there, and what drew me to this child was there's all these little magical stars, and little details where she's obviously magical and celebrating maybe her weirdness, which is what I love about students. I mean, that's what I love about working with students is giving them a space to celebrate who they are, and they can be weird AF.

Reflecting on her love of young people's unique and quirky developmental characteristics, Amber framed her vision for abolition as one that not only tolerated, but welcomed the "weirdness," allowing students the freedom to be who they were, indicating her pedagogical enactments of homeplace (hooks, 1990; Mayes & Byrd, 2022). Amber shared more about how she interpreted her collage, resonating with the idea of freedom, as evidenced by the inclusion of images of nature. She disclosed her vision for abolition in school counseling, saying:

School could nurture what kids already are, instead of changing them into something else that is driven by our goals, which are all tied to capitalism and creating workers, you know, instead of being in harmony with nature and the community.

Describing a reimagining of "public freedom learning spaces," Amber's notion of homeplace is evident here, indicating a desire to "nurture" students by prioritizing different goals, including grounding in local community-based issues (Kaba & Ritchie, 2022; Popielarz, 2024). Directly pushing up against "a pedagogy of incarceration at worst and a pedagogy of industrialization at best" (Shield, 2022, p. 91), Amber articulated the ways students are trained for the workforce to reproduce racial capitalism, while also imagining how schools might get in right relationship with the natural world and the community. Like Amber, Emelia shared her vision for school counseling to become an open container, able to hold the expansiveness of learners and all that they are. Pointing to an image of plastic containers in her collage, she offered:

The Tupperware is definitely an interesting one... I just think about a team of people with very different philosophies, backgrounds, experiences all coming together to fit into some type of structure. And then I also thought about the fact that all the tops are off, too. So, it still gives room for other things to fit inside.

Here, Emelia described the need for educational spaces to be broad and open enough to accommodate all the differences that students and their communities bring to school. Describing the need for opportunities for students to be whole, rather than denying their social, cultural, and political identities, Emelia rejected the common practice of forced assimilation in schools, an element of soft policing (Kaba & Ritchie, 2022). Rather than a container with a firmly sealed lid, Emelia emphasized the need for schools to be flexible spaces that adapt to

Figure 1.
Amber's Collage



learners' varying needs and experiences. Similarly, Lex reflected on images that signified freedom to her. She reported that she:

was drawn to the things that make me feel the freest—being under the night sky. That's the back left image of a canyon with the Milky Way over it. And then running in nature. And then my favorite picture that I found was the beautiful Black women fishing, and that one just really made me happy... I think I captured what makes me feel free, and I wish the same for all our students and for everyone.

Lex revealed that feeling “free” was foundational to her vision for abolition in school counseling. Not only did Lex share images that depicted freedom for her, but she also considered the freedom experiences of others, evidencing her desire for collective, not simply individual, liberation (Nadasen, 2023).

Finally, Fay drew from an abolitionist perspective, describing what he envisioned dismantling and building. He pointed to an image of a shadow towering over young people at their desks and described his collage, as well as his vision for practicing abolition, noting the tendency for policing and carceral logic to seep into practice. Reflecting on how his actions impact students' capacity to feel free, he reported that he desired:

just really being free myself, being creative, and then really trying to avoid being that a shadow that looms over the kids, acting as if I'm just watching them.

Fay's vision for abolition in school counseling sought to dismantle the surveillance common in traditional school counseling practices, allowing him to experience and practice freedom himself (Drake et al., 2024b).

Experimentation

A common idea that surfaced in most of the partners' interpretations of their collages was experimentation, suggesting that school counseling needs to move beyond the traditional boundaries of the profession. Several partners disclosed that creating something they have never practiced will require them to create something they have never witnessed themselves. For many, this meant challenging themselves to do what they had not yet done. For example, Amber reflected:

I'm pushing myself to really try to think about how to get out of the day-to-day grind and just responsiveness and being a truly nurturing place for students.

Amber's challenge to herself was about “unleashing her imagination” to move beyond the traditional reactivity typical of school counselors (Kaba, 2021). Notably, Amber recognized that schooling was a force that required her reactivity, and she was often following the directions of her administrators when responding to crises. She went on to think more disruptively about counseling approaches in school, rooted in abolition, considering how she might challenge the protocols she was directed to follow. She wondered aloud:

Pushing outside of just the school walls and making a connection in my community is an example of really living that out [experimentation], trying to create something that expands beyond school to benefit the community.

Figure 2.
Lex's Collage



Similarly, Fay, pointing to an image, described the challenges of overthinking and how experimentation was guiding him:

I like that it says, 'Don't worry' at the top before it says, 'Mix it up,' because I tend to overthink. [Instead, I should] try to let myself pursue something and not worry about it too much. We'll worry about it as we go through it.

Fay recognized his tendency to need all the answers before trying something new and shared his vision for practicing abolition, which required that we practice without all the answers (Hayes & Kaba, 2023). He talked further about creating something to disrupt the imaginary boundary between school and community, animating the ways the separation served to maintain policing and disconnected students from what was often their primary support systems:

My dream is to try to do new things and bring people together, whether that's in the school or people from outside the school into the school.

Finally, Emelia referenced an image of a paintbrush on her collage:

I just think about creating in some way, shape, or form...I can create in a lot of other different ways, but I think just also the beauty of there being a lot of residue for maybe projects and things from that which has already been developed.

Emelia described a vision of creating from residue. Like Fay and Amber, she recognized experimentation as central to her vision for creating abolition in school counseling. Creativity could be unlocked, and their collective project reinforced their willingness to make the world anew. If we are to imagine something new, we must be prepared to do something new. Practice and vision grow in tandem; Fay, Amber, and Emelia indicated visionary desires to experiment.

Abolition as Method

Finally, the partners discussed how the intuitive collage activity mimicked the process of abolition, describing it as a "method" that had the power to elicit their intuition and create opportunities to experience freedom in community. Potential power aside, the process itself was complex for several of them, who described how challenging the activity was, at times inducing anxiety. For the school counselors, models and step-by-step scripted curricula have made it difficult to break from our colonial mindsets (Kaba, 2021). However, the practice of letting go of the need to know it all was liberating. Fay, for example, recounted:

I tried to stay very true to the [directions for making the] collage and not really think about it a whole lot, and just really grab things quickly. And as somebody who really likes to plan and think everything through, it was a lot. It was kind of anxiety-inducing, but it was also very freeing.

Figure 3.
Fay's Collage



Fay described the act of creating with his intuition as an entanglement of emotions: experiencing uncertainty and liberation at the same time.

This form of abolitionist praxis through experimentation was also powerful for Lex, who, reflecting on what could come from intuitive collage, what could be unleashed or “unlocked,” expressed:

I think it's really interesting, you know... doing something I've done before [collaging] in a different way, really, I think, unlocked some stuff, because you don't have time to overthink it.

Powerfully, Amber described the process of the activity as challenging her “natural state” which “is to plan it and think it. And this did not let us do that.” Further reflecting on collective visioning, Amber continued:

You can't really practice abolition if you're just gonna think about it all the time, right? You have to do something, and then talk about it, and talking about it with others, I think, is very powerful. Like, doing this by myself would not have been the same as me hearing from everybody... This exercise reflected abolition in general.

Amber identified critical praxis in community as central for abolition, describing an element of abolition feminist thought. She pointed to the significance of building in “collectivity” rather than alone (Davis et al., 2022).

Addressing a comment Amber shared about collective visioning as “dropping seeds,” Irene described the importance of visioning in community for accountability:

It seems like to me when you share, those are seeds that are planted. It's accountability, and the first step towards doing something towards that dream. It doesn't stay locked inside and continue to just be a dream to think about, to talk about. Yeah, sharing is an actionable step... we can all do with a little bit more action and accountability, too.

For Irene, collective visioning meant community accountability, planting the first seed toward the actions one would take. Further, bringing a dream out into the open with others “unleashed” the dream from one’s internal world, making it come alive and actionable.

Like Irene, Amber described the power of sharing their collages in community, offering the ways the experience enriched her perspective and challenged her vision:

I also think hearing other people's dreams and looking at their images, it wouldn't have been the same experience... I was like, oh she had a fire [referencing Emelia's collage], and I thought ‘Oh I wish I had a fire to put on mine’, and I honestly thought she was gonna say it meant like, ‘Let's burn it all down and start over!’ But she didn't, so it's good to hear other people's perspectives. The images that they had access to and their ideas helped me expand on my ideas already in this one conversation about it, you know.

Figure 4.
Emelia's Collage.



Amber noted that we learn from one another’s perspectives and expand what we think possible by sharing in community. Visions born in isolation do not routinely offer robust and dynamic imaginings bolstered and complexified by community.

Building from Amber’s perspective, Fay likened the experience of creating a collage to the practice of experimentation, attesting to “getting outside of [his] comfort zone” to see what could “spread.”

I think it [collage] goes back to trying different things and getting outside your comfort zone, going with it and seeing where it leads you... when you bring people together and listen to them to learn what their dreams are...you could see it spread, and then they would start thinking in different ways.

Fay’s offering above signified his clarity about abolition as an orientation to liberatory struggle (Gabriel, 2022, p. 149). Building with others and being willing to be shaped by process was a testament to his deep commitment to struggle and solidarity with students and their communities. Like Amber, Fay recognized that experimenting in community brought about new and vitalizing shifts in awareness and possibilities.

Finally, Emelia’s description of intuitive collage exemplified her sense of abolition and how change is made:

I think even just the process of ripping something or cutting something and leaving the things that might speak to us or the things that are relevant to our settings... even just that process is a great example of what abolition should look like. And doing it, I think, as a lot of people have shared thus far, in community, right? Like my vision isn't the only one, right? [We need] everybody's visions coming together.

Emelia described the process of “ripping something” and “leaving” what speaks to the collective as an act of abolition. The partners collectively expressed this abolitionist conceptualization of intuitive collage. Distinctly, yet grounded in mutual commitments to community, Emelia powerfully noted that her “vision isn’t the only one,” demonstrating a commitment to collectivity and humility and pointing to the power of connection to generate shared visions.

Discussion

If school counselors are committed to abolition, their visioning must shift beyond singular, individualized processes. This study focused on how organizers and school counselors came together to vision abolition in school counseling, documenting their processes of visioning and the visions themselves. Our findings indicated that not only did collective visioning contribute to richer, more contextualized visions, but the relational process of prefiguring a more liberatory approach to our work produced a “productive tension” that the partners in this project felt deepened and provocatively shaped their experience together (Davis et al., 2022).

Figure 5.
Irene’s Collage



The visions and relational process offer an entry point for school counselors committed to abolition, particularly in this social and political moment, when many educators struggle to adapt to ongoing state and federal repression, such as anti-Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) bills and “divisive concepts” laws (Schwartz, 2025). While many school counselors may question their way forward, under the constraints of strict federal and state oversight, the partners in this project described a vision for abolition in school counseling: solidarity in community, freedom to be, and experimentation. These process-oriented visions create possibilities, extending and expanding earlier scholarship emphasizing homeplace (hooks, 1990) through freedom dreaming by exemplifying core components of sacred, loving, and nurturing learning spaces, particularly for Black young people and other students with historically marginalized identities.

Importantly, the partners' visions collectively suggested that there can be no homeplace without solidarity. In this study, we attempted to practice that: honoring that the people know best, a shift from earlier conceptualizations of school-community-family partnerships (Green et al., 2019). Rather than conceptualizing our partnership as nontraditional, the partners' visions more expansively illustrated that our commitments to one another must be rooted in solidarity. In other words, we needed one another; our relationships must be reciprocal. Understanding our solidarity as shaped by a deeply relational, clear political strategy for change, our findings extended earlier explorations of school-community-family partnerships: school counselors must build and be in reciprocal relationship with community organizers (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2022). Solidarity as a relational practice is “oxygen for nurturing the soul of [school counselors, organizers, and young people]” (Fine & Torre, 2019, p. 443), exceeding the scope of what is commonly taught to counselors: empathy. Solidarity requires commitment and relationality in ways that expand and deepen our therapeutic alliances, necessitating that school counselors committed to abolition engage in political struggle, rather than merely empathize with it.

The partners also envisioned freedom to be, pushing back on schooling's emphasis on forced assimilation. They described educational spaces that honor all young people, including their “weirdness,” and were able to hold and nurture the many vibrant cultural and social identities of students. The partners' conceptualization of freedom, “where students are seen as whole human beings” (Mayes et al., 2022, p. 2) was not limited to some, but was envisioned as collective liberation. In other words, it is not freedom if it is not for everyone (Nadasen, 2023).

In addition, rather than relying on prescribed school counseling models, the partners identified experimentation as a way forward. Departing from standardized approaches, the partners indicated a desire to take risks beyond their comfort zone. Abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore reminded us that “what the world will become already exists in fragments and pieces, experiments and possibilities” (Gilmore & Lambert, 2018, para. 3). Likewise, the partners' visions signified “building the future from the present” (Gilmore & Lambert, 2018, para. 3), a process of creating from residual beauty in the world around them to make something new. With a willingness to be shaped by experimentation, the partners described their insights, reflections, and curiosities as informed by one another. Without all the answers, the partners both called for and practiced experimentation, embracing abolition as method (Hayes & Kaba, 2023).

As a method, our study animated conceptualizations of abolition in school counseling, which called for school counselors to “vision and practice freedom futures” (Drake et al., 2024b, p. 6). The partners in this project built a collective vision grounded in their current realities and what they imagined abolitionist praxis could be. Despite the uncertainty that arose during the process, they engaged in a “fundamentally different [approach] toward liberating visions and practices” (Drake et al., 2024b, p. 16). Notably, they found intuitive collage to be a generative way to collectively vision for abolition in school counseling. Building on arts-based and community-engaged scholarship that produced new ways of knowing, imagining, dialoging, and dreaming (Bhattacharya, 2013; Fine & Torre, 2021), this study centered on the collective visioning of school counselors and organizers, inverting traditional vision creation processes. Rather than individually creating a vision and then sharing it with community members, this activity started with those most directly impacted by policing and involved in movements for social transformation, eliciting their goals, dreams, and needs. Intuitive collage became an invitation to be in solidarity,

eliciting practices toward political goals and grounded in the context of our relationships (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2022).

Riley was committed to maintaining the integrity of the partners’ original reflections (i.e., the coding framework) during data analysis. While she drew from the partners’ initial ideas represented in the coding framework and member-checked frequently, the project had concluded, the partners’ contracts had ended, and compensation ceased. Therefore, Riley coded alone, without the partners, during rounds one and two. Participatory data analysis, however, does not privilege one person’s interpretation, nor does this method align with Riley’s abolitionist commitments. She wonders how the themes might have shifted given a participatory analysis from start to finish, rather than only in round three when Ingrid joined the analysis. She attempted to stay as close to the partners’ ideas as possible yet found herself longing to dialogue about her points of tension, questions about a pattern that surfaced, or moments of curiosity. At other times, she paused analysis, unsettled and questioning how her socialization as a white woman could be impacting her interpretation (Drake, 2024). In moments of ambiguity, rather than moving away from the data, she attempted to get closer to it, letting what was irresolvable exist in the analytical process *and* determined to be accountable to the partners in the collective. We believe that a collaborative analytical approach in every coding round would have likely generated more capacious interpretations.

During our activity, however, our participatory analysis acted to “organize ourselves to practice [our visions] every day” (brown, 2021, para. 6). Our methods, “ripping something or cutting something and leaving the things that might speak to us,” as Emelia shared, and creating from the “residue,” offer abolitionist methodological implications for how researchers committed to liberation might merge meaningful scholarly and practical approaches to abolition. Visioning in this study was abolition, and we created it together.

Our goal was never to create *the* vision for abolitionist school counseling, but *a* vision, grounded in our relationships and commitments to liberation. Other visions can and do exist, and our field desperately needs them. Together, with organizers, young people, educators, and families in our communities, we can create visions to fight against policing and domination, connect our struggles, and position school counseling programs where they should be—with the people. What else could school counselors and organizers create together? How might school counselors demonstrate solidarity with social movements? How might they expand our understanding of what it means to “love and protect,” prioritizing collective freedom to be? (Mayes & Byrd, 2022). How might school counselors unravel themselves from the control and order presumed by our profession to experiment in solidarity with organizers, especially when they do not have all the answers? Counselor educators must consider these questions and their many answers that may offer implications for how (and with whom) they might teach and embody collective visioning in their school counselor education programs.


Author Note

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to: Riley Drake, 223 Vocational Rehabilitation, University of Wisconsin-Stout, Menomonie, WI 54751, Email: draker@uwstout.edu.

Author ORCID iDs

Riley Drake: draker@uwstout.edu  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8111-7010>

Rena D. Mayes: rdmayes@arizona.edu  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7999-456X>

Abby Smith:  <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9682-682X>

Declaration of Interest Statement

We have no known conflict of interest to disclose.

Table 1***Partner Demographics***

Name & Role	Salient Identities	Setting
Jesse Dawkins, School Counselor	Black woman	Private high school (East U.S.)
Fay Michael, School Counselor	Asian biracial man	Public elementary school (Midwest U.S.)
Amber Price, School Counselor	White woman	Public middle school (Midwest U.S.)
Irene Allen, Community Organizer	Black woman	Mutual aid community organizer (Midwest U.S.)
Emelia Cochran, Community Organizer	Black woman	Mutual aid and Black Liberation Movement community organizer (Midwest U.S.)
Lex Manning, Community Organizer	Indigenous woman	Indigenous sovereignty community organizer (Midwest U.S.)

References

- American School Counselor Association (ASCA). (2019). *The ASCA National Model: a framework for school counseling programs* (4th ed.). ASCA.
- American School Counselor Association (ASCA). (2025). *The ASCA National Model: a framework for school counseling programs* (5th ed.). ASCA.
- Bennett, H. (2008, July 11). Organizing to abolish the Prison-Industrial Complex. *Dissident Voice*. <https://dissidentvoice.org/2008/07/organizing-to-abolish-the-prison-industrial-complex/>
- Bhattacharya, K. (2013). Voices, silences, and telling secrets: The role of qualitative methods in arts-based research. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 6(4), 604-627. <https://doi.org/10.1525/irqr.2013.6.4.604>
- Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide*. Routledge.
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Allyn & Bacon.
- brown, a. m. (Guest). (2020, August 10). Visioning with adrienne maree brown (No. 2) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Finding Our Way*. <https://www.findingourwaypodcast.com/individual-episodes/s1e2>
- brown, a. m. (2021, April 27). Possibility is beginning to enter again (No. 9) [Audio podcast episode]. In *New Constellations*. <https://newconstellations.co/listen/adrienne-maree-brown/>
- Bryan, J. (2005). Fostering educational resilience and achievement in urban schools through school-family-community partnerships. *Professional School Counseling*, 8(3), 219-227.
- Bryan, J., Griffin, D., Kim, J., Griffin, D. M., & Young, A. (2019). School counselor leadership in school-family-community partnerships: An equity-focused partnership process model for moving the field forward. In S. B. Sheldon & T. A. Turner-Vorbeck (Eds.), *The Wiley handbook on family, school, and community relationships in education* (pp. 265-287). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Castillo, B. M. (2023). "Equity work is messy": exploring a family and community partnership in one school district. *Education and Urban Society*, 55(2), 201-221. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00131245221076074>
- Critical Resistance. (n.d.). *What is the PIC? What is abolition?* <https://criticalresistance.org/mission-vision/not-so-common-language/>
- Davis, A. Y., Dent, G., Meiners, E. R., & Richie, B. E. (2022). *Abolition. Feminism. Now* (Vol. 2). Haymarket Books.
- Drake, R. (2024). Unsettling calm and order: the paradoxical dynamics of a white elementary teacher's racialized carceral logics. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2024.2318276>
- Drake, R., Mayes, R., Cheatham, C., & Simms, D. (2024a). Refusing the master's tools: An abolition feminist framework for career and Technical Education for Black girls. *Career and Technical Education Research*, 49(1), 60-74. <https://doi.org/10.5328/cter49.1.60>
- Drake, R., Oglesby, A., Amos, A., & Engelking, J. (2024b). Toward the end of school counseling: visionary possibilities for counselors to build and practice abolition in education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2024.2328263>
- Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the dark: Antiblackness in education policy and discourse. *Theory into Practice*, 55(1), 11-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2016.1116852>
- Dunn, D. C., Chisholm, A., Spaulding, E., & Love, B. L. (2021). A radical doctrine: Abolitionist education in hard times. *Educational Studies*, 57(3), 211-223. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2021.1892684>
- Dyson, A. H., & Genishi, C. (2005). *On the case*. Teachers College Press.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press.

- Fine, M. (2006). Bearing witness: Methods for researching oppression and resistance—A textbook for critical research. *Social Justice Research, 19*(1), 83-108. DOI: 10.1007/s11211-006-0001-0
- Fine, M. (2018). *Just research in contentious times: Widening the methodological imagination*. Teachers College Press.
- Fine, M., & Torre, M. E. (2004). Re-membering exclusions: Participatory action research in public institutions. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 1*(1), 15-37.
- Fine, M., & Torre, M. E. (2019). Critical participatory action research: A feminist project for validity and solidarity. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 43*(4), 433-444. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319865255>
- Fine, M., & Torre, M. E. (2021). *Essentials of critical participatory action research*. American Psychological Association.
- Gabriel, K. (2022). Abolition as Method. In *Dissent (New York)* (Vol. 69, Number 4, pp. 145–150). University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dss.2022.0086>
- Gaztambide-Fernández, R., Brant, J., & Desai, C. (2022). Toward a pedagogy of solidarity. *Curriculum Inquiry, 52*(3), 251-265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2022.2082733>
- Gilmore, R. W., & Lambert, L. (2018, December). Making abolition geography in California's Central Valley. *The Funambulist*. <https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/21-space-activism/interview-making-abolition-geography-california-central-valley-ruth-wilson-gilmore>
- Halverson, E. (Host). (2017). Cathy Compton-Lilly on the role of theoretical frameworks in qualitative research [Audio podcast episode]. In *Two middle-aged ladies talking about methods*. <https://uwmadison.app.box.com/s/dmx6cz1zimirzede0ji7cupuixr12l4x>
- Harding, S. (1995). "Strong objectivity": A response to the new objectivity question, *Synthese, 104*, 331-349.
- Hayes, K., & Kaba, M. (2023). *Let this radicalize you: Organizing and the revolution of reciprocal care*. Haymarket Books.
- Haynes, N. M., & Comer, J. P. (1996). Integrating schools, families, and communities through successful school reform: The school development program. *School Psychology Review, 25*(4), 501-506. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02796015.1996.12085838>
- Hemphill, P. (Host). (2020, August 9). Visioning with adrienne maree brown [Audio podcast episode]. In *Becoming the People*. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1TcsFfyxEgcEnJ3qxUo0uR6LeuVvsUczenIh_qdD48sc/edit?tab=t.0#heading=h.9xrkpyg6f952
- Hernandez, C. A., Pour-Khorshid, F., Meiners, E. R., & Sabati, S. (2022). Building transformative justice communities: why abolitionist work in schools is, and must always be, feminist.. In K. J. Saltman & N. Nguyen (Eds.), *Handbook of critical approaches to politics and policy of education* (pp. 161-174). Routledge.
- Hodder, I. (2000). The interpretation of documents and material culture. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 703-715). Sage Publications.
- hooks, b. (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*. South End Press.
- hooks, b. (2000). *All about love: New visions*. HarperCollins.
- Kaba, M. (2021). *We do this' til we free us: Abolitionist organizing and transforming justice* (Vol. 1). Haymarket Books.
- Kaba, M., & Ritchie, A. J. (2022). *No more police: A case for abolition*. The New Press.
- Klammer, S. (n.d.). *Intuitive collage - step by step*. Shelley Klammer. <https://intuitivecreativity.typepad.com/expressiveartinspirations/2018/12/intuitive-collage-step-by-step.html>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage Publications.
- Mayes, R. D., & Byrd, J. A. (2022). An antiracist framework for evidence-informed school counseling practice. *Professional School Counseling, 26*(1a). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759X221086740>

- Mayes, R. D., Edirmanasinghe, N., Ieva, K., & Washington, A. R. (2022). Liberatory school counseling practices to promote freedom dreaming for black youth. *Frontiers in Education*, 7, 1-11. <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/education/articles/10.3389/feduc.2022.964490/full>
- Meiners, E. R. (2011). Ending the school-to-prison pipeline/building abolition futures. *The Urban Review*, 43(4), 547-565. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-011-0187-9>
- Nadasen, P. (2023). *Care: The highest stage of capitalism*. Haymarket Books.
- Popielarz, K. E. (2024). Community-based teacher education: The experiences of teacher candidates learning alongside grassroots youth organizers. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 75(4), 438-451. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00224871231201838>
- Pour-Khorshid, F. (2016). HELLA: Collective testimonio that speak to the healing, empowerment, love, liberation, and action embodied by social justice educators of color. *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal*, 10(2), 16-32.
- Rodriguez, G. (2020). Suburban schools as sites of inspection: Understanding Latinx youth's sense of belonging in a suburban high school. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 53(1-2), 14-29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2020.1758245>
- Sabati, S., Pour-Khorshid, F., Meiners, E. R., & Hernandez, C. A. (2022). Dismantle, change, build: Lessons for growing abolition in teacher education. *Teachers College Record*, 124(3), 177-206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01614681221086794>
- Schwartz, S. (2025, March 26). A wave of new legislation aims to ban DEI in public schools. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/a-wave-of-new-legislation-aims-to-ban-dei-in-public-schools/2025/03>
- Shield, A. E., Paris, D., Paris, R., & San Pedro, T. (Eds.). (2020). *Education in movement spaces: Standing Rock to Chicago Freedom Square*. Routledge.
- Stovall, D. (2018). Are we ready for 'school' abolition?: Thoughts and practices of radical imaginary in education. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*, 17(1), 51-61. <https://repository.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1130&context=taboo>
- Teemant, A., Borgioli Yoder, G., Sherman, B. J., & Santamaría Graff, C. (2021). An equity framework for family, community, and school partnerships. *Theory Into Practice*, 60(1), 28-38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2020.1827905>
- Washington, A. R. (2010). Professional school counselors and African American males: Using School/community collaboration to enhance academic performance. *Journal of African American Males in Education (JAAME)*, 1(1), 26-39.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>